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ARISTOPHANES

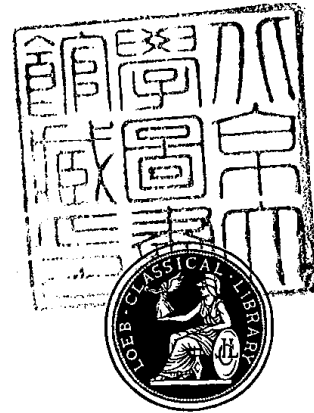
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# ARISTOPHANES

## FRAGMENTS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
JEFFREY HENDERSON



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## PREFACE

This edition contains the fragments that are certainly or probably attributed to Aristophanes' lost plays, together with the principal testimonia about his life and works. I have included all of the fragments rather than a selection: in addition to quotations and comments about characters and plots, the ancient witnesses preserve a great variety of topical, historical, literary, and linguistic information that is of interest beyond Aristophanes' plays themselves.

I have based the Greek text and numbering on the magisterial edition by Rudolph Kassel and Colin Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*, Volume III.2 (Berlin and New York 1984), and citations of the fragments of other comic poets are to the K-A edition of their works. Where a notice is attested by more than one source, I have presented only the principal and most generally available of the sources (e.g. the Suda), and I have kept textual, bibliographical, and explanatory notes to the minimum needed by readers of the translation; those interested in greater detail should consult K-A. In the fragments attributed to Aristophanes, I have omitted such phrases as "thus Aristophanes" except where there is a special reason to include them.

For various kinds of assistance I am grateful to Lowell Edmunds, Jeffrey Rusten, and my student Tyler Travillian.



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ARISTOPHANES

## TESTIMONIA

### I Prolegomena On Comedy XXVII Koster

Ἄριστοφάνους βίος. Ἄριστοφάνης ὁ κωμωδοποιὸς πατρὸς ἦν Φιλίππου, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δήμων Κυδαθηναίεϋς, Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς· ὃς πρῶτος δοκεῖ τὴν κωμωδίαν ἔτι πλανωμώνην τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἀγωγῇ ἐπὶ τὸ χρησιμώτερον καὶ σεμνότερον μεταγαγεῖν, πικρότερόν τε καὶ αἰσχρότερον Κρατίνου καὶ Εὐπόλιδος βλασφημούντων ἢ ἔδει. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ τῆς νέας κωμωδίας τὸν τρόπον ἐπέδειξεν ἐν τῷ Κωκάλῳ, ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόμενοι Μένανδρός τε καὶ Φιλῆμων ἐδραματούργησαν.

εὐλαβῆς δὲ σφόδρα γενόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλως τε καὶ εὐφυῆς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διὰ Καλλιστράτου καὶ Φιλωνίδου καθίει δράματα· διὸ καὶ ἔσκωπτον αὐτὸν Ἄριστάννμος τε καὶ Ἀμειψίας τετράδι λέγοντες γεγενῆναι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν <ὡς> ἄλλοις πονοῦντα. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἠγωνίσασατο· διεχθρεύσας δὲ

## TESTIMONIA

### LIFE

I Life of Ar. Ar. the comic poet was the son of Philippus, an Athenian by race, of the deme Cydathenaeon, of the tribe Pandionis. He seems to have been the first to transform comedy, still unsettled in its archaic mode, into something more useful and respectable, Cratinus and Eupolis being excessively pungent and base in their irreverent speech. He was also the first to display the style of the New Comedy in his *Cocalus*, from which Menander and Philemon took the basics of their dramaturgy.

In the beginning, being both very cautious and exceptionally talented, he entrusted the production of his first plays to Callistratus and Philonides; both Aristonymus (fr. 3) and Ameipsias (fr. 27) mocked him for this, saying that he was born on the fourth, proverbial for one who works for others. Later he competed on his own, expressing hos-

μάλιστα Κλέωνι τῷ δημαγωγῷ καὶ γράψας καθ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἰππέας, ἐν οἷς διελέγχει αὐτοῦ τὰς κλοπὰς καὶ τὸ τυραννικόν, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν σκευοποιῶν τολμῆσαντος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ σκευάσαι δι' ὑπερβολὴν φόβου, ἅτε δὴ τυραννικοῦ ὄντος, μηδὲ μὴν ὑποκρίνασθαί τινος τολμῶντος, δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ὑπεκρίνατο αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον μίλτω χρίσας, καὶ αἴτιος αὐτῷ γέγονε πέντε ταλάντων, ἃ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰππέων κατεδικάσθη, ὡς φησιν ἐν Ἀχαρνεύσιν·

ἐγὼδ' ἐφ' ᾧ γε τὸ κέαρ ἠϋφράνθην ἰδῶν,  
τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις οἷς Κλέων ἐξήμεσεν.

διήχθρευσεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐπειδὴ ξενίας κατ' αὐτοῦ γραφὴν ἔθετο, καὶ ὅτι ἐν δράματι αὐτοῦ Βαβυλωνίοις διέβαλε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς κληρωτὰς ἀρχὰς παρόντων ξένων. ὡς ξένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἔλεγε, παρόσον οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν φασιν εἶναι Ῥόδιον ἀπὸ Λίνδου, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινήτην, στοχαζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πλείστον χρόνον τὰς διατριβὰς αὐτόθι ποιεῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ ὅτι ἐκέκτετο ἐκεῖσε· κατὰ τινὰς δέ, ὡς ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Φίλιππος Αἰγινήτης. ἀπολυθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν εἰπόντα ἀστείως ἐκ τῶν Ὀμήρου ταῦτα·

μήτηρ μὲν τ' ἐμέ φησι τοῦ ἔμμεναι, αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε  
οὐκ οἶδ'· οὐ γάρ πω τις ἐὼν γόνον αὐτὸς ἀπεγνώ.

δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον συκοφαντηθεὶς ἀπέφυγε, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> See *Knights* 230–32, “And have no fear, he’s not portrayed to

tility especially toward Cleon the demagogue and writing *Knights* against him, where he exposed Cleon’s thievery and tyrannical behavior. None of the property-makers dared fashion a portrait-mask on account of their excessive fear, Cleon being tyrannical, nor would anyone dare to act that part,<sup>1</sup> so that Ar. had to play it himself, after daubing his mask with ruddle. And he was the reason for the five-talent fine that Cleon was condemned to pay on account of *Knights*,<sup>2</sup> as he says in *Acharnians* (5–6),

I know—’twas something my heart rejoiced to see:  
those five talents that Cleon coughed up!

Ar. was hostile toward Cleon because Cleon had charged him at law with foreign birth and with having in his play *Babylonians* slandered the allotted office-holders of the Athenians in the presence of foreigners. Cleon could call him a foreigner inasmuch as some say he was a Rhodian from Lindus,<sup>3</sup> some say an Aeginetan, surmising this from the very large amount of time he spend there, or also because he owned land there; and, according to some, because his father Philippus was Aeginetan. He got himself acquitted very wittily by quoting these lines from Homer (*Od.* 1.215–16),

My mother tells me I am his son. I really  
do not know. No one knows his own engendering.

Maliciously accused a second and a third time, he was ac-

the life: out of fear none of the property-makers was willing to make his portrait.”<sup>2</sup> Chronologically impossible, since *Acharnians* was staged the year before *Knights*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps confusing Ar. with the Rhodian Antiphanes.

οὕτω φανερός κατασταθείς πολίτης κατεκράτησε τοῦ Κλέωνος· ὅθεν φησὶν αὐτὸς δ' ἑμαυτὸν ὑπὸ Κλέωνος ἅπ' ἔπαθον ἐπίσταμαι δῆ, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐδοκμήσαι συκοφάντας καταλύσαντα· οὓς ἀνόμασεν ἠπιάλους ἐν Σφηξίν, ἐν οἷς φησὶν οἱ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἠγχον νύκτωρ καὶ τοὺς πάππους ἀπέπνιγον.

μάλιστα δὲ ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἠγαπήθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν σφόδρα, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ δραμάτων ἐσπούδασε δεῖξαι τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείαν, ὡς ἐλευθέρα τέ ἐστι καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τυράννου δουλαγωγουμένη, ἀλλ' ὅτι δημοκρατία ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλεύθερος ὢν ὁ δῆμος ἄρχει ἑαυτοῦ. τούτου οὖν χάριν ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἐστεφανώθη θαλλῶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας, ὃς νενομίσται ἰσότιμος χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, εἰπὼν ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἐν τοῖς Βατράχοις περὶ τῶν ἀτίμων·

τὸν ἱερὸν χορὸν δίκαιον πολλὰ χρηστὰ τῇ πόλει  
ξυμπαραινεῖν.

ἀνομάσθη δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἔνδοξον, τὸ μέτρον τοῦ ἀριστοφάνειον. οὕτως δὲ γέγονεν ἡ φήμη τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Πέρσας διήκειν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πρέσβων πυνθάνεσθαι, παρ' ὀποτέροις εἶη ὁ κωμωδοποιός. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα Διονυσίῳ τῷ τυράννῳ βουλευθέντι μαθεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείαν πέμψαι τὴν Ἀριστοφάνους ποίησιν, [τὴν κατὰ Σωκράτους ἐν Νεφέλαις κατηγορίαν,] καὶ συμβουλευσαί τὰ δράματα αὐτοῦ ἀσκηθέντα μαθεῖν αὐτῶν πολιτείαν.

quitted and, thus established as an outstanding citizen, got the better of Cleon: hence he says (*Ach.* 377), I myself know what I suffered at Cleon's hands, etc. They say that he distinguished himself by undoing malicious accusers, whom he calls "agues" in *Wasps* (1038), where he says (1039) "who throttled their fathers in the night and strangled grandfathers."

He was especially praised and much loved by the citizens for taking pains to show in his plays how free the polity of the Athenians was and how unfettered by any tyrant, that it was on the contrary a democracy and that the people, being free, ruled themselves. As a result he was praised and crowned with a shoot of sacred olive, which was reckoned equal in value to a golden crown, for those words he had spoken in *Frogs* about the disenfranchised (686-87),

It is right for the holy chorus to offer to the city  
much good advice

And the aristophanean meter was, as is plausible, named after him. Such was the poet's reputation that it even reached the Persians, and the King asked of ambassadors whose side the comic poet took.<sup>4</sup> And they say that when Dionysius the tyrant wanted to learn about the polity of the Athenians, Plato sent him the poetry of Ar. [the accusation against Socrates in *Clouds*] and advised him to study the plays if he would learn their polity.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ach.* 646-49.

ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ αἴτιος ζήλου τοῖς νέοις κωμικοῖς, λέγω δὴ Φιλήμονι καὶ Μενάνδρῳ. ψηφίσματος γὰρ γενομένου χορηγικοῦ, ὥστε μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμωδεῖν τινα, ἔτι καὶ τῶν χορηγῶν οὐκ ἀντεχόντων πρὸς τὸ χορηγεῖν, καὶ παντάπασι ἐκκλειομένης τῆς ὕλης τῶν κωμωδιῶν διὰ τούτων αὐτῶν, αἴτιον γὰρ κωμωδίας τὸ σκώπτειν τινας, ἔγραψε κωμωδίαν τινὰ Κώκαλον, ἐν ᾗ εἰσάγει φθορὰν καὶ ἀναγνωρισμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πάντα, ἃ ἐζήλωσε Μένανδρος. [πάλιν δὲ ἐκκλειοπότης καὶ τοῦ χορηγεῖν τὸν Πλοῦτον γράψας, εἰς τὸ διαναπαύεσθαι τὰ σκηρικὰ πρόσωπα καὶ μετεσκενᾶσθαι ἐπιγράφει “χοροῦ” φθεγγόμενος ἐν ἐκείνοις, ἃ καὶ ὀρῶμεν τοὺς νέους οὕτως ἐπιγράφοντας ζήλω Ἀριστοφάνους.] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ δράματι συνέστησε τῷ πλήθει τὸν υἱὸν Ἀραρότα· καὶ οὕτως μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον παῖδας καταλιπὼν τρεῖς, Φίλιππον ὁμώνυμον τῷ πάππῳ καὶ Νικόστρατον καὶ Ἀραρότα, δι’ οὗ καὶ ἐδίδαξε τὸν Πλοῦτον. τινὲς δὲ δύο φασί, Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀραρότα, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμνήσθη τὴν γυναῖκα δ’ αἰσχύνομαι τῷ τ’ οὐ φρονοῦντε παιδίῳ, ἴσως αὐτοὺς λέγων.

ἔγραψε δὲ δράματα μδ’, ὧν ἀντιλέγεται δ’ ὡς οὐκ ὄντα αὐτοῦ· ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα Ποίησις, Ναυαγός, Νῆσοι, Νίωβος, ἃ τινες ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ Ἀρχίππου.

He was also an object of emulation among the younger poets, specifically Philemon and Menander. For after the passage of a decree affecting chorus leaders that forbade comic ridicule of anyone by name, when not even the chorus leaders any longer held out for a chorus and material for comedies was for these very reasons entirely lacking, the purpose of comedy being to mock individuals, he wrote a comedy entitled *Cocalus*, in which he introduced rape and recognition and all the other elements that Menander emulated. [Again, after the eclipse of the choregia, when he wrote *Wealth*, he inscribed “place for a chorus” where the stage actors rest and change their costumes, thus establishing the designation for such choral sections that the younger poets also used, in emulation of Ar.] In this play he introduced his son Araros to the public. And thus he ended his life, leaving behind three sons, Philippus named for his grandfather, Nicostratus, and Araros, through whom he staged *Wealth*. Some say there were two, Philippus and Araros, whom he himself mentioned (fr. 604), “I am ashamed to face my wife and my two infant children,” perhaps referring to them.

He wrote 44 comedies, of which four are considered spurious: *Poesy*, *Shipwrecked*, *Islands*, *Niobus*, which some say are by Archippus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Philyllius’ *Cities* and Platon’s *Costumes* were ascribed by some ancient scholars to Ar., cf. Athenaeus 3.86E, 4.140A, 14.628E.

2

(a) *Prolegomena On Comedy XXX<sup>a</sup>* (codd. M Rs Vat 918)  
Koster

(b) *Prolegomena On Comedy XXX<sup>b</sup>* Koster = Suda α 3932

(c) Oxvyrhynchus Papyrus 2659 (second century CE)

(a) and (b). Ἀριστοφάνους γένος καὶ κατάλογος τῶν αὐτοῦ δραμάτων. Ἀριστοφάνης, Ῥόδιος ἦτοι Λίνδιος, οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιον ἔφασαν, οἱ δὲ Καμειρέα, θέσει δὲ Ἀθηναῖος (ἐπολιτογραφήθη γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς), κωμικός, υἱὸς Φιλίππου, γεγονὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ τὴν Ῥδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, εὐρετῆς τοῦ τετραμέτρου καὶ ὀκταμέτρου, καὶ παῖδας οὐχὼν Ἀραρότα, Φίλιππον, Φιλέταιρον, κωμικούς (κ. om. a). τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπὸ δούλων ἱστορήκασι. δράματα δὲ αὐτοῦ μδ'.

(a) Ἀχαρνῆς, Ἀνάγυρος, Ἀμφιάραος, Αἰολοσίκων β', Βαβυλωνιοὶ, Βάτραχοι, Γηρυτάδης, Γῆρας, Δαναίδες, Δαιταλεῖς, Γεωργοί, Δαίδαλος, Δράματα ἢ Νιόβη, Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι, Διόνυσος ναυαγός, Δράματα ἢ Κένταυρος, Εἰρήνη, Ἥρωες, Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι β', Ἴππεῖς, Κώκαλος, Λήμνιοι, Λυσιστράτη ἢ Διαλλαγαί, Νεφέλαι β', Νῆσοι, Ὀλκάδες, Ὀρνίθες, Πολύιδος, Πελαργοί, Πλούτος β', Προάγων, Ποίησις, Ταγγηισταί, Τριφάλης, Τελμησσεῖς, Σφήκες, Ὠραὶ, Φοίνισσαι.

10

2 (a) and (b) Ar.'s Background and a Catalogue of his Plays. Ar., a Rhodian or Lindian, and some say an Egyptian, some a Camerian, but Athenian by adoption, since he was enrolled as a citizen there; a comic poet, son of Philippus; began competing in 404/3.<sup>6</sup> His sons were Araros, Philippus and Philetaerus, comic poets (om. a). Some record that he was of servile birth. From him there are 44 (var. 54, 57) dramas.

(a) *Acharnians, Anagyrus, Amphiarus, Aeolosicon II, Babylonians, Frogs, Gerytades, Old Age, Danaids, Dramas or Niobe, Assemblywomen, Dionysus Shipwrecked, Dramas or Centaur, Peace, Heroes, Women at the Thesmophoria II, Knights, Cocalus, Lemnian Women, Lysistrata or Reconciliation, Clouds II, Islands, Merchant Ships, Birds, Polyidus, Storks, Wealth II, Proagon, Poetry, Fry-Cooks, Triphales, Telmessians, Wasps, Seasons, Phoenician Women.*

<sup>6</sup> Var. 324/3; the correct year is 428/7. But γεγονώς often means *floruit*, typically at around age 40.

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TESTIMONIA

(b) δράματα δὲ αὐτοῦ μδ'. ἄπερ δὲ πεπράχαμεν Ἀριστοφάνους δράματα ταῦτα: Ἀχαρνῆς, Βάτραχοι, Εἰρήνη, Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι, Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι, Ἴππεῖς, Λυσίστρατος, Νεφέλαι, Ὀρνιθες, Πλούτος, Σφήκες.

(c) Ἀριστοφάνους Αἰολοσίκων, Ἀμφιάραος, (9–10 lines missing) Δράματα ἢ Κένταυρος, Διόνυσος ναυαγός, Εἰρήνη, Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι, Ἴππεῖς, Κώκαλος, Λυσιστράτη, Νεφέλαι β', Ὀλκάδες, Ὀρνιθες, Προάγων, Πλούτος α', Ποίησις, Πολύειδος, Σκηναὶ καταλαμβάνουσαι, Σφήκες, Τελμησσεῖς, Τριφάλης, Φοῖνισσαι, Ὠραι.

3 Scholium on Plato *Apology* 19c

Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμωδοποιὸς φαλακρὸς ἦν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν Εἰρήνῃ. ἐκωμωδεῖτο δ' ἐπὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μὲν Εὐριπίδην, μμεῖσθαι δ' αὐτόν. Κρατῖνος:

τίς δὲ σύ; κομψὸς τις ἔροιτο θεατῆς.

ὑπολεπτολόγος, γνωμιδιώκτης,  
εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων.

καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἐξομολογεῖται Σκηναὶ καταλαμβάνουσαι:

χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ, φησί, τοῦ στόματος τῷ  
στρογγύλῳ,  
τοὺς νοῦς δ' ἀγοραίους ἤττον ἢ ἑκεῖνος ποιῶ.

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(b) Those dramas of Ar. that we have for study are *Acharnians*, *Frogs*, *Peace*, *Assemblywomen*, *Women at the Thesmophoria*, *Knights*, *Lysistratus*, *Clouds*, *Birds*, *Wealth*, *Wasps*.

(c) By Ar. *Aeolosicon*, *Amphiaraus*, (9–10 lines missing) *Dramas or Centaur*, *Dionysus Shipwrecked*, *Peace*, *Assemblywomen*, *Heroes*, *Women at the Thesmophoria*, *Knights*, *Cocalus*, *Lysistrata*, *Clouds II*, *Merchant Ships*, *Birds*, *Proagon*, *Wealth I*, *Poetry*, *Polyidus*, *Women Claiming Tent-Sites*, *Wasps*, *Telmessians*, *Triphales*, *Phoenician Women*, *Seasons*.

3 Ar. the comic poet was bald, as he himself says in *Peace* (771): He was ridiculed for mocking Euripides while at the same time imitating him. Cratinus (fr. 342):

And who are you? some chic spectator might ask.  
An oh-so subtle speaker, a hunter of conceits, a  
Euripidaristophanizer.

And as he himself quite agrees, in *Women Claiming Tent-Sites* (fr. 488),

I make use of his polished, compact style,  
but my ideas are less vulgar than his are.



Ἄριστόνυμος δ' ἐν Ἡλίῳ ῥιγούντι καὶ Σαννυρίων ἐν Γέλῳτι τετράδι φασὶν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, διόκτι τὸν βίον κατέτριψεν ἐτέροις πονῶν. οἱ γὰρ τετράδι γεννώμενοι πονοῦντες ἄλλοις καρποῦσθαι παρέχουσιν, ὡς καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ ἡμερῶν ἱστορεῖ. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλῆ φησι γεννηθῆναι. τρεῖς δ' ἔσχεν υἱούς, Φίλιππον τὸν τοῖς Εὐβούλου δράμασιν ἀγωνισάμενον, καὶ Ἀραρότα ἰδίους τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς δράμασι διηγωνισμένον, καὶ τρίτον, ὃν Ἀπολλόδωρος μὲν Νικόστρατον καλεῖ, οἱ δὲ περὶ Δικαίαρχον Φιλέταιρον. κατεκλήρωσε δὲ καὶ τὴν Αἴγιαν, ὡς Θεογένης φησὶν ἐν τῷ περὶ Αἴγινης. κωμωδεῖται δὲ καὶ <ὅτι> τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης κολοσσικὸν ἐξῆρεν ἄγαλμα. Εὐπόλις Αὐτολύκῳ, Πλάτων Νίκαις.

4 Anonymous *On Comedy* (*Prolegomena* III) 9.7 Koster

οἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιηταὶ οὐχ ὑποθέσεως ἀληθοῦς, ἀλλὰ παιδιᾶς εὐτραπέλου γενόμενοι ζηλωταὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐποίουν· καὶ φέρεται αὐτῶν πάντα τὰ δράματα τξέ σὺν τοῖς ψευδεπιγράφοις. τούτων δὲ εἰσὶν ἀξιολογώτατοι Ἐπίχαρμος, Μάγνης, Κρατίνος, Κράτης, Φερεκράτης, Φρύνιχος, Εὐπόλις, Ἄριστοφάνης . . . 36.9 Ἄριστοφάνης Φιλίππου Ἀθηναῖος, μακρῷ λογιώτατος Ἀθηναίων καὶ εὐφύια πάντας ὑπεραίρων, ζήλω δὲ Εὐριπίδου \*\*\* τοῖς δὲ μέλεσι λεπτότερος. ἐδίδαξε δὲ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Διοτίμου διὰ Καλλιστράτου. τὰς μὲν γὰρ πολιτικὰς τούτῳ

Aristonymus in *Freezing Sun* (fr. 3) and Sannyrion in *Laughter* (fr. 5) say that he was born on the fourth because he spent his life working for others. For those born on the fourth furnish to others the fruit of their own labor, as Philochorus records in Book I of his *Days* (*FGrHist* 328 F 85). He says that Heracles was also born on this day. He had three sons, Philippus, who competed against the plays of Eubulus; Araros, who entered his father's plays into competition as well as his own; and a third, whom Apollodorus (*FGrHist* 244 F 75) calls Nicostratus, but those following Dicaearchus (fr. 83 Wehrli) call Philetaerus. He owned land on Aigina, as Theogenes says in his *Aigina* (*FGrHist* 300 F 2). And he was ridiculed for raising the colossal statue of Peace: Eupolis in *Autolycus* (fr. 62), Plato in *Victories* (fr. 86).

4 The poets of Old Comedy did not strive for a realistic plot in the competition, but for entertaining humor. There are preserved by them 365 plays all told, including those falsely inscribed. The most noteworthy among them are Epicharmus, Magnes, Cratinus, Crates, Pherecrates, Phrynichus, Eupolis, Ar. . . . Ar. the Athenian, son of Philippus, by far the most erudite of the Athenians and surpassing them all in talent, and in emulation of Euripides < . . . >, but in lyrics more delicate. He first produced in the archonship of Diotimus (427) through Callistratus. They say that he gave his political comedies to this man,

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φασὶν αὐτὸν διδόναι, τὰ δὲ κατ' Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σωκράτους Φιλωνίδη. διὰ δὲ τούτων νομισθεὶς ἀγαθὸς ποιητῆς ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπιγραφόμενος ἐνίκα. ἔπειτα τῷ υἱῷ ἐδίδου τὰ δράματα ὄντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν νδ', ὧν νόθα δ'.

5 IG 14.1140

Ἀριστοφάνης Φιλίππιδου Ἀθηναῖος.

6 Thoman *Life of Ar. (Prolegomena On Comedy 148 c)*  
μητρὸς δὲ Ζηνοδώρας.

7 Suda α 3737

Ἄραρῶς . . . Ἀθηναῖος, υἱὸς Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ κωμικοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς κωμικός, διδάξας τὸ πρῶτον Ὀλυμπιάδι ρά'.

8 Suda φ 308

Φιλέταιρος . . . Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, υἱὸς Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ κωμικοῦ.

9 IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1740 21 Κυδαθηναίεις . . . 24 Ἀριστοφάνης

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but those against Euripides and Socrates to Philonides. After he had gained recognition as a good poet through these works, he won the rest of his victories under his own name. Later he gave his plays to his son; they numbered 55, of which 4 are spurious.

FATHER

5 Ar. of Athens, son of Philippides.

MOTHER

6 His mother was Zenodora.<sup>7</sup>

SONS

7 Araros: . . . of Athens, son of Ar. the comic poet and himself a comic poet, having produced for the first time in Olympiad 101 (376/5–373/2).

8 Philetaerus: . . . of Athens, comic poet, son of Ar. the comic poet.

HOMELAND

9 An inscription listing Ar. of Cydathenaeum among prytaneis from the tribe Pandionis.

<sup>7</sup> The name is not Attic.

10 Ar. *Acharnians* 652–54, with scholia

διὰ ταυθ' ὑμᾶς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν εἰρήνην  
 προκαλοῦνται  
 καὶ τὴν Αἴγιαν ἀπαιτοῦσιν καὶ τῆς νήσου μὲν  
 ἐκείνης  
 οὐ φροντίζουσ', ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν  
 ἀφέλωνται.

Scholium on 653 τῆς νήσου, ἐν ἣ τὰ χωρία Ἀριστοφάνους.

Scholium on 654b ἐντεῦθεν τινες νομίζουσιν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τὰς κωμωδίας ποιεῖν τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην . . . ταῖς ἀληθείαις εἰς ἣν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κληρουχισάντων . . . ἄλλως οὐδεὶς ἰστόρηκεν ὡς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κέκτηται τι Ἀριστοφάνης, ἀλλ' ἔοικε ταῦτα περὶ Καλλιστράτου λέγεσθαι, ὃς κεκληρούηκεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν Αἰγινητῶν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων.

11 Ar. *Life* (*Prolegomena On Comedy* XXX<sup>c</sup> 143 Koster)

ὁ δὲ θαυμαστός Ἀριστοφάνης ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν, ὅτι Ἀθηναῖος ἦν αὐτόχθων· ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅτι Ῥόδιος, καὶ ἕτεροι Λίνδιος, ἥτις ὑποτελής ἦν τῶν Ῥοδίων γῆ, ἀφ' ἧς ἕτεροι λέγουσιν ὑποχωρῆσαι τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας κακεῖ πολιτογραφηθῆναι. γέγονε δὲ υἱὸς Φιλίππου.

## 10

That's why the Spartans invite you to make peace and why they demand Aegina back: that island means nothing to them; it's this poet they want to acquire.

Scholium on line 653: the island where Ar. had land.

Scholium on 654: hence some think that Ar. wrote his plays on Aegina . . . in truth he was one of the land-holders on the island . . . alternatively: no one records that Ar. owned any land on Aegina, but it is likely that these lines refer to Callistratus, who was awarded land on Aegina after the Athenian removal of the Aeginetans.

11 Some say that the wonderful Ar. was a native Athenian, but others say he was Rhodian, still others that he was from Lindos, which was a tributary to Rhodes, whence others say that Ar. left and went to Athens, there becoming a citizen. He was the son of Philippus.

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12 Athenaeus 6.229E

Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ὁ κωμωδοποιός, ὃν φησιν Ἡλιόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀκροπόλεως . . . Ναυκρατίτην εἶναι γένος.

13

(a) Eusebius (Jerome) on Olympiad 88,1. 115.6 Helm

*Eupolis et Aristofanes scriptores comoediarum agnoscuntur.*

(b) Eusebius (Armenian) on Olympiad 88,2. 194 Karst

*Eupolis und Aristophanes waren als Liederdichter gekannt.*

14 Cyril of Alexandria *Against Julian* 1.13

ὀγδοηκοστῇ ὀγδῷ Ὀλυμπιάδι τὸν κωμῶδὸν Ἀριστοφάνην, Εὐπολίην τε καὶ Πλάτωνα γενέσθαι φασίν.

15 Eusebius (Jerome) Olympiad 85,3. 114.3 Helm

*Aristofanes clarus habetur et Sofocles poeta tragicus.*

16 Georgius Syncellus 489.10 Dindorf (from Africanus) on Olympiad 88

Εὐπολις καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης κωμικοὶ Σοφοκλῆς τε ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς ἐγνωρίζετο.

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12 Ar. the comic poet, whom Heliodorus of Athens in his *Acropolis* (*FGrHist* 373 F 4) says . . . was born at Naucratis.

ERA

13

(a) (428/7) Eupolis and Ar. were recognized writers of comedies.

(b) (427/6) Eupolis and Ar. were recognised as lyric poets.

14 They say that in the 88th Olympiad (428/7–425/4) lived the comic poet Ar., and Eupolis and Plato.

15 (438/7): Ar. was considered a celebrity and the tragic poet Sophocles.

16 (428/7–425/4): Eupolis and Ar. the comic poets and Sophocles the tragic poet were recognized.

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17 *Chronica Minora* I 266.4 Fr.

*Filosophi autem cognoscebantur temporibus Artaxerxis Sofoclus . . . Euripidus cantocompositor . . . Socratus Athenus et Periclus et Eupolis et Aristofanus architector. hii omnes cognoscebantur. unde et Africanus sub Artaxerxe rege dinumerat filosofos.*

18

(a) Suda π 1708

Πλάτων Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, γεγονὼς τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ Ἀριστοφάνην καὶ Φρύνηχον, Εὐπολῶν, Φερεκράτην.

(b) Suda θ 171

Θεόπομπος . . . Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός . . . ἔστι δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας κατὰ Ἀριστοφάνην.

(c) Suda ν 407

Νιχοχάρης, Φιλωνίδου τοῦ κωμικοῦ, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, σύγχρονος Ἀριστοφάνους.

(d) Suda ν 406

Νικοφῶν, Θήρωνος, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, σύγχρονος Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ κωμικοῦ.

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17 In the time of Artaxerxes were recognised the philosophers Sophocles . . . Euripides the composer of songs . . . Socrates the Athenian, Pericles, Eupolis, and Ar. the playwright. All these were recognized, whence Africanus too numbers the philosophers under King Artaxerxes.

18

(a) Plato: Athenian comic poet, born in the era of Ar. and Phrynichus, Eupolis, Pherecrates.

(b) Theopompus: . . . Athenian comic poet . . . of the Old Comedy in the era of Ar.

(c) Nicochares, son of the comic poet Philonides, Athenian comic poet, contemporary of Ar..

(d) Nicophon, son of Theron, Athenian comic poet, contemporary of Ar. the comic poet.

19

(b) Scholium on Ar. *Frogs* 501

σχεδὸν . . . μειρακίσκος ἤδη ὢν ἤπτετο τῶν ἀγώνων.

20 IG ii<sup>2</sup> 2325.56–60

Φερ[εκράτης

Ἔρμ[ιππος

Ἄρι[στοφάνης

Ευπ[ολις

Κά[νθαρος

Φρύ[νιχος

Ἄμ[ειψίας

Πλά[των

Φιλ[ύλλιος

21 IG ii<sup>2</sup> 3090 = SIG 3.1083

[Γ]νάθις Τιμοκ[ήδ]ο[ς] Ἄναξανδρίδης Τιμα[γ]όρο  
 χορηγόντες κωμῳδοῖς ἐνίκων  
 Ἄριστοφάνης ἐ[δ]ίδασκειν.  
 ἐτέρα νίκη τραγωδοῖς  
 Σοφοκλῆς ἐδίδασκειν.

22 Hypothesis III to Ar. *Peace*

τὸ δὲ δράμα ὑπεκρίνατο Ἀπολλόδωρος ἠνίκα Ἑρμῆς  
 ἦν † λοιοκρότης (suppl. Olson).

## WORKS AND COMPETITIONS

19 He engaged in the competitions while still virtually a boy.

20 *List of victors at the Dionysia, with supplements*

Pherecrates

Herm[ippus]

Ari[stophanes (possibly Aristomenes)]

Eupolis

Cantharus

Phrynichus

Ameipsias

Platon

Phil[yllius (possibly Philonides)]

21 *Choregic dedication for victories in the Rural Dionysia at Eleusis*

Gnathis son of Timocedes, Anaxandrides son of  
 Timagorus,

were victorious as choregi in the comedies:

Ar. was the producer;

a second victory in the tragedies:

Sophocles was the producer..

## ACTORS AND PRODUCERS

22 Apollodorus acted the play, while Hermes was (*text corrupt*).

(a) *Prolegomena On Comedy* X<sup>o</sup> 21 Koster

ὑποκριταὶ Ἀριστοφάνους Καλλίστρατος καὶ Φιλωνίδης, δι' ὧν ἐδίδασκε τὰ δράματα ἑαυτοῦ, διὰ μὲν Φιλωνίδου τὰ δημοτικά, διὰ δὲ Καλλιστράτου τὰ ἰδιωτικά.

(b) Scholium on Ar. *Clouds* 531 a

(παῖς δ' ἑτέρα) δηλονότι ὁ Φιλωνίδης καὶ ὁ Καλλίστρατος οἱ ὕστερον γερόμενοι ὑποκριταὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους.

(c) Scholium on Ar. *Wasps* 1018

(τὰ μὲν οὐ φανερώς) . . . δι' ἑτέρων ποιητῶν λάθρα, ἐπειδὴ διὰ Φιλωνίδου καὶ Καλλιστράτου καθίει τινὰ τῶν δραμάτων.

(d) Tzetzes on Ar. *Clouds* 518

νόμος ἦν Ἀθηναίοις μὴ τεσσαρακονταετῆ τινα γεγονότα μήτε δικηγορεῖν μήτε δημηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ δράματα ὑπαναγινώσκειν ἐς θέατρον. τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς οὗτος εἰργόμενος πρότερον διὰ τὸ μὴ τεσσαρακονταετῆς ἔτι ὑπάρχειν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν κωμωδιῶν δράματα διὰ Φιλωνίδου καὶ Καλλιστράτου τῶν ὕστερον οἰκείων ὑποκριτῶν ἀναγίνωσκεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον.

(a) Callistratus and Philonides were actors for Ar., through whom he staged his own plays, Philonides the political ones, Callistratus the personal ones.

(b) ("another girl") that is, Philonides and Callistratus, who were later to be actors for Ar.

(c) ("not openly at first") . . . secretly through other poets, since he gave some of his plays over to Philonides and Callistratus for production.

(d) The Athenians had a law forbidding anyone under forty years of age to litigate or to address the assembly, but also to be a producer of plays in the theater. Constrained by this law, this comic poet too, before his fortieth year, had his plays performed in the theater by Philonides and Callistratus, who were later to be his own actors.

24 Ar. *Acharnians* 377–82; 502–3

αὐτός τ' ἔμαυτον ὑπὸ Κλέωνος ἄπαθον  
 ἐπίσταμαι διὰ τὴν πέρυσι κωμωδίαν.  
 εἰσελκύσας γάρ μ' εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον  
 380 διέβαλλε καὶ ψευδῆ κατεγλώττιζέ μου  
 κάκυκλοβόρει κάπλυνεν, ὥστ' ὀλίγου πάνυ  
 ἀπωλόμην μολυνοπραγμονούμενος

502 οὐ γάρ με νῦν γε διαβαλεῖ Κλέων ὅτι  
 ξένων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω

25 Ar. *Wasps* 1284–91

εἰσὶ τινες οἳ μ' ἔλεγον ὡς καταδιηλλάγην,  
 1285 ἤνικα Κλέων μ' ὑπετάραπτεν ἐπικείμενος  
 καί με κακίστας ἔκνισε, κἄθ', ὅτ' ἀπεδειρόμην,  
 οἱ ἄκτος ἐγέλων μέγα κεκραγότα θεώμενοι,  
 οὐδέν ἄρ' ἐμοῦ μέλον, ὅσον δὲ μόνον εἰδέναι  
 σκωμμάτιον εἶ ποτέ τι θλιβόμενος ἐκβαλῶ.  
 1290 ταῦτα κατιδῶν ὑπὸ τι μικρὸν ἐπιθήκισα·  
 εἶτα νῦν ἐξῆπάτησεν ἢ χάραξ τὴν ἄμπελον

## (a) Scholium on 1284e

ἄδηλον, πότερον τῆς Καλλιστράτου εἰς τὴν βουλήν  
 εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ νῦν μιμνήσκειται, ὅτι αὐτὸν Κλέων  
 εἰσήγαγεν, ἢ ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ γενομένης Ἀριστοφάνους,  
 ἢ μὴ εἰσαγωγῆς ἀλλὰ ἀπειλῆς τινος, ὅπερ καὶ μάλλον  
 ἐμφαίνεται.

## FEUD WITH CLEON

24 (*Dicaeopolis*)

And I know about myself, what I suffered at Cleon's  
 hands on account of last year's comedy.  
 He dragged me into the council chamber and started  
 slandering me and working me over with his lying  
 tongue  
 and roaring like the Cycloborus, drowning me  
 in filth, so that I very nearly perished  
 in a mephitic miasma of misadventure.

For Cleon will not be slandering me this time,  
 saying that I abuse the city in front of foreigners

25 (*Chorus*)

There are some who said that I settled out of court  
 when Cleon attacked me and shook me up a bit  
 and stung me with abuse. And then, as I was being  
 flayed,  
 the spectators had a good laugh watching him bellow  
 and not caring about me, of course, except to see  
 if I would let go some kind of joke as I was squeezed.  
 I saw that and pulled a little monkey-business.  
 And then today the stake played the vine for a fool.

(a) It is unclear whether he refers even now to the sum-  
 moning of Callistratus before the Council, because Cleon  
 summoned him, or to another summoning of Ar. by Cleon,  
 or not to a summoning but some other kind of intimidat-  
 ion, which is the likelier implication.



**(b)** Scholium on 1285

ἐπέκειτο γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ Κλέων, ὅτι ἐκωμωδεῖτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ·  
ἄδηλον δέ, εἰ μετὰ τὸ διδάξαι τοὺς Ἴππέας λέγει.

**26** Scholium on Aelius Aristides *Or.* 3.8

κατηγορήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλέωνος Ἀριστοφάνους  
ὑβρεως, ἐτέθη νόμος μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι κωμωδεῖν ὄνο-  
μαστί.

**27** Plato *Apology* 18b-d, 19bc

ἐμοῦ γὰρ πολλοὶ κατήγοροι πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ πάλοι  
πολλὰ ἤδη ἔτη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς λέγοντες, οὓς ἐγὼ  
μᾶλλον φοβούμαι ἢ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἄνυτον, καίπερ ὄντας  
καὶ τούτους δεινούς. ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι δεινότεροι, ὧ ἄνδρες,  
οἱ ὑμῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκ παίδων παραλαμβάνοντες  
ἐπειθόν τε καὶ κατηγοροῦν ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον οὐδὲν ἀληθές,  
ὡς ἔστιν τις Σωκράτης σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, τά τε μετέωρα  
φροντιστῆς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς πάντα ἀνεζητηκῶς καὶ τὸν  
ἦττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν. οὗτοι, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
ταύτην τὴν φήμην κατασκευάσαντες, οἱ δεινοὶ εἰσὶν  
μου κατήγοροι· οἱ γὰρ ἀκούοντες ἠγοῦνται τοὺς ταῦτα  
ζητοῦντας οὐδὲ θεοὺς νομίζειν. ἔπειτὰ εἰσιν οὗτοι οἱ  
κατήγοροι πολλοὶ καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ἤδη κατηγορη-  
κότες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ λέγοντες πρὸς  
ὑμᾶς ἐν ἧ ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιστεύσατε, παῖδες ὄντες ἔνιοι  
ὑμῶν καὶ μειράκια, ἀτεχνῶς ἐρήμην κατηγοροῦντες

**(b)** Because Cleon had attacked him, having been ridi-  
culed by him; but it is unclear whether he means after the  
production of *Knights*.

**26** After Cleon had accused Ar. of hybris, a law was  
passed forbidding further comic ridicule of anyone by  
name.

## SOCRATES

**27** Many people have been accusing me in your hearing  
for many years now and without a word of truth; I am more  
afraid of them than I am of Anytus' entourage, formidable  
as they are. But the others are more formidable still, gen-  
tlemen, since they took hold of so many of you when you  
were but children and tried to convince you of their un-  
true accusations against me, saying, There is a certain Soc-  
rates, a clever man, who has theories about what's up in the  
air and who investigates what's down under the ground  
and who makes the weaker argument the stronger. These  
people, gentlemen of Athens, the ones who disseminate  
these rumors, are my dangerous accusers, since their lis-  
teners suppose that people who investigate these subjects  
do not give the gods their due. Besides, these accusers are  
numerous and they have been accusing me for a long time,  
and what is more, they spoke to you at your most impres-  
sionable age, when you were children or adolescents, so  
that they simply won their case by default, since there was

ἀπολογουμένου οὐδενός. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀλογώτατον, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα οἶδόν τε αὐτῶν εἶδέναι καὶ εἰπεῖν, πλὴν εἴ τις κωμωδοποιὸς τυγχάνει ὢν. ὅσοι δὲ φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ χρώμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀνέπειθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι ἄλλους πείθοντες, οὗτοι πάντες ἀπορώτατοί εἰσιν . . . ὥσπερ οὖν κατηγορῶν τὴν ἀνωμοσίαν δεῖ ἀναγνῶναι αὐτῶν. Σωκράτης ἀδικεῖ καὶ περιεργάζεται ζητῶν τὰ τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ οὐράνια καὶ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν, καὶ ἄλλους τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα διδάσκων. τοιαύτη τις τε ἀεροβατεῖν ἐστίν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐωρᾶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδίᾳ, Σωκράτη τινα ἐκεῖ περιφερόμενον, φάσκοντά τε ἀεροβατεῖν καὶ ἄλλην πολλὴν φλυαρίαν φλυαροῦντα, ὧν ἐγὼ οὐδὲν οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρὸν πέρι ἐπαίω.

### 28 Hypothesis A1 to Ar. *Clouds*

τὸ δράμα τὸ τῶν Νεφέλων κατὰ Σωκράτους γέγραπται τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἐπίτηδες ὡς κακοδιδασκαλοῦντος τοὺς νέους Ἀθήνησι τῶν κωμικῶν πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἐχόντων τινα ἀντιλογίαν οὐχ, ὡς τινες, δι' Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα, ὅτι προὔκρινεν αὐτὸν Ἀριστοφάνους.

### 29 Scholium on Ar. *Clouds* 96

ταῦτα πρότερος Κρατῖνος ἐν Πανόπταις δράματι περὶ Ἴππωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου κωμωδιῶν αὐτὸν λέγει· ἀφ' οὗ στοχαζόμενοί τινές φασι, ὅτι μηδεμίᾳς ἔχθρας

no one to defend me. And what is most unreasonable about it all, I have no way of even knowing and telling you their names, unless one of them happens to be a comic poet. All these people, who have tried to turn you against me from envy and by slander, including some who merely passed on what others told them, all these are most difficult to deal with . . . So I must read out what amounts to their deposition, as if they were my legal accusers: "Socrates is a wrongdoer and a meddler for investigating what's under the ground and in the sky and for making the weaker argument the stronger and for teaching others to do the very same things." That's the gist of it. You have seen it for yourselves in Ar.'s comedy, where some kind of Socrates is whirled around, declaring that he treads the air and talking all sorts of other nonsense about matters of which I have not the slightest knowledge.

28 The play *Clouds* is written against Socrates the philosopher, fittingly, inasmuch as he instructed the youth of Athens basely, the comic poets bringing a kind of indictment against the philosophers; not, as some say, because of Archelaus the king of Macedon, because he preferred him to Ar.

29 Cratinus in his play *Panoptai* had previously made this joke against the philosopher Hippon, whence some speculate that Ar. came to compose *Clouds* not out of any en-

χάρην Ἀριστοφάνης ἤκεν ἐπὶ τῆν τῶν Νεφελῶν ποίη-  
σιν, ὅς γε μήτε ἴδιον μήτε ἀρμόττον ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρὸς  
ἐν ἔγκλημα ἦλθε Σωκράτους. δύο γὰρ κατ' αὐτοῦ  
ταῦτα προθεῖς ἐγκλήματα, τὸ περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς  
ἔστι πνιγεύς, καὶ ὡς ἱκανός ἐστι τὸν ἥττω λόγον  
διδάσκειν καὶ τὸν κρείττονα, τὸ μὲν κοινὸν τῶν φιλο-  
σόφων ἀπάντων ἐπήγαγεν ἔγκλημα, φαίνεται δὲ καὶ  
ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ἴππων κωμωδηθῆναι φθάσας, τὸ δὲ τῶν  
ἐγκλημάτων οὐδὲ τὸ σύνολον ἐπικοινωνεῖ φιλοσοφίαν·  
οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπαγγέλλονται οἱ φιλόσοφοι, δεινοὺς  
ποιήσκειν λέγειν, ἴδιον δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτο μᾶλλον ῥητορι-  
κῆς. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τὸν φιλόσοφον καθαρεύειν.

### 30 Scholium on Ar. *Clouds* 627

μὰ τὴν Ἀναπνοήν· ἐντεῦθεν φασι τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην  
χαριζόμενον τοῖς περὶ Ἄνυτον καὶ Μέλητον γεγρα-  
φέναι τὸ δράμα διαβάλλοντα εἰς ἀθεότητα τὸν Σω-  
κράτην. ὅτι δὲ πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις λείπεται, εἵπομεν.

### 31 Hypothesis A2 to Ar. *Clouds*

φασὶ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην γράψαι τὰς Νεφέλας ἀναγκα-  
σθέντα ὑπὸ Ἄνυτου καὶ Μελήτου, ἵνα προσδιασκέ-  
ψωνται, ποῖοί τις εἶεν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες κατὰ  
Σωκράτους. ἠδλαβοῦντο γάρ, ὅτι πολλοὺς εἶχεν ἐρα-  
στάς, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην, οἳ καὶ ἐπὶ  
τοῦ δράματος τούτου μηδὲ νικῆσαι ἐποίησαν τὸν ποι-  
ητήν.

mity, since he came at Socrates with a charge neither indi-  
vidual nor generic nor conversely even particular. For in  
proposing against him these charges—the one about the  
sky being a baking cover and the one about being ready to  
teach the weaker argument and the stronger—he has on  
the one hand brought a charge commonly made against all  
philosophers, and Hippon seems in this particular to have  
been ridiculed first, and on the other hand a charge that  
has nothing to do with philosophy, since philosophers do  
not claim to make powerful speakers, such a claim belong-  
ing more particularly to the sphere of rhetoric. On both  
counts the philosopher is cleared.

30 (“By Respiration”) whence they say that Ar. was oblig-  
ing the associates of Anytus and Meletus when he wrote  
the play to slander Socrates for atheism. We have already  
said that there is a large gap in dates.

31 They say that Ar. was compelled by Anytus and Me-  
letus to write *Clouds*, so that they could spy out in advance  
what sort of Athenians were listening to Socrates. They  
were cautious because he had many lovers, especially the  
associates of Alcibiades, who in the case of this play did not  
let the poet win.

32 Aelian, *Miscellaneous Stories* 2.13

ἐπετίθειτο τῷ Σωκράτει καὶ ἐπεβούλευον οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἄνυτον ὧν χάριν καὶ δι' ἧς αἰτίας λέλεκται πάλαι. ὑφορώμενοι δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ δεδιότες ὅπως ποτὲ ἔξουσι πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς (πολὴν γὰρ ἦν τὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους ὄνομα διὰ τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἤλεγχεν οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ὄντας οὐδὲ τι σπουδαῖον ἢ εἰδότας ἢ λέγοντας), ἐκ τούτων οὖν ἐβουλήθησαν πείραν καθεῖναι ὑπὲρ τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ διαβολῆς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄντικρυς ἀπενέγκασθαι γραφὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ παραχρήμα οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζον δι' ἃ προείπον καὶ δι' ἐκείνα δέ, μή ποτε ἄρα ἀγριάναντες οἱ φίλοι οἱ τοῦ Σωκράτους ἐξάψωσι κατ' αὐτῶν τοὺς δικαστὰς, εἰτά τι πάλωσι κακὸν ἀνήκεστον, ἅτε συκοφαντοῦντες ἄνδρα οὐ μόνον οὐδενὸς αἰτιον κακοῦ τῇ πόλει, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ κόσμον ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὄντα. τί οὖν ἐπινοοῦσιν; Ἀριστοφάνην τὸ τῆς κωμωδίας ποιητὴν, βωμολόχον ἄνδρα καὶ γελοῖον ὄντα καὶ εἶναι σπεύδοντα, ἀναπέιθουσι κωμωδῆσαι τὸν Σωκράτη, ταῦτα δὴπου τὰ περιφερόμενα, ὡς ἦν ἀδολέσχης, λέγων τε αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν ἥττω λόγον ἀπέφαινε κρεῖττονα, καὶ εἰσήγε ξένους δαίμονας καὶ οὐκ ἦδει θεοὺς οὐδ' ἐτίμα, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς προσιόντας αὐτῷ ἐδίδασκέ τε καὶ εἰδέναι ἀνέπειθεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης λαβόμενος ὑποθέσεως εὖ μάλα ἀνδρικής, ὑποσπείρας γέλωτα καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν μέτρων αἰμύλον καὶ τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων λαβῶν ὑπόθεσιν (οὐ γὰρ οἱ κατὰ Κλέωνος ἦν τὸ

32 Anytus' associates attacked and plotted against Socrates for the purposes and reasons already mentioned. But they were wary of the Athenians and worried about how they would react to their accusation of Socrates, since he had substantial renown for, among other accomplishments, having exposed the sophists as being unwholesome and knowing or saying nothing serious. So they decided to test the effectiveness of a slander against him. They thought it best not to bring a direct charge against him at once, for the reasons I have already given and also because Socrates' friends might inflame the jurors against them, so that they would suffer the irreparable injury of having denounced a man who was not only innocent of any harm to the city but who was on the contrary an ornament to Athens. So what was their idea? They persuaded Ar. the comic poet, a clownish man both ridiculous and determined to be so, to feature Socrates in a comedy according to the gossip of the day: that he was an idle chatterer, turned the weaker argument into the stronger, introduced strange deities, and neither recognized nor honored the gods, and that he taught all this to those who approached him and persuaded them to believe it. Ar. came up with a very energetic plot, sowed it with jokes and catchy poetry, and took as his subject the best of the Greeks, for the play was not against Cleon and did not ridicule the Spartans or the

δρᾶμα, οὐδὲ ἐκωμῶδει Λακεδαιμονίους ἢ Θηβαίους ἢ Περικλέα αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα τοῖς τε ἄλλοις φίλον καὶ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι), ἅτε οὖν ἄηθες πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄραμα παράδοξον ἐν σκηνῇ καὶ κωμωδία Σωκράτης, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξέπληξεν ἢ κωμωδία τῷ ἀδοκῆ-  
 τῷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἶτα καὶ φύσει φθονεροὺς ὄντας καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις βασκαίνειν προσηρημένους, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ πλεον τοῖς ἐδοκιμοῦσιν ἢ ἐν λόγοις ἀγαθοῖς ἢ ἐν βίον σεμνότητι, ἄκουσμα ἔδοξεν ἡδιστον αἶδε αἰ Νεφέλαι καὶ ἐκρότουν τὸν ποιητὴν ὡς οὐποτε ἄλλοτε καὶ ἐβῶν νικᾶν καὶ προσέταπτον τοῖς κριταῖς ἄνωθεν Ἀριστοφάνην ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γράφειν. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ δράματος τοιαῦτα. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης σπάνιον μὲν ἐφοῖτα τοῖς θεάτροις, εἴ ποτε δὲ Εὐριπίδης ὁ τῆς τραγωδίας ποιη-  
 τῆς ἠγωνίζετο καινοῖς τραγωδοῖς, τότε γε ἀφικνεῖτο. καὶ Πειραιοὶ δὲ ἀγωνιζομένου τοῦ Εὐριπίδου καὶ ἐκεῖ κατῆν. ἔχαιρε γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ δηλονότι διὰ τε τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέτροις ἀρετὴν. ἤδη δὲ ποτε αὐτὸν ἐρεσχελῶν Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου καὶ Κριτίας ὁ Καλλαίσχρον καὶ κωμωδῶν ἀκούσαι παρελθόντα εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐξεβιάσαντο. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἠρέσκετο, ἀλλὰ δεινῶς κατεφρόνει, ἅτε ἀνὴρ σῶφρων καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις σοφός, ἀνδρῶν κερτόμων καὶ ὑβριστῶν καὶ ὑγιᾶς λεγόντων οὐδὲν ἄπερ ἐλύπει δεινῶς αὐτούς. καὶ ταῦτα οὖν τῆς κωμω-  
 δίας ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ σπέρματα, ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ἃ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνύτου καὶ Μελήγτου ὠμολόγηται. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ χρημα-

Thebans or Pericles himself, but rather a man beloved by the gods, very especially by Apollo. And so the theme was fresh and the spectacle of Socrates on stage and in a comedy surprising, so that the comedy first astonished the Athenians with its novelty, and then—because the Athenians were naturally envious and predisposed to disparage the best people, not only those in government or in office but also, and especially, those of good repute for nobility of speech or for dignified living, this play *Clouds* seemed to them a most pleasant thing to hear, and they gave the poet unprecedented applause, and bellowed that he was the winner, and prevailed on the judges to write the name of Ar. and no one else. Now Socrates very rarely went to the theaters, unless the tragic poet Euripides was competing with a new tragedy; then he would go. Even when Euripides was competing at Piræus he would go there, for he enjoyed the man for his wisdom and for his excellence in poetry. Once when Alcibiades son of Clinias and Critias son of Callaeschrus were teasing him, they tried to make him go to the theater to hear the comic poets. But he would not oblige them and was contemptuous, a man temperate and just and good and on top of that wise, listening to those who were mocking, outrageous and had nothing wholesome to say, and this grieved them deeply. And these were the seeds of the comedy about him, not only what is acknowledged as the work of Anytus and Meletus. And it is

τίσασθαι ὑπὲρ τούτων Ἀριστοφάνην. καὶ γὰρ βουλομένων, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκ παντὸς συκοφαντῆσαι τὸν Σωκράτη σπενδόντων ἐκείνων, καὶ αὐτὸν πένητα ἅμα καὶ κατάρατον ὄντα, τί παράδοξον ἦν ἀργύριον λαβεῖν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ὑγιεῖ; καὶ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων αὐτὸς οἶδεν, εὐδοκίμει δ' οὖν αὐτῷ τὸ δρᾶμα, καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κρατίνου τοῦτο συνέβη εἶ ποτε ἄλλοτε καὶ τότε τῷ θεάτρῳ, νοσήσαι τὰς φρένας. καὶ ἅτε ὄντων Διονυσίων πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων σπουδῇ τῆς θεᾶς ἀφίκετο. περιφερομένου τοίνυν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ Σωκράτους καὶ ὀνομαζομένου πολλακίς, οὐκ ἂν δὲ θαυμάσαιμι εἰ καὶ βλεπομένου ἐν τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς (δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι καὶ οἱ σκευοποιοὶ ἔπλασαν αὐτὸν ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐξεικάσαντες), ἀλλ' οἷ γε ξένοι (τὸν γὰρ κωμωδοῦμενον ἠγνόουν) θροῦς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπανίστατο, καὶ ἐζήτουν ὅστις ποτὲ οὗτος ὁ Σωκράτης ἐστίν. ὅπερ οὖν ἐκείνος αἰσθόμενος (καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ παρῆν οὐκ ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἐκ τύχης, εἰδὼς δὲ ὅτι κωμωδοῦσιν αὐτόν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν καλῷ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐκάθητο), ἵνα οὖν λύσῃ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἀπορίαν, ἐξαναστὰς παρ' ὅλον τὸ δρᾶμα ἀγωνιζομένων τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἐστῶς ἐβλέπετο. τοσοῦτον ἄρα περιῆν τῷ Σωκράτει τοῦ κωμωδίας καὶ Ἀθηναίων καταφρονεῖν.

### 33 Diogenes Laertius 2.38

(Ἄνυτος) οὐ φέρων τὸν ὑπὸ Σωκράτους χλευασμὸν πρῶτον μὲν ἐπήλειψεν αὐτῷ τοὺς περὶ Ἀριστοφάνην,

likely that Ar. profited materially on their behalf. When they were ready, nay eager thoroughly to slander Socrates, is it surprising that he, being a poor and wretched man, would take money for no wholesome purpose? And he himself was aware of this, and the play gained high esteem by it, and that phrase by Cratinus (fr. 395) suits nowhere better than the theater of that era: "sick in the head." And because it was the Dionysia, a great number of Greeks were eager to see the show. Well, Socrates being swung about on stage, and his name being frequently mentioned, and I would not be surprised if he was also visually recognized among the actors (for it is obvious that the mask makers made as close a likeness of him as they could), the foreigners, being ignorant of the man being ridiculed, began to talk among themselves and to ask who in the world this Socrates was. When he heard this, for he was there not accidentally but because he knew that they were ridiculing him, and so he was sitting in a good seat, in order to clear up the foreigners' confusion he stood up and remained standing in full view throughout the actor's performance of the play. Such was the degree of his contempt for comedy and for the Athenians.

33 (Anytus) intolerant of Socrates' mockery, first incited Ar.'s associates against him, then persuaded Meletus to

ἔπειτα καὶ Μέλητον συνέπεισεν ἀπενέγκασθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ γραφὴν ἀσεβείας καὶ τῶν νέων διαφθορᾶς.

**34** Maximus of Tyre 3.3, 12.8, 18.6

ἐπαναστάντων αὐτῷ φθόνῳ καὶ ἀπεχθείᾳ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ ὀργῇ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ θεάτρου Ἀριστοφάνους, ἐκ δὲ τῶν σοφιστῶν Ἀνύτου, ἐκ δὲ τῶν συκοφάντων Μελήτου, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων Λύκωνος, καὶ τοῦ μὲν κωμωδοῦντος, τοῦ δὲ γραφομένου, τοῦ δὲ εἰσάγοντος, τοῦ δὲ λέγοντος, τῶν δὲ δικαζόντων, ἐχαλέπαιεν πρῶτα μὲν τῷ Ἀριστοφάνει, καὶ καταστὰς ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἀντεκωμῶδει τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν Διονυσίοις, ἔτι μεθύοντων δικαστῶν . . . 12.8 ὁ Σωκράτης οὐκ Ἀριστοφάνει ὠργίζετο, οὐ Μελήτῳ ἐχαλέπαιεν, οὐκ Ἄνυτον ἐτιμωρεῖτο κτλ. 18.6 τῶν δὲ ἐρωτικῶν τῶν Σωκράτους ἀπέσχοντο καὶ οἱ δεινοὶ οὗτοι συκοφάνται. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἀριστοφάνης τὰ Σωκράτους ἐν Διονυσίοις κωμωδῶν, ὁ δεινότατος τῶν κατηγορῶν, ἐλοιδορήσατο τῷ ἔρωτι τοῦ Σωκράτους· καίτοι πένητα εἰπῶν, καὶ ἀδολέσχην, καὶ σοφιστήν, καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ κακῶς ἐρῶντα. οὐ γὰρ ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὔτε τοῖς συκοφάνταις, οὔτε τοῖς κωμωδοῖς ἐπιλήψιμον.

**35** Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists* 6.2.4

ὅτε ἐπὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ μεγάλου Σωκράτους ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων . . . οὐκ ἂν τις ἐτόλμησε κατηγορίαν καὶ γραφήν, ὃν γε ᾤοντο . . . περιπατοῦν ἄγαλμα σοφίας

bring against him a charge of impiety and corruption of the young.

**34** 3.3: Standing against (Socrates), out of envy, hatred, and anger at what is fine, were Ar. from the theater, Anytus from the sophists, Meletus from the malicious accusers, and Lycon from the politicians; of the comic poet, the indicter, the accuser, the prosecutor, and the judges, Socrates was irritated principally with Ar., and standing among the Athenians at the Dionysia he returned the man's ridicule, while the dicasts were still drunk. 12.8: Socrates was not angry with Ar. nor irritated with Meletus nor after revenge on Anytus. 18.6: Even these formidable accusers (Anytus and Meletus) kept away from Socrates' loves, nor did Ar., who ridiculed Socrates in a comedy at the Dionysia and was the most formidable of his accusers, revile Socrates' sexual life, though he called him poor and a chatterbox and a sophist and everything other than a poor lover. For it would seem that this was not a reprehensible matter in the eyes either of accusers or comic poets.

**35** None of the Athenians would have dared accuse or indict the great and venerable Socrates, whom they considered to be a walking image of wisdom, had it not been for

τυγχάνειν, εἰ μὴ <ῆν> μέθη καὶ παραφροσύνη καὶ τὸ τῶν Διονυσίων τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ παννυχίδος ἀνειμένον, ὑπὸ γέλωτος καὶ ὀλιγωρίας καὶ τῶν εὐκόλων καὶ σφαλερῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐξευρημένον, πρῶτος Ἀριστοφάνης ἐπὶ διεφθαρμέναις ψυχαῖς τὸν γέλωτα ἐπεισαγαγὼν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς κινήσας ὑπορχήματα τό τε θέατρον ἀνέπεισεν, ἐπὶ τοσαύτῃ σοφίᾳ ψυλλῶν πηδηήματα καταμωκώμενος καὶ νεφελῶν διαγράφων εἶδη καὶ σχήματα καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα κωμωδία ληρεῖν εἴωθεν εἰς γέλωτος κίνησιν, ὡς δὲ εἶδον ἐγκεκλικὸς πρὸς τὴν ἡδονὴν τὸ θέατρον, κατηγορίας ἤψαντό τινας, καὶ τὴν ἀσεβῆ γραφὴν εἰς ἐκείνον ἐτόλμησαν, καὶ δῆμος ὅλος ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἡτύχει φόνωφ.

**36** Scholium on Juvenal 2.9

*Aristophanes lacerat Socratem et discipulos ipsius, cum sit et ipse peior plerisque.*

**37** Seneca, *On the Good Life* 27.2

*praebui ego aliquando Aristophani materiam iocorum, tota illa comicorum poetarum manus in me venenatos sales suos effudit: illustra est virtus mea per ea ipsa per quae petebatur.*

drunkenness, derangement, and the license characteristic of the Dionysiac festival and night-long vigil, with their all-too-human laughter, negligence, high spirits, and unstable passions. Ar. was the first to change the attitude of theatergoers by introducing laughter into their corrupted souls and putting pantomimes onstage, attacking such great wisdom by making jokes about gnats jumping, describing the shapes and figures of clouds, and such other nonsense as comedy typically uses to raise a laugh. And when they saw the theatergoers inclined to enjoy all this, certain men were emboldened to bring the unholy charge against him, and the whole people had the misfortune to be implicated in his murder.

**36** Ar. excoriated Socrates and his disciples, even though he was himself in many ways worse.

**37** I (Socrates) once provided Ar. with material for jokes; that whole band of comic poets poured on me the sauce of their poisoned wit: my virtue was illuminated by those very qualities through which it was attacked.



## 38 (a) Musonius 54.12

Σωκράτης . . . δημοσίᾳ λαιδορηθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀριστοφάνους, οὐχ ὅπως ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐντυχῶν ἠξίου αὐτὸν εἰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ.

## (b) Diogenes Laertius 2.36

ἔλεγε δὲ τοῖς κωμικοῖς δεῖν ἐπίτηδες ἑαυτὸν διδόναι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ τι τῶν προσόντων λέξειαν, διορθώσονται· εἰ δ' οὐ, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

## 39 Epictetus 4.11.20

ἀλλὰ λέγει Ἀριστοφάνης· τοὺς ὠχριῶντας, τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους λέγω. λέγει γὰρ καὶ ἀεροβατεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκ τῆς παλαιστρας κλέπτει τὰ ἱμάτια. ἐπεὶ τοι πάντες οἱ γεγραφότες περὶ Σωκράτους πάντα τὰναντία αὐτῷ προσμαρτυροῦσιν, ὅτι ἡδὺς οὐ μόνον ἀκοῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἦν.

40 [Plutarch], *The Education of Children* 14

Ἀριστοφάνους δέ, ὅτε τὰς Νεφέλας ἐξέφερε, παντοίως πάσαν ὕβριν αὐτοῦ κατασκεδανύντος, καὶ τινος τῶν παρόντων Καίτα τοιαῦτ' ἀνακωμωδοῦντος οὐκ ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰπόντος Ὡ Σώκρατες; Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγ' ἔφησεν Ὡς γὰρ ἐν συμποσίῳ μεγάλῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ σκώπτομαι.

## 38

(a) Socrates . . . publicly ridiculed by Ar., not only did not become angry but on meeting him asked whether he wanted to use him again in a similar way.

(b) (Socrates) said that he ought to furnish himself to the comic poets deliberately, "For if they mention any of my faults they'll be amended; if not, it's nothing to me."

39 Ar. says, "I mean the pale-faces, the unshod;" he also says that he "treads the air" and steals cloaks from the wrestling-ground. Now everyone who has written about Socrates gives entirely different testimony, that he was not only good to listen to but good to look at as well.

40 When Ar. had produced *Clouds* and had poured every kind of abuse on Socrates, someone asked, "Socrates, aren't you angry at a man who ridicules you this way?" "Good heavens no," Socrates replied, "for I'm teased in the theater as if it were a big drinking party."

41 Lucian, *The Fisherman* 25

φύσει γάρ τι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὁ πολὺς λεώς, χαίρουσι τοῖς ἀποσκώπτουσι καὶ λοιδορουμένοις, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν τὰ σεμνότατα εἶναι δοκοῦντα διασύρηται, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ πάλαι ἔχαιρον Ἀριστοφάνει καὶ Εὐπόλιδι Σωκράτη τουτονὶ ἐπὶ χλεύῃ παράγουσι ἐπὶ τὴν σκη- νὴν καὶ κωμωδοῦσιν ἀλλοκότους τινὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ κωμωδίας. καίτοι ἐκείνοι μὲν καθ' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐτόλ- μων τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἐν Διονύσου ἐφειμένον αὐτὸ ἔδρων, καὶ τὸ σκῶμμα ἐδόκει μέρος τι τῆς ἑορτῆς, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως ἔχαιρε φιλόγελως τις ὦν.

42 Libanius, *Declamations* 1.68

καὶ Σωκράτην μὲν ἐξῆν Ἀριστοφάνει κωμωδεῖν καὶ πᾶς ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνος ἔξει τὰ σκῶμματα, γέγρα- πται γάρ, καὶ ὁ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐξαλείψων οὐκ ἔσται.

43 Isidore of Pelusium, *Letters* 5.331

σωφρονέστατος καὶ σοφώτατος ἦν ὁ Σωκράτης. Πλά- των γὰρ καὶ Αἰσχίνης καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Εὐριπίδης τοῦτο δισχυρίσαντο Ἀριστοφάνει γὰρ οὐ προσ- εκτέον, ὡς οὐδὲν οὕτω καλῶς εἰδότες ὡς τὸ κακῶς εἰπεῖν, καὶ κωμωδήσαντι τὸν διδάσκαλον, ἴσως περὶ φιλοσοφίας αὐτῷ παραινέσαντα.

41 Most people are like that: they enjoy hearing things mocked and reviled, especially when the matters being debunked are those acknowledged to be the most important, just as long ago they doubtless enjoyed it when Ar. and Eupolis put Socrates here on stage for mockery and invented all sorts of comic stories about him. Yet they at least dared to treat only one (philosopher) this way, and then only at the Dionysia, when that sort of thing is allowed, mockery being a recognized part of the festival and one perhaps pleasing to the God, since he has a sense of humor.

42 Ar. was able to ridicule Socrates, and all subsequent time will have his mockeries, for they are written down, and there will be none to erase what is written.

43 Socrates was the most temperate and the most wise, as Plato, Aeschines, Xenophon, and Euripides affirmed. One need not heed Ar., who knew nothing so well as how to criticize and who ridiculed the teacher who perhaps had advised him about philosophy.

44 Choricus, *Declamations* 1.82

Σωκράτη . . . ἐκ τῶν ἱστοριῶν παρειλήφαμεν κωμικῆς  
ἀνεχόμενον καὶ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους ὑπερορῶντα  
σκωμμάτων.

45 Ar. *Clouds* 553–54 (parabasis)

Εὐπολις μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρῶτιστον  
περείλκυσεν  
ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππέας κακὸς κακῶς

Scholium on 554a

Εὐπολις ἐν τοῖς Βάπταις τούναντίον φησὶν, ὅτι συν-  
εποίησεν Ἀριστοφάνει τοὺς Ἰππέας. λέγει δὲ τὴν  
τελευταίαν παράβασιν. φησὶ δὲ

κάκεινος (-ους Hermann: -ω Kaibel) τοὺς  
Ἰππέας  
συνεποίησα τῷ φαλακρῷ κάδωρησάμην

46 Ar. *Peace* 767–74

καὶ τοῖς φαλακροῖσι παραινούμεν  
ξυσπυδάζειν περὶ τῆς νίκης.  
πᾶς γάρ τις ἐρεῖ νικῶντος ἐμοῦ  
κάπῃ τραπέζῃ καὶ ξυμποσίοις·  
φερε τῷ φαλακρῷ, δὸς τῷ φαθλακρῷ  
τῶν τρωγαλίων, καὶ μᾶφαίρει

44 We gather from the histories that Socrates put up with  
comic criticism and overlooked Ar.'s mockeries.

## EUPOLIS AND PLAGIARISM

## 45

First of all Eupolis dragged his *Maricas* onto the  
stage,  
a bad poet's bad transmogrification of my *Knights*

Eupolis in *Baptae* claims the opposite, that he helped Ar.  
to compose *Knights*, referring to the last parabasis. He says  
(fr. 89), "I helped compose *Knights* for the bald guy and  
made him a present of it."

## BALDNESS

## 46

And we advise all bald men  
to support my zeal to win;  
for if I win you'll hear it said  
at the table and over drinks,  
"Offer the baldy, give the baldy  
some of the dessert; you mustn't deny

TESTIMONIA

γενναιοτάτου τῶν ποιητῶν  
ἀνδρὸς τὸ μέτωπον ἔχοντος.

Scholia on (a) 767

τοῦτο εἰς ἑαυτὸν φαλακρὸς γὰρ ἦν, (b) 774b διὰ τὴν  
φαλακρότητα.

47 Scholium on Ar. *Knights* 550b

φαιδρὸς λάμπουσι μετώπῳ ἰλαρὸς τὸ μέτωπον. ἢ διὰ  
τὸ φαλακρὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην.

48 Scholium on Ar. *Clouds* 545b

οὐ κομῶ· οἶον οὐ σεμνύνομαι. χαριέντως δὲ λέγει, ἐπεὶ  
φαλακρὸς ἦν.

49 Plutarch, *Convivial Questions* 634D

τῶν κωμικῶν ἔνιοι τὴν πικρίαν ἀφαιρεῖν δοκοῦσι τῷ  
σκώπτειν ἑαυτούς, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης εἰς τὴν φαλακρό-  
τητα.

50 Suda μ 1011

Μητροφάνης, ἔκγονος Λαχάρου. ὦν δὲ ἐν παισὶν ἔτι  
νήπιος ἀνεφθέξατο βοῶν· ἐγὼ εἰμι, ἔφη, Ἀριστο-  
φάνης ὁ φαλακρός, οὐπω τι τῶν τοιούτων ἀκηκόω.  
ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀκούσαντες ἀνέκρινον ὅ τι εἶποι, μηδὲν  
εἰδέναι τῶν εἰρημένων δισχυρίζετο.

TESTIMONIA

a man with the same forehead  
as the noblest of poets."

(a) Of himself, for he was bald. (b) Because of his bald-  
ness.

47 "Radiant with gleaming forehead": with a happy face,  
or because Ar. was bald.

48 "I don't act like a bigwig": meaning to be proud, spo-  
ken wittily, since he was bald.

49 Some of the comic poets seem to remove the bitter-  
ness by poking fun at themselves, as Ar. with his baldness.

50 Metrophanes, son of Lacharus. When still a very small  
child he cried out, "I am Ar. the bald," never having heard  
anything of that. When those present asked him about  
what he had said, he replied that he knew nothing about it.

51 Cf. T 5.

52 Plato, *Symposium* 177e

Ἀριστοφάνης, ᾧ περὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἀφροδίτην πᾶσα ἡ διατριβή . . . 176b τῶν χθῆς βεβαπτισμένων . . . 185c-e (hiccups) . . . 189a γελωτοποιεῖς μέλλων λέγειν . . . 189b φοβοῦμαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι, οὐ τι μὴ γελοῖα εἶπω, τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἂν κέρδος εἴη καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας μούσης ἐπιχώριον, ἀλλὰ μὴ καταγέλαστα . . . 189c-193d (Eros) . . . 213c (Alcibiades) οὐ παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει οὐδὲ εἴ τις ἄλλος γελοῖός ἐστι τε καὶ βούλεται, ἀλλὰ διεμηχανήσω ὅπως παρὰ τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν ἔνδον κατακείσῃ . . . 223c-d Ἀγάθωνα καὶ Ἀριστοφάνη καὶ Σωκράτη ἔτι μόνους ἐγρηγορέναι καὶ πίνειν ἐκ φιάλης μεγάλης ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ . . . προσαναγκάζειν τὸν Σωκράτη ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι κωμωδίαν καὶ τραγωδίαν ἐπίστασθαι ποιεῖν, καὶ τὸν τέχνην τραγωδοποιῶν ὄντα καὶ κωμωδοποιῶν εἶναι. ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγκαζομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἐπομένους νυστάζειν, καὶ πρότερον μὲν καταδαρθεῖν τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη, ἥδη δὲ ἡμέρας γιγνομένης τὸν Ἀγάθωνα.

51 Cf. T 5 above.

## CRITICAL JUDGMENTS

52 (*Socrates speaks*) Ar., whose whole life centers around Dionysus and Aphrodite . . . (*Ar. confesses that he was*) one of those who got sloshed last night . . . (*the physician Eryximachus treats Ar. for hiccups*) . . . (*Eryximachus warns Ar.*) You're trying to get a laugh before you make your speech . . . (*to which Sokrates replies*) I'm worried about what I am about to say, not that it might be funny, for that would be all to the better and appropriate to my muse, but that it might be ridiculous . . . (*Ar. says that Eros reunites human beings, who were long ago bisected by Zeus*) . . . (*Alcibiades speaks*) Why aren't you next to Ar. or one of the others who are funny and eager to be so? You've contrived to lie next to the handsomest man here (Agathon) . . . Agathon and Ar. and Socrates were still awake, drinking from a large bowl which they passed from left to right . . . Socrates was pressing them to agree that the same man could be capable of writing both comedy and tragedy, and that a man skilled as a tragic poet could be a comic poet too. As the other two were forced to accept the argument, which they were having trouble following, they began to nod off, with Ar. falling asleep first and then, at daybreak, Agathon.

53

(a) Olympiodorus, *Life of Plato* 3.65

ἔχαιρεν δὲ πάνυ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνει τῷ κωμικῷ καὶ Σώφρονι, παρ' ὧν καὶ τὴν μίμησιν τῶν προσώπων ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις ὠφελήθη. λέγεται δὲ οὕτως αὐτοῖς χαίρειν ὥστε καὶ ἠνίκα ἐτελεύτησεν εὑρεθῆναι ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοφάνη καὶ Σώφρονα. καὶ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τοιοῦτον εἰς Ἀριστοφάνην αὐτὸς πεποίηκεν (T 130) . . . ἐκωμώδησε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ τῷ διαλόγῳ ὡς κωμωδίαν ὠφεληθείς· καὶ γὰρ ποιήσας αὐτὸν ὑμνοῦντα τὸν Ἔρωτα εἰσάγει αὐτὸν μεταξὺ λυγγί περιπεσόντα καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον πληρῶσαι τὸν ὕμνον.

(b) Anonymous *Prolegomena to Plato* 73.4 Westerink

ἐφοίτησεν δὲ καὶ κωμικοῖς, τὴν φράσιν αὐτῶν ὠφελήθη βουλόμενος. ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνους ἀπεμάξετο χαρακτήρα, ὃς τῶν ἄλλων προὔχει κωμικῶν. καὶ ὅτι ἀποδέχεται τὴν τούτου φράσιν, δηλοῖ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη ῥηθὲν ἐπίγραμμα, ἔχον ὡδί· (T 130) . . . ἐζήλωσεν δὲ καὶ Σώφρονα.

54 Aristotle, *Poetics* 1448a24

ἐν τρισὶ δὴ ταύταις διαφοραῖς ἡ μίμησις ἔστιν . . . ἐν οἷς τε <καὶ ᾄ> καὶ ὡς. ὥστε τῇ μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς ἂν εἴη μιμητῆς Ὀμήρῳ Σοφοκλῆς, μιμοῦνται γὰρ ἄμφω

53

(a) He very much enjoyed Ar. the comic poet and Sophron and also found them helpful in portraying the characters in his dialogues. He is said to have so enjoyed them that at his death copies of Ar. and Sophron were found in his bed. He himself wrote this epigram for Ar. (T 130) . . . Apparently profiting from comedy he made fun of him in the dialogue *Symposium*, where he portrays him eulogizing Eros during a bout of hiccups and being unable to complete his eulogy.

(b) He paid visits also to the comic poets, wishing to benefit by their way of speaking. He certainly made use of Ar.'s characterizations, who was chief among the comic poets. That he adopted this poet's way of speaking is clear from the epigram he wrote for Ar. (T 130) . . . and he also emulated Sophron.

54 The imitation, then, differs in these three ways . . . in medium, <in object>, and in manner. Thus in one way Sophocles as imitator would be in the same category with

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σπουδαίους, τῇ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνει, πράττοντας γὰρ μι-  
μοῦνται καὶ δρῶντας ἄμφω.

55 Athenaeus 10.428F-429A (Aeschylus)

μεθύων . . . ἔγραφε τὰς τραγωδίας . . . καὶ Ἀλκαίος δὲ  
ὁ μελοποιὸς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμωδοποιὸς μεθύ-  
οντες ἔγραφον τὰ ποιήματα.

56 Porphyrio on Horace, *Ep.* 2.2.60

*Bion Aristofanis comici par dicitur fuisse magnae dica-  
citatis.*

57 Philodemus, *On Poetry* 4.5–18

λέ[γει] ἀνθρωπικω[τέρ]ας Ἀρχι[ί]λο[ι]χον τ[ε] κα[ὶ]  
Ἀριστοφ[άν]ην [μ](εμ)[ειμ]ῆσθαι πράξεις, ὧν [ὁ] μ(έν)  
Ἀρχιλοχ[ο]ς οὐδ' ἂν μεμειμῆσθαι διείπεν, [ὁ] δ' Ἀρι-  
στοφά[νης] . . . . . [.] . εἶ τὰ πάντ', ἀ[λλ]οίω[ς] κατ'  
αὐτὸν Πάυσωνος μεμμημένον, πρὸς τῷ μήτ' ἔπος  
εἶναι μήτε τραγωιδίαν τὴν κωμικιδίαν καὶ τ[ο]ὺς  
ιάμβους ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ ζήτησις ἦν.

58 Cicero, *Laws* 2.37

*Aristophanes, facetissimus poeta veteris comoediae.*

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Homer, for both imitate serious people, but in another  
way with Ar., since both imitate actors in a performance.

55 (Aeschylus) wrote his tragedies while drunk . . . as also  
Alcaeus the lyric poet and Ar. the comic poet wrote their  
poetry while drunk.

56 Bion, like Ar. the comic poet, is said to have been a  
very witty talker.

57 He says that Archilochus and Ar. imitated actions  
rather more on the human level; of these Archilochus  
never gave evidence of having wanted to imitate, while Ar.  
thoroughly (?deformed) everything, but Pauson imitated  
after his manner; over and above the fact that this comedy  
and these iambs, on which the discussion turned, are nei-  
ther epic poetry nor tragedy.

58 Ar., the wittiest poet of the Old Comedy.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also T 74; Gellius 1.15.19 and 13.25.7 (*facetissimus*),  
preface 20 (*festivissimus*); Macrobius *Sat.* 5.20.13 (*lepos*).

**59** Cicero, *To his Brother Quintus* 3.1.19

*Cicero tuus . . . dedit mihi epistulam legendam tuam, quam paulo ante acceperat, Aristophaneo modo valde mehercule et suavem et gravem; qua sum admodum delectatus.*

**60** Demetrius, *On Eloquence* 128

τῶν δὲ χαρίτων αἱ μὲν εἰσιν μείζονες καὶ σεμνότεραι, αἱ τῶν ποιητῶν, αἱ δὲ εὐτελείς μᾶλλον καὶ κωμικώτεραι, σκώμμασιν ἐοικυῖαι, οἷον αἱ Ἀριστοτέλους χάριτες καὶ Σώφρονος καὶ Λυσίου.

**61** [Longinus], *On the Sublime* 40.2

ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε πολλοὶ καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν οὐκ ὄντες ὑψηλοὶ φύσει, μήποτε δὲ καὶ ἀμεγέθεις, ὅμως κοινοῖς καὶ δημῶδεςι τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπαγομένοις περιττὸν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ συγχρώμωνι, διὰ μόνου τοῦ συνθεῖναι καὶ ἀρμόσαι ταῦτα ἴδ' ὅμως ὄγκον καὶ διάστημα καὶ τὸ μὴ ταπεινοὶ δοκεῖν εἶναι περιεβάλλοντο, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Φίλιστος, Ἀριστοφάνης ἔν τισιν, ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις Εὐριπίδης, ἰκανῶς ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

**62** Horace, *Satires* 1.4.1

*Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristphanesque poetae / atque alii, quorum comoedia prisca virorum est, / siquis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur, / quod moechus foret aut sica-*

**59** Your son Cicero (*Quintus' son*) . . . gave me your letter to read, which I just now received. It is really in the Aristophanic mode, by god, both pleasant and serious, and I very much enjoyed it.

**60** Of the graces some, those of the poets, are especially great and impressive, while some are more easygoing and comic, like jests, such as are the graces of Ar. and Sophron and Lysias.

**61** As I have sufficiently shown, many writers and poets who are not naturally sublime, and indeed have no great heft, use common and popular words and as a rule nothing elevated. And yet solely through arrangement and harmonization of their words, they endow their work with dignity, distinction, and the semblance of not being pedestrian, as do, among many others, Philistus, Ar. in certain places, Euripides most of the time.

**62** The poets Eupolis, Cratinus, and Ar., and others of the men who wrote Old Comedy marked out with great liberty anyone deserving to be recorded as a bad man and a thief,



*rius aut alioqui / famosus, multa cum libertate notabant. / hinc omnis pendet Lucilius.*

**63** Persius, *Satires* 1.123

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

**64** Velleius Paterculus 1.16.3

*una (aetas illustravit) priscam illam et veterem sub Cratino  
Aristophaneque et Eupolide comoediam.*

**65** Quintilian 10.65, 66

*antiqua comoedia cum sinceram illam sermonis Attici gra-  
tiam prope sola retinet, tum facundissimae libertatis, et  
si est <in> insectandis vitiis praecipua, plurimum tamen  
virium etiam in ceteris partibus habet . . . plures eius auc-  
tores, Aristophanes tamen et Eupolis Cratinusque prae-  
cipui.*

**66** [Dionysius of Halicarnassus], *Art of Rhetoric* 8.11

*ἡ δέ γε κωμωδία ὅτι πολιτεύεται ἐν τοῖς δράμασι καὶ  
φιλοσοφεῖ, ἢ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κρατῖνον καὶ Ἀριστο-  
φάνην καὶ Εὐπόλιν, τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; ἢ γάρ τοι  
κωμωδία αὐτῇ τὸ γελοῖον προστησαμένη φιλοσοφεῖ.*

an adulterer or an assassin, or notorious for any other rea-  
son. Lucilius is entirely in this tradition.

**63** Anyone of you who, inspired by the bold Cratinus, go  
pale reading the angry Eupolis along with the preeminent  
old master, look also at this: you might hear something  
rather more refined.

**64** One era under Cratinus, Ar., and Eupolis defined that  
old and venerable comedy.

**65** Old comedy is virtually alone in preserving at once the  
pure grace of Attic speech and a most voluble freedom,  
and if its chief use was in attacking vices, yet it had great  
force in other areas as well . . . there are many authors of  
Old Comedy, but Ar., Eupolis, and Cratinus are the most  
important.

**66** Does it even need to be said that comedy in the dra-  
mas, the comedy of Cratinus, Ar., and Eupolis, involves it-  
self in civic affairs and philosophizes? For comedy itself,  
by approaching what is ridiculous, philosophizes.

67 Dio Chrysostom, *Declamations* 16.9

Ἀθηναῖοι γὰρ εἰωθότες ἀκούειν κακῶς, καὶ νῆ Δία ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνιόντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον ὡς λοιδορηθησόμενοι, καὶ προτεθεικότες ἀγῶνα καὶ νίκην τοῖς ἀμεινον αὐτὸ πράττουσιν, οὐκ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο εὐρόντες, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλευσάντος, Ἀριστοφάνους μὲν ἤκουον καὶ Κρατίνου καὶ Πλάτωνος, καὶ τούτους οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποίησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Σωκράτης ἄνευ σκηνῆς καὶ ἰκρίων ἐποίει τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταγμα, οὐ κορδακίζων οὐδὲ τερετίζων, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ὑφορώμενοι καὶ δεδιότες τὸν δῆμον ὡς δεσπότην ἐθώπευον, ἡρέμα δάκνοντες καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος, ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι τοῖς παιδίοις, ὅταν δέη τι τῶν ἀηδεστέρων πιεῖν αὐτά, προσφέρουσι μέλιτι χρίσασαι τὴν κύλικα, τοιγαροῦν ἐβλαπτον οὐχ ἤττον ἤπερ ὠφέλουν, ἀγερωχίας καὶ σκωμμάτων καὶ βωμολοχίας ἀναπιμπλάντες τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος ἤλεγχε καὶ ἐνουθέτει.

68 Plutarch, *Comparison of Ar. and Menander* (epitome)  
(1) 853A–D

ὡς μὲν κοινῶς καὶ καθόλου εἰπεῖν πολλῶ προκρίνει τὸν Μένανδρον, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ ταῦτα προστίθησι· τὸ φορτικόν, φησί, ἐν λόγοις καὶ θυμικὸν καὶ βάνανσον ὡς ἐστὶν Ἀριστοφάνει, Μενάνδρῳ δ' οὐδαμῶς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀπαιδεντος καὶ ιδιώτης, οἷς ἐκεῖνος λέγει, ἀλίσκεται· ὁ δὲ πεπαιδευμένος δυσχερανεῖ· λέγω δὲ τὰ ἀντίθετα καὶ ὁμοιώπρωτα καὶ παρωνυμίας.

67 The Athenians were used to a bad reputation and indeed for that very reason went to the theater to be abused, having established a competition where victory went to those who did this best. They did not invent this custom by themselves but were advised by the god. They listened to Ar. and Cratinus and Platon and punished them not at all. But when Socrates did the bidding of the god without a stage and audience, without lewd dancing and a lot of prattle, they did not put up with it. For the comic poets, being suspicious and fearful of the people, flattered them as a slave flatters a master, chiding them gently and with a smile, as nurses will do with children when they must give them something unpleasant to drink and put honey on the rim of the cup. Thus they did as much harm as good, filling up the city with revelry, mockery, and clowning, whereas the philosopher tested and admonished.

68 (1) To put it plainly and generally, he much prefers Menander, adding this in particular: crudeness in words, he says, and vulgarity and coarseness, are found in Ar. but not at all in Menander. The reason is that the uneducated, ordinary person is captivated by what the former says, while the educated person will react with distaste: I mean antitheses, jingling endings, and wordplays. Menander

## TESTIMONIA

τούτοις γὰρ ὁ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος λόγου καὶ ὀλιγάκις χρήται ἐπιμελείας αὐτὰ ἀξιῶν, ὁ δὲ καὶ πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ εὐκαίρως καὶ ψυχρῶς ἐπαινεῖται γὰρ, φησὶν, ὅτι τοὺς ταμίας ἐβάπτισεν, οὐχὶ ταμίας ἀλλὰ Λαμίας ὄντας. καὶ

οὗτος ἦτοι καικίας ἢ συκοφαντίας πνεῖ

καὶ

γάστριζε καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις καὶ τοῖς κόλοις

καὶ

ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος εἰς Γέλαν ἀφίξομαι

καὶ

τί δῆτα δράσω σ', ὦ κακόδαιμον, ἀμφορεὺς  
ἐξοστρακισθεῖς;

<καὶ>

ἄγρια γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὦ γυναῖκες, δρᾷ κακά,  
ἅτ' ἐν ἀγρίοισι τοῖς λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφεῖς

<καὶ>

ἀλλ' αἱ τριχόβρωτες τὸν λόφον μου κατέφαγον

καὶ

φέρε δεῦρο γοργόνωτον ἀσπίδος κύκλον.  
κάμοι πλακοῦντος τυρόνωτον δὸς κύκλον

## TESTIMONIA

uses these in their proper place and sparingly, reckoning that they should be used with care, while in Ar. they are frequent, inopportune, and frigid. He is applauded, he says, because (fr. 714) he soaked the treasurers, substituting *Lamias* for *tamias*, and (*Knights* 437)

this man's blowing nor'easters or calumnies  
and (*Knights* 454)

belly-punch him with your bowels and tripes  
and (fr. 629)

giggling all the way to Gela  
and (fr. 661)

what can I do for you, wretch, pot that I am  
and thoroughly de-sherded?  
and (*Thesm.* 455)

he does us wild wrongs, my fellow women,  
since he was himself raised on wild greens  
and (*Ach.* 1111)

what's this? Have moths been eating up my crests?  
and (*Ach.* 1124-5)

—Hand hither my buckler round and Gorgon-faced.  
—Give me a pizza round and cheesy-faced.

καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. ἔνεστι μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ κατασκευῇ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῷ τὸ τραγικὸν τὸ κωμικὸν τὸ σοβαρὸν τὸ πεζόν, ἀσάφεια, κοιότης, ὄγκος καὶ διάρμα, σπερμολογία καὶ φλυαρία ναυτιώδης. καὶ τοσαύτας διαφορὰς ἔχουσα καὶ ἀνομοιότηας ἢ λέξις οὐδὲ τὸ πρέπον ἐκάστω καὶ οἰκείον ἀποδίδωσιν· οἶον λέγω βασιλεῖ τὸν ὄγκον ῥήτορι τὴν δεινότητα γυναικὶ τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἰδιώτῃ τὸ πεζὸν ἀγοραίῳ τὸ φορτικόν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κλήρου ἀπονέμει τοῖς προσώποις τὰ προστυχόντα τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ οὐκ ἂν διαγνοίης εἶθ' υἱὸς ἔστιν εἶτε πατὴρ εἶτ' ἄγροικος εἶτε θεὸς εἶτε γραῦς εἶθ' ἥρωος ὁ διαλεγόμενος. (2) ἢ δὲ Μενάνδρου φράσις . . . (3) 854A ὅτι τῶν διδασκόντων οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὸν δῆμον γράφουσιν οἱ δὲ τοῖς ὀλίγοις, τὸ δ' ἐν ἀμφοῖν ἀρμόττον τοῖς γένεσιν οὐ ῥάδιον ὄτω τῶν πάντων ὑπήρξεν εἰπεῖν. Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν οὖν οὔτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρεστοῖς οὔτε τοῖς φρονίμοις ἀνεκτός, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐταίρας τῆς ποιήσεως παρηγμακυίας, εἶτα μιμουμένης γαμετήν, οὔθ' οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν αὐθάδειαν ὑπομένουσιν οἱ τε σεμνοὶ βδελύττονται τὸ ἀκόλαστον καὶ κακότητες. ὁ δὲ Μένανδρος . . . (4) 854CD αἱ Μενάνδρου κωμῳδαὶ ἀφθόνων ἀλῶν καὶ ἱερῶν μετέχουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐκείνης γεγονότων τῆς θαλάττης, ἐξ ἧς Ἀφροδίτη γέγονεν. οἱ δ' Ἀριστοφάνους ἅλες πικροὶ καὶ τραχεῖς ὄντες ἑλκωτικὴν δριμύτητα καὶ δηκτικὴν ἔχουσιν· καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ἐν οἷς ἔστιν ἢ θρυλουμένη δεξιότης αὐτοῦ, ἐν λόγοις ἢ προσώποις· ἀμέλει καὶ τὰ μεμιμημένα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεμίμηται·

and many other examples. In addition, in his deployment of words there is the tragic and the comic, the impressive and the pedestrian, unclarity, vagueness, dignity and elevation, loquacity and nauseating nonsense. And having such differences and dissimilarities, his diction does not give each word its fitting and proper use: I mean, for example, dignity for a king, eloquence for an orator, simplicity for a woman, colloquialism for an ordinary person, crudeness for a tradesman. But he assigns words to characters as if by lot, just as they occur to him, so that you cannot determine whether the speaker is a son or a father or a farmer or a god or an old woman or a hero. (2) But Menander's diction . . . (3) Some dramatists write for the common crowd, others for the few, but it is hard to say who of all of them can write suitably for both classes. Ar. is neither enjoyable for the masses nor bearable for the intelligent, his poetry being like an ageing whore who takes up the role of wife: the masses won't put up with her affectations and the dignified abhor her licentiousness and malice. But Menander . . . (4) Menander's comedies overflow with innocuous wit and holiness, as if they came from the same sea that gave birth to Aphrodite. But Ar.'s witticisms are bitter and rough with a wounding, biting sharpness. I cannot locate his famous skill either in his words or his characters. Certainly even the objects of his imitation are made the worse

τὸ γὰρ πανούργον οὐ πολιτικὸν ἀλλὰ κακότητες, καὶ τὸ ἄγροικον οὐκ ἀφελές ἀλλ' ἠλίθιον, καὶ τὸ γελοῖον οὐ παιγνιώδες ἀλλὰ καταγέλαστον, καὶ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν οὐχ ἰλαρὸν ἀλλ' ἀκόλαστον. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔουκε μετρίῳ τὴν ποίησιν γεγραφέναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀσελγῆ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις, τὰ βλάσφημα δὲ καὶ πικρὰ τοῖς βασκάνοις καὶ κακοήθεσιν.

69 Photius, *Library* 158.101b4

ἐλικρινοῦς δὲ καὶ καθαροῦ καὶ ἄττικου λόγου κανόνας καὶ στάθμας καὶ παράδειγμά φησιν ἄριστον Πλάτωνά τε καὶ Δημοσθένην μετὰ τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ τῶν ἐννέα χοροῦ, Θουκυδίδην τε καὶ Ξενοφῶντα καὶ Αἰσχίνην τὸν Λυσσανίου τὸν Σωκρατικόν, Κριτίαν τε τὸν Καλλαίσχρον καὶ Ἀντισθένην μετὰ τῶν γνησίων αὐτοῦ δύο λόγων, τοῦ περὶ Κύρου καὶ τοῦ περὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας, τῶν μέντοι κωμωδῶν Ἀριστοφάνην μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου, ἐν οἷς ἀπτικίζουσι, χοροῦ, καὶ τῶν τραγικῶν Αἰσχύλον τὸν μεγαλοφωνότατον καὶ Σοφοκλέα τὸν γλυκὺν καὶ τὸν πάνσοφον Εὐριπίδην.

70 Lucian, *The Ignorant Book-Collector* 27

τὰ τοσαῦτα βιβλία ἔχων τί μάλιστα ἀναγιγνώσκεις αὐτῶν; τὰ Πλάτωνος; τὰ Ἀντισθένης; τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου; τὰ Ἰππώνακτος; . . . Αἰσχίνου τὸν κατὰ Τιμάρχου λόγον ἀναγιγνώσκεις; ἢ ἐκεῖνά γε πάντα οἶσθα καὶ γινώσκεις αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοφάνην καὶ

for it, so that rascality is not urbane but malicious, rusticity not simple but foolish, a sense of humor not playful but ridiculous, love not joyous but licentious. The fellow seems to have written his poetry not for any moderate person, but rather shameful and lustful poetry for the licentious and slanderous and bitter poetry for the envious and malicious.

69 Of the pure, clear Attic speech he (Phrynichus in *Praep. soph.*) says the canonical standards and best paradigm are Plato and Demosthenes along with the chorus of the nine orators, Thucydides and Xenophon and Aeschines the Socratic, son of Lysanias, and Critias son of Callaeschrus and Antisthenes with his two genuine speeches (*On Cyrus* and *On the Odyssey*), and of the comic poets Ar. with his familiar chorus, where they speak Attic, and of the tragic poets Aeschylus of the grand voice and Sophocles the sweet and the all-wise Euripides.

70 Having books like these, which of them do you read the most? Plato? Antisthenes? Archilochus? Hipponax? . . . Do you read Aeschines' speech *Against Timarchus*? Or do you know all of those and recognize each one of them,

τὸν Εὐπολίην ὑποδέδυκας;

71 Lucian, *Double Indictment* 33

τὸ μὲν τραγικὸν ἐκείνο καὶ σωφρονικὸν προσωπέιον ἀφείλε μόνον, κωμικὸν δὲ καὶ σατυρικὸν ἄλλο ἐπέθηκέ μοι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν γελοῖον. εἰτά μοι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φέρων συγκαθεύριξεν τὸ σκῶμμα καὶ τὸν Ἰαμβὸν καὶ κυνισμὸν καὶ τὸν Εὐπολίην καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη, δεινοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπικερτομήσαι τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ χλευάσαι τὰ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα.

72 Lucian, *True History* 1.29

τὴν Νεφελοκοκκυγίαν πόλιν ἰδόντες ἐθαυμάσαμεν . . . καὶ ἐγὼ ἐμνήσθην Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ καὶ ἀληθοῦς καὶ μάτην ἐφ' οἷς ἔγραψεν ἀπιστουμένου.

73 Achilles Tatius 8.9.1

παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς (ᾧ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἀδύνατος, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Ἀριστοφάνους ἐζηλωκῶς κωμωδίαν) ἤρξατο αὐτὸς λέγειν πάνυ ἀστείως καὶ κωμωδικῶς.

74 Aristides Quintilianus, *Music* 2.11

ὁ φαιδρότατος τῶν κωμικῶν.

but have taken on Ar. and Eupolis?

71 He took away that tragic and moderate mask of mine and replaced it with another one that was comic and satyric and all but ridiculous. And then taking me to the same place, he locked me up with mockery and iambus and cynicism and Eupolis and Ar., formidable men for attacking what's grand and laughing at what's right.

72 When we saw Cloudcuckooland we were amazed . . . and I remembered Ar. the comic poet, a man wise and true and wrongly disbelieved for what he had written.

73 The priest approached (he was not inept at speaking, quite a match for Aristophanic comedy) and began his speech in a humorous and comic vein.

74 (Ar.) the most illustrious of comic poets.

75 Athenaeus 4.158 etc.

ὁ χαρίεις, 4.156B etc. ὁ καλός, 15.701B ὁ ἥδιστος.

76 Libanius, *Declamations* 1.9

ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαρνεῦσι τοῖς Ἀριστοφάνους ἦν καθημένω  
τῷ γραμματιστῇ παρεστηκώς.

77 Themistius, *Or.* 23.289c

σημεῖον . . . φιλοκερδοῦς καὶ ἐρασιχρημάτου ψυχῆς  
καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφιστικῆς καὶ ἐμμίσθου, εἶθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν  
Δημοσθένους δικῶν εἶθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους δρα-  
μάτων εἶθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν πάντων ῥημάτων τε καὶ ὀνομάτων  
ὑπέχει τὴν χεῖρα ἔξω τῆς χρείας καὶ χαλεπότερον  
εἶναι τῶν δημοσίων πρακτόρων.

78 Scholium on Dionysius Thrax, *Grammar* 1.3 = *Prole-  
gomena On Comedy* XVIII<sup>b</sup> 1.11.72 Koster

δεῖ γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἥρωικὰ συντόνῳ τῇ φωνῇ ἀναγι-  
νώσκων καὶ μὴ ἐκλελυμένη, τὰ δὲ βιωτικά, τουτέστι  
τὰ κωμικά, ὡς ἐν τῷ βίῳ, τουτέστι μιμουμένους γυναι-  
κας νέας ἢ γραιίδας ἢ δεδουκότας ἢ ὀργιζομένους  
ἄνδρας, ἢ ὅσα πρέπει τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις προσώποις  
παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ ἢ Ἀριστοφάνει ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις κω-  
μικοῖς.

75 4.158C etc. (Ar.) the charming; 4.156B etc. the beauti-  
ful; 15.701B the pleasantest.

76 (*When a boy*) standing before my seated teacher I  
read Ar.'s *Acharnians*.

77 A sign of a greedy, acquisitive, completely sophistic,  
and venal soul is to be greedy beyond what is needful and  
to be harsher than civil magistrates either concerning  
Demosthenes' cases or Ar.'s plays or any speeches and  
words.

78 One should read heroic poetry with an intense voice  
and not a slack one, but the poetry of ordinary life, that is  
comic poetry, in a lifelike way, that is by imitating young  
women or old women or men timid or angry or in what-  
ever way suits the characters staged by Menander or Ar. or  
the other comic poets.

**79** Platonius, *On the Distinction of Styles = Prolegomena On Comedy* II 1.6 Koster

Κρατῖνος . . . αὐστηρὸς μὲν ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐπιτρέχει τὴν χάριν τοῖς σκώμμασι ποιεῖ, τὸ φορτικὸν τῆς ἐπιτιμῆσεως διὰ ταύτης ἀναιρῶν . . . ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης τὸν μέσον ἐλήλακε τῶν ἀνδρῶν χαρακτῆρα· οὔτε γὰρ πικρὸς λίαν ἐστίν ὥσπερ ὁ Κρατῖνος οὔτε χαρίεις ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐπόλις, ἀλλ' ἔχει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ Κρατῖνου καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιτρεχούσης χάριτος Εὐπόλιδος.

**80** Platonius, *On the Distinctions among Comedies = Prolegomena On Comedy* I 2.3 Koster

ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Κρατῖνου καὶ Εὐπόλιδος χρόνων τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐκράτει παρὰ Ἀθηναίους . . . τῆς ἰσηγορίας οὖν πᾶσιν ὑπαρχούσης ἄδειαν οἱ τὰς κωμωδίας συγγράφοντες εἶχον τοῦ σκώπτειν καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ δικαστῶν τοὺς κακῶς δικάζοντας καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τινας ἢ φιλαργύρους ἢ συζῶντας ἀσελγεία . . . ἐπὶ τοίνυν τῆς Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Κρατῖνου καὶ Εὐπόλιδος κωμωδίας ἀφόρητοί τινες κατὰ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων ἦσαν οἱ ποιηταί. λοιπὸν δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας ὑποχωρούσης . . .

**79** Cratinus . . . is caustic in his abuse. For he does not allow any charm to pervade his mockery, with which he could limit the crudity of his criticism as Ar. does . . . But Ar. pursued a style midway between the two: he is neither too harsh like Cratinus, nor charming like Eupolis, but in his attacks on wrongdoers he has both Cratinus' vehemence and Eupolis' pervasive charm.

**80** In the times of Ar., Cratinus, and Eupolis, democratic government prevailed at Athens . . . Since free speech was universal, the writers of comedy had license to mock generals and incompetent jurors and some of the citizens who were greedy or lived licentiously . . . thus during the careers of Ar., Cratinus, and Eupolis, some poets were unstoppable in their hostility to wrongdoers. Then, when democracy was abolished . . .



81 Anonymous, *On Comedy* 21.14 Koster

ὁ μέντοι γε Ἀριστοφάνης μεθοδεύσας τεχνικώτερον τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν κωμωδίαν ἐνέλαμψεν ἐν ἅπασιν ἐπίσημος ὀφθείς οὕτως, καὶ οὕτως πᾶσαν κωμωδίαν ἐμελέτησε. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τούτου δράμα ὁ Πλούτος νεωτερίζει κατὰ τὸ πλάσμα· τὴν τε γὰρ ὑπόθεσιν ὡς ἀληθῆ ἔχει καὶ χορῶν ἐστέρηται ὅπερ τῆς νεωτέρας ὑπῆρχε κωμωδίας.

82 Diomedes, *On Poetry = Prolegomena On Comedy* XXIV 2.46.120 Koster

*poetae primi comici fuerunt Susarion, Mullus et Magnes. hi veteris disciplinae iocularia quaedam minus scite ac venuste pronuntiabant . . . secunda aetate fuerunt Aristophanes, Eupolis et Cratinus, qui et principum vitia sectati acerbissimas comeodias composuerunt. tertia aetas fuit Menandri, Diphili et Philemonis.*

## 83 Tzetzes

(a) *Distinctions among Poets = Prolegomena On Comedy* XXI<sup>a</sup> 78.87 Koster

τριττὴν νόει πρῶτον δὲ τὴν κωμωδίαν / πρῶτην, μέσην, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ὑστέραν. / πρώτης μὲν ἦν ἴδιον ἐμφανῆς ψόγος, / ἧς ἦν κατάρξας εὐρετῆς Σουσαρίων. / τῆς δευτέρας ἦν ὁ ψόγος κεκρυμμένος, / ἧς ἦν Κρατίνος, Εὐπόλις, Φερεκράτης, / Ἀριστοφάνης, Ἔρ-

81 Ar. was more technically painstaking in composing comedy than were his competitors and thus distinguished, shone forth among them all, and thus did he take pains over every comedy. His drama *Wealth* innovates in its style: it has a lifelike plot and lacks choruses, as was characteristic of New Comedy.

82 The first comic poets were Susarion, Mullus, and Magnes, who voiced certain jokes of the old school in a less adroit and charming fashion . . . in the second period were Ar., Eupolis, and Cratinus, who wrote very bitter comedies in their attacks on the vices of great men. The third period was that of Menander, Diphilus, and Philemon.

## 83

(a) First think of comedy as threefold: the first, middle and then the last period. Open abuse was characteristic of the first period, whose leading originator was Sousarion. Abuse was disguised in the second period, the period of Cratinus, Eupolis, Pherecrates, Ar., Hermippus, and

μιπὸς τε καὶ Πλάτων / καὶ τῆς τρίτης ἦν ὁ ψόγος  
κεκρυμμένος, / πλὴν κατὰ δούλων καὶ ξένων καὶ βαρ-  
βάρων, / ἧς ἦν Μένανδρος ἐργάτης καὶ Φιλήμων.

(b) *Proem = Prolegomena On Comedy XI<sup>a</sup> 78.26 Koster*

τῆς οὖν κωμωδίας τῆς καλουμένης πρώτης πρώτος καὶ  
εὐρετῆς γέγονεν ὁ Μεγαρεὺς Σουσαρίων . . . 87.27 ἢ  
πρώτη κωμωδία τὸ σκῶμμα εἶχον ἀπαρακάλυπτον  
ἐξήρκεσε δὲ τὸ ἀπαρακαλύπτως οὕτως κωμωδεῖν  
μέχρις Εὐπόλιδος . . . 97 ψήφισμα θέντος Ἀλκιβιάδου  
κωμωδεῖν ἐσχηματισμένως καὶ μὴ προδήλως αὐτὸς τε  
ὁ Εὐπόλις Κρατῖνός τε καὶ Φερεκράτης καὶ Πλάτων  
. . . Ἀριστοφάνης τε σὺν ἑτέροις τὰ συμβολικὰ  
μετεχειρίσαντο σκῶμματα, καὶ ἡ δευτέρη κωμωδία τῇ  
Ἀττικῇ ἀνεσκίρτησεν. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπεχείρουν οἱ  
Ἀττικοὶ ἀδικεῖν καὶ οὐδὲ συμβόλοις ἐλέγχεσθαι ἤθε-  
λον, ἐψηφίσαντο συμβολικῶς μὲν γίνεσθαι κωμωδίας,  
πλὴν κατὰ μόνων δούλων καὶ ξένων κἀντεῦθεν καὶ ἡ  
τρίτη κωμωδία ἐφάνη, ἧς ἦν Φιλήμων καὶ Μένανδρος.

84 Scholium on Dionysius Thrax, *Grammar = Prolegomena On Comedy XVIII<sup>a</sup> 1.70 Koster*

κωμωδία λέγεται τὰ τῶν κωμικῶν ποιήματα, ὡς τὰ τοῦ  
Μενάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Κρατῖνου καὶ τῶν  
ὁμοίων . . . τρεῖς διαφορὰς ἔδοξεν ἔχειν ἡ κωμωδία  
καὶ ἡ μὲν καλεῖται παλαιά, ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φανερώς  
ἐλέγχουσα, ἡ δὲ μέση ἡ αἰνιγματωδῶς, ἡ δὲ νέα ἡ

Platon. The abuse was disguised also in the third period, except for that directed against slaves, foreigners, and barbarians, the period of the hardworking Menander and Philemon.

(b) Of the so-called first period of comedy the first and founder was the Megarian Sousarion . . . The first comedy had undisguised mockery, and this style of undisguised comic ridicule was favored until the time of Eupolis . . . When Alcibiades passed a decree enjoining artificial rather than obvious comic ridicule, Eupolis himself, Cratinus, Pherecrates, and Platon . . . and Ar., along with the others, practiced symbolic mockery, and the second period of comedy in Attica was in full swing. But as the people of Attica increasingly undertook evildoing and disliked being challenged even symbolically, they legislated against symbolic comedy except when directed against slaves and foreigners. Thereafter the third period of comedy appeared, the period of Menander and Philemon.

84 By comedy is meant the poems of the comic poets, such as those of Menander, Ar., Cratinus and the like .. Comedy seems to have had three distinct periods, one known as Old Comedy, which from its inception criticized openly; Middle Comedy, whose criticism was enigmatic;

μηδ' ὅλως τοῦτο ποιούσα πλὴν ἐπὶ δούλων ἢ ξένων.  
καὶ τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν, ἐπίσημος δὲ  
Κρατῖνος, ὁ καὶ πραττόμενος· μετέσχον δὲ τινος χρό-  
νου τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας Εὐπόλις τε καὶ Ἀριστο-  
φάνης, τῆς δὲ μέσης καὶ αὐτῆς μὲν πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν,  
ἐπίσημος δὲ Πλάτων τις . . . τῆς δὲ νέας ὁμοίως  
πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν, ἐπίσημος δὲ ὁ Μένανδρος.

**85** Tzetzes, *Prolegomenon to Lycophron = Prolegomena  
On Comedy* XXII<sup>b</sup> 39.113 Koster

κωμωδοὶ πραττόμενοί εἰσιν οὗτοι οἰοὶ Ἀριστοφάνης,  
Κρατῖνος, Πλάτων, Εὐπόλις, Φερεκράτης καὶ ἕτεροι,  
νέοι Μένανδρος, Φιλήμων, Φιλιστίων καὶ πλῆθος  
πολύ.

**86** Tzetzes, *Prolegomenon to Hesiod* ed. Colonna, *Boll.  
Comit.* 2 (1953) p. 35, 62.67

τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ μὲν εἰσι λυρικοί, οἱ δὲ μονωδοί, οἱ δὲ  
κωμικοί, καὶ ἕτεροι τραγικοί . . . κωμικῶν δὲ (γνώ-  
ρισμα) ὁ γέλως μετὰ χορευτῶν καὶ προσώπων, οἷος  
Ἀριστοφάνης, Εὐπόλις, Φερεκράτης. τραγικῶν δὲ ποι-  
ητῶν γνώρισμα οἴκτοι καὶ συμφοραί, οἷός ἐστιν  
Αἰσχύλος, Σοφοκλῆς, Εὐριπίδης.

**87** Scholium on Thucydides 1.30.1 = Suda τ 1049

ἡ παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς, ἣς ἐστὶν Εὐπόλις, Κρατῖνος, Ἀρι-

and New Comedy, which eschewed even this except in the  
case of slaves or foreigners. There were many practiti-  
oners of the Old Comedy, notably Cratinus, the one stud-  
ied; also active during the Old Comic period were Eupolis  
and Ar. In the Middle period there were many poets, no-  
tably a certain Platon . . . and likewise there were many in  
the New Comic period, notably Menander.

**85** The comic poets studied are those like Ar., Cratinus,  
Platon, Eupolis, Pherecrates and others; the new comic  
poets Menander, Philemon, Philistion and a great host of  
others.

**86** Of the poets some are lyric, some monodic, some  
comic, others tragic . . . a distinguishing mark of comic  
poets is laughter involving choristers and characters, as in  
Ar., Eupolis, Pherecrates. A distinguishing mark of tragic  
poets are expressions of pity and calamities, as in Aeschy-  
lus, Sophocles, Euripides.

**87** Old Attic: Eupolis, Cratinus, Ar., Thucydides . . . New

στοφάνης, Θουκυδίδης . . . ἢ νέα Ἀτθίς, ἣς ἔστι Μένανδρος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.

88 Gregory of Corinth 6

Ἀττικῆς μὲν φράσεως κανόνα τὸν κωμικὸν Ἀριστοφάνην προθέμενοι καὶ Θουκυδίδην τὸν συγγραφέα καὶ <Δημοσθένην τὸν> ῥήτορα, Ἰάδος δὲ Ἱπποκράτην . . . καὶ . . . Ἡρόδοτον, Δωρίδος δὲ . . . Ἀρχύταν καὶ Θεόκριτον . . . , καὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος Ἀλκαίου, ἵσως ἂν περὶ τῶν διαλέκτων ἰκανῶς διαλάβοιμεν. 10 Ἀτθίς . . . ἣ ἔγραψεν Ἀριστοφάνης.

89 Scholium on Dionysius Thrax, *Grammar* 1.3

Ἰάδι μὲν ἔγραψεν Ὅμηρος, Ἀτθίδι Ἀριστοφάνης, Δωρίδι Θεόκριτος, Αἰολίδι Ἀλκαῖος, καὶ κοινῇ Πίνδαρος.

90 Photius

(a) *Questions to Amphilochius* 93.24

οἶδα ὅτι οὐκ ἂν σοι δόξη παράδοξον εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς ἐλλείψεως εἶδος· πολλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ καὶ Ἀντιμάχῳ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνει, Θουκυκίδῃ τε καὶ Πλάτῳ καὶ Δημοσθένει, καὶ σχεδὸν τι τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιηταῖς τε καὶ λογογράφοις.

Attic: Menander and the others.

88 If we propose as exemplifying the Attic dialect the comic poet Ar. and the historian Thucydides and the orator Demosthenes, and for the Ionic Hippocrates . . . and Herodotus, and for the Doric . . . Archytas and Theocritus . . . and for the Aeolic Alcaeus, we will perhaps make sufficient distinctions in the matter of the dialects . . . Attic . . . in which Ar. wrote.

89 Homer wrote in Ionic, Ar. in Attic, Theocritus in Doric, Alcaeus in Aeolic, and Pindar in common dialect.

90

(a) I know that an ellipse of this kind (e.g. *2 Ep. Cor.* 8.23) will not seem paradoxical to you: there are many in Homer, Antimachus, Ar., Thucydides, Plato and Demosthenes, and in virtually all the poets and orators.

(b) *Epistles* 221

Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ καλὸς κορυφαῖος.

91 Iohannes Mauropous 173 (*Epist.* 74) 1.93

ποταπὸς ἡμῖν ἄρα καὶ τίς ὁ γραμματικός; πότερον Σοφόκλειος; ἢ Ἀριστοφάνειος ἤδη; ὡς ἔγωγε βουλοίμην ἂν καὶ Ἀράτειον ἢ καὶ ἔτι προσωτέρω τούτων (Kassel: τοῦτον codd.) ἀκούσαι, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τέλους τῆς ἐγκυκλίου.

## 92 Psellus, Ἑρμηνεία εἰς κοινολεξίαν, ed. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη V (1875) 538

ζηλωταὶ δὲ ἐκάστων τῶν χαρακτήρων ἄλλοι ἄλλου γεγόνασι, ποιηταὶ τε καὶ λογογράφοι, καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ὅσον ἐποποιῶν τε καὶ τραγικόν, κωμικόν τε καὶ σατυρικόν καὶ Αἰσώπειον. αὐτίκα Αἰσχύλος μὲν τραχύνει τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ εὐήχους ὀνόμασι, ἀλλὰ τραχέσι καὶ δυσφώνοις εἰς ὄγκον ἐξαίρων τὴν ποίησιν· μικρόν τι τούτου ἀποδίδει Σοφοκλῆς, λειότερον δὲ τὸν λόγον μεταχειρίζεται ὁ Φλιάσιος Εὐριπίδης. τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν βάνανσός ἐστι τὰ πολλά, καὶ θηλυμανής, παίζων ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις σχήμασι, ἀντιθέτοις καὶ παρίσοις καὶ τοιούτοις δὴ τισι βωμολόχοις παίγμασι ἢ σπουδάσμασι τὴν κωμικὴν καθυβρίζων σκηνήν· τὰ δὲ γε Μενάνδρεια τούτων μὲν καταπεφρόνηκε, μεγαλοπρεπῆ δὲ εἰσι καὶ διερρηκότεα τοῖς

## (b) Ar. the good chorus-leader.

91 Who then is our grammarian, and where from? Sophoclean? Or Aristophanean? I would like to hear an Aratean or even more distantly than these, and rather closer to the end of the curriculum.

92 Each of the various styles has had its followers among poets and prose-writers; the poets follow the epic and tragic, the comic and satyric and Aesopic styles. Aeschylus roughens his sound not with harmonious words but elevating his poetry to loftiness with rough and dissonant words. Sophocles is nearly the same, but Euripides of Phlya handles his speech in a more supple way. Of the comic poets Ar. is for the most part vulgar and woman-crazy, playing on similar grammatical forms, antitheses, and balanced clauses and outraging the stage with such clownish games or pursuits. The works of Menander look down on such

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ἀπαλοῖς ῥήμασι. τοιαύτη καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πινδάρου μούσα  
καθέστηκεν . . .

94 Commentary by Eustathius on the *Iliad*

(a) 727.41

παρὰ τῷ καλῷ Ἀττικιστῇ κωμικῷ.

(b) 1158.41

ὁ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐθῶν διδάσκαλος κωμικός.

(c) 851.36

κατὰ τὸν λόγιον κωμικόν.

(d) 1171.29

ὁ παιγνύμων σοφός.

(e) [Hermogenes] *Meth.* 34 (451.13 Rabe)

παραδείγματα λάβωμεν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κωμικοῦ, τὰ δὲ  
ἐκ τοῦ βίου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ῥήτορος.

95 Iohannes Catrares, *In Neoph.* 129.132 (*An. Gr.* ed.  
Matranga, p. 679)

οὐκ Ἀριστοφάνην οἶδεν . . . οὐ τὰ γνωμικὰ Με-  
νάνδρου.

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devices and are magnificent and flowing with delicate  
phrases. Such was Pindar's muse too . . .

93 Commentaries by Tzetzes: evaluations of Ar. and his  
works can be found in Koster's edition of the Ar. scholia,  
vols. IV.1 pp. xlv-vi and IV.4 pp. 1, 10, 20-21, 42, 62.

94

(a) in that fine Atticist, the comic poet

(b) the comic poet, teacher of Attic ways

(c) according to the erudite comic poet

(d) the jocular sage

(e) let us take as models material from the comic poet,  
from life, and from the orator (*i.e. Demosthenes*).

95 He did not know Ar. . . or the maxims of Menander.

96

(a) Mallius Theodorus (GrL VI 594 21)

*hoc . . . Menander atque Aristophanes omnem humanae vitae imitationem persecuti sunt.*

cf. (b) *Canones Comicorum* ed. Kroehnert

Εὐριπίδης ἰάμβους, Ἀριστοφάνης ὁμοίως.

97 Terentianus Maurus 2243 (on iambus)

*Aristophanis ingens micat sollertia, / qui saepe metris multiformibus novis / Archilochon arte est aemulatus musica.*

98 Rufinus, *On the Meters of Terence* (GrL VI 564 7)

*Firmianus ad Probum de metris comoediarum sic dicit: "nam quod de metris comoediarum reliquisti, et ego scio plurimos existimare Terentianas vel maxime fabulas metrum non habere comoediae graecae, id est Menandri Philemonos Diphili et ceterorum, quae trimetris versibus constat. nostri enim veteris comoediae scriptores in modulandis fabulis sequi maluerunt, Eupolin Cratinum Aristophanem . . ."*

99 *Prolegomena on Comedy* X<sup>e</sup> b 22 Koster

τὸ παρὰ τῷ κωμικῷ ἰαμβικὸν μέτρον.

96

(a) In this meter (iambic) . . . Menander and Ar. pursued every imitation of human life.

(b) Euripides in iambs, likewise Ar.

97 The great Ar. sparkles with ingenuity, his novel poly-metric rhythms often rivalling Archilochus in musical art.

98 Firmianus thus replied to Probus about the meters of comedy: "Now as to your question about the meters of comedy, I too know that a great many consider Terentian comedy in particular to lack the meter of Greek comedy, that is, of Menander, Philemon, Diphilus and others, which is composed in trimeter verses. For in modulating their plays our poets preferred to follow the writers of Old Comedy, Eupolis, Cratinus, Ar. . . ."

99 The iambic meter in the comic poet (Ar.) *described*.

## 100

(a) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Composition of Words* 25

τετράμετρον ἀναπαιστικόν, ὃ καλοῦσίν τινες Ἄριστοφάνειον . . . τοῦ κωμικοῦ τετραμέτρου, λεγομένου δὲ Ἄριστοφανείου.

cf. (b) Cicero *Orator* 190

*anapaestus is qui Aristophaneus nominatur.*

101 Hephaestion *Enchiridion* 8.2 (24.20 Consbr.)

ἐπισημότατον δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ τετράμετρον καταληκτικὸν εἰς συλλαβήν, τὸ καλούμενον Ἄριστοφάνειον . . . κέκληται δὲ Ἄριστοφάνειον οὐκ Ἄριστοφάνους αὐτὸ εὐρόντος πρώτου, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρὰ Κρατίνῳ ἐστὶ . . . ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν Ἄριστοφάνην πολλῶ αὐτῷ κεχρησθαι καὶ πρὸ Κρατίνου παρ' Ἐπιχάρμῳ.

102 Theon *Progymnastica* 3 (*Rh. Gr.* II 73.14 Sp)

Αἰσώπειοι δὲ ὀνομάζονται (sc. μῦθοι) . . . οὐχ ὅτι Αἴσωπος πρώτος εὐρετῆς τῶν μύθων ἐγένετο . . . ἀλλ' ὅτι . . . αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον κατακόρως καὶ δεξιῶς ἐχρησασατο ὥσπερ Ἄριστοφάνειόν τι μέτρον καὶ Σαπφικὸν καὶ Ἀλκαϊκὸν καὶ ἄλλο ἀπ' ἄλλου λέγεται, οὐχ ὡς τούτων τῶν ποιητῶν μόνων ἢ πρώτων ἐξευρηκότων τὰ μέτρα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐχρήσαντο.

## 100

(a) the anapestic tetrameter, which some call the aristophanean . . . the comic tetrameter, the one known as the aristophanean.

(b) the anapest that is called the aristophanean.

101 Most notable in it (the anapest) is the catalectic tetrameter with syllabic close, the so-called aristophanean . . . it is called aristophanean not because Ar. first invented it, since it is found also in Cratinus, . . . but because Ar. made frequent use of it, and so did Epicharmus before Cratinus.

102 Aesopic (fables) are so called . . . not because Aesop was their first inventor . . . but because he handled them with exceptional depth and skill, just as the aristophanean and the sapphic and the alcaic and so forth are named not because they were the only poets who used these meters or first invented them, but because they used them to the greatest extent.



**103** Diogenianus *Praef. CPG* I p. 179.9

Αἰσώπειος (sc. αἶνος) . . . λέγεται ὁ ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς  
 Αἰσώπου πλεονάσαντος ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ εἶδει τοῦ μύθου,  
 οὐχ εὐρόντος, ὡς ἐν ποιητικῇ μέτρον Ἀρχεβούλειον ἢ  
 καὶ Ἀριστοφάνειον, ἀ λέγεται οὐχ εὐρημένα ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τούτοις κατακορέστερον ἐν τῇ  
 ποιήσει τεταγμένα.

**104** Diomedes *Art of Grammar* III (*GrL* I p. 501.25)

*alia* (metra principalia) *ab inventoribus* (nominantur), *ut*  
*est Sapphicum Alcaicum, alia ab iis qui frequentes in illis*  
*fuerunt, ut sunt Aristophania Archebulia Phalaecia Ascle-*  
*piadia Glyconia.*

**105** "Marius Victorinus" (Apthonius) *Art of Grammar*  
3.15 (*GrL* VI p. 124.8)

*illa anapaesticorum species de fonte dactylici versus ve-*  
*niens apta admodum comicis, quae aristophanios nuncu-*  
*pata est, non quia conditor eius Aristophanes fuit (nam et*  
*Aeschylus et Cratinus . . . ea usi sunt), sed quia plurimus in*  
*hoc metro Aristophanes invenitur. cuius species duplex,*  
*paeonica et anapaestica. nam versus aristophanios paeo-*  
*nicus constat e tribus primis paeonibus et amphimacro . . .*  
*anapaesticus constat anapaestis septem et semipede, qui*  
*est octonarius.*

**103** The aesopic fable . . . is named for Aesop, a man who specialized in this type of story but was not its inventor, as in the field of poetry the archebulean or the aristophanean are so named not as being the 'inventions of those men but as having been used rather definitively in their poetry.

**104** Some important meters are named for their inventors, for example the sapphic and alcaic, others for poets who frequently used them, for example the aristophanean, archebulean, phalaecian, asclepiadean, glyconic.

**105** That variety of anapests that springs from dactylic verse is very suited to comic poets, the one called aristophanean, not because Ar. was its inventor (for both Aeschylus and Cratinus had used it), but because we find this meter so frequently in Ar. This variety comes in two forms, paeonic and anapestic. For the paeonic aristophanean consists of three paeons and an amphimacrus . . . the anapest consists of seven and one-half feet, which is an octonarius.

106 [Censorinus] *On Meter* (GrL VI)

(a) 614 2

*aristophanius anapaestus . . . recipit pedes quaternorum temporum omnis, implet pedes septem et semipedem.*

(b) 617 2

*aristophanius fit <ex> heroico.*

107 Marius Plotius Sacerdos *Art of Grammar* 3.6 (GrL VI 533 5, 534 2)

*tetrametrum brachycatalectum duplex aristophanium fit dactylo, spondeo, anapaesto, spondeo, tribus anapaestis et syllaba.*

108 Scholium on Pindar *Nem.* 10

ἡ δὲ ἐπωδὸς κώλων ιβ' . . . τὸ θ' ἀναπαιστικὸν Ἀριστοφάνειον ἤμισυ ἀκροτελεύτιον.

109 Servius *De Centimetris* 1, GrL IV

(a) 458 5.28.31

*aristophanium constat monometro hypercatalecto, ut est hoc "valles per imas" . . . tetrametro brachycatalecto, ut est hoc "marcent lucernae, sol propinquat, non tamen vacas" . . . tetrametro catalectico, ut est hoc "portum petamus, aura lassat, vela solve malo."*

## 106

(a) The anapestic aristophanean . . . has four beats in each foot and fills out seven and one-half feet.

(b) The aristophanean is made <from> the heroic meter.

107 (*anapestic meter*) The brachycatalectic tetrameter twofold aristophanean is made of dactyl, spondee, anapest, spondee, three anapests, and a syllable.

108 The epode is of twelve cola . . . the ninth is an anapestic aristophanean, the last half.

## 109

(a) (*iambus*) The aristophanean consists of a hypercatalectic monometer, for example *valles per imas* . . . a brachycatalectic tetrameter, for example *marcent lucernae, sol propinquat, non tamen vacas* . . . a catalectic tetrameter, for example *portum petamus, aura lassat, vela solve malo*.

(b) 4, 462 3.27

*aristophanium constat dimetro brachycatalecto, ut est hoc "venit optima Calliope" . . . tetrametro catalectico, ut est hoc "date vina mihi, date sarta, iuvat dare tempora tota Lyaeo."*

(c) 5, 463 5

*aristophanium constat monometro et antibaccho, ut est hoc "purpureos tyrannos."*

**110** Caesius Bassus *Meter* 6 (GrL VI 264 18)

*paeonicus versus quadratus ab Aristophane comico compositus est ex eo paeone, qui constat longa syllaba et tribus brevibus. clauditur autem cretico.*

**111** "Marius Victorinus" (Apthonius) *Art of Grammar* 2.9 (GrL VI 97 30)

*hexametrum autem Aristophanes composuit tale, ut sint paeones primi tres et insequantur totidem cretici . . . sed et tetrameter paeonicus catalecticus, is dumtaxat qui maxime in usu est, ex longa et tribus brevibus ab Aristophane compositus est, totus, ut vides, ex paeone primo, ultimo amphimacro, syllabis quidem minore, temporum tamen totidem, unde et catalecticus videtur.*

(b) (*on anapests*) The aristophanean consists of a brachycatalectic dimeter, for example *venit optima Calliope* . . . a catalectic tetrameter, for example *date vina mihi, date sarta, iuvat dare tempora tota Lyaeo*.

(c) 5 (*on choriambis*) The aristophanean consists of a monometer and an antibacchus, for example *purpureos tyrannos*.

**110** The four-part paeonic verse of the comic poet Ar. is composed of the paeon, which consists of one long syllable and three shorts. But it ends with a cretic.

**111** (*paeons*) But Ar. composed the hexameter in such a way that there are three paeons first, followed by the same number of cretics . . . but the paeonic tetrameter too, the meter that strictly speaking was deployed most often, was composed by Ar. with a long and three shorts, the whole verse, as you see, with initial paeon, final amphimacrus, shorter in syllables but with the same number of beats, whence it appears catalectic.

112 Diomedes, *Art of Grammar* 3 (GrL I 506 9)

*paeonicum metrum* . . . ἐν παραβάσει Aristophanes composuisse creditur.

113 *Lexicon Messanense* (Orus Orthography) fol. 283<sup>r</sup> 10 ed. Rabe, *RhM* 47 (1892) 411

Εὐφρόνιος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν ὑπομνήματι Πλούτου Ἀριστοφάνους.

114 Aristophanes of Byzantium:

(a) Scholium on Ar. *Frogs* 153 τὸ ἀντίσιγμα καὶ τὸ σίγμα),

(b) scholium on Ar. *Thesmophoriazusae* 162 μεταγράφας,

(c) scholium on Ar. *Birds* 1342 πλήρωμα.

115

(a) Scholium on Ar. *Birds* 1337 ἐν τοῖς Καλλιστράτου,

(b) scholium on Ar. *Frogs*. 567 ἐν δὲ τῷ Καλλιστράτου.

112 The paeonic meter . . . Ar. is believed to have composed in the parabasis.

## EDITIONS AND COMMENTARIES

113 Euphronius the grammarian in his commentary on Ar.'s *Wealth*.<sup>9</sup>

114 Aristophanes of Byzantium:

(a) *antisigma* and *sigma*,

(b) emendation,

(c) supplement.<sup>10</sup>

115 Callistratus:

(a) in the commentaries of Callistratus,

(b) in the commentary of Callistratus.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Commentaries by Euphronius are cited in the scholia on Ar. *Birds* 1403 and in Athenaeus 11.496C (fr. 107); cf. Ar. fr. 590.23. Cf. K. Strecker, *De Lycophrone, Euphronio, Eratosthene comicorum interpretibus* (Greifswald 1884).

<sup>10</sup> See in general W. J. Slater, *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta post A. Nauck coll., testimonia ornavit, brevi commentario instruxit* (Berlin 1986), pp. 153 ff.

<sup>11</sup> In the scholium on Ar. *Thesmophoriazusae* 917 Callistratus cites an observation by his teacher, Aristophanes of Byzantium; cf. also Ar. fr. 591.62.

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117 Scholium on Ar. *Birds* 1508

(σκιάδειον) ἐν τοῖς Ἀτταλίοις εὔρον σκιάδιον καὶ ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ τῷ ἐμῷ.

118 Photius 177.4

τὴν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν ὁ δὲ Ἰξίων γράφει τὴν περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν.

122 Athenaeus *Epitome* 1.29A

ὅτι Ἀριστοφάνους τὰς δευτέρας Θεσμοφοριαζούσας Δημήτριος ὁ Τροιζήνιος Θεσμοφοριαζούσας ἐπιγράφει.

TESTIMONIA

116 Aristarchus: citations of his commentaries in the scholia on Ar. are collected by W. G. Rutherford, *A Chapter in the History of Annotation (Scholia Aristophanea III)*, pp. 423–26.

117 (*skiadeion*) I found *skiadion* in the Attalid (editions) and in my old one.

118 Photius 177.4 (on Ar. *Frogs* 191 “for the meat”) But Ixion writes “for the corpses.”

119 Timachidas of Rhodes: citations from his commentary on Ar. *Frogs* are collected by Boudreaux 88–89.

120 Chaeris: on the Aristophanic studies of Chaeris and his son Apollonius see Boudreaux 76–78.

121 Asclepiades: see the scholia on Ar. *Frogs* 1270, 1276, 1331, 1344 and *Birds* 348, Boudreaux 86–88, 90; for Apollodorus of Tarsus cf. the scholium on *Frogs* 320.

122 Demetrius of Troizen (*Supplementum Hellenisticum* 377) entitled the second *Thesmophoriazusae* the *Women Who Have Celebrated the Thesmophoria*.

123 Didymus: for his commentaries see M. Schmidt, *Didymus Chalcenteri . . . Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1854, repr. Amsterdam 1964); Boudreaux 91–137; add fr. 591.58, 73 and (H)eren(n)ius Philo, *Verb. sign.* μ 114 (in Nickau on Ammonius 317).

## 124 Heliodorus:

(a) Scholia on Ar. *Clouds* subscr. a (I 3.1 p. 250 Holwerda)  
κεκώλισται ἐκ τῶν Ἡλιοδώρου, παραγέγραπται δὲ ἐκ  
τῶν Φαείνου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν.

(b) Scholia on Ar. *Peace* subscr. (II 2 p. 182 Holwerda)  
κεκώλισται πρὸς τὰ Ἡλιοδώρου, παραγέγραπται ἐκ  
τῶν Φαείνου καὶ Συμμάχου.

(c) Scholia on Ar. *Birds* subscr. (p. 302 White)  
παραγέγραπται ἐκ τῶν Συμμάχου καὶ ἄλλων σχο-  
λίων.

## 125

(a) Galen *Libr. Prop.* 17 (τὰ τοῖς γραμματικοῖς καὶ  
ῥήτορσι κοινά), Scr. min. II p. 124.9 Mueller

τῶν παρ' Εὐπόλιδι πολιτικῶν ὀνομάτων τρία. τῶν  
παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει πολιτικῶν ὀνομάτων πέντε. τῶν  
παρὰ Κρατίνῳ πολιτικῶν ὀνομάτων δύο. τῶν ἰδίως  
κωμικῶν ὀνομάτων παραδείγματα, ἔν. εἰ χρήσιμον  
ἀνάγνωσμα τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἢ παλαιὰ κωμωδία.

(b) [Dionysius of Halicarnassus] *Rhetoric* 11.10  
κωμικὸν (ὄνομα) τοῦτο Ἀριστοφάνειον, κωμικὸν τοῦτο  
Κρατίνειον, τοῦτο Εὐπολίδειον, τοῦτο Μενάνδρειον.

## 124 Heliodorus:

(a) The division into cola is from the (editions) of Helio-  
dorus, and the marginal comments are from the (com-  
mentaries) of Phaeinus, Symmachus, and others.

(b) The division into cola is according to the (editions) of  
Heliodorus, and the marginal comments are from the  
(commentaries) of Phaeinus and Symmachus.

(c) The marginal comments are from the (commentaries)  
of Symmachus and other scholia.

On Heliodorus see J. W. White, *The Verse of Greek Com-  
edy* (London 1912) 384–421; Hense *RE* VIII 1 (1912) 28–  
40; Boudreaux 138–43; Pfeiffer I 189; Holwerda *Mnem.* 17  
(1964) 113–39, 20 (1967) 247–72. On Symmachus and  
Phaeinus see Wilamowitz, *Einleitung in die griechischen  
Tragödie* 180–185, Boudreaux 144–70, Gudeman *RE* II A  
1 (1921) 675–80, IV A 1 (1931) 1136–40.

## 125

(a) (*shared characteristics of grammarians and orators*)  
Three works on political expressions in Eupolis. Five  
works on political expressions in Ar. Two works on political  
expressions in Cratinus. Examples of peculiar comic ex-  
pressions, one work. Whether Old Comedy makes useful  
reading for educated persons.

(b) This comic (expression) is Aristophanic, this one Cra-  
tinian, this one Eupolidean, this one Menandrian.

127 Orion, *Etymologicum* s.v.

(a) Ἀχαΐα οὕτως εἶρον ἐν ὑπομνήματι εἰς Ἀριστοφάνην.

(b) ἄμυστις οὕτως εἶρον ἐν ὑπομνήματι Ἀριστοφάνους.

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<sup>12</sup> Nothing further is known about the following grammarians cited in the scholia: Antipater (*Birds* 1403), Cephisodemus (*Birds* 1294), Diodorus (*Thesmophoriazusae* 389), Dionysius (*Wealth* 322), Dionysius son? of Zopyrus (*Birds* 1297). For commentaries on lost plays, see frags. 272 (*Danaids*), 442 (*Merchant Ships*), 454–55 (*Storks*).

126 Ar.'s name in papyrus fragments of learned commentaries: CGPF 65 (III AD) and 66 (II/III AD); in notes apparently excerpted from a catalogue of books (Wendel *Kl. Schr.* 14–15); CGPF 17 (III AD). For papyrus commentaries on Ar. in general see Zuntz, *Ar.-Scholien*, Trojahn, and Bastianini.

## 127

(a) *Achaia* (*Acharnians* 708): thus I found it in the commentary on Ar.

(b) *amystis* (*ibid.* 1229): thus I found it in the commentary of Ar.<sup>12</sup>

128 Eustathius, Tzetzes, Moschopulus, and Planudes as commentators of Ar. are discussed by Koster and Holwerda in *Mnemosyne* 7 (1954) 136–58 and 8 (1955) 196–206. Commentaries by Tzetzes on *Acharnians*, *Knights*, and *Clouds* are published in *Scholia in Aristophanem* IV 1–3; commentaries by Thomas Magister and Demetrius Triclinius on *Clouds*, together with the remnants of Eustathian and later anonymous commentaries, in I 3.2; by Demetrius Triclinius on *Acharnians*, *Knights*, *Wasps*, and *Peace* in I 1 B, I 2, II 1 and 2.

129 On the first edition, Marcus Musurus' Aldine of 1498, see M. Sicherl, "Die ed. pr. des Ar.," in *Erlesenenes aus der Welt des Buches*, ed. B. Haller = *Das Buch und sein Haus* I (1979) 189–231, and *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Minutius* (Paderborn 1997); on the Juntine edition of 1516, the first printing of *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae* (from the ms. R), "Die ed. Pr." p. 191 n. 6.

TESTIMONIA

130 Plato, *Epigram* 14

αἱ Χάριτες, τέμενός τι λαβεῖν ὄπερ οὐχὶ πεσεῖται /  
ζητούσαι, ψυχὴν εὖρον Ἀριστοφάνους.

131 Antipater of Thessalonica (Gow-Page 103 = AP 9.186)

βίβλοι Ἀριστοφάνους, θεῖος πόνος, αἴσω Ἀχαρνέως /  
κισσὸς ἐπὶ χλοερῆν πουλὺς ἔσεισε κόμην / ἤνιδ' ὅσον  
Διόνυσον ἔχει σελῖς, οἶα δὲ μῦθοι / ἠχεύσιν, φοβερῶν  
πληθόμενοι χαρίτων. / ὦ καὶ θυμὸν ἄριστε καὶ Ἑλ-  
λάδος ἤθεσιν ἴσε / κωμικέ, καὶ στύξας ἄξια καὶ  
γελάσας.

132 Diodorus (Gow-Page 12 = AP 7.38)

θεῖος Ἀριστοφάνους ὑπ' ἐμοὶ νέκυσ· εἰ τίνα πεύθη, /  
κωμικός, ἀρχαίης μνήμα χοροστασίης.

133 Epigr. Anthol. Pap. Petrie II 49 (b) = *Supplementum Hellenisticum* 985 (III CE): 7

Ἀρι]στοφάνους, 8 Ἀριστο]φάνους

134 Anonymous (*Prolegomena on Comedy* 141 Koster)

Ἀριστόφανες, ἦρας εἰς κλέος μέγα / τὴν κωμικὴν  
χόρευσιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πάλαι / στροφὰς γὰρ εὖρες,  
ἁσμάτων ἀντιστρόφους.

TESTIMONIA

EPIGRAMS

130 The Graces, seeking to get a sanctuary that would never fail, found the soul of Ar.

131 These are the works of Ar., a divine labor, for which Acharnian ivy often stirred its evergreen locks in applause; how much of Dionysus these pages hold, and how their stories ring out, brimming with fearful charms! O finest in spirit, and a comic poet equal to the true character of Greece, knowing what's fit both for loathing and laughter!

132 Beneath this marker lies the divine corpse of Ar. If you would know who he was: a comic poet, memorial of the ancient way of choruses.

133 . . . Aristophanes . . . Aristophanes . . .

134 Ar., you raised the comic dance to great glory beyond the men of old by inventing the strophes and antistrophes of songs.



## ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

### ΑΙΟΛΟΣΙΚΩΝ Α' Β'

#### *Testimonia*

- (i) Choeroboscus in Hephaestion, *Handbook* 9.235 Αιολοσίκων δράμα γέγονε πρώτον καὶ δεύτερον Ἀριστοφάνους.

## ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

### ΑΕΟΛΟΣΙCΟΝ Ι/ΙΙ

*The title suggests that Sicon (a cook, perhaps the famous one mentioned in Sospater 1.14) played the role of the mythical Aeolus in parody of Euripides' play (produced before Clouds), which portrayed as incestuous the marriage of Aeolus' six sons to his six daughters. The chorus contained women (fr. 9) but there may have been a semi-chorus of men (Aeolus' sons and daughters?), as in Lysistrata. Heracles seems to have been a character (fr. 11).*

*Two versions of Aeolosicon were cited in antiquity but may have been two editions of the same play, one of them omitting the choral songs (cf. test. iii). If there were two plays, the date of the first production is unknown; the date of the second, the last play of Ar. produced, was after Cocalus (Dionysia of 387).*

*Fr. 715 has also been attributed to Aeolosicon on account of its metrical similarity to fr. 9.*

#### *Testimonia*

- (i) Ar.'s play *Aeolosicon* had a first and a second version.

(ii) *Hypothesis IV to Ar. Wealth* ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀντιπάτρου . . . τελευταίαν δὲ διδάξας τὴν κωμωδίαν ταύτην ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ συστήσαι Ἀραρότα τοῖς θεαταῖς βουλόμενος τὰ ὑπόλοιπα δύο δι' ἐκείνου καθῆκε, Κώκαλον καὶ Αἰολοσίκωνα.

(iii) *Platonius, Diff. Com.* 13 ff. τῆς δημοκρατίας ὑποχωρούσης ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας τυραννιώντων καὶ καθισταμένης ὀλιγαρχίας . . . ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς ποιηταῖς φόβος. οὐ γὰρ ἦν τινα προφανῶς σκώπτειν, δίκας ἀπαιτούντων τῶν ὑβριζομένων παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν . . . καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀκνηρότεροι πρὸς τὰ σκώμματα ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐξέλιπον οἱ χορηγοί . . . τὸν γοῦν Αἰολοσίκωνα Ἀριστοφάνης ἐδίδαξεν, ὃς οὐκ ἔχει τὰ χορικὰ μέλη. τῶν γὰρ χορηγῶν μὴ χειροτονουμένων καὶ τῶν χορευτῶν οὐκ ἐχόντων τὰς τροφὰς ὑπεξήρέθη τῆς κωμωδίας τὰ χορικὰ μέλη καὶ τῶν ὑποθέσεων ὁ τύπος μετεβλήθη. σκοποῦ γὰρ ὄντος τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κωμωδίᾳ τοῦ σκώπτειν δημαγωγούς καὶ δικαστὰς καὶ στρατηγούς, παρείς ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης τοῦ συνήθους ἀποσκῶψαι διὰ τὸν πολλὸν φόβον Αἶολον τὸ δρᾶμα τὸ γραφέν τοῖς τραγωδοῖς ὡς κακῶς ἔχον διασύρει. τοιοῦτος οὖν ἔστιν ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας τύπος οἷός ἐστιν ὁ Αἰολοσίκων Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ οἱ Ὀδυσσῆς Κρατίνου καὶ πλείεστα τῶν παλαιῶν δραμάτων <τὰ> οὔτε χορικὰ οὔτε παραβάσεις ἔχοντα.

(ii) *Wealth* was produced in the archonship of Antipater (388) . . . the last comedy Ar. produced in his own name; wishing to introduce his son Araros to the theatergoers he entrusted to him his remaining two plays, *Cocalus* and *Aeolosicon*.

(iii) As democracy retreated before those who tyrannized Athens and as oligarchy was established . . . fear began to afflict the poets, for it was no longer possible to mock anyone openly when the victims of the poets' abuse were bringing lawsuits . . . They therefore became more hesitant about mockery, and producers were lacking . . . And so Ar. produced *Aeolosicon*, a play that had no choral songs, because the choral songs had been eliminated from comedy and its plot type changed when the producers were no longer elected officials and chorus members received no provisions. The goal of Old Comedy had been to mock popular leaders, jurymen, and generals, but Ar. gave up his customary mockery out of great fear, and disparaged the defects of the play *Aeolus* written by the tragedians. The character of Middle Comedy was like Ar.'s *Aeolosicon* and Cratinus' *Odyssees*, and the numerous old plays that had neither choral parts nor parabases.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since the remains both of *Aeolosicon* and Cratinus' *Odyssees* do contain choral fragments, (1) Platonius might have seen copies of these plays from which the choral sections had been removed, and *Aeolosicon II* might have lacked them; (2) since he is discussing political fear, he (or his source) might have meant that only topical/abusive choral songs were lacking; (3) believing that the plays in question represented Middle Comedy, he may have jumped to the conclusion that they must have lacked choral songs.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

*Fragments*

1 Athenaeus 3.112DE

οὗτός ἐστι Θεαρίων ὁ ἀρτοποιός, οὗ μνημονεύει . . .  
καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ καὶ Αἰολοσίκωνι διὰ  
τούτων

ἤκω Θεαρίωνος ἀρτοπώλιον  
λιπών, ἔν' ἐστὶ κριβάνων ἐδώλια

2 Photius a 225

ἀλλ' ἄνυσον οὐ μέλλειν ἐχρῆν, ὡς ἀγοράσω  
ἀπαξάπανθ' ὅσ' ἂν κελεύης, ὦ γύναι

3 Pollux 9.63

ὅπερ <δὲ> λοιπὸν μόνον <ἐτ' > ἦν ἐν τῇ γνάθῳ  
διώβολον, γεγένητ' ἐμοὶ δικόλλυβον

4 Athenaeus 3.95E

καὶ μήν, τὸ δεῖν', ἀκροκώλιά γε σοι τέτταρα  
ἤψησα τακερά

5 Athenaeus 9.371E

τῶν δὲ γηθύων  
ρίζας ἐχούσας σκοροδομίμητον φύσιν

AEOLOSICON

*Fragments*

1 (*Citing Antiph. fr. 174*): This is Thearion the baker,  
mentioned by . . . and Ar. in *Gerytades* (fr. 177) and  
*Aeolosicon* as follows:

back from Thearion's bakery I come,  
where lie the abodes of ovens<sup>2</sup>

2

but hurry up: no more delay, so I can shop  
for everything you'll want, woman

3

the one two-obol coin that was still left in my mouth  
turned into a two-collybon coin on me<sup>3</sup>

4

and four, whatsit, trotters I've boiled for you,  
tender ones

5

having a garlic-mimicking form  
roots of horn-onions,

<sup>2</sup> Parodying the opening of Euripides' *Hecuba*.

<sup>3</sup> A smaller coin; the speaker complains about the inferior  
coins then in use, cf. *Ec.* 815–22. Coins were carried in the mouth,  
and became worn (and thus smaller) with use.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

6 Pollux 1.79

κοιτῶν ἀπάσαις εἷς, πύελος μί' ἀρκέσει

7 Pollux 10.104

δοῦδνξ, θυνεία, τυρόκνηστις, ἐσχάρα

8 Pollux 10.116

καὶ διαστίλβονθ' ὀρώμεν,  
ὡσπερ ἐν καινῷ λυχνούχῳ  
πάντα τῆς ἐξωμίδος

9 Hephaestion, *Handbook* 9.2 29

οὐκ ἐτός, ᾧ γυναῖκες,  
πάσι κακοῖσιν ἡμᾶς  
φλώσιν ἐκάστοθ' ἄνδρες·  
δεινὰ γὰρ ἔργα δρῶσαι  
λαμβάνόμεσθ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν

10 Pollux 10.25

καὶ δι' ὀπῆς κατὰ τέγους

11 Scholium on Ar. *Peace* 741c

καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ὡς γαστρίμαργον τὸν  
Ἡρακλέα κωμῳδεῖ . . . καὶ ἐν Αἰολοσίκωνι.

AEOLOSICON

6

one bed and one bath will be enough for all the  
women<sup>4</sup>

7

pestle, mortar, cheese-grater, brazier

8

and we see everything,  
as in a new lantern,  
shining through the cloak<sup>5</sup>

9

not without reason, women,  
are men always belaboring us  
with every sort of abuse:  
for when we do dire deeds  
they always catch us out

10

both through a chink and on a roof

11

Ar. portrays Heracles as a glutton . . . also in *Aeolosicon*.

<sup>4</sup> Probably referring to Aeolosicon's daughters.

<sup>5</sup> If this refers to women's diaphanous clothing, the singers may be a semichorus of men, but the cloak in question (*exomis*) is elsewhere worn by men.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

12 Athenaeus 7.276C

τὸν δὲ παρόντων γραμματικῶν τις ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὴν τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευὴν ἔφη· εἶτα πῶς δειπνήσομεν τοσαῦτα δείπνα; ἴσως διὰ νυκτός, ὡς <ὁ> χαρίεις Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἀιολοσίκῳι εἶπεν, ὅπως λέγων οἰο-  
νεῖ δι' ὅλης νυκτός.

13 Pollux 10.115:

δυοῖν λυχνιδίου

14 Pollux 9.89

ἀκερματίαν

15 Pollux 10.24:

κλειδίον

16 Pollux 10.127

σμηματοφορεῖον

ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΟΣ

AMPHIARAUS

12

One of the learned men present glanced at the arrangement of the dinner and said, And just how will we manage to eat so many dinners? It will probably take the night, as the charming Ar. put it in *Aeolosicon*, meaning the whole night.

13

a pair of little lamps

14

coinlessness

15

little key

16

unguent-case

AMPHIARAUS

*A man and his wife visit the oracular and healing shrine of the Theban hero Amphiaraus, probably in Oropus (on the Attic-Boeotian frontier, and at this time subject to Athens), and there undergo incubation and a strenuous cure (compare the similar scene in the temple of Asclepius in Wealth). Amphiaraus was produced by Philonides at the Lenaea of 414.*

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

*Testimonium*

Hypothesis IV to Ar. *Birds* ἐπὶ Χαρίου (Χαβρίου codd.)  
τὸ δράμα καθήκει εἰς ἄστν διὰ Καλλιστράτου  
(Küster: Καλλίου codd.)· εἰς δὲ Λήναια τὸν Ἀμφι-  
άραον ἐδίδαξε διὰ Φιλωνίδου.

*Fragments*

17 Scholium on Ar. *Clouds* 663a

- A. γυναί, τί τὸ ψοφῆσάν ἐσθ';  
B. ἢ ἀλεκτρῶν  
τὴν κύλικα καταβέβληκεν.  
A. οἰμώζουσα γε.

18 Herodian, *Singular Vocabulary* 2.944.23

καὶ νῆ Δί' ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου γε ἠὼν φέρε  
κνέφαλλον ἅμα καὶ προσκεφάλαιον τῶν λινῶν

19 [Herodian], *Incorrect Diction*, ed. Cohn *RhM* 43  
(1888) 411

πρώτον γὰρ ἐπὶ θήραν τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐξήγαγον

20 Suda α 4692

νόσῳ βιασθεῖς ἢ φίλων ἀχνηία;

AMPHIARAUS

*Testimonium*

(Ar.) produced the play (*Birds*) at the City Dionysia through Callistratus in the archonship of Charias (414); he produced *Amphiarus* at the Lenaea through Philonides.<sup>6</sup>

*Fragments*

17

- (A) Woman, what was it made that noise?  
(B) The hen  
knocked over the wine-cup.  
(A) She'll be sorry for that!

18

by Zeus, fetch us out of the bedroom  
a cushion and a pillow, the linen ones

19

for they were (or I was) the first to take the man  
hunting

20 .

by disease assaulted or by dearth of friends?<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For Philonides see T 23.

<sup>7</sup> Paratragic (= *TrGF* adesp. 70).

21 Scholium on Ar. *Wealth* 701

προσήκε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἢ Ἰασῶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰασιν ὀνομασμένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου αὐτὴν εἶπεν ἐν ἐκαίνοις·

ἀλλ' ὦ θύγατερ, ἔλεξ', Ἰασοῦ, πρευμαμένης

22 Pollux 7.181

ἔπειτ' ἴρειξεν ὡς† ἐπιβαλοῦσ' ὀμοῦ πίσις

ὡς: ὄν Kaibel

23 Athenaeus 4.158C

ὅστις φακῆν ἡδιστον ὄψων λουδορεῖς

24 Scholium on Ar. *Frogs* 244

πόθεν ἂν λάβοιμι βύσμα τῷ πρακτῷ φλέων;

25 Photius 596.13

ταντὶ τὰ κρέ' αὐτῷ παρὰ γυναικός του φέρω

26 Suda φ 770

Φρυνώνας· τῶν ἐπὶ πονηρία διαβεβοημένων, ὃς ξένος ὢν κατὰ τὰ Πελοποννησιακὰ διέτριβεν Ἀθήνησιν. Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀμφιάρεω· ὦ—σύ. ἐκ τούτου τοὺς πονηροὺς Φρυνώνας καλοῦσι.

21 Iaso, named for her healing function, served Asclepius, but Ar. called her also the daughter of Amphiarus in those lines,

but, my daughter Iaso, I spoke propitiously

22

then she †pounded as† having tossed it in with pease<sup>8</sup>

23

you who revile lentil soup, the best of snacks<sup>9</sup>

24

where will I get a padded bung for my arsehole?

25

I'm bringing him this meat from someone's wife

26 Phrynondas: one of those denounced for wickedness, who spent time in Athens as an alien during the Peloponnesian War; Ar. in *Amphiarus* (quotation) from which they call wicked men Phrynondases:

<sup>8</sup> With Kaibel, "pounded an egg."

<sup>9</sup> A staple of ordinary people and despised by the rich.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

ὦ μαρὲ καὶ Φρυνῶνδα καὶ πονηρὲ σύ

27 Harpocration 190.7

Λαμπτραεὺς ἔγωγε τῶν κάτω

28 Pollux 10.180

κίσται δ' οὐ μόνον ὀψοφόροι, οὐδ' ἄλλως ἀγγεῖα εἰς  
ἐσθήτων ἀπόθεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ τῶν φαρμακοπωλῶν  
ἂν καλοῦντο, ὡς ἐν Ἀμφιάρεω Ἀριστοφάνης·

καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὄφεις, οὓς ἐπιπέμπεις,  
ἐν κίστῃ που κατασήμηναι  
καὶ παύσαι φαρμακοπωλῶν

29 Aelian, *Nature of Animals* 12.9

ὄσφιν δ' ἐξ ἄκρων διακίγκλισον ἤνυτε κίγκλου  
ἀνδρὸς πρεσβύτου· τελέει δ' ἀγαθὴν ἐπαιοιδίην

30 Hephaestion, *Handbook* 9.3.30

οἶδα μὲν ἀρχαῖόν τι δρῶν, κοῦχί λέληθ' ἔμαντόν

31 Scholium on Ar. *Peace* 474

οὕτως ἔλεγον τὸ ἐκφόβητρον· καὶ τὰ προσωπέια τὰ  
αἰσχρὰ μορμολύκεια, καὶ τὰ τραγικὰ καὶ τὰ κωμικὰ.  
καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιάρεω·

— ὡ ἀφ' οὗ κωμωδικὸν μορμολυκεῖον ἔγνω

AMPHIARAUS

you scum, you Phrynondas, you scoundrel

27

I'm from Lower Lamptrae

28 Baskets were used not only to carry food or hold cloth-  
ing, but also by drug-dealers, as Ar. in *Amphiarauus*:

and the snakes that you supply  
seal up in some basket  
and stop your drug-dealing

29

and make the old man's loins shake like a wagtail's  
with great vigor, and (*the god?*) will effect a good  
charm

30

I know I'm doing something archaic, and do not  
deceive myself

31 They call Mormo a boggy and hideous masks both  
tragic and comic Mormo-goblins, as in *Amphiarauus*:

since the time I recognized the comic Mormo-goblin



ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

32 Scholium on Plato, *Theages* 122b

παροιμία ἱερὸν συμβουλὴ . . . μέμνηται . . . καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἀμφιάρεω.

33

(a) Erotian λ 25

λεβηρίδος· ὑμενώδους ἀποσύρματος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν ὄφρων λεγόμενον γῆρας, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἀμφιάρεω.

(b) Zenobius *Proverbs* 2.95

γυμνότερος λεβηρίδος· Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶ τυφλότερος λεβηρίδος.

34 *Antiatticist* 81.24

ἀκραιφνὲς ὕδωρ

35 Photius α 1983

ἀνθρωπικὸς μῦθος· ὁ περὶ ἀνθρωπέων πραγμάτων ἔχων τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

36 Pollux 10.92

καὶ σπυρίδα δὲ ὀψωνιοδόκον

πλεκτὴν ὄψων σχοῖνον

AMPHIARAUS

32 The proverb, counsel is a sacred thing . . . Ar. too . . . mentions in *Amphiaraus*.

33

(a) Slough: discarded membrane, the so-called old age of serpents, as Ar. in *Amphiaraus*.

(b) More naked than a slough: Ar. says "blinder than a slough."

34

inviolate water<sup>10</sup>

35 Human Story: that is, a narrative containing human activities.

36 A comestible basket is a plaited reed for comestibles

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps referring to a spring sacred to Amphiaraus.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

37 Pollux 2.176

τὸ δ' ἐπεγείρειν αὐτὸ τοῦν χεροῖν ἀναφλᾶν καὶ ἀνακνᾶν.

38 *Antiatticist* 82.15

ἀνθρωπίζεται

39 *Etymologicum Genuinum A*

ἀντιβολῶ . . . παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Ἀμφιάρεω διὰ τὸ εἰ ἤντεβόλησεν β' κλίσεις ὑπέστη.

40 Harpocration 270.10

ρόπτρον

ΑΝΑΓΥΡΟΣ

ANAGYRUS

37 Beat off and rub off: to arouse (*the penis*) manually.

38

acts like a human being

39 In *Amphiarus* Ar. inflects the verb ἀντιβολῶ with two augments: ἤντεβόλησεν.

40

door knocker

ANAGYRUS

*That the play somehow treated the grim story of the revenge of Anagyrus (Test. i), eponymous hero of the deme Anagyrus, is suggested by the parody of Euripides' Hippolytus in fr. 53 and by references to horses and horsemanship reminiscent of Hippolytus (and of Phidippides in Clouds). Diphilus seems also to have written a play entitled Anagyrus, though its title might have been Anagyrus ("penniless").*

*Anagyrus was probably produced no earlier than 417; the charge of plagiarism against Eupolis in fr. 58 refers to three plays whose attacks on Hyperbolus (ostracized no later than 416) were modeled on Ar.'s attack on Cleon in Knights, the first of which was Eupolis' Maricas in 421; the incompletely revised Clouds mentions only one such attack, cf. lines 549–62.*

*Some scholars attribute to Anagyrus also frs. 146, 590, 712, 758, and 926.*

*Testimonia*

(i) Suda α 1842 Ἀναγυράσιος δαίμων ἐπεὶ τὸν παροικούντα πρεσβύτην καὶ ἐκτέμνοντα τὸ ἄλσος ἐτιμωρήσατο Ἀνάγυρος ἥρωσ. Ἀναγυράσιοι δὲ δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς. τούτου δέ τις ἐξέκοψε τὸ ἄλσος. ὁ δὲ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπέμνηε τὴν παλλακὴν, ἥτις μὴ δυναμένη συμπέισαι τὸν παῖδα διέβαλεν ὡς ἀσελγῆ τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ ἐπήρωσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγκατωκόδομησεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἑαυτὸν ἀνήρητησεν, ἣ δὲ παλλακὴ εἰς φρέαρ ἑαυτὴν ἔρριψεν.

(ii) Proverbia Coisluniana 30 Ἀναγυράσιος δαίμων . . . παροιμία . . . φασὶ γὰρ γενέσθαι τινα γεωργὸν ἐν τῷ Ἀναγυρασίων δήμῳ, αἰτίαν ἔχοντα ἐξυβρίζων εἰς τὸν πλησίον ἰδρυμένον βωμόν· διὰ συμφοραῖς τὸν ἄνθρωπον δειναῖς περιπεσεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπέβαλε τὴν γυναῖκα, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖς ἐγεγόνει· εἶτα τὸν υἱὸν ἐπήρωσε διαβολῇ πλαστῆ τῆς μητρειᾶς χρησάμενος, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀνεβίβασεν εἰς πλοιάριον, καὶ εἰς λυπρὸν ἐξέθηκε νησίδιον· εἶτα ὀνειδεὶ κατεχόμενος, αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ κατὰ πάσαν τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς μὲν συγκλείσας ἑαυτὸν μετὰ πάντων τῶν κτημάτων ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ πύρ ὑποβαλὼν ἐκαύθη, ἣ δὲ γυνὴ εἰς φρέαρ ἑαυτὴν ἔρριψεν.

*Testimonia*

(i) "The demon from Anagyrous": because Anagyrus the hero took vengeance on the old man who lived nearby and cut trees in his grove. Anagyrous is an Attic deme and someone from there cut wood in the grove. The hero made the man's concubine fall madly in love with his son. When she could not persuade the boy she denounced him as wanton to his father, who mutilated and immured him. Thereupon the father hanged himself and the concubine threw herself into a well.

(ii) "The demon from Anagyrous" . . . proverbial . . . for they say there was a farmer in the deme Anagyrous who was accused of offending against the hero's tomb nearby and so encountered dire misfortunes. First, he divorced his wife, with whom he had had a son, and then, relying on a fabricated denunciation by the stepmother, he mutilated his son, put him aboard a ship and cast him off on a desolate little island. Then, overwhelmed by censure throughout the whole city, both he and the woman, the man locked himself up in his house with all his possessions and setting it afire was burned to death, and the woman threw herself into a well.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

*Fragments*

41 Pollux 9.70

τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πράττω, δὴ ὀβολῶ καὶ σύμβολον  
ὑπὸ τῷ ἰπικλίντρῳ. μὴν τις αὐτ' ἀνείλετο;

42 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

βουκέφαλος . . . οὕτως ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ  
ἵπποι ἔχοντες ἐγκεκαυμένον βουκράνιον. ὅτι δὲ τῶν  
Θετταλικῶν ἵππων τινὲς ἐκαλοῦντο βουκέφαλον

μὴ κλᾶ· ἐγὼ σοι βουκέφαλον ἀνήσομαι

43 *Etymologicum Genuinum* A (continuing from fr. 42):

ψῆχ' ἠρέμα  
τὸν βουκέφαλον καὶ τὸν κοππατίαν

44 Suda ο 577

ὡς δ' ὀρθοπλήξ. (B.) πέφυκε γὰρ δυσγάργαλις

45 Athenaeus 9.385F

εἰ μὴ παραμυθῆ μ' ὀψαρίους ἐκάστοτε

46 Suda ξ 129

καὶ ξυννένοφε καὶ χειμέρια βροντᾶ μάλ' ἀδ

ANAGYRUS

*Fragments*

41

that's just what I'm doing. Two obols and some  
change  
under the head-board. Someone hasn't picked them  
up?

42 Bucephalus . . . in Thessaly the name for horses having  
an ox-head brand. That some Thessalian horses were  
called bucephali is clear from Ar. in *Anagyrus*:

don't cry! I'll buy you an ox-head horse

43

the ox-head and the koppa<sup>11</sup> gently curry

44

(A) What a rearer! (B) It's got skittishness bred in

45

unless you soften me up each time with little  
delicacies

46

it's snowy and thundering in a right wintry way

<sup>11</sup> The horse called *koppatias* was branded with the letter  
*koppa*.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

47 Suda o 48

όδοῦ παρούσης τὴν ἀτραπὸν ζητεῖς· τὸ λεγόμενον.

ὄρμου παρόντος τὴν ἀτραπὸν κατερρήνῃ

48 Pollux 9.64

ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἀναγύρω τὰ τρία ἡμιωβόλια τριημιωβόλιον εἶρηκεν·

ἐν τῷ στόματι τριημιωβέλιον ἔχων

49 Pollux 10.76

ἵνα ἐξεμοῦσι, καὶ τοῦτο λεκάνην ὠνόμαζον . . . καὶ σκάφην εἶπεν ἐν τῷ Ἀναγύρω Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ ἡμισκάφης δ' ὡς ἐν τι ἐμποδιλονίων ἐμοῦμαι.

50 Photius (z) ined.

ἐκλιμάκισεν· παρεστράφη καὶ ἐξέκλιεν. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἀναγύρω· ἐκλιμάκισεν ὥστε εἰς μέσην ἔπεσε τὴν τάφρον.

51 Photius a 1404

ἀναβεβρασμένη· ἀνακεκινημένη·

τήνδ' ἔωλον ἀναβεβρασμένην

ANAGYRUS

47 With the road before you, the path you seek: the saying.

with the harbor before me, in the path I sank

48 In *Anagyros* three half-obols are spoken of as a three-half-obol:

holding a three-half-obol in my mouth

49 (on the names of vessels into which one vomits; the citation from *Anagyros* is corrupt, but seems to quote "I/we will vomit" and to specify a *skaphe*.)

50 Applied the ladder: twisted around and bent down; Ar. in *Anagyros*: "applied the ladder, so he fell into the middle of the ditch."

51 Re-boiled: re-awakened.

this stale one (*fem.*) having been brought to a boil again

52 Athenaeus 14.650E

πλήν ἀλεύρου καὶ ῥόας

53 Athenaeus 4.133B

πρὸς θεῶν, ἔραμαι τέττιγα φαγεῖν  
καὶ κερκώπην θηρευσαμένην  
καλάμῳ λεπτῷ

54 Photius a 1430

χαίρειν μὲν Ἄλον τὸν Φθιώτην  
χαίρειν δ' ἀτεχνῶς Ἀναγυρασίους

55 Photius (z) ined.

κἂν μηδὲν ἔλῃς, στήσον μνάγραν

56 Athenaeus 7.301A

οὐχ ἐψητῶν λοπάς ἐστιν

57 Scholium on Ar. *Birds* 1292

(πέρδιξ μὲν εἰς κάπηλος ἀνομάζετο χωλός) ὁ Πέρδιξ  
ὄνομα καπήλου, χωλὸς δὲ ἦν οὖτος. μνημονεύει δὲ  
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Ἀναγύρω . . . τούτου δὲ πολλοὶ μέμνην-  
ται, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ φασι τὴν παροιμίαν Πέρδικος  
σκέλος.

καὶ μὴν χθές γ' ἦν Πέρδιξ χωλός

52

except wheat-gruel and pomegranate<sup>12</sup>

53

O gods, I long to eat cicada  
and cricket, catching them myself  
with a thin reed<sup>13</sup>

54

good riddance Phthiotic Alos,  
and the same for Anagyrasians

55

and if you catch nothing, set a mousetrap

56

there isn't a plate of minnows

57 One, a lame tavern-keeper, was called Partridge: Partridge was the name of a tavern-keeper, who was lame. Ar. mentions him also in *Anagyrus* (quote) and many mention him, whence they speak proverbially about Partridge's Leg:

in fact just yesterday he was a lame Partridge

<sup>12</sup> A diet for the sick.

<sup>13</sup> A parody of Phaedra in Euripides *Hippolytus* 219–22, "O gods, I long to call to the hounds and from beside my blonde mane let fly a Thessalian lance, holding the barbed spear in my hand."

58 Suda a 3227

ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς χλανίδος τρεῖς ἀπληγίδας ποιῶν

59

(a) Photius 387.7

παραλοῦμαι παροιμιακῶς. εἰώθεισαν γὰρ πρότερον ἐν ταῖς βαλανείοις οἱ πλούσιοι παραλοῦεν τοὺς πένητας. Ἄριστοφάνης Ἄναγύρω . . . οἶον συνεισιέναι τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὥστε μὴδὲ σπόγγους φέρειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκείνων χρῆσθαι.

(b) Eustathius on *Od.* 1604.18

(σπαρτίου) εὐρέθη γὰρ ποτε τοῖς λουομένοις ἀντὶ σπόγγων πλέγμα τι ἀπὸ σπάρτων ὡς εἰκός, καὶ λέγεται Ἄριστοφάνους παραδηλοῦν αὐτὸ ἐν δράματι καλουμένῳ Ἄναγύρω.

ἀλλὰ πάντας χρὴ παραλοῦσθαι καὶ τοὺς σπόγγους ἕαν

60 Suda a 3771

Ἄργεῖοι φῶρες· ἐπὶ τῶν προδήλως πονηρῶν. οἱ γὰρ Ἄργεῖοι ἐπὶ κλοπῇ κωμωδοῦνται.

61 Pollux 10.56

στόμια δὲ πριονωτά

58

from my cloak making three tunics

59

(a) Bathe together: proverbial. In earlier times in the baths the rich and the poor bathed together, as Ar. in *Anagyryus* . . . that is, to enter with the rich men and not bring sponges but use theirs.

(b) (on the word *spartion*) at one time there was to be found among bathers an object made of plaited cords and used instead of a sponge, and Ar. is said to allude to it in the play called *Anagyryus*:

but everyone should bathe together and let the sponges be

60 Argive thieves: of those openly wicked, for the Argives are ridiculed for theft.

61

serrated bits

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

62 Suda α 1701

ἀμφιανακτίζειν· ἄδειν τὸν Τερπάνδρου νόμον τὸν καλούμενον Ὀρθιον, ὅς τι <τὸ> αὐτοῦ <τὸ> προοίμιον ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν.

63 Pollux 7.164

ἀναχύρωτον δὲ τὸν πηλόν.

64 Pollux 10.54

τὸν πνιγέα ἐπὶ ἵππου

Ἴππωνος van Leeuwen

65 Pollux 10.114

τὸ ὑπόθημα τοῦ ὄλμου ὑφόλμιον.

66 Pollux 10.55 ψήκτραν.

BABΤΑΩΝΙΟΙ

<sup>14</sup> Or with van Leeuwen, "on Hippon" or "in Hippon's time."

BABYLONIANS

62 *amphianaktizein* is to sing the nome by Terpander called the Orthian, because its prelude had this opening.

63 "unchaffed" clay

64 the oven on horseback.<sup>14</sup>

65 under-trough: the stand for a kneading-trough.

66

curry-comb

BABYLONIANS

*It is clear, to judge from what Ar. says about Babylonians in Acharnians 633–42, that the play criticized the administration of the empire by Cleon and other Athenian officials, the self-interest of their counterparts in the allied cities, and the gullibility of the Athenian people when listening to allied ambassadors in Assembly. In Acharnians 4–8 the hero recalls "those five talents Cleon had to cough up! How that made me glow! And I love the Knights for that deed: a worthy thing for Greece," which have been thought a reference not to an historical incident but to an incident in Babylonians, though the Knights seem to have played no role in comedy before Knights, cf. Acharnians 299–302, Knights 507 ff. The chorus, composed of tattooed slaves toiling in a mill, may have represented the beleaguered inhabitants of the allied cities (cf. fr. 71). Dionysus appeared as a character (fr. 75).*

*Babylonians was produced by Callistratus in 426 at the*



*Testimonia*

(i) Suda σ 77

τοὺς δὲ Βαβυλωνίους ἐδίδαξε διὰ Καλλιστράτου Ἀριστοφάνης ἔτεσι πρὸ τοῦ Εὐκλείδου κέ', ἐπὶ Εὐκλέους, κέ' Bouhier; καὶ codd.

(ii) Scholium on Ar. *Acharnians* 378 (Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 856.24–27)

τὴν πέρυσι κωμῳδίαν· εἰς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους . . . τοὺς τ(ῶν) Ἀθηναίων κ(αὶ) πεδι[ . . . ὕ]πὸ Κλέωνος δίκην ἔφυ[γε

(iii) Scholium on Ar. *Acharnians* 378

διὰ τὴν πέρυσι κωμῳδίαν· τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους λέγει. τούτους γὰρ πρὸ τῶν Ἀχαρνέων Ἀριστοφάνης ἐδίδαξεν, ἐν οἷς πολλοὺς κακῶς εἶπεν. ἐκωμῳδῆσε γὰρ τὰς τε κληρωτὰς καὶ χειροτονητὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ Κλέωνα, παρόντων τῶν ξένων. καθῆκε γὰρ δρᾶμα τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ, ἣτις ἐν τῷ ἔαρι ἐπιτελεῖται, ἐν ᾧ ἔφερον τοὺς φόρους οἱ σύμμαχοι, καὶ διὰ τούτου ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Κλέων ἐγράψατο αὐτὸν ἀδικίας εἰς τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς εἰς ὕβριν τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ταῦτα πεποιηκότα, καὶ ξενίας δὲ αὐτὸν ἐγράψατο καὶ εἰς ἀγῶνα ἐνέβαλεν.

*Dionysia* (as is shown by the allusion in *Acharnians* 502–506, cf. test. iii and iv) and probably won the first prize: the *Dionysian* victory-list IG ii<sup>2</sup> 2325 = T 20 names Ar. before *Eupolis* and *Cantharus*; while this might record the poets' victories respectively in 425, 424 and 422, Ar.'s pride in *Babylonians*, together with Cleon's response, suggest that Ar. won his first victory in 426.

Some attribute to *Babylonians* also Ar. frags. 600, 642, 650, 699, 716, and adesp. 957.

*Testimonia*

(i) Suda σ 77: Ar. produced *Babylonians* through Callistratus 25 years before Eucleides in the archonship of Eucles (426).

(ii) ("last year's comedy") Referring to *Babylonians* . . . ] of the Athenians and [ . . . ] defended a lawsuit brought by Cleon.

(iii) ("on account of last year's comedy") He means *Babylonians*. For Ar. produced this play before *Acharnians* and abused many people in it. He ridiculed the allotted and elected offices and Cleon in the presence of foreigners, for he entered the play *Babylonians* in the festival of the *Dionysia*, which is held in the spring and where the allies delivered their tribute. Angry because of this Cleon brought against him a lawsuit for wronging the citizens, accusing him of writing these things to insult the people and the Council, and he charged him with being an alien and took him to trial.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(iv) *Life of Ar.* (T 1.19)

διήχθρευσε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης, ἐπειδὴ ξενίας  
κατ' αὐτοῦ γραφήν ἔθετο, καὶ ὅτι ἐν δράματι αὐτοῦ  
Βαβυλωνίους διέβαλε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς κληρωτὰς  
ἀρχὰς παρόντων ξένων.

*Fragments*

67 Athenaeus 3.86F

ἀνέχασκον εἰς ἕκαστος ἐμφερέστατα  
ὀπτωμέναις κόγχαισιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθράκων

68 Pollux 10.85

(A.) δεῖ διακοσίων δραχμῶν.  
(B.) πόθεν οὖν γένοιτ' ἄν; (A.) τὸν κότυλον  
τοῦτον φέρε

69 Pollux 10.173

πόσους ἔχει στρωτήρας ἀνδρῶν οὐτοσί;

70 Pollux 10.173; Photius 128.15

ὡς εἶ καλυμματίους τὸν οἶκον ἤρεφεν

BABYLONIANS

(iv) Ar. hated Cleon because he had charged him with being an alien and with having in his play *Babylonians* slandered the allotted offices of the Athenians in the presence of foreigners.

*Fragments*

67

each one was gaping wide, exactly like  
mussels cooking over the coals

68

(A) Two hundred drachmas are needed.  
(B) So where will they come from?  
(B) Give this cup.<sup>15</sup>

69

how many rafters does this banquet-hall have?<sup>16</sup>

70

how well he'd planked the roof of the house

<sup>15</sup> Perhaps Dionysus (reports) being shaken down by a demagogue; cf. fr. 75.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Theophrastus *Vert.* 12, "they say a man is drunk when he cannot count the rafters."

## (a) Hesychius σ 150

Σαμίων τὸ δῆμος· φησί τις παρὰ τῷ Ἀριστοφάνει τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μυλῶνος ἰδὼν Βαυλωνίους Ἑσάμιων . . . πολυγράμματος, καταληττόμενος τὴν ὄφιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπαπορῶν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα ἱστορία, δι' ἣν πολυγράμματον ἔφη δῆμον, ἐπεὶ δὴ Ἕλλήνων Σάμιοι πολυγράμματοι ἐγένοντο πρῶτοι καὶ χρησάμενοι καὶ διακιδόντες εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας τὴν διὰ τῶν κδ' στοιχείων χρῆσιν.

## (b) Suda σ 77

Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος ὡς πολυγράμματος Ἀριστοφάνης Βαυλωνίους, ἐπισκώπτων τοὺς ἐστιγμένους. οἱ γὰρ Σάμιοι καταπονηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων σπάνει τῶν πολιτευομένων ἐπέγραψαν τοῖς δούλοις ἐκ πέντε στατήρων τὴν ἰσοπολιτείαν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Σαμίων πολιτείᾳ. ἢ ὅτι παρὰ Σαμίους εὐρέθη πρῶτους τὰ κδ' γράμματα ὑπὸ Καλλιστράτου, ὡς Ἄνδρων ἐν Τρίποδι. τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἔπεισε χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν Ἰώνων γράμμασιν Ἀρχίνος ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐκλείδου. τοὺς δὲ Βαυλωνίους ἐδίδαξε διὰ Καλλιστράτου Ἀριστοφάνης ἔτεσι πρὸ τοῦ Εὐκλείδου κέ', ἐπὶ Εὐκλέους. περὶ δὲ τοῦ πείσαντος ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος. οἱ δὲ ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τοὺς ληφθέντας ἐν πολέμῳ Σαμίους ἔστιζον γλαυκί, Σάμιοι δὲ <τοὺς Ἀθηναίους> τῇ σημαίνῃ, <ἦ> ἔστι πλοῖον δίκροτον, ὑπὸ Πολυκράτους

(a) Hesychius σ 150: "the Samian demos": someone says this in Ar. upon seeing those from the mill . . . , and being shocked and critical at the sight of them. There is also another account, according to which he called the demos many-lettered because, among the Greeks, the Samians were the first to become many-lettered in having used and introduced to the other Greeks the 24-letter system.

(b) Suda σ 77: The Samian demos how many-lettered: Ar. in *Babylonians*, mocking those tattooed. For the Samians, having been oppressed by the tyrants, for want of free citizens granted civic equality to the slaves at the price of five staters, as Aristotle says in *The Samian Constitution* (fr. 575 Rose<sup>3</sup>). Or because among the Samians the 24 letters were first invented by Callistratus, as Andron says in *Tripod* (fr. 7 FHG 2.348)<sup>17</sup>. But Archinus persuaded the Athenians to use the Ionians' letters in the archonship of Euclides (403/2), and Ar. produced *Babylonians* through Callistratus 25 years before Eucelides in the archonship of Euclides (426). Theopompus investigates the one who persuaded (FGrH 115 F 155). Lysimachus in Book 2 of *Returns* (FGrH 382 F 7) says that the Athenians tattooed Samian war-prisoners with an owl and the Samians <tattooed Athenians> with the *samatna*, which is a ship with

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Scholia Homer *Il.* 7.185, "Callistratus of Samos in the time of the Peloponnesian War reformed the alphabet and gave it to the Athenians in the archonship of Euclides, as Ephorus says" (FGrH 70 F 106).

πρώτου κατασκευασθὲν τοῦ Σαμίων τυράννου, ὡς Λυσίμαχος ἐν β' Νόστων. τὸ δὲ πλάσμα Δούριδος.

(c) Plutarch, *Life of Pericles* 26.4

οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνθυβρίζοντες ἔστιζον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον γλαῦκας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι σάμαιναν . . . οὕτω δ' ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν Σάμφ φανῆναι, Πολυκράτους <τοῦ> τυράννου κατασκευάσαντος. πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ στίγματα λέγουσι καὶ τὸ Ἀριστοφάνειον ἠμίχθαι·

Σαμίων ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν ὡς πολυγράμματος

72 Scholium on Ar. *Lysistrata* 282

ἴστασθ' ἐφεξῆς πάντες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἀσπίδας

73 Photius 295.5

ὦ Ζεῦ, τὸ χρέμα τῆς νεολαίας ὡς καλόν

74 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

ἀνὴρ τις ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἐγκινούμενος

75 Athenaeus 11.494D

κὰν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις οὖν τοῖς Ἀριστοφάνους ἀκουσόμεθα ποτήριον τὸ ὀξύβαφον, ὅταν ὁ Διόνυσος λέγῃ περὶ τῶν Αθήνησι δημαγωγῶν ὡς αὐτὸν ἤτουν ἐπὶ τῆν

two banks of oars first built under the Samian tyrant Polycrates, but this is an invention of Douris (*FCrH* 76 F 66).

(c) (*on the Samian War*, 441–39): The Samians in requital of an affront tattooed the Athenian prisoners of war on the forehead with an owl, because the Athenians had tattooed them with a *samaina* . . . so called because it first appeared in Samos when Polycrates the tyrant built it. They say it is to these tattoos that Ar. alludes in the line

it's the Samian demos: how many-lettered!<sup>18</sup>

72

stand in rows all of you, to form three ranks of shields

73

ah Zeus, how comely a sight this band of youths

74

a man among us is an agitator

75 And in Ar.'s *Babylonians* we hear of the shallow saucer, when Dionysus says of the demagogues at Athens that

<sup>18</sup> Meaning tattoo-marks (cf. *litteratus* of a tattooed slave in Plautus *Casina* 401; frags. 90 and 99 below) and probably alluding to the Ionian alphabet as well, whatever we might wish to make of the traditions recorded in the testimonia.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

δίκτην ἀπελθόντα ὀξυβάφω δύο. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο τι ἡγη-  
τέον εἶναι ἢ ὅτι ἐκπώματα ἦτουν.

76 Scholium on Ar. *Lystistrata* 288

τὸ σιμόν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρόσαντες. καὶ ἐν Βαβυλωνίους  
μέσσην ἔρειδε πρὸς τὸ σιμόν

77 Priscian, *Inst. Gramm.* 18.207 (GrL 3.309.15)

ἐννεύει με φεύγειν οἴκαδε

78 Pollux 10.38

ἔχεις ἄχυρα καὶ χνοῦν

79 Scholium on Plato *Phaedo* 101d

τὴν αὐτοῦ σκιὰν δέδοικεν

80 Photius 288.25

ναυλόχιον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ

81

(a) Photius 540.3

στοίχος· στίχος . . . Ἀριστοφάνης Βαβυλωνίους.

BABYLONIANS

they asked him for “two shallow saucers” as he made his way to the trial, for we must imagine that they asked him for nothing other than drinking-bowls.

76 The snub: instead of the slope; also in *Babylonians*:  
by the middle way push on toward the snub

77

(s)he gives me the nod to flee homeward

78

you have bran and down<sup>19</sup>

79

he's afraid of his own shadow

80

anchorage in the middle

81

(a) Rank: line . . . Ar. *Babylonians* (quote).

<sup>19</sup> For making or stuffing bedding.

(b) Pollux 4.108-9

μέρη δὲ χοροῦ στοίχος καὶ ζυγὸν καὶ τραγικοῦ μὲν χοροῦ ζυγὰ πέντε ἐκ τριῶν καὶ στοῖχοι τρεῖς ἐκ πέντε πεντεκαίδεκα γὰρ ἦσαν ὁ χορός. καὶ κατὰ τρεῖς μὲν εἰσήεσαν, εἰ κατὰ ζυγὰ γίνοιτο ἢ πάροδος· εἰ δὲ κατὰ στοίχους, ἀνὰ πέντε εἰσήεσαν . . . ὁ δὲ κωμικὸς χορὸς τέτταρες καὶ εἴκοσιν ἦσαν οἱ χορευταί, ζυγὰ ἕξ, ἕκαστον δὲ ζυγὸν ἐκ τεττάρων, στοῖχοι δὲ τέτταρες. ἕξ ἀνδρας ἕχων ἕκαστος στοῖχος.

ἢ που κατὰ στοίχους κεκράζονται τι βαρβαριστί

82 Harpocration 121.3

εὖ γ' ἐξεκολύμβησ' οὐπιβάτης, ὡς ἐξοίσων  
ἐπίγκυλον

83 Ammonius, *Diff.* 517

ἢ βοιδαρίων τις ἀπέκτεινε ζεύγος, χολίκων  
ἐπιθυμῶν

84 Scholium on Ar. *Birds* 1556

καὶ δωροδοκῆσαι φησιν αὐτὸν Ἀριστοφάνης Βαβυλωνίους διὰ τούτων ἢ δῶρ' αἰτούντες (-ος Γ) ἀρχὴν πολέμου πορίσειεν μετὰ Πεισάνδρου.

(b) Rank and file are parts of a chorus. The tragic chorus had five files of three and three ranks of five, for there were fifteen in the chorus. They entered with a front of three if the *parodos* was by files, but if it was by ranks they entered with a front of five. Occasionally they also made the *parodos* single-file. The comic chorus was twenty-four dancers, six files of four and four ranks of six.

I suppose by ranks they'll be screeching something in barbaric fashion

82

the marine made a good dive to bring the stern-cable ashore

83

or someone wanting sausages killed a yoke of beeves

84 Pisander: And Ar. in *Babylonians* said he took bribes, as follows: "or else, demanding gifts, with Pisander they (*var.*:he) would supply a military office."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Or "a casus belli."

85 Photius 490.20

ροθιάζειν (δὲ) τὸ ἐρέσσειν εὐτόνωσ'

κατάγου ροθιάζων

86 *Ibid.*:

ναῦς ὅταν ἐκ πιτύλων ροθιάζῃ σῶφρονι κόσμῳ

87 Hesychius ε 6418

ἐς τὸν λιμένα· Ἀριστοφάνης Βαβυλωνίους. παρὰ τὴν παροιμίαν . . . οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι συντόνωσ ἤλαυνοι καταπλέουτες διὰ τὸ θεωρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς.

ἐς τὸν λιμένα

88 Scholium on Ar. *Peace* 348e

Φορμίων . . . αὐτοῦ μέμνηται ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν . . . Βαβυλωνίοις

89 Zenobius, *Athoos* 1.49 (vulg. 2.22)

ἀνθ' Ἑρμιόνοσ· εἴρηται ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν σωζόντων τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ἑρμιόνη τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἱερὸν ἦν Κόρης καὶ Δήμητροσ ἀσφάλειαν παρέχον τοῖσ καταφεύγουσι. μέμνηται Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Βαβυλωνίοις.

85 Dash: to row lustily:

dash the ship onwards

86 *Ibid.*:

when a ship by sweep of oars dashes in sound order

87 Shoreward: Ar. in *Babylonians*, proverbially. For the Athenians would row hard when putting into shore on account of being seen by those on the land.

shoreward

88 Phormion . . . the comic poet mentions him in . . . *Babylonians*.

89 Just like Hermion: the proverb is used of those saving their slaves, since at Hermion in the Peloponnese there was a shrine of Kore and Demeter offering asylum to refugees; Ar. mentions it in *Babylonians*.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

90 Hesychius ι 1033

Ἰστριανὰ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Βαβυλωνίοις τὰ μέτωπα τῶν οἰκετῶν Ἰστριανὰ φησι, ἐπεὶ ἐστιγμένοι εἰσίν. οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ἰστρῷ οἰκοῦντες στίζονται καὶ ποικίλαις ἐσθήσεσιν χρῶνται.

91 Pollux 10.152

καὶ πόδα δὲ βαλλαντίου ὁ αὐτὸς εἶρηκεν ἐν Βαβυλωνίοις.

92 Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3.2 1405b28

ἔστι δὲ ὁ ὑποκορισμός, ὃς ἔλαττον ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις, ἀντὶ μὲν χρυσίου χρυσιδάριον, ἀντὶ δ' ἱματίου ἱματιδάριον, ἀντὶ δὲ λοιδορίας λοιδορημάτιον, καὶ νοσημάτιον.

93 *Antiatticist* 80.14

ἀλυκόν· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλμυρόν.

94 Pollux 4.186

τοὺς δ' αἰὲ ρίγωντας οἱ παλαιοὶ ρίγωσιβίους ἔλεγον, οὓς οἱ νῦν δυσρίγους. Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Βαβυλωνίοις δύσριγος εἶρηκεν.

BABYLONIANS

90 Istrian: Ar. in *Babylonians* calls the foreheads of slaves Istrian because they are tattooed, for those living by the Istros tattoo themselves and wear pied clothing.

91 And in *Babylonians* the same poet (Ar.) speaks of the "foot of the purse."

92 It is the diminutive that diminishes both what is good and what is bad, as Ar. in *Babylonians* jests by using "goldlet" for gold, "cloaklet" for cloak, and "abuselet" for "abuse," also "diseaselet."

93 "Briny" for salty.

94 The ancients called cold people "coldsters," whom we now call "cold-sensitive;" Ar. in *Babylonians* says "cold-sensitive."



95 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

ζώντειον . . . ὁ μύλων. παρὰ τὰς ζέας αἱ καὶ ζειαὶ καλοῦνται ὅπου αἱ ζειαὶ ἐκόποντο . . . οἱ δὲ τόπον ὄνομα, ὅπου ἐκολάζοντο οἱ οἰκέται. Ἀριστοφάνης Βαβυλωνίους.

96 Moeris 199.10

θωμόν Ἀττικοί, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης Βαβυλωνίους, θημῶνα Ἕλληνες.

97 Stephanus of Byzantium 408.5

(Λακεδαίμων) καὶ λακωνίζω καὶ λακωνιστής. λέγεται καὶ λακεδαίμονιάζω, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης Βαβυλωνίους.

98 Photius 347.27

ὄρκοτομεῖν τὸ ὀμνῆναι.

99

(a) Photius 538.20

στίγων ὁ στιγματίας.

(b) Eustathius on *Od.* p. 1542.48

ὁ γράφας ὅτι στίχων καὶ πέδων δούλος ὁ στιγματίας καὶ πεδήτης παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει, μετ' ὀλίγα λέγει ὅτι τριπαίδων ὁ τρίδουλος.

95 ζώντειον: . . . The mill; derived from ζέα (*rice-wheat*), which some call ζείαι, where the ζείαι is pounded . . . others say that it is the word for a place where slaves were punished, as Ar. says in *Babylonians*.

96 θωμόν ["heap"] in Attic, as Ar. in *Babylonians*, θημῶν in common Greek.

97 Lacedaimon: "Laconizer" and "Laconist;" "I Lacedaimonize" is also attested, as Ar. in *Babylonians*.

98 "cut an oath": to swear.

99

(a) στίγων for στιγματίας (*branded slave*).

(b) He (Suetonius, cf. *Περὶ βλασφημιῶν* 12.62) wrote that στίχων and πέδων (cf. fr. 871) were used of the branded slave (*στιγματίας*) and fettered slave (*πεδήτης*) in Ar., shortly afterwards that "thrice boy" was used for "thrice slave."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> I.e. a third-generation slave.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

100 *Antiatticist* 116.32

ὠτοκάταξιν τὸν συντετριμμένον τὸ οὖς.

ΓΕΩΡΓΟΙ

101 Photius a 551

Ἄριστοφάνης δὲ ἐν Γεωργοῖς ἐξηγούμενος τὸ ἄδεις, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ μάτην λέγεις τίθεται, παροιμῶδες αὐτὸ ποιεί. φησὶ γὰρ·

- (A.) καὶ τὰς δίκας οὖν ἔλεγον ἄδοντες τότε;  
 (B.) νῆ Δία φράσω δ' ἐγὼ μέγα σοι τεκμήριον.  
 ἔτι γὰρ λέγουσ' οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καθήμενοι,  
 ὅταν κακῶς τις ἀπολογῆται τὴν δίκην·  
 ἄδεις

102 Plutarch, *Life of Nicias* 8.2

καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Νικίᾳ μεγάλην ἠρεγκεν ἀδοξίαν . . . σκώπτει δ' αὐτὸν εἰς ταῦτα πάλιν Ἄριστοφάνης ἐν μὲν

FARMERS

100 "broken-eared" of one whose ears have been battered.

FARMERS

Farmers, like Acharnians, evidently portrayed the hardships and inconveniences suffered by countrymen forced to live in the city during wartime, and, like Peace, anticipated their return to the countryside. In fr. 104 a father asks his son why he is so eager for troubles, i.e. battle, wartime conditions, or city life.

A reference to Nicias' resignation of his command at Pylos (fr. 102) makes the earliest date for the production the Dionysia of 424, which would suit the actual return to the countryside then underway as a result of the Athenian victory at Pylos. Other possibilities are the Lenaea of 423 (see *Merchant-Ships*, test. iv) and the Dionysia of 422. Fr. 103, if is a jab at Cleon, suggests a date before Cleon's death in summer 422.

101 Ar. in *Farmers*, employing "you sing," which is used to mean "you speak emptily," makes it proverbial:

- (A) So did they present their cases by singing at that time?  
 (B) Yes indeed; I'll tell you a great piece of proof. For still the old men say, while sitting on a jury, whenever someone defends his case ineptly, "you're singing"

102 And this (*resignation of his command at Pylos to Cleon*) brought Nicias great disgrace . . . and again Ar.

\*Ὀρμισω . . . ἐν δὲ Γεωργοῖς ταῦτα γράφων

(A.) ἐθέλω γεωργεῖν. (B.) εἶτα τίς σε κωλύει;  
 (A.) ὑμεῖς. τί δ' εἰ δίδωμι χιλίας δραχμάς,  
 εἴαν με τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀφήτε; (B.) δεχόμεθα·  
 δισχίλιαί γάρ εἰσι σὺν ταῖς Νικίου

103 Scholium on Ar. *Knights* 963a

(εἴαν τούτῳ πίθη, μολγὸν γενέσθαι δεῖ σε) Σύμμαχος·  
 ἔοικε χρῆσμός τις εἶναι. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς Γεωργοῖς οὕτως  
 ἔχει·

ὅτου δοκεῖ σοι δεῖν μάλιστα τῇ πόλει.  
 (B.) ἐμοὶ μὲν εἶναι μολγόν· οὐκ ἀκήκοας;

εἶναι μολγόν Herwerden: ἐπὶ τὸν μολγόν εἶναι codd.

104 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB s.v. γλίχεται

τί δῆτα τούτων τῶν κακῶν, ᾧ παῖ, γλίχη;

105 Athenaeus 3.111B

ὁ δὲ ὀβελίας ἄρτος κέκληται ἥτοι ὅτι ὀβελουῦ πι-  
 πράσκεται . . . ἢ ὅτι ἐν ὀβελίσκοις ὠπτάτο.

<sup>22</sup> The mockery in *Birds* alludes rather to Nicias' delay in following up his success at Syracuse in late 415.

<sup>23</sup> Two old oracles (Plutarch *Life of Theseus* 24.5) had prophesied that Athens, like a wineskin at sea, would be much-tossed but never sink; here (as in the passage from *Knights* and in frags. 308

mocked him for it in *Birds* (639–40)<sup>22</sup> . . . and in *Farmers* as follows:

(A) I want to farm!  
 (B) And who's stopping you?  
 (A) You all are. So I'm  
 contributing a thousand drachmas  
 if you free me from my duties.  
 (B) We'll take them:  
 with Nicias' contribution they make two thousand.

103 ("if you believe him [*the Sausage-Seller*] you must become a leather bottle") Symmachus: it seems to be an oracle, for it is so in *Farmers*:

what you think the state especially needs.  
 (B) If you ask me, to be a leather bottle: haven't you heard?<sup>23</sup>

104

Why then do you long for these troubles, son?

105 Obel-loaf was so-called either because it cost an obol . . . or because it was baked on a spit (*obeliskos*):<sup>24</sup>

and 933) the vulgar word *μολγός* (*leather bottle*) is substituted for the oracular *ἀσκός* (*wineskin*). If there is also an allusion to Cleon in the reference to leather/tanning, it would suggest a date before Cleon's death in 422.

<sup>24</sup> The latter is correct, cf. Pollux 6.75 "Obel-loaves: the so-called *obelaphoroi* brought to the shrine of Dionysus, one, two, or three *medimnoi* in size, skewering them on spits (*obeliskoi*), whence their name."

εἴτ' ἄρτον ὀπτῶν τυγχάνει τις ὀβελίαν

106 Athenaeus 11.406D

(κυλικείου) εἴρηται γὰρ οὕτως ἢ τῶν ποτηρίων σκευ-  
οθήκη παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει μὲν ἐν Γεωργοῖς·

ὥσπερ κυλικείου τοῦθόνιον προπέπταται

107 Priscian, *Inst.* 18.303

εἴ γ' ἐγκυλικίσαιμι, ἐξολοίμην, φαθι λέγων

108 Photius (z) a 3111

Ἀριστοφάνης Γεωργοῖς· κάχέτας καὶ μετακλέας καὶ  
μαλακούς.

109 Pollux 9.69

ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ ἐν ταῖς Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις Ἀριστοφάνους  
εἰρημένον τὸ χαλκίον θερμαίνεται οὕτω πως ἤκουον  
ὡς εἰς πότον εὐτρεπιζόμενων τῶν γυναικῶν. ταῦτ' ὃν δὲ  
τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς Εὐπόλιδος Δήμοις ἐστὶν εἰρημένον.  
ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀποχρῶν ἐστὶν εἰς πίστιν τῆς τοῦ  
θερμοῦ πόσεως, ὑπηναντιούτ' μοι τὸ ἐν τοῖς Ἀριστο-  
φάνους Γεωργοῖς σαφῶς ἐπὶ λουτροῦ εἰρημένον·

ἐξ ἄστεως νῦν εἰς ἀγρὸν χωρῶμεν· ὡς πάλαι δεῖ  
ἡμᾶς εἶδει <ν> τῷ χαλκίῳ λελουμένους σχολάζειν

λελουμένους Porson: ἐν λουσαμένῳ codd.

then (or and if) someone happens to be baking an  
obel-loaf

106 The container that held drinking vessels is called a  
sideboard by Ar. in *Farmers*:

the linen is spread out as before a sideboard

107

if I play the Cilician<sup>25</sup>, may I drop dead; go ahead and  
speak

108 *The notice is corrupt but probably once contained  
the name Megacles (cf. Acharnians 614, Clouds 46) and  
possibly also Laches (cf. Wasps 240, 836 ff., 894 ff.) and  
Lamachus (cf. Acharnians 566–622, 1071–1226).*

109 I have heard the expression in Ar.'s *Thesmophori-  
azusae* (fr. 345) "the kettle's heating" applied offhand to  
women preparing for drinking. This same expression oc-  
curs in Eupolis' *Demes* (99.41–42). But that not even this  
suffices for faith in the drinking of hot drinks, I am sup-  
ported by what Ar. plainly says in *Farmers* about bathing:

from the city we're now off to the countryside, as  
long since  
we should have been taking it easy after a soak in the  
tub

<sup>25</sup> That is, make a meretricious promise.

110 Athenaeus 3.75A

Λακωνικοῦ δὲ σύκου μνημονεύει ἐν Γεωργοῖς Ἀριστοφάνης ταδὶ λέγων . . . μικρὸν δὲ αὐτὸ εἶπε διὰ τὸ μὴ μέγα εἶναι τὸ φυτόν.

- ο - συκᾶς φυτεύω κάρτα πλὴν Λακωνικῆς  
τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ σύκον ἐχθρόν ἐστι καὶ τυραννικόν.  
οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἂν μικρὸν, εἰ μὴ μισόδημον ἦν  
σφόδρα

111 Stobaeus 4.14.2

Εἰρήνη βαθύπλουτε καὶ ζευγάριον βοεικόν,  
εἰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ παυσάμενῳ τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτο  
σκάψαι τ' ἀποκλάσαι <τε> καὶ λουσαμένῳ  
διελκύσαι  
τῆς τρυγός, ἄρτον λιπαρὸν καὶ ράφανον φαγόντι

112 Hephaestion *Enchiridion* 13.2 40

ὦ πόλι φίλη Κέκροπος, αὐτοφυῆς Ἀττική,  
χαῖρε λιπαρὸν δάπεδον, οὐθαρ ἀγαθῆς χθονός

113 *Ibid.* 13.3 41

ἐν ἀγορᾷ δ' αὖ πλάτανον εὖ διαφυτεύσομεν

110 Ar. mentions the Spartan fig in *Farmers*, speaking these lines (quote). He called it small because it is not a large plant.

figs of every kind I'll plant except for Spartan ones, for that's the kind of fig that's hostile and tyrannical. It wouldn't be small if it didn't hate the people vehemently

111

Peace deep in wealth and little team of oxen, would it were mine to have an end of the war, and delve and dress the vines, and after a bath to take a pull of the new wine, after a meal of fatted bread and cabbage<sup>26</sup>

112

Dear country of Cecrops, self-grown Attica, hail gleaming plain, bosom of fine land

113

and in the marketplace we'll plant a nice colonnade of plane-trees

<sup>26</sup> Taking off from a prayer in Euripides' *Cresphontes* (fr. 453 = 71 Austin), "Peace deep in wealth and fairest of the blessed gods, I've zeal for you, as you're so long in returning."

114 Harpocraton 188.16

κωδύα τὴν τῆς μήκωνος κεφαλὴν οὕτω καλοῦσιν.

ἀγαθὴν γε <κωδύαν>

115 Scholium on Plato *Euthydemus* 293d

παροιμία καλὰ δὴ παταγεῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλλεις, ἐπὶ τῶν αἴσια ἀναγγελλόντων. πολλάκις δὲ λέγεται καὶ κατ' εἰρωνείαν.

116 Scholium on Ar. *Clouds* 1001

(τοῖς Ἴπποκράτους νιέσιν εἵξεις, καὶ σε καλοῦσι βλιτομάμμαν) οὗτοι ὡς ὑῶδεις τινὲς καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι κωμωδοῦνται. καὶ τάχα ἂν εἴησαν προκέφαλοι τινες, ὡς ἐν Γεωργοῖς φησι καὶ ἐν Τριφάλῃτι.

117 Scholium on Plato *Apology* 18b

Μέλητος δὲ τραγωδίας φαῦλος ποιητής, Θρᾷξ γένος, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης Βατράχοις, Πελαργοῖς, Λαίου υἱὸν αὐτὸν λέγων, ἐπεὶ ᾧ ἔτι οἱ Πελαργοὶ ἐδιδάσκοντο, καὶ ὁ Μέλητος Οἰδιπόδειαν καθήκεν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης Διδασκαλίαις. ἐν δὲ Γεωργοῖς ὡς Καλλιᾶν περαίνοντος αὐτοῦ μέμνηται.

118 Scholium on Ar. *Birds* 1701

(Γοργίαί τε καὶ Φίλιπποι) ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ὁ Γοργίας

114 They call the head of the poppy the capsule:

fine capsule

115 The proverb "you rattle good things" instead of "you report good things" is used of those reporting good news, and is often spoken ironically.

116 ("you'll be like the sons of Hippocrates and people will call you pap-sucker") These are ridiculed as swinish and uneducated, and they might have had misshapen heads, as he (Ar.) says in *Farmers* and *Triphales* (fr. 568).<sup>27</sup>

117 Meletus the bad tragic poet was of Thracian birth, as Ar. in *Frogs* (1302) and *Storks* (fr. 453), calling him Laius' son, since at the time of the production of *Storks* Meletus was competing with his *Oedipodea*, as Aristotle says in *Productions* (fr. 628 Rose<sup>3</sup>). In *Farmers* he (Ar.) mentions him as "screwing Callias."<sup>28</sup>

118 ("Gorgias and Philipuses"): These two rhetors are

<sup>27</sup> Hippocrates, a nephew of Pericles and elected a general in 426/5 and 424/3, died in the battle of Delium in late 424. His three sons (Pericles, Telesippus, and Demophon) apparently had misshapen heads, like their illustrious great-uncle.

<sup>28</sup> This scholium confuses the father, ridiculed in *Farmers* and *Gerytades* (fr. 156.10), with the son (who wrote an *Oedipodea*) ridiculed in *Storks*.

οὔτοι ῥήτορες λάλοι εἰσιν . . . τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου καὶ ἐν Γεωργοῖς μνημονεύει Ἀριστοφάνης.

119 Zenobius 2.27

Μελιτέων οἶκος· ἐπὶ τῶν ἴδιον οἶκον μὴ κεκτημένων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μισθῶ οἰκούντων· μέμνηται αὐτῆς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γεωργοῖς. . . . ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ οἶκος μέγας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν μισθουμένων.

Μελιτέων - οἶκος Dindorf: αὐτὸν Μελιτέων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον codd.

120 Athenaeus 14.650E

ῥοῶν . . . τῶν γὰρ ἀπυρήνων Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γεωργοῖς μνημονεύει. καὶ ἐν Ἀναγύρω . . . καὶ ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ.

121 Photius (z) ined.

ἐκροπίσαι· τὸ ἐκροφήσαι.

122 Photius (z) ined.

ἐλάζειν· τὰς ἐλαίας ἐργάζεσθαι.

123 *Etymologicum Genitivum* AB

(ὄρχατος) Ἀριστοφάνης τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν πεφυτευμένων μετόρχιον ἐκάλεσεν ἐν τοῖς Γεωργοῖς.

babblers . . . Ar. also mentions Philippus in *Farmers*.

119 "The house in Melite" of those who do not own but rent a house: Ar. mentions it (*the proverb*) in *Farmers* . . . This house was large, to accommodate renters.

120 Pomegranates . . . Ar. mentions the seedless ones in *Farmers*, also in *Anagyris* (fr. 52) . . . and *Gerytades* (fr. 188).

121 Photius (z) ined.

ἐκροπίσαι· ἐκροφήσαι (*gobble up*).

122 Photius (z) ined.

ἐλάζειν· to cultivate olives.

123 Ar. in *Farmers* calls the space between rows (ὄρχιοι) of vines/fruit-trees μετόρχιον.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

124 Pollux 7.202

πορνεύτριαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Γεωργοῖς Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη.

125 Harpocration 272.9

Σηράγγιον Λυσίας ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος χωρίον τι τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γεωργοῖς.

126

(a) Photius 543.7

Στρέψια: πόλις τῆς Θράκης, καὶ οἱ πολῖται Στρεψαῖοι. Στρεψαῖους: Ἀριστοφάνης Γεωργοῖς.

(b) Theognost. 53.14

Στρεψαῖος ὁ Ἑρμῆς παρὰ τῷ Ἀριστοφάνει παρὰ τὸ διεστράφθαι τὰς ὄψεις.

127 Pollux 10.69

τραπεζοφόρον . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν φέροντος, ἧ ἐπήσαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αἱ μυρρίναι.

ΓΗΡΑΣ

128

(a) Pollux 6.69 (FS, A)

Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ Γῆρα λέγει· ὄξωτὰ - ὀρίγανον.

172

OLD AGE

124 Ar. in *Farmers* says πορνεύτρια (*prostitute*).

125 Σηράγγιον: Lysias in *Against Androtion* (fr. 17 S.) so calls a place in Piraeus, and Ar. mentions it in *Farmers*.

126

(a) Strepsa: a city in Thrace, and its citizens are Strep-saeans; Strep-saeans: Ar. in *Farmers*.

(b) Theognostus 53.14 "Strep-saeon Hermes" in Ar., playing on "turning" (στρέψαι) the eyes.<sup>29</sup>

127 Table-bearer . . . for the one who bears the table on which were the myrtle-wreaths for the Archons.

OLD AGE

*The chorus seems to have been composed of old men who are rejuvenated and then behave like licentious youths. The only indication of the date may be the mention of cleroteria (allotment machines) in fr. 152, if these were introduced along with a new system of seat allocation in the Council chamber in 410/09.*

*Some also attribute frags. 591 and 716 to Old Age.*

128

(a) Ar. says in *Old Age*: "what's vinegary – oregano."

<sup>29</sup> Hermes was always on the lookout for lucre, cf. *Wealth* 1153–56.

173



(b) Diogenes Laertius 4.18–19

(Polemon) ἦν οὖν †αστεῖός τις καὶ γενναῖος, παρητη-  
μένος ἃ φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης περὶ Εὐριπίδου, ὄξωτά  
καὶ σιλφιωτά, ἄπερ, ὡς <ὁ> αὐτός φησι, καταπυγο-  
σύνη - μέγα.

ὄξωτά, σιλφιωτά, βολβός, τεύτλιον,  
ὑπότριμμα, θρίον, ἐγκέφαλος, ὀρίγανον,  
καταπυγosity ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς κρέας μέγα

ὑπότριμμα (ὑποτρικομμα Pollux<sup>FS</sup>) Dindorf: περίκομμα  
Pollux<sup>A</sup>

129 Athenaeus 3.109F κριβανίτην· τούτου μνημονεύει  
Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γῆρα. ποιεῖ δὲ λέγουσαν ἀρόπωλιν  
διηπρασμένων αὐτῆς τῶν ἄρτων ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ γήρας  
ἀποβαλλόντων·

(A.) τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα; (B.) θερμούς, ὦ  
τέκνον.

(A.) ἀλλ' ἦ παραφρονεῖς; (B.) κριβανίτας, ὦ  
τέκνον,

(A.) τί; κριβανίτας; (B.) πάνν δὲ λευκούς, ὦ  
τέκνον

130 Phrynichus, *Ecloge* 346

τίς ἂν φράσειε ποῦ ἴστι τὸ Διονύσιον  
ὅπου τὰ μορμολυκεῖα προσκρεμάννται

(b) (Polemo) was urbane and noble, rejecting the things  
Ar. says about Euripides: “this is – meat.”

what's vinegary, silphiumy, bulbs, white beet,<sup>30</sup>  
sour mash, rissoles, heart of palm, oregano:  
this is all faggoty next to a big piece of meat.

129 Oven-baked loaf: mentioned in Ar.'s *Old Age*. He has  
a bread-woman speak after her loaves have been seized by  
those who had cast off their old age:

(A) What's the meaning of this?

(B) Give me hot ones, kiddo!

(A) Are you crazy?

(B) Oven-baked ones, kiddo!

(A) What? Oven-baked ones?

(B) And real white, kiddo!

130

Who can tell me where Dionysus' precinct is,  
where the Mormo-Goblins are hung on display<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> In *Frogs* 942 white beet is among the laxative treatments ad-  
ministered to Aeschylean tragedy by Euripides.

<sup>31</sup> These masks, associated with comedy in fr. 31, were dis-  
played in the Dionysus theater probably as dedications, perhaps  
to announce productions. Line 1 might be a question answered by  
another speaker in line 2.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

131 Photius (z) a 1018

Ἄλμυρίδες· τόπος τις περὶ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Ἀττικῆς.  
 Αριστοφάνης Γῆρα·

ἔδει δέ γέ σε βληθεῖσαν εἰς Ἄλμυρίδας  
 τῇ θυγατρὶ τηδὶ μὴ παρέχειν σε πράγματα

132 Pollux 4.180

ὀφθαλμιάσας πέρυσιν εἴτ' ἔσχον κακῶς,  
 κάπειθ' ὑπαλειφόμενος παρ' ἱατρῶ

133 Priscian, *Inst. gramm.* 18.246

(A.) σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔπη μοι; (B.) νὴ Δί', ὀλίγας  
 ἡμέρας

134 Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1803

καὶ μὴν ὑπόστιφρόν γε τὴν φωνὴν ἔχεις

135 Photius (z) a 2926

ἀρχηγέται· ἡγεμόνες οἱ ἐπάνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν.  
 ὁ δὲ μεθύων ἡμεῖ παρὰ τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας

136 Photius (b,z) a 452

ἀθάρης ἀνακαλύψασα μεστὸν τρύβλιον

OLD AGE

131 Halmyrides: a place on the frontier of Attica.<sup>32</sup>

you (*fem.*) should've been cast into Halmyrides  
 and not caused trouble for this daughter of yours

132

last year I was badly off with eye-disease,  
 then I got something to rub into them at the doctor's

133

(A) Aren't you following me?  
 (B) Zeus yes, for a few days.

134

indeed you've got a sturdy voice

135 Archegetae: the eponymous leaders of the tribes.

when he got drunk he puked upon the Chiefs<sup>33</sup>

136

she, having uncovered a bowl of gruel

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Hesychius a 3201 "where they cast out corpses."

<sup>33</sup> The statues of these *archegetai* were in the agora.

137 Pollux 9.39

ἐπὶ τοῦ περιδρόμου στάσα τῆς συνοικίας

138 *Anecdota Graeca* Bachmann 127.15

ἐγὼ δ' ἀπολοπίζειν τε κἄτ' ἐπ' ἀνθράκων

139 Pollux 10.74

ὕδριαν δανείζειν πεντέχουν ἢ μείζονα

140 Athenaeus 7.287D

ταῖς πολιόχρωσι βεμβράσιν τεθραμμένη

141 Pollux 10.173

πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου

142 Pollux 10.173

βακτηρία δὲ Περσὶς ἀντὶ καμπύλης

143 Pollux 10.104

κοπίδι τῶν μαγειρικῶν

144 Scholium on Nicander *Theriaca* 295

βαιὸν δὲ πλόον· νῦν τὴν ὁδόν, τὴν πεζὴν πορείαν . . .  
καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ Γήρα γυναικα ποιήσας ἐπὶ

137

she, having taken a position on the walk by the tenement

138

and I to clean <the fish> and then upon the coals

139

to rinse a five-chous jar or bigger<sup>34</sup>

140

a girl raised on gray-skinned sprats<sup>35</sup>

141

a beggar's staff

142

a Persian staff instead of a farmer's stick

143

with a chef's-grade cleaver

144 "Short cruise": here used of a journey by land . . . Ar. in *Old Age* has a woman drawn by a span of asses and

<sup>34</sup> One chous = 3.2 litres; here a wine-jar is suggested (water-jars would not need rinsing).

<sup>35</sup> Poor fare.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

ζεύγους ὄνων ὀχομένην παρεισάγη τινὰ ἐρώντα αὐ-  
τῆς:

ἀποπλείς ἐτεόν; (B.) ὡς τὸν νυμφίον  
ᾧ γαμοῦμαι τήμερον.

ὡς Kassel: ἐπὶ codd.

145 Scholia on Plato *Hippias Minor* 368c

εἰ παιδαρίους ἀκολουθεῖν δεῖ σφαῖραν καὶ  
στλεγγίδ' ἔχοντα

146 (H)eren(n)ius Philo, *Verb. sign.* μ 114

Ἄριστοφάνης . . . φησὶ . . . ἐν Γήρᾳ: μείρα γέρων  
πληκτιζομένην ἄρκεις μειρακίω τω

versum corruptum sic restituere conatus est Austin μείραξ ὁ  
γέρων πληκτιζομένη <τοῖς> ὄρχεσι μειρακίου του

147 Aelian, *Nature of Animals* 12.9

λορδοῦ κιγκλοβάταν ῥυθμόν

148 Athenaeus 4.133A

ὦ πρεσβῦτα, πότερα φιλεῖς τὰς δρυπεπεῖς  
ἐταίρας  
ἢ σὺ τὰς ὑποπαρθένους, ἀλμάδας ὡς ἐλάας  
στιφράς;

OLD AGE

brings on a lover of hers:

(A) Are you truly cruising away?

(B) To the bridegroom

I'm to marry today

145

if one must go with the children, ball and strigil in  
hand

146 In *Old Age* Ar. says:

the old man's <like> a girl trading thrusts with some  
boy's balls<sup>36</sup>

147

bend in the rhythm of a wagtail-strut<sup>37</sup>

148

old man, do you fancy the girlfriends who are ripe,  
or the fresh ones, firm as salted  
olives?

<sup>36</sup> With Austin's tentative reconstruction of the corrupt quota-  
tion.

<sup>37</sup> Probably of a sexual posture; cf. fr. 29.

149 Photius 256.7

Μελιτέα κάπρον· Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γήρα λέγει ἀντὶ τοῦ Εὐκράτου, ἐπεὶ δασύς ἐστιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄρκτον αὐτὸν ἔλεγον· ἢ ὅτι μυλῶνας εἶχεν ἐν οἷς ἐτρέφοντο σὺς.

150 Pollux 10.173

καλαμίνοὺς αὐλοῦς

151 *Antiatticist* 102.15

καταλαλεῖν.

152 Pollux 10.61

κληρωτήριον· εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἔοικεν εἰρήσθαι τοῦνομα ἐν τῷ Γήρα Ἀριστοφάνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγγείου ἂν ἐναρμόσειεν.

153 Harpocration 275.10

σκάφιον· Ἀντιφῶν . . . ὅτι τὸ σκάφιον εἶδος κουρᾶς, καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Γήρα.

154 Harpocration 289.3

τῆτες ἀντὶ τοῦ τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει . . . καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Γήρα.

155 Orus, *Orthography*

ῶδικός.

182

149 Boar of Melite: Ar. in *Old Age* says it to mean Eucrates, because he was hairy; and they also called him "Bear." Or because he owned mills in which pigs were raised.

150

pipes made of reeds

151 to babble

152 κληρωτήριον (*allotment-machine*): the word seems to be used in Ar.'s *Old Age* of the place (*sc.* where allotments were made), but also of the vessel into which they cast (*sc.* ballots).<sup>38</sup>

153 Bowl-cut: Antiphon says . . . that the bowl-cut was a kind of haircut, and also Ar. in *Old Age*.

154 "this year" (*tetes*) instead of "in this year" . . . also Ar. in *Old Age*.

155 *tuneful*<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> For the *cleroterion*, first mentioned here and again in *Eccl.* 681, cf. Arist. *Ath.* 63.2 (where see Rhodes, who describes its use and provides an illustration at 64.2). If this machine was connected with the new allotment system for the Council chamber that was introduced in 410/09 (Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 140), then we have a *terminus post quem* for this play.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *Antiatticist* 116.31, "tuneful: of one who sings well."

## 156

## (a) Athenaeus 12.551A

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ λεπτοὺς τούσδε καταλέγει, οὓς καὶ πρέσβεις ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν φησιν εἰς Ἄιδου πέμπεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ ποιητὰς λέγων οὕτως· καὶ τίς - Κινησίας. εἰθ' ἐξῆς φησιν ὡς σφόδρ' - [ἐξ]οιχῆσεται.

(b) Athenaeus l.c. *Epitome*

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ λεπτοὺς καταλέγει Σαννυρίωνα τραγωδῶν καὶ Μέλητον καὶ Κινησίαν, οὓς καὶ πρέσβεις ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν φησιν εἰς Ἄιδου πέμπεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ ποιητὰς, καὶ ἀδοφοίτας τούτους καλεῖ, οὓς φησι καὶ ἐπὶ λεπτῶν ἐλπίδων ὀχεῖσθαι.

*The title character's name is a comic patronymic made from the poetic word γῆρυς (voice or sound) and its corresponding verb γηρύειν (say or sing), but his identity and role in the plot are unclear. The play is set in Athens, where an assembly of poets elect Meletus (representing tragedy), Sannyrion (comedy), and Cinesias (dithyramb) to travel to the underworld (goal unclear); there they meet with their deceased predecessors, perhaps at a dinner-party. The fragments do not allow us to say whether all this happens on stage or before the action of the play begins. The delegates may have returned to Athens with the goddess Poetry, if fr. 591 contains a commentary on this play and not, as some think, on Old Age. The identity of the chorus is unclear.*

*The references to poets and poetry suggest a date of 408 or 407 (Agathon is on hand but not Euripides).*

*To Gerytades some attribute also frags. 128, 591, 595, 596, 598, 623, 696, 720, adesp. 1005.*

## 156

(a) And Ar. in *Gerytades* selects the following examples of thin men, whom he portrays as being sent by the poets to Hades as envoys to the poets there (quote).

(b) And Ar. selects slender men, the tragic poet Sannyrion, and Meletus and Cinesias, whom he says were sent by the poets to Hades to meet the poets down there, and he calls them Hades-Haunters, whom he says were also riding on slender hopes.

- (A.) καὶ τίς νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας  
 ἔτλη κατελθεῖν; (B.) ἓνα μὲν ἀφ' ἐκάστης τέχνης  
 εἰλόμεθα κοινῇ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας,  
 οὓς ἦσμεν ὄντας ἀδοφοίτας καὶ θαμὰ  
 5 ἐκέισε φιλοχωροῦντας. (A.) εἰσὶ γάρ τινες  
 ἄνδρες παρ' ὑμῖν ἀδοφοῦνται; (B.) νῆ Δία  
 μάλιστά γ'. (A.) ὥσπερ Θρακοφοῦται; (B.) πάντ'  
 ἔχεις.  
 (A.) καὶ τίνες ἂν εἶεν; (B.) πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων  
 ἀπὸ τῶν τρυγωδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν  
 Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλίων Κινησίας.  
 10 (A.) ὡς σφόδρ' ἐπὶ λεπτῶν ἐλπίδων ὠχέισθ' ἄρα.  
 τούτους γάρ, ἦν πολλῶ ξυνέλθη ξυλλαβῶν  
 ὁ τῆς διαρροίας ποταμὸς οἰχῆσεται

157 Pollux 6.111

οὐ μὴν εἴποι ἄν τις τὸ κοτταβίζειν ἐφ' οὐ νῦν, ἐμεῖν ἢ  
 ἀποβλύζειν, πλὴν εἴ τις παίζων βούλοιο οὕτως ὑπο-  
 πτεύειν τὸ ἐν τῷ Γηρυτάδῃ ὑπ' Ἀριστοφάνους εἰρη-  
 μένου·

τότε μὲν ἴσων κατεκοττάβιζον τοῖ  
 νυνὶ δὲ καὶ κατεμοῦσι, τάχα δ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι  
 καὶ καταχέσονται

<sup>40</sup> A parody of Euripides *Hecuba* 1. <sup>41</sup> Hesychius *a* 1793, "Hades-Haunters: those being thin and dry and near death."

<sup>42</sup> "Trygedy" (from *tryx*, "wine-lees") was a jocular term for comedy that first appears in Ar.'s *Acharnians*.

- (A) And who to the pit of the dead and the gates of  
 gloom<sup>40</sup>  
 has dared descend?  
 (B) One from each poetic craft  
 we chose together, meeting as an assembly:  
 those we knew as Hades-Haunters<sup>41</sup> and regularly  
 fond of yonder parts.  
 (A) So there are men among you  
 who are Hades-haunters?  
 (B) Indeed there are!  
 (A) Like Thrace-haunters?  
 (B) You've got it!  
 (A) And who might they be?  
 (B) First, Sannyrion  
 represents the trygic choruses,<sup>42</sup> and the tragic ones  
 Meletus, and the dithyrambic ones Cinesias.  
 (A) How very slender the hopes you're riding on!  
 For the diarrhoea river,<sup>43</sup> if it's in spate,  
 will take these fellows and carry them away.

157 One could not use the word "play cottabus," as it is used today, to mean "vomit" or "spew," unless one wanted to glance playfully at the way it was used by Ar. in his *Gerytades*:

In those days they flicked wine-drops at you,  
 but now they also puke on you, and soon—mark my  
 words—  
 they'll even be shitting on you

<sup>43</sup> Apparently a traditional feature of the underworld, cf. *Frogs* 145–46.

158

(a) Scholium on Ar. *Wasps* 1312

Σθενέλος δὲ τραγικός (τραγικὸς ὑποκριτῆς ἦν ὁ Σθ.  
Lh [Triclinius]), ὃς διὰ πείναι τὴν τραγικὴν ἀπέδοτο  
σκευὴν κακῶς πρᾶττων ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ.

(b) Athenaeus 9.367B

ἀλῶν δὲ καὶ ὄξους μέμνηται ὁ καλὸς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν  
τοῖς περὶ Σθενέλου τοῦ τραγικοῦ λέγων·

(A.) καὶ πῶς ἐγὼ Σθενέλου φάγοιμι ἂν ῥήματα;

(B.) εἰς ὄξος ἐμβαπτόμενος ἢ ξηροὺς ἄλας

159 Athenaeus 7.307DE

ἄρ' ἔνδον ἀνδρῶν κεστρέων ἀποικία;  
ὡς μὲν γάρ ἐστε νήσιτιδες, γιγνώσκετε

160 Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2742 fr. 1.8

περιάγειν ἐχρῆν  
τὸν μηχανοποιὸν ὡς τάχιστα τὴν κράδην

161 Athenaeus 8.365B

ἐν τοῖσι συνδείπνοις ἐπαινῶν Αἰσχύλου

158

(a) Sthenelus was a tragedian (*var.* tragic actor) who, because of poverty caused by failure in his profession, sold his tragic equipment.

(b) The excellent Ar. mentions salt and vinegar in the lines about the tragedian Sthenelus:

(A) And how would I eat verses by Sthenelus?

(B) By dipping them in vinegar and dry salt<sup>44</sup>

159

Is there a colony of mullet-men inside?<sup>45</sup>  
That they're starving you all recognize

160

the operator ought  
to have deployed the crane as quickly as possible<sup>46</sup>

161

at dinner-parties praising Aeschylus

<sup>44</sup> Because Sthenelus' verses were insipid, cf. Aristotle *Poet.* 22.1458a20.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Hesychius κ 2384, "Mulletts: they call those who gape and go hungry mullets, and the Athenians they called and accused of being that, for this creature is gluttonous and insatiable."

<sup>46</sup> The apparatus on which actors could fly above the stage; the operator is metatheatrically acknowledged also in *Peace* 174, fr. 192 and in the passages by Strattis (frs. 4 and 46) quoted in the papyrus.



ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

162 Athenaeus 3.99F

θεράπευε καὶ χόρταζε τῶν μονωδιῶν

163 Pollux 10.58

τὴν μάλθαν ἐκ τῶν γραμματείων ἤσθιον

164 Athenaeus 3.95F

ἀκροκάλι', ἄρτοι, κάραβοι, βολβοί, φακῆ

165 Athenaeus 4.158C

πτισάνην διδάσκεις αὐτὸν ἔψειν ἢ φακῆν;

166 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

ἦσαν εὐθὺ τοῦ Διονυσίου

167 Hesychius α 8417

αὐτοὶ θύομεν· ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτοὶ πίνομεν ἐνηλλαγμένως, παρόσον οἱ καλούμενοι εἰς ἐστίαν λέγουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ θύομεν. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν καλουμένων ὑπὸ τινῶν λέγεται.

168 Pollux 9.169

φορμῶ σχοινίῳ

GERYTADES

162

treat and fatten <him> up with monodies<sup>47</sup>

163

they ate the wax from their writing-tablets

164

trotters, loaves, crabs, onions, lentil-soup

165

are you teaching him to cook pea- or lentil-soup?

166

they were heading straight for the precinct of Dionysus

167 "We're sacrificing": by *enallage* meaning "we are at the symposium," inasmuch as those invited to a feast say "we're sacrificing too," for it is said of those invited by someone.

168

with a plaited mat

<sup>47</sup> The sort of astrophic arias that were then a novelty in tragedy and associated both with younger poets and with the late plays of Euripides.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

169 Pollux 9.46

τὸ δὲ καλούμενον ὠρολόγιον ἢ που πόλον ἂν τις εἴποι  
φήσαντος Ἀριστοφάνους ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ·

(A.) πόλος τόδ' ἐστίν. (B.) κῆτα πόστην ἥλιος  
τέτραπται;

170 Erotian ε 23

φήμαις <μὲν> οὖν ἐγὼ βροτῶν ἅπαντας  
ἐκλαπήναι

φήμαισιν Arnott

171 Harpocration 76.9

χαριεντίζη καὶ καταπαίζεις ἡμῶν καὶ  
βωμολοχεύη

172 Athenaeus 6.261F

ψίθυρός τ' ἐκαλοῦ καὶ ψωμοκόλαξ

173 Pollux 10.90.91

ἄλλος † δ' εἰσέφερε πλεκτῶ κανισκίῳ  
ἄρτων περιλοιπα θρύμματα

GERYTADES

169 One could certainly call the so-called horologe  
"pole," as Ar. in *Gerytades*:

(A) This is the pole.<sup>48</sup>

(B) So, what number has the sun got to?

170

No, I believe what mortals say, that everyone was  
hatched

171

you make jokes and mock us and play the buffoon

172

you were called a slanderer and a flatterer for bread

173

another was bringing leftover slices of bread  
in a little wicker basket

<sup>48</sup> Probably meaning the pole of the underworld, opposite the  
celestial pole.

174 Athenaeus 11.485A

ἦν δὲ  
τὸ πρᾶγμα ἑορτή· περιέφερε † δὲ κύκλω λεπαστήν  
ἡμῶν †  
ταχὺ προσφέρων παῖς † ἐνέχει τε † σφόδρα  
κυανοβενθῆ

175 Scholium on Sophocles *Electra* 289

(ὦ δύσθεον μίσσημα, σοὶ μόνῃ πατὴρ τέθνηκεν;) καὶ  
ταῦτα Ἀριστοφάνης παρωδῆκεν ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ.

176 Scholium on Ar. *Frogs* 436

(ἀλλ' ἴσθ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν θύραν ἀφιγμένος) τὸ ὅμοιον  
καὶ ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ.

177 = 1

178 Scholium on Cyril, *Glossary*

Ἀγαθώνειος, εἰς αἰλησίς τις μαλακὴ παρ' Ἀριστο-  
φάνει ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ. Ἀγάθων γὰρ ὁ τραγικὸς ἐπὶ  
μαλακίᾳ διεκωμωδεῖτο.

179 Harpocraton 209.13

Ναῖς· ἐταῖρα τις. Λυσίας ἐν τῷ κατὰ Φιλωνίδου, εἰ  
γνήσιος, καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Γηρυτάδῃ. μήποτε δὲ καὶ

174

'twas a feasting affair: a boy ran quickly around with a  
magnum  
pouring us drafts deep as the blue sea

175 ("Godforsaken object of my hatred, are you the only  
one whose father is dead?"): also parodied by Ar. in  
*Gerytades*.

176 ("Know that you've arrived at the very portal"): the  
same also in *Gerytades*.

177 = 1

178 Agathonian: a kind of effeminate piping in Ar.'s  
*Gerytades*. Agathon the tragic poet was ridiculed for ef-  
feminacy.

179 Nais: a courtesan mentioned in *Lysias Against  
Philonides* (fr. 245 S.), if genuine, and Ar. in *Gerytades*.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

ἐν τῷ Πλούτῳ, ὅπου φησὶν ὁ κωμικός· ἐρᾷ δὲ Λαῖς οὐ  
διὰ σὲ Φιλωνίδου, γραπτέον ἦν διὰ τοῦ ν Ναις διὰ τὸν  
Φιλωνίδα.

180 Pollux 10.160

θύλακος καὶ ἀσκοθύλακος.

181 Erotian γ 9

γαργαλισμόν· γάργαλος καὶ γαργάλη λέγεται ἐρε-  
θισμός, ἀπὸ τῶν πασχητισῶν γυναικῶν εἰλημμένης  
τῆς λέξεως.

182 Harpocration 134.15

ἔρμα· ὕφαλος πέτρα.

183 Pollux 7.149

τὰ δὲ καρπεῖα.

184 Pollux 4.181

(ἐργαλεία ἰατρῶν) παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει ἐπίδεσμα, καὶ  
κατάπλασμα ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ.

185 *Antiatticist* 107.32

μέτοχος· Ἀριστοφάνης Γηρυτάδῃ.

GERYTADES

Perhaps also in *Wealth*, where the poet says (179) "Doesn't  
Lais love Philonides because of you?" if we write "Nais"  
on account of (the reference to) Philonides.

180 bag and leather bag

181 Erotian γ 9 γαργαλισμός· γάργαλος and γαργάλη  
mean an itch, the term being applied to women in heat.

182 ἔρμα: an undersea rock.

183 the fruits

184 (doctors' instruments): in Ar. "bandage" and in  
*Gerytades* "poultice."

185 μέτοχος (*partner or board member*).

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

186 Pollux 7.117

τοὺς οἰκοδόμους.

187 Pollux 10.170

πηγήκην δὲ καὶ προκόμιον, καὶ ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν  
Γηρυτάδῃ περίθεσιν (var. -θετον).

188 Cf. fr. 120.

189 Athenaeus 7.321A

σκόμβρος.

190 Pollux 7.7

καὶ ὁμότεχνοι δὲ καὶ σύντεχνοι Ἀριστοφάνης γὰρ ἐν  
Γηρυτάδῃ τούτῳ κέχρηται.

ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟΣ

*Testimonium*

Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 6.26.5. Πλάτων δὲ ὁ  
κωμικός καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ Δαιδάλῳ τὰ ἀλλήλων  
ὑφαιροῦνται.

DAEDALUS

186 the builders

187 wig and hairpiece and, with Ar. in *Gerytades*, "top-  
per."

188 See fr. 120.

189 mackerel

190 Both "practitioners of the same craft" and "fellow  
craftsmen;" Ar. uses the latter term in *Gerytades*.

DAEDALUS

*Zeus makes use of the arts of Daedalus in an erotic adven-  
ture (with Leda? cf. fr. 193-94); Platon, Eubulus (or  
Philippus) and Sophocles (whether in a tragedy or a satyr  
drama is unclear) also wrote plays with this title.*

*The date of production is unknown.*

*Testimonium*

Platon the comic poet and Ar. pilfered each other's mate-  
rial in *Daedalus*.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

*Fragments*

191 Athenaeus 9.367B

πάσαις γυναιξίν ἐξ ἑνός γέ του <τρόπου>  
ὥσπερ παροψίς μοιχὸς ἐσκευασμένος

192 Erotian a 24

ὁ μηχανοποιὸς ὁπότε βούλει τὸν τροχὸν  
εἶν ἰκάνεκάστ' λέγε, χαίρε φέγγος ἡλίου

193 Athenaeus 9.374C

(373E τὸν δ' ἀλεκτρύονα . . . οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ θηλυκῶς  
εἰρήκασι) Ἀριστοφάνης Δαιδάλω:

ὄν μάλιστα τέτοκεν, ὡς ἀλεκτρύων

194 *Ibid.*

ἐνίστε πολλὰ τῶν ἀλεκτρύωνων βία  
ὑπνέμια τίκτουσιν ᾧὰ πολλάκις

195 Athenaeus 7.316B

καὶ ταῦτ' ἔχοντα πουλύπους καὶ σηπίας

196 *Ibid.*

τὸν πουλύπου μοι ἔθηκε

DAEDALUS

*Fragments*

191

all wives without exception are alike  
in having an adulterer ready as a side-dish

192

operator,<sup>49</sup> since you wish your pulley  
to leave me aloft, say "farewell, light of the sun!"

193 (The ancients used cock also for hen): Ar. *Daedalus*:

she's laid a huge egg, like a cock

194 *Ibid.*

it happens that many cocks by necessity  
often lay wind-eggs<sup>50</sup>

195

and this when you have squids and cuttlefish<sup>51</sup>

196

(s)he put the squid before me

<sup>49</sup> See fr. 160.

<sup>50</sup> Female birds of certain species were thought capable of impregnation by the wind, and that eggs so produced would never hatch. "Wind-egg" was also used of parthenogenetic births.

<sup>51</sup> Perhaps of the Amphidromia ceremony, "a day dedicated to children newly recognized (*by admission to kinship groups*), when (parents) ran around the altar carrying the child and received squids and cuttlefish from household and friends" (Harpocration 27.6).

197 *Ibid.*

πληγαὶ λέγονται πουλύπου πιλουμένου

198

(a) Suda ε 3718

Εὐρύβατος· πονηρός . . . Ἀριστοφάνης Δαιδάλω,  
ὑποθέμενος τὸν Δία εἰς πολλὰ ἑαυτὸν μεταβάλλοντα  
καὶ πανουργοῦντα.

(b) Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1864.30

καθὰ ὁ μῦθος τὸν Δία ἔπλασε πολλάκις μορφούμενον  
ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐπὶ δούλω, οὐτῶ, φασί, καὶ Ἀριστο-  
φάνης ἐν Δαιδάλω ὑποθέμενος αὐτὸν εἰς πολλὰ μετα-  
βαλλόμενον καὶ πανουργοῦντα φησὶν . . . ὡς τοῦ  
Εὐρυβάτου δηλαδὴ ποικίλου ὄντος πονηρεύεσθαι.

(c) Scholia on Lucian, *Alexander* 4

ὁ δὲ Εὐρύβατος ὡς πονηρὸς καὶ πανούργος, πρὸς δὲ  
καὶ προδότης εἰσάγεται Ἀριστοφάνει τῷ κωμικῷ καὶ  
Δημοσθένει τῷ ῥήτορι.

ἤδη τις ὑμῶν εἶδεν Εὐρύβατον Δία;

199 Photius 338.15

περὶ τοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος  
νῦν ἐστὶ; περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς

197

the strokes for a beaten squid are said<sup>52</sup>

198

(a) Eurybatus: a wrongdoer . . . Ar. in *Daedalus*, repre-  
senting Zeus changing himself into many forms and doing  
wrong (quote).

(b) As the myth made Zeus change often into this and that  
form for the sake of deception, so they say Ar. in *Daedalus*  
also represented him changing himself into many forms  
and doing wrong (quote), since Eurybatus was manifestly  
skillful at wrongdoing.

(c) Eurybatus was evil and misbehaved, and was also por-  
trayed as a traitor by Ar. the comic poet and by Demos-  
thenes the orator (18.24).

has any of you seen Zeus Eurybatus?

199

what's the issue of the war  
you're all fighting now? The ass' shadow<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Suda δ 1267, "the squid gets twice-seven strokes": of  
just punishments, inasmuch as the squid after being caught is of-  
ten beaten to make it tender."

<sup>53</sup> Proverbial for something not worth fighting for; the scholia  
on Ar.'s *Wasps* 191 give an explanation of the proverb's origin.

200 Pollux 7.100

κογχυλίας δὲ λίθος.

201 Pollux 7.117

τὸ δὲ ἀρχιτεκτονεῖν Ἀριστοφάνους εἶρηκεν ἐν Δαιδάλω.

202 Hesychius δ 48

Δαιδάλεια· Ἀριστοφάνης τὸν ὑπὸ Δαιδάλου κατασκευασθέντα ἀνδριάντα, ὡς διὰ τὸ ἀποδιδράσκειν δεδεμένον.

203 Hesychius δ 2241

δορυφόρον· Ἀριστοφάνης Δαιδάλω. ὅτι Φιλοκλῆς τῇ λέξει ἐχρήσατο πρῶτος, δηλοῖ Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Πρωτάνεσι. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν δολοφονοῦντα.

Φιλοκλῆς J. Pearson: Φιλόκτητος codd.

204 Phrynichus, *Ecloge* 400

κάκκαβον· διὰ τοῦ η κακκάβην λέγε, τὸ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ο ἀμαθές. καὶ γὰρ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δαιδάλω διὰ τοῦ η χρήται.

ΔΑΙΤΑΔΗΣ

200 shell-marble

201 Ar. in *Daedalus* uses the verb "to be an architect."

202 Daedalian: Ar. of the statue made by Daedalus as being tied down to keep it from running away.

203 Spear-slayer: Ar. in *Daedalus*. Philocles (*FCrT* 24 F 4) first used the expression, as Teleclides in *Prytaneis* shows (fr. 31), to mean "assassin."

204 Pronounce *κάκκαβος* (*partridge*) with η, *κακκάβη*, because the pronunciation with ο is uncouth; Ar. in *Daedalus* spells it with η.

BANQUETERS

*A traditionally minded landowner, who joins his friends (the Chorus) for a banquet honoring Heracles, has two sons, the Virtuous Boy and the Bugged Boy (i.e., one who submits to anal intercourse, implying political and intellectual shamelessness). The former has had the traditional athletic and musical education, while the latter has dropped out of school to learn the new techniques, promising success in the Assembly and courts, that were being taught by sophists like Thrasymachus and used by ambitious young politicians like Alcibiades (fr. 205). As a result, the Bugged Boy has abandoned traditional rural virtues for an urbane life of self-indulgence and troublemaking.*

*Banqueters was Ar.'s first play and was produced by Callistratus or Philonides in 427 (probably at the Lenaea); it won the second prize.*



*Testimonia*

(i) *Etymologicum of Orion* p. 49.8 St. (ex Philoxeno, fr. 240 Theod.) καὶ Δαιταλεῖς δράμα Ἀριστοφάνους, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἱερῷ Ἡρακλέους δευπνούντες καὶ ἀναστάντες χορὸς ἐγένοντο.

(ii) Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2737 (II CE), lines 3–5 (a commentary on a play by Ar. = fr. 590)

ἀπὸ Διοτίμου, ἐφ' οὗ [πρῶτον] οἱ Ἀριστοφάνους [Δαιτ]αλεῖς ἐδιδάχθησαν.

(iii) Anonymous, *Prolegomena On Comedy* III 38.9 Kost. ἐδίδαξε δὲ (sc. Ἀριστοφάνης, T 4.7) πρῶτος ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Διοτίμου διὰ Καλλιστράτου.

(iv) Ar. *Clouds* 528–36

ἐξ ὅτου γὰρ ἐνθάδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἡδὺ καὶ  
λέγειν,  
ὁ σῶφρων τε χῶ καταπύγων ἄριστ' ἠκουσάτην,  
καγῶ, παρθένος γὰρ ἔτ' ἦν κοῦκ ἐξήν πῶ μοι  
τεκεῖν,  
ἐξέθηκα, παῖς δ' ἐτέρα τις λαβοῦσ' ἀνέιλετο,

*Some scholars attribute to Banqueters also frs. 441, 602, 611, 639, 655, 690, 700, 701, 851, adesp. 115.*

*Testimonia*

(i) (Banqueter): *Banqueters* is also a play of Ar., when feasting in a shrine of Heracles and then standing up, they formed a chorus.

(ii) [...] Diotimus, in whose archonship (428/7) Ar.'s *Banqueters* was first produced.

(iii) (Ar.) produced for the first time through Callistratus<sup>54</sup> in the archonship of Diotimus.

(iv) (*from the parabasis, datable to ca. 520–517*):

Since the time when in this place my Virtuous Boy  
and my  
Bugged Boy won great favor among certain  
gentlemen  
whom it is a pleasure even to mention,<sup>55</sup> and I, being  
a  
yet-unmarried girl and unfit for motherhood, gave up  
<my  
child> and another girl took it up,<sup>56</sup> and you nobly  
raised and

<sup>54</sup> Producer also of *Babylonians* (426), *Acharnians* (425) and *Birds* (414); see on Ar. T 23.

<sup>55</sup> Evidently Ar. had shown his work to men influential in the theater who had helped him win a place in the festival.

<sup>56</sup> I.e., Callistratus produced his play for him.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξεθρέψατε γενναίως κάπαιδευσατε,  
 ἐκ τούτου μοι πιστὰ παρ' ὑμῶν γνώμης ἔσθ'  
 ὄρκια.  
 νῦν οὖν Ἥλέκτραν κατ' ἐκείνην ἥδ' ἡ κωμῳδία  
 ζητοῦσ' ἦλθ', ἣν που ἰπιτύχη θεαταῖς οὕτω  
 σοφοῖς.  
 535 γνώσεται γάρ, ἦνπερ ἴδῃ, τὰδελφοῦ τὸν  
 βόστρυχον

(1) Scholia on this passage: 529a καὶ δὴ σὺν δράμασιν ἐτέρων κωμῳδιῶν καὶ τοὺς Δαιταλεῖς δράμα ἐδίδαξε δι' αὐτῶν [sc. Φιλωνίδου καὶ Καλλιστράτου]. (2) 529b ἄριστ' ἤκουσάτην ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠέδοκίμησαν. οὐ γὰρ τότε (τότε om. R) ἐνίκησε (-ησαν R), δεύτερος δὲ (ἐπεὶ δεύτερος R) ἐκρίθη ἐν τῷ δράματι. (3) 531c ἕτερος ὑποκριτῆς ἀνελάβετο, ὁ Φιλωνίδης.

Fragments

205 Galen, *Glosses on Hippocrates* 19.66 K.

δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν ταῦτῳ δράματι διὰ τῶνδε:

- (A.) ἀλλ' εἰ σορέλλη καὶ μύρον καὶ ταινίαί.  
 (B.) ἰδοὺ σορέλλη, τοῦτο παρὰ Λυσιστράτου.  
 (A.) ἦ μὴν ἴσως σὺ καταπλιγίσει τῷ χρόνῳ.

<sup>57</sup> An allusion to the recognition-scene in Aeschylus' *Libation*-

BANQUETTERS

educated it—since that time I have been able to count on your favorable verdict. So now this new comedy of mine, like the famous *Electra*, has come looking somewhere to find similarly intelligent spectators: she will recognize her brother's lock if she sees it.<sup>57</sup>

(1) As with other comedies *Banquetters* too he produced through them (*i.e. Philonides and Callistratus*). (2) ("won great favor"): on that occasion he did not win but was voted the second prize for his play. (3) Another actor took this up, *Philonides*.

See further T 23.

Fragments

205 (*On the ancient penchant for forming new words, continuing the discussion from fr. 233 below*): Ar. once again shows it in the same play:

- (A) But you're just a wee coffin, and unguent, and wreaths.<sup>58</sup>  
 (B) What do you mean, coffin? You got this from Lysistratus.  
 (A) · I'm pretty sure you'll be tripped up bye and bye.

*Bearers* (164–200), where *Electra* comes to the tomb of her father *Agamemnon* and recognizes there a lock of her long-lost brother's hair.

<sup>58</sup> The Bugged Boy abuses his father.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

- 5 (B.) τὸ καταπλιγῆσει τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ῥητόρων.  
 (A.) ἀποβήσεται σοι ταῦτά ποι τὰ ῥήματα.  
 (B.) παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦτο τ' ἀποβήσεται.  
 (A.) τί δ' ὑποτεκμαίρη καὶ κακῶς ἄνδρας λέγεις  
 καλοκάγαθίαν ἀσκοῦντας; (B.) οἴμ', ὦ  
 Θρασύμαχε,  
 τίς τοῦτο τῶν ξυνηγόρων τερατεύεται;

206 Scholia on Hippocrates *On Fractures* 1

σοὶ γὰρ σοφίσματ' ἐστὶν ἀγὼ 'κτησάμην;  
 οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀποδίδρασκες ἐκ διδασκάλου;

207 Athenaeus 3.119 B

οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τὸν τάριχον τουτονὶ  
 πλύνων ἅπασιν ὅσα σύννοιδ' αὐτῷ κακά

208 Athenaeus 3.127 C

ἢ χόνδρον ἔψων εἶτα μυλίαν ἐμβάλων  
 ἐδίδου ῥοφεῖν ἄν

209 Scholium on Theocritus 2.11/12

διὰ τὸ σκύλακας ἐκφέρεσθαι δέλπινα τῇ Ἑκάτῃ·  
 τί δαί; κυνίδιον λεπτὸν ἐπρίω τῇ θεῷ  
 εἰς τὰς τριόδους;

BANQUETERS

- (B) This "tripped up" you got from the orators.  
 (A) These words will come back to haunt you someday.  
 (B) This "haunt you" <you got> from Alcibiades.  
 (A) Why do you insinuate against and slander gentlemen  
 for cultivating fine-and-dandyhood?  
 (B) Well, my budding Thrasy-machus,  
 which of the lawyers talks that awful talk?

206

Do you have the clever ideas that I acquired?  
 Didn't you run straight away from the teacher?

207

I won't scruple to drench this stockfish here  
 with all the evils I know he's privy to

208

or he would boil wheat-groats, toss in a fly,  
 and serve it as gruel

209 Puppies are offered as a meal for Hecate:

oh? Did you buy a white puppy for the Goddess  
 at the crossroads?

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

210 Pollux 10.120

τῆς μυρηρᾶς ληκύθου  
πρὶν κατελάσαι τὴν σπαθίδα, γεύσασθαι μύρου

211 Athenaeus 14.646B, Suda α 2082

ἐγὼ δὲ νῶν  
πέψω πλακοῦντ' εἰς ἐσπέραν χαρίσιον

1 δὲ νῶν Bentley: δεινων codd.: δ' ἰὼν Dindorf

2 πέψω Fritzsche: πέμψω codd.

212 Harpocration 128.5 Dind.

(A) οὐ μὴ μεταλάβῃ τοῦπίπεμπτον.

(B) κλαέτω

213 Athenaeus 15.690E

φέρ' ἴδω, τί σοι δῶ τῶν μύρων; ψάγδα φιλεῖς;

214 Suda σ 1125

οὐδ' ἐστὶν αὐτῇ στλεγγίς οὐδὲ λήκυθος

215 Pollux 9.88

οὐδ' ἀργύριον ἔστιν κεκερματισμένον

BANQUETERS

210

to sample the scent  
before you stick the sampler into the bottle

211

I'll bake us  
a party-cake for tonight.<sup>59</sup>

212

(A) He shall never get his fifth.<sup>60</sup>

(B) Let him weep!

213

let's see, what scent shall I give you? Do you like  
*psagda*?<sup>61</sup>

214

she's got neither scraper nor oil-bottle

215

nor is there small change

<sup>59</sup> With Dindorf's emendation, "I'll go send a party-cake for tonight."

<sup>60</sup> Harpocration 102.10, "If someone who brings a charge does not receive a fifth part of the votes, then he owes 1000 drachmas, and there is also some loss of civic privileges."

<sup>61</sup> An Egyptian scent.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

216 Harpocration p. 177.10 Dind.

αἱ τῶν δικαστηρίων θύραι κυκλίδες ἐκαλοῦντο·

ὁ δ' ἡλιαστῆς εἶρπε πρὸς τὴν κυκλίδα

217 Suda αἰ 27

τὸν Ἐρεχθεά μοι καὶ τὸν Αἰγέα κάλει

218 Athenaeus 9.400A; cf. Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 121.4 on proverbs used ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην τι ποιούντων.

ἀπόλωλα τίλλων τὸν λαγὼν ὀφθήσομαι

219 Suda τ 1052

ταχύ νυν πέτου καὶ μὴ τροπίαν οἴνου φέρε

220 Pollux 10.92, 109

οὐκ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γ' ἐπίχυσις τοῦ χαλκίου

221 Photius α 1930

ἀνὴρ δὲ φεύγων οὐ μένει λύρας κτύπου

222 Photius α 2872

οὕτως πάρεστιν ἀρρενικόν· κέλευε νῦν

BANQUETTERS

216 The doors of the lawcourts were called gates:  
the juryman crept toward the gate

217

summon me Erechtheus and Aegeus

218 (apparently proverbial "for those engaged in vain tasks"):

I'm done for! I'll be viewed as one plucking the  
rabbit

219

run along now, and don't bring wine that's turned

220

no, this is actually a kettle spout

221

a man on the run doesn't wait for the lyre's twang

222

so yellow paint is at hand; now summon

223 Photius 313.13

ὄτε τὰς ὄσας ἴσας ἐποιήσατο

224 Athenaeus 4.169C

κᾶγειν ἐκεῖθεν κακκάβην

225 Athenaeus 12.527C

διαβόηται δ' εἰσὶ περὶ τρυφήν Σικελιῶταί τε καὶ  
Συρακόσιοι

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθε ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλὰ  
μᾶλλον  
πίνειν, ἔπειτ' ἄδειν κακῶς, Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν  
Συβαρίτιδᾶς τ' εὐωχίας καὶ "Χίον ἐκ Λακαινᾶν"  
†κυλίκων μέθῃ ἠδέως καὶ φίλωσ†

4 μεθύοντες ἠδέως τε κάφειδῶς cj. Hermann

226 Pollux 10.158

εἰ μὴ δικῶν τε γυργαθοῦς ψηφισμάτων τε  
θωμοῦς  
φέροντες

227 Achilles, *Introduction to Aratus* 28

πόλος τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἧ' ἔν Κολωνῶ  
σκοποῦσι τὰ μετέωρα ταυτὶ καὶ τὰ πλάγια ταυτὶ

223

when she made the hems even

224

and thence to take a cauldron

225 The Sicilians and Syracusans are notorious for luxury:

He didn't learn *these* things when I sent him to  
school  
but rather drinking, bad singing, Syracusan cuisine,  
Sybaritic feasting, "Chian from Spartan Bowls,"<sup>62</sup>  
drinking well and unsparingly<sup>63</sup>

226

unless they're carrying baskets-full and heaps of  
decrees

227

you mean the pole in Colonus by which  
they reckon these atmospherics and these angles<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The first words of a drinking-song; Chian was a fine wine.

<sup>63</sup> Translating the text as conjectured by Hermann.

<sup>64</sup> A sundial set up by the astronomer Meton near the Pnyx, mentioned also in Ar. *Birds* 997.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

228 Suda σ 290

σεισαι τὸ συκοφαντήσαι, ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἀκρόδρνα σει-  
όντων·

ἔσειον, ἤτουν χρήματ', ἠπέιλουν, ἐσυκοφάντουν  
πάλιν

229 Athenaeus 7.299A

καὶ λείος ὥσπερ ἔγχελυς, χρυσοῦς ἔχων  
κικίννους

230 Sud. α 1940

εἰς τὰς τριήρεις δεῖ μ' ἀναλοῦν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ  
τείχη

231 Athenaeus 14.667E

Ἀριστοφάνης Δαιταλεῦσιν ἔγνωκ', ἐγὼ δὲ χαλκίον,  
τοῦτ' ἐστὶν κοττάβειον, ἰστάται καὶ μυρρίνας

232 Athenaeus 4.184 E

ὅστις ἀλλοῖς καὶ λύραισι κατατέτριμμαι  
χρώμενος,  
εἰτά με σκάπτειν κελεύεις;

BANQUETERS

228 Shakedown: blackmail, from those who shake trees:

I shook them down, extorted money, threatened,  
exposed,  
repeatedly

229

and smooth as an eel, sporting golden ringlets

230

I must spend this money for the warships and the  
walls<sup>65</sup>

231 Ar. in *Babylonians*: I see (or he sees), and I < > set up  
a bowl, that is the cottabus-bowl, and garlands

232

I'm one who's spent all his time playing auloi and  
lyres,  
and now you tell me to dig <on the farm>?

<sup>65</sup> The Periclean strategy for winning the Archidamian war involved bringing the residents of Attica inside the long walls for safety, and dispatching a strong navy to harass the enemy.

233 Galen, *Glosses on Hippocrates* 19 p. 65 K.

ὅτι γὰρ ἐποίουν οἱ παλαιοὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτοῖς δέδεικται μὲν ἰκανῶς καὶ πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένους ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας (p. 17 Str.), δείξαμι δ' ἂν σοι καὶ γὰρ νῦν διὰ βραχέων ἐπὶ παραδειγμάτων ὀλίγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ γινώσκειν ἐναργέστερον, οἷον μὲν τι ἢ γλωττά ἐστίν, οἷον δέ τι καὶ τὸ παραπλήσιον αὐτῇ, τὸ γεγονὸς ὑπὸ τινος τῶν παλαιῶν. νομίζω δὲ σοι τὰ ὑπὸ Ἀριστοφάνους ἀρκέσειν τὰ ἐκ τῶν Δαιταλέων, ὡδὲ πως ἔχοντα (1)· πρὸς—κόρυμβα. προβάλλει γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ δράματι ὁ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Δαιταλέων πρεσβύτης τῷ ἀκολάστῳ υἱεῖ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ κόρυμβα τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐξηγήσασθαι, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο (2) τί—κάρηνα. κἀκείνος μέντοι ἀντιπροβάλλει τῶν ἐν τοῖς Σόλωνος ἄξοσι γλωττῶν εἰς δίκας διαφερούσας ὡδί πως (3)· ὁ—ιδύους. εἶτ' ἐφεξῆς προβάλλει (4) τί—ὀπύειν.

(A.) πρὸς ταύτας δ' αἰὲ λέξον Ὀμήρου ἐμοὶ  
γλωττας· τί καλοῦσιν κόρυμβα;

υ υ—υ υ—υ υ—υ υ—υ—τί καλοῦσ' ἀμηνῆνὰ  
κάρηνα;

(B.) ὁ μὲν οὖν σός, ἐμὸς δ' οὗτος ἀδελφὸς  
φρασάτω· τί καλοῦσιν ιδύους;

υ υ—υ υ—υ υ—υ υ—υ—τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ὀπύειν;

233 That the ancients used to invent words for themselves has been sufficiently shown by Eratosthenes in his book *On Old Comedy*; but I myself could briefly show, with a few examples, what sort of thing an expression is and what its synonym is, as practiced by one of the ancients. I believe that these verses from Ar.'s *Banqueters* will suffice for you: (quotes line 1). Because in this play the old man from the banqueters' deme challenges his wastrel son first to explain what "forepoints" are, then (quotes line 2). The son makes a counterchallenge with legal expressions from the tablets of Solon, such as (quotes line 3). Next he challenges: (quotes line 4).<sup>66</sup>

(A) And next, you expound some Homeric expressions. What do they mean by "forepoints"?

[.....]  
.....] What do they mean by  
"strengthless heads"?

(B) No, let him, your son and my brother, explain what they mean by "deponents"?

[.....]  
.....] What do they mean by  
"inseminating"?

<sup>66</sup> Galen's discussion continues with fr. 205 above.



234 Photius *a* 3466

καὶ τὴν Ἐκάβην ὀτοτύζουσαν καὶ καιόμενον τὸν  
ἀχυρόν

235 Athenaeus 15.693F

ἄσον δὴ μοι σκόλιόν τι λαβὼν Ἀλκαίου  
κἀνακρέοντος

236 Athenaeus 9.368D

καὶ δελφακίων ἀπαλῶν κωλαὶ καὶ χναυμάτια  
πετερόεντα

237 Harpocration 211.9 Dind.

ἐθέλω βάψας πρὸς ναυτοδίκας ξένον ἐξαίφνης  
ἐξαίφνης <σ' ἐπιδείξει> Sauppe

238 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 7.297

ὦ παρανοία καὶ ἀναιδεία

239 Phrynichus, *Ecloge* 64

ἀκεστής λέγουσιν οἱ παλαιοί, οὐκ ἠπηγής. ἠπή-  
σασθαι ἔστι μὲν ἅπαξ παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Δαιτα-  
λεῦσι, παίζουσι τὰς Ἡσιόδου Ἵπποθίκας·

καὶ κόσκινον ἠπήσασθαι

222

234

and Hecuba wailing and the chaff-heap afire

235

well then, pick up <the lyre> and sing me a drinking-  
song by Alcaeus or Anacreon

236

and hams of tender suckling pigs and winged tidbits

237

I want to dunk a foreigner and <hale him> before the  
maritime judges forthwith<sup>67</sup>

238

o madness and shamelessness!

239 The ancients said ἀκεστής not ἠπηγής; the verb  
ἠπήσασθαι is a *hapax* in Ar. *Banqueters*, parodying  
Hesiod's *Counsels* (fr. 284):

and to mend a sieve

<sup>67</sup> These tried cases involving seafaring Athenians and per-  
haps also men masquerading as citizens. With Sauppe's emenda-  
tion, "hale you as a foreigner..."

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

240 Scholium on Ar. *Wasps* 823

εἶχον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἥρωες πανοπλίαν. καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τῶν  
Δαιταλέων.

241 Scholium on Ar. *Knights* 1013

ὡς ἐν νεφέλῃσιν αἰετὸς γενήσομαι. ἐγένετο χρῆσμός  
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῶν λεγόμενος . . .  
τούτου δὲ τοῦ χρῆσμοῦ καὶ ἐν . . . Δαιταλεῦσι μέ-  
μνηται.

242 Scholia on Lucian, *Alexander* 4.181.16

ὁ Ἀριστόδημος δὲ μιὰρὸς καὶ καταπύγων ἐς ὑπερ-  
βολήν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ πρακτὸς Ἀριστόδημος καλεῖται.

243 Harpocration p. 21.18 Dind.

Ἀρστοφάνης Δαιταλεῦσι διὰ ψιλοῦ ἐν (ἐπ' Fritzsche)  
ἀλιπέδω.

244

(a) Photius (z) ined.

ἐπὶ Φαλληνίου Ἀρστοφάνης Δαιταλεῦσιν. πέπλακεν  
ὡς ἄρχοντά τινα ἀπὸ τοῦ φαλλοῦ κακοήθως.

(b) Hesychius ε 5373

ἐπὶ Φαλληνίου τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην φησὶ ὁ Ἀρστοφάνης

BANQUETERS

240 The heroes also wore full armor, as is evident from  
*Banqueters*.

241 I will be an eagle in the clouds: the Athenians had an  
oracle referring to their demos . . . this oracle is mentioned  
also in *Banqueters*.

242 Aristodemus was exceedingly polluted and bug-  
gered, whence the ass hole was also called the Aristode-  
mus.

243 ἀλίπεδον (*sea plain*): in *Banqueters* unspirated,  
ἀλίπεδον.

244

(a) "In the archonship of Phallenius": Ar. in *Banqueters*  
invented a certain archon, playing on "phallos" obscenely.

(b) Ar. says that Alcibiades was born in the archonship of

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(ἀρίσταρχος cod.: corr. J. Pearson) ἐπὶ Φαληνίου γεγενῆσθαι, σκώπτων παρὰ τὸν Φάλητα.

245 Scholium on Ar. *Acharnians* 272

ᾠρικὴν ὑληφόρον.

246 Photius a 2458

ἀποβροχθίσαι τὸ καταπιεῖν.

247 Pollux 7.168

τῷ δὲ λούσθαι καὶ τὸ ψυχρολουτεῖν ἂν προσήκοι, εἰρημένον τοῦ ἐψυχρολουτήσαμεν (var. -λούτησεν) ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν Ἀριστοφάνους.

248 Harpocration 155.16 Dind.

εἰς τέσσαρα διηρημένης παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τῆς πολιτείας οἱ ἀπορώτατοι ἐλέγοντο θήτες . . . ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐστρατεύοντο, εἶρηκε καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν.

249 Pollux 10.172

καὶ θύλακον καὶ θυλάκιον καὶ θυλακίσκιον, ὡς ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν (var. ἐν δαιδάλω).

BANQUETERS

Phalenius, playing in mockery on Phales.<sup>68</sup>

245

blooming maiden

246 to gulp: to drink down.

247 "wash in cold water" would apply to bathing; "we [var. he] washed in cold water" is used in Ar. *Banqueters*.<sup>69</sup>

248 Of the four groups into which the Athenian state was divided the *thetes* were called the most helpless . . . because they did not perform military service, as Ar. says in *Banqueters*.

249 θύλακον (*sack*) and (diminutives) θυλάκιον and θυλακίσκιον, as Ar. in *Banqueters* (var. in *Daedalus*).

<sup>68</sup> A name personifying the phallos that was carried in processions.

<sup>69</sup> Perhaps of Alcibiades and/or his friends, who affected Spartan habits, cf. Plutarch *Life of Alcibiades* 23.3.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

250 Pollux 10.32

ἐν δὲ τῷ κοιτῶνι δεῖ μὲν εἶναι καὶ κλίνην τινα ἢ κλινίδιον . . . ἢ κλινάριον ὡς ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν.

251 Pollux 8.153

λυρωνίαν (var. λυρονίαν).

252 Photius 291.16

νεβλάρετοι περαίνει. ἄσημος φωνὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ περαίνειν.

253 Photius 350.9

τὸν ὀρτυγοκόπον (Fritzsche: -κόμον cod.).

254 Sud. ρ 8

ῥαγδαίους· κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄμβρων, τοὺς κεκνημένους καὶ σφοδροὺς καὶ βιαίους.

255 Athenaeus 4.183 E (I p. 400.22 Kaib.)

τριγώνου.

ΔΑΝΑΙΔΕΣ

DANAIDS

250 In the bedroom there should be a κλίνη (*couch*) or κλινίδιον (*diminutive*) . . . or κλινάριον, as in *Banqueters*.

251 λυρωνία (*purchase of lyres?*)

252 νεβλάρετοι: penetrate sexually, a vulgar (*or obscure*) term for sexual penetration.

253 quail-tapped<sup>70</sup>

254 ῥαγδαίους (*furious*) of rainstorms, used metaphorically of agitated, vehement, and violent people.

255 τριγώνου<sup>71</sup>

DANAIDS

*This play treated the epic and tragic story of the suppliance of Danaus' daughters in Argos and the marriage of Hypermestra and Lynceus, but it is unclear whether it parodied any particular version of the story (such as a tragedy) or linked the plot to any aspect of Athenian-Argive relations before or after the pact of 420. Because the play had a parabasis (fr. 264–65), it was probably produced before 400. The Scholium on Ar. Wealth 210 (cf. fr. 272 below) cites an ancient commentary on the play.*

*Some attribute to Danaids also frs. 696–97.*

<sup>70</sup> Or without Fritzsche's emendation "quail-coiffed;" perhaps referring to Midias, cf. Ar. *Birds* 1297–99.

<sup>71</sup> A triangular stringed instrument of the sort disapproved by Socrates in Plato's *Republic* 3.399c.

256 Scholium on Ar. *Peace* 923c

ὅποτε μέλλοιεν βωμοὺς καθιδρύνειν ἢ ἀγάλματα θεῶν  
ἔψοντες ὄσπρια ἀπήρχοντο τούτων, τοῖς ἀφιδρυμένοις  
χαριστήρια ἀπονέμοντες τῆς πρώτης διαίτης·

μαρτύρομαι δὲ Ζητὸς ἐρκείον χύτρας,  
μεθ' ὧν ὁ βωμὸς οὗτος ιδρύθη ποτέ

257 Suda τ 809

ἀλλ' εἴσιθ', ὡς τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐλέγξαι βούλομαι  
τουτί· προσόζειν γὰρ κακοῦ τοῦ μοι δοκεῖ

258 Pollux 2.76

ὄσμυλία· ἰχθύων τι γένος, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ὄζαινα  
καλουμένη· πολύποδος δ' ἐστὶν εἶδος, ἔχον μεταξὺ  
τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τῶν πλεκτανῶν αὐλὸν δυσώδες πνεύ-  
μα ἀφιέντα:

τραπόμενον εἰς τοῦψον λαβεῖν  
ὄσμύλια καὶ μαινίδια καὶ σηπίδια

259 Pollux 9.129. 130

τὰ ὑποδεχόμενα τὴν ὀπώραν . . . τάχα δὲ καὶ σώρακος,  
εἰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς κωμωδοποιοῖς οὕτως ὀνομάζεται τὸ  
ἀγγεῖον ἐν ᾧ τὰ σκευῆ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν·

256 When they were about to consecrate altars or images  
of gods they began the offerings with boiled pulse, distrib-  
uting it to the translated (gods) as a thank-offering for  
their prior abode:

I call to witness the pots of Household Zeus,  
with which this altar once was sanctified<sup>72</sup>

257

Well, go inside; I mean to probe this matter,  
for I seem to get a whiff of something bad

258 *ὄσμυλία*: a kind of fish popularly called "stinker." It  
is a variety of octopus having between head and tentacles a  
tube that emits foul-smelling breath, as Ar.:

turning his steps to the fishmarket to get  
stinkers, salted sprats, cuttlefish<sup>73</sup>

259 Among the receptacles for fruit . . . we might add the  
*σώρακος* (*basket*), even if that is what the comic poets call  
the vessel where they store the actors' properties:

<sup>72</sup> Ar. *Peace* 923–25 suggests that sanctification with pots was  
belonging to the dignity of Zeus.

<sup>73</sup> Inexpensive seafood.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

κακῶν τοσοῦτων ξυνελέγη μοι σῶρακος

260 Athenaeus 10.422 E

ἤδη παραινείς <εἰς> ἐμὲ πρὶν δεδειπνᾶναι

261 Porphyry in Scholia (B) on Homer *Iliad* 14.200

δακτύλιον χαλκοῦν φέρων ἀπίρονα

262 Pollux 10.26

οὐδεὶς βεβαλάνωκε τὴν θύραν

263 Athenaeus 10.400A

λύσας ἴσως ἂν τὸν λαγὸν ξυναρπάσειεν ὑμῶν

λύσας: canis nomen latere putares, e.g. Ὕλας Meineke vel  
Λύκας Edmonds

264 Athenaeus, *Epitome* 2.57A

ὁ χορὸς δ' ἄρχεῖτ' ἂν ἐναψάμενος δάπιδας καὶ  
στρωματόδεσμα  
διαμασχαλίσας αὐτὸν σχελίσω καὶ φύσκαῖς καὶ  
ράφανῖσω

265 Suda α 4313

οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀταλαιπώρως ἢ ποίησις διέκειτο

DANAIDS

such woes has my property-box collected

260

(do?) you play me drunken tricks before you've dined

261

bearing a circular ring of bronze

262

no one has bolted the gate

263

he<sup>74</sup> might liberate your (pl.) hare and carry it off

264

the chorus used to dance dressed in rugs and sheets,  
having tucked sides of beef and sausages and radishes  
under their arms<sup>75</sup>

265

so carefree for them was the making of poetry

<sup>74</sup> Perhaps the MSS have corrupted the name of a dog.

<sup>75</sup> Presumably in the good old days when producers were generous.

266 Suda α 4443

παρὰ τὸν στροφέα τῆς αὐλείας σχίνου κεφαλὴν  
κατορύττειν

267 Athenaeus 3.114C

Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τὸν ὑποξίζοντ' ἄρτον κυλλᾶστιν κα-  
λοῦσιν·

καὶ τὸν κυλλᾶστιν φθέγγου καὶ τὸν Πετόσιριν

268 Pollux 10.38:

τῶν χειρῶν ἔργα μνοῦς ἐστίν

269

(a) Athenaeus 14.645E

ἐγκρίδες πεμμάτιον ἐψόμενον ἐν ἐλαίῳ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο  
μελιτούμενον . . . Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Δαναΐσιν καὶ  
πωλητὴν φησὶν αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐν τούτοις· ἄμμητ' ἄρμα  
εἶναι ἐγκριδοπῶλην.

(b) Pollux 7.199

ἐν δ' Ἀριστοφάνης Δαναΐσι συρμαιοπῶλαι καὶ ἐγκρι-  
δοπῶλαι.

266

to bury a squill-head by the hinge of the front door<sup>76</sup>

267 The Egyptians call sourdough bread *κυλλᾶστις*:

talk of sourdough and Petosiris

268

the work of their hands is fluff

269

(a) *ἐγκρίδες*: a small cake cooked in oil and then honeyed  
. . . in *Danaids* Ar. also mentions sellers of them: "P cake  
seller"

(b) In *Danaids* Ar. mentions sellers of laxatives (fr. 276)  
and sellers of *ἐγκρίδες*.

<sup>76</sup> To keep evil forces out of a house.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

**270** Apollonius Dyscolus, *Pronouns* (GrGr 2.1, 1 64.10 Schn.)

Δαναώτατος.

**271** Scholium on Ar. *Lysistrata* 1237

ἡ γὰρ Κλειταγόρα ποιήτρια ἦν Λακωνική, ἧς μέμνηται καὶ ἐν Δαναΐσιν Ἀριστοφάνης.

**272** Scholium on Ar. *Wealth* 210

τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἴδα. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν Δαναΐσι φησίν, υἱὸς Αἰγύπτου. ἐρεοῦμεν δὲ ἐκεῖ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ παρ' ἱστορίαν λέγειν.

**273** Photius a 2784

ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ λεπτὸν νόμισμα καλοῦσιν.

**274** Harpocration 143.11 Dind.

ἐχίνος ἔστι μὲν ἄγγος τι εἰς ὃ τὰ γραμματεῖα τὰ πρὸς τὰς δίκας ἐπίθεντο . . . μνημονεύει τοῦ ἄγγους τούτου.

**275** Pollux 10.126, 127

τῶν δὲ γυναικείων σκευῶν . . . προσωπίς καὶ ὡς ἐν Δαναΐσιν Ἀριστοφάνης προσωπίδιον.

**276** Cf. fr. 269.

DANAIDS

**270** (on comic formations):

most Danaus-esque

**271** (on the *Clitagora*-song): Clitagora was a Laconian<sup>77</sup> poetess whom Ar. mentions also in *Danaids*.

**272** ("keener-eyed than Lynceus"): the brother of Idas, as (Ar.) himself says in *Danaids*, the son of Aegyptus. We will treat what relates to him there (i.e. in the commentary to *Danaids*), since (Ar.) seems to contradict history.

**273** They call even a small coin "silver."

**274** "sea-urchin" is a kind of vessel in which they placed documents pertaining to cases at law.

**275** Among women's utensils . . . the mask and, as in Ar. *Danaids*, the "masklet."

**276** See fr. 269.

<sup>77</sup> A mere inference from the text, as in Scholia on *Wasps* 1245, where she is said to be Thessalian.



ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΣ ΝΑΤΑΓΟΣ

*Testimonium*

(Life) of Ar. (T 1.59)

ἀντιλέγεται δ' ὡς οὐκ ὄντα αὐτοῦ . . . Ποίησις,  
Ναυαγός, Νῆσοι, Νίοβος, ἃ τινες ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ  
Ἀρχίππου.

*Fragment*

277 Pollux 10.33

τί ὦ πονηρέ μ' ἐκκορίζεις ὡσπερεὶ  
κλινηῖριον;

ΔΡΑΜΑΤΑ Α' Β'

<sup>78</sup> The verb *ekkorizeis* puns on *kore* (maiden) and *koris* (bedbug): "clear of bedbugs" and "remove my maidenhead."

DRAMAS

DIONYSUS SHIPWRECKED

*Testimonium*

Ar. wrote 44 plays, four of which are said to be spurious . . . *Poetry, Shipwrecked, Islands and Niobus*, written, some say, by Archippus.

*Fragment*

277

you wicked man, why are you banging me like  
a buggy cot?<sup>78</sup>

DRAMAS I/II

*Two plays attributed to Ar., Dramas or Centaur and Dramas or Niobus, were known in antiquity; the latter was listed among the four spurious plays that some attributed to Archippus (t i). At least one of the plays (probably Centaur) treated the story of Heracles' visit to Pholus the centaur (a theme already treated by Epicharmus). A fragment attributed to Niobus (289) suggests an underworld scene. Herodian (fr. 298) refers to Dramas or Niobus Woolbearer; possibly the title-character (a male version of Niobe? fr. 294) was so called because in one scene he brought sheep to the Apaturia for his (seven?) sons.*

*Our sources cite the plays with or without the appropriate subtitle; the fragments are presented accordingly. References to "the second Niobus" (fr. 290) and "the second Dramas" (fr. 295) suggest that Centaur was the earlier play or (less likely) an earlier version of a single play.*

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

*Testimonia*

(i) *Life of Ar.* (T 1.59) ἀντιλέγεται δ' (δράματα) ὡς οὐκ ὄντα αὐτοῦ . . . Ποίησις, Ναυαγός, Νῆσοι, Νίοβος, ἃ τινες ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ Ἀρχίππου.

(ii) Scholia on *Ar. Wasps* 61c οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Δράμασιν εἰσῆκται οὕτως Εὐριπίδης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ Προάγωνι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαρνεύσιν.

ΔΡΑΜΑΤΑ Η ΚΕΝΤΑΤΡΟΣ

278 Photius 451.13

ἐγὼ γάρ, εἴ τι σ' ἠδίκηκ', ἐθέλω δίκην  
δοῦναι πρόδικον ἐν τῶν φίλων τῶν σῶν ἐνί

279 Pollux 3.74

ἀνοιγέτω τις δώματ'· αὐτὸς ἔρχεται.

280 Pollux 10.185

ἀλλ' ἐς κάδον λαβῶν τιν' οὔρει πίττινον

<sup>79</sup> As an arbitrator.

CENTAUR

*t ii* says that Euripides was a character "in Dramas" (thus giving a date before 406 for one of the plays, unless Euripides appeared in an underworld scene) and suggests that this Dramas preceded *Wasps* (*Lenaea* 422); it would fit in *Lenaea* 426 or *Dionysia* 425. Fr. 295 mentions satire of Chaerephon in "the second Dramas" (thus giving a date within the fifth century for the second play). Fr. 303 may possibly allude to Cleon, who died in summer 422 but was mentioned in comedies produced subsequently.

*Testimonia*

(i) *Ar.* wrote 44 plays, four of which are said to be spurious . . . Poetry, Shipwrecked, Islands and Niobus, written, some say, by Archippus.

(ii) Not only was Euripides portrayed this way in *Dramas* but also in *Proagon* (t ii) and *Acharnians* (407–79).

DRAMAS OR CENTAUR

278

for if I've done you any wrong, I am prepared to settle out of court with one of your friends<sup>79</sup>

279

let someone open the portals: himself is coming out

280

well, get a pitched crock and piss in that

281 Pollux 10.79

ἐκκρουσαμένους τοὺς πύνδακας

282 Pollux 7.24

τῶν δὲ περὶ ἀρτοποιίαν ἀθρόα ἐν Ἀριστοφάνους  
Δράμασιν ἢ Κενταύρω·

πτίττω, βράττω, δεύω, μάττω, πέττω, καταλώ

283

(a) Hesychius κ 4521

Κύλλου πήρα. ζητοῦσι διὰ τὸ πορνεῖον Κύλλου πήραν  
Ἀριστοφάνης εἶρηκεν ἐν Δράμασιν ἢ Κενταύρω· τὸ—  
πήρα. ἔστι γὰρ χωρίον Ἀθήνησιν ἐπηρεφές καὶ κρή-  
νη. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ πέραν πήραν ἔφη. τὸ δὲ πορνεῖον  
Κύλλου πήρα.

(b) Zenobius *Athenian Proverbs* 2.37

κυλλοῦ πήραν. αὕτη παραπλησία ἐστὶ τῇ ἐμβάλλεται  
εἰς κυλλήν· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ αἰτοῦντες τὴν χεῖρα οὕτω  
σχηματίζουσι . . . οἱ δὲ Κύλλου ἀναγινώσκοντες ὡς  
κύκνου βαρντόνως τὴν παροιμίαν φασὶν εἰρησθαι ἐπὶ  
τῶν τὴν φύσιν βιαζομένων ἐξ ἐπιτεχνήσεως. λέγουσι  
γὰρ τόπον εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ οὕτω καλούμενον Κύλ-  
λου πήραν καὶ κρήνην εἶναι αὐτόθι, ἀφ' ἧς τὰς στερί-  
φας πίνειν γυναῖκας ἵνα συλλάβωσιν.

281 (on the bases or bottoms of drinking-vessels)

having broken off the bottoms

282 Words pertaining to bread-selling are massed in Ar.'s  
*Dramas or Centaur*:

I pound, shake, mix, knead, bake, grind

283

(a) *Cyllus' Wallet*. They ask why Ar. calls the brothel *Cyl-  
lus' Wallet* in *Dramas or Centaur* (quote). It's because  
there is a steep place in Athens with a spring, and he said  
"wallet" (πήρα) instead of "beyond" (πέραν). The brothel  
was *Cyllus' Wallet*.

(b) *Beggar's Wallet*: similar to the saying about "putting  
into a crooked (κυλλός) hand," since beggars too thus  
shaped their hands . . . some, accenting κύλλος differently,  
explain the saying as referring to those doing violence to  
nature by artifice. For they say there is a place in Attica  
called *Cyllus' Wallet* where there is a spring from which  
barren women drink in order to conceive.

τὸ δὲ πορνεῖον Κύλλου πῆρα

284 Hesychius ο 1541

οὐ γὰρ ἄκανθαι παροιμία·

χωρεῖ δ' ἄκκλητος αἰεὶ δειπνήσων <οὐ γὰρ  
ἄκανθαι>

285 Pollux 9.36

καλοῖτο δ' ἂν καὶ κῶμαι ταῦτα, ὅθεν καὶ κωμήτας  
τοὺς γείτονας καὶ κωμητίδας ὠνόμαζον. Ἀριστοφάνης  
γούν ἐν μὲν Δράμασιν ἢ Κενταύρω ἔφη ἐν κωμητίσι  
(-ταισι codd.) καπήλους ἐπίχαρτον.

286 Pollux IX 53

λίθος δεκατάλαντος.

287

(a) Athenaeus 14.629 C

τὴν δ' ἀπόκινον καλουμένην ὄρχησιν, ἧς μνημονεύει  
. . . Ἀριστοφάνης τ' ἐν Κενταύρω καὶ ἄλλοι πλεί-  
ονες, ὕστερον μακτρισμὸν ὠνόμασαν.

(b) Pollux 4.101

μακτρισμὸς δὲ καὶ ἀπόκινος . . . ἀσελγῆ εἶδη ὀρ-  
χήσεων ἐν τῇ τῆς ὀσφύος περιφορᾷ.

the brothel Cyllus' Wallet

284 "No thorns there": proverbial:

he always goes to dinner uninvited: <no thorns there>

285 Neighborhoods could also be called villages, thus  
they spoke of villagers in both the masculine and feminine.  
For example, Ar. in *Dramas or Centaur* says "among the  
female bartenders of the village < > was a source of spiteful  
joy."

286 a ten-talent stone.

287

(a) The dance known as ἀπόκινος, mentioned by . . . Ar.  
in *Dramas or Centaur* and many others, was later called  
the "kneader."

(b) Kneader and ἀπόκινος . . . lewd kinds of dancing in  
which the buttocks are swung around.

288 Pollux 10.171

οἱ ἀναβασμοὶ τῆς κλίμακος κλιμακτῆρες.

ΔΡΑΜΑΤΑ Η ΝΙΟΒΟΣ (Εἰροφόρος)

289 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

ἔστιν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῖς κάτω πρὸς τοὺς ἄνω  
ἀπὸ συμβόλων, καὶ μὴν ὁ μαιμακτηριῶν,  
ἐν ᾧ ποιούμεν τὰς δίκας καὶ τὰς γραφάς

290 Athenaeus 15.699F

ὅτι δὲ λυχνούχοι οἱ νῦν καλούμενοι φανοὶ ὠνομάζοντο  
Ἄριστοφάνης ἐν Αἰολοσίκωνι παρίστησιν . . . ἐν δὲ  
τῷ δευτέρῳ Νιόβῃ προειπὼν λυχνούχον οἶμοι κακό-  
δαιμον, φησὶν, ὁ—οἴχεται. εἰτ' ἐπιφέρει· καὶ—λυχνού-  
χον ἔλαθες.

- (A) οἶμοι κακοδαίμων, ὁ λύχνος ἡμῖν οἴχεται.  
(B) καὶ πῶς ὑπερβὰς τὸν λυχνούχον ἔλαθέ σε;

291 *Ibid.* post fr. 290

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς καὶ λυχνίδιον αὐτὸν καλεῖ διὰ τούτων  
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ λύχνος  
ὁμοιώτατα καθῆνδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λυχνιδίου

288 The steps of a ladder are “rungs.”

DRAMAS OR NIOBUS (WOOLBEARER)

289

for we below are now with those above  
at law;<sup>80</sup> it's the month of Maemacterion,<sup>81</sup>  
when in this place we bring our cases and suits

290 That our “torches” used to be called “lightboxes” is  
shown by Ar. in *Aeolosicon* (fr. 8) . . . and in the second  
*Niobus*, after saying “lantern” he says:

- (A) Blast it all! Our light's gone out on us.  
(B) And how did it leave the lightbox without your  
noticing?

291 And in what follows he also calls it “lantern”:

but (s)he was sleeping  
exactly like a light in a lantern

<sup>80</sup> The expression designates action under procedures cover-  
ing legal disputes between citizens of different cities.

<sup>81</sup> November/December.

292 Athenaeus 7.301 B

οὐδὲν μὰ Δὲ ἔρω λοπάδος ἐψητῶν

293 Pollux 10.185

οὐ μέντοι οἱ κεραμεῖς τὰς πλίνθους ἔπλαττον, πλινθῆιον καλεῖ τὸν τόπον ἐν Δράμασιν ἢ Νιόβῳ Ἀριστοφάνης, περὶ τοῦ Κυκλοβόρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγων

ὁ δ' ἐς τὸ πλινθῆιον γενόμενος ἐξέτρεψε

294 Scholium on Euripides *Phoenician Women* 159

περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Νιοβιδῶν αὐτὸς φησιν ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Κρεσφόντῃ καὶ δις ἔπτ' αὐτῆς τέκνα / Νιόβης θανόντα Λοξίου τοξεύμασιν. ὁμοίως καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Νιόβῃ, καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δράμασιν ἢ Νιόβῳ ὁμοίως ἑπτὰ φησιν αὐτὰς εἶναι καὶ ἑπτὰ τοὺς ἄρρενας.

295 Scholium Areth. on Plato *Apology* 20e (de Chae-rephonte)

Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν β' Δράμασι κλέπτῃν (sc. αὐτὸν λέγει).

296 "Erenius Philo" on Ammonius 73; Nickau 18.17

ἀρπάγῃν (-ῆν cod.).

292

I certainly don't crave a bowl of boiled fish

293 Ar. in *Dramas or Niobus* calls the place where the potters made bricks a "brickyard," speaking of the river Cycloborus:<sup>82</sup>

and when he got to the brickyard he diverted <the stream>

294 Euripides himself speaks in *Cresphontes* (fr. 455) about the number of Niobe's children, "twice seven of Niobe's children dead by Loxias' shafts" . . . and Ar. in *Dramas or Niobus* likewise says that seven were female and seven male.

295 (on *Chae-rephon*) Ar. in the second *Dramas* (calls him) a thief.

296 "hook."

<sup>82</sup> An Attic stream known for its loudness when in spate.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

297 Pollux 10.166

καττύς· δερμάτιον ἐντιθέμενον τῇ σμινύῃ ὅταν ὁ στέλεχος ἀραιὸς ᾖ.

298 Herodian *Universal Prosody* fr. 29 (πατρῴως).

ΔΡΑΜΑΤΑ

299 Scholium on Ar. *Frogs* 798

μείον λέγουσι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν υἱῶν εἰς τὰ Ἀπατούρια οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων εἰσφερομένους, διὰ τὸ ἐπιφανεῖν τοὺς φράτορας ἐπὶ τοῦ σταθμοῦ τοῦ ἱερείου· μείον, μείον, ὅτι δὲ ἴσταντο Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δράμασι δεδήλωκεν. τοῦτο δὲ κέκληται κουρεῖον ἀπὸ τῶν κούρων ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐθύετο. μείον δὲ διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίαν. καὶ ἐπιζήμιόν τι τοῖς ἦττον εἰσάγουσιν ἀπεδέδοτο·

ἀλλ' εὐχομαι ἄγωγ' ἑλκύσαι σε τὸν σταθμόν,  
ἵνα μὴ με προσπράττωσι γραῦν οἱ φράτερες

300 Photius 534.11

αὐτοῖς σταθμοῖς ἐξέβαλε τὰς σιαγόνας

301

(a) Athenaeus 11.496

πέταχρον· ποτήριον ἐκπέταλον

250

DRAMAS

297 καττύς: a bit of leather put into the mattock when the handle is slender; also Ar. in *Niobus*.

298 πατρῴως (*stepfather*).

DRAMAS

299 They call the sheep brought to the Apaturia<sup>83</sup> by fathers on behalf of their sons *meion* ("small"), because the members of the phratry (*kinship-group*) would cry *meion*, *meion* at the weighing of the offering. Ar. in *Dramas* shows that it was weighed. This offering is called *koureion* after the *κούροι* (boys) on whose behalf it was sacrificed, *meion* for the reason given above. And some kind of penalty was given to those who brought an inadequate victim:

well, I pray you drag the scales way down,  
so the members don't assess me the old lady<sup>84</sup>

300

he smashed in their jaws and the whole house too<sup>85</sup>

301

(a) *πέταχρον*: a flat drinking vessel.

<sup>83</sup> The festival at which sons were introduced by their fathers into Athenian kinship groups. On the basis of *Niobus*' connection with Niobe (fr. 294) and the epithet "Woolbearer" cited in fr. 298, this fragment might be assigned to *Dramas* or *Niobus*.

<sup>84</sup> Spoken perhaps by a father to his sheep; the meaning of "old lady" is obscure: the sheep's dam? the father's wife? a slang term for the penalty?

<sup>85</sup> Possibly of Heracles (and thus from *Dramas* or *Centaur*?).

(b) Photius 426.9

πέταχρον· ποτήριον ἐκπέταλον. πεταχρῶνται· ἐξυπτῶνται. τρυφῶσιν.

πάντες δ' ἔνδον πεταχρῶνται

302 Photius (S<sup>2</sup>) a 2472

ἀποδακρῦμαί σε τὰν δύσποτμον  
κόραν

303 Hesychius β 1326

Βύρσαν· πόλιν θεῶν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δράμασιν παίζων ἔφη.

πόλιν Ἀθηνῶν Musurus

304 Photius 167.22

κιχόρεια· τὸ ἄγριον λάχανον.

ΕΙΡΗΝΗ Β'

<sup>86</sup> Or with Musurus' reading, "of Athens." Byrsa (*hide*) may (as elsewhere) allude to Cleon, or it may refer to Carthage (an imperial ambition of Cleon's?).

(b) πέταχρον: a flat drinking vessel; (*the verb*) πεταχρῶνται: they sprawl, luxuriate.

they're all inside tankarding

302

loudly I weep for thee, the ill-fated  
girl

303 Byrsa, City of Gods:<sup>86</sup> Ar. playfully in *Dramas*

304 Chicory: the wild herb.

PEACE II

*Ar. wrote two plays entitled Peace. Only one—the extant play that won the second prize at the Dionysia of 421—was preserved in the library at Alexandria. Crates of Mallus at the rival library at Pergamum knew and quoted from both plays, but not extensively enough that Eratosthenes could judge whether the lost play was another version of the play he knew or an entirely different play (cf. t). If the lost play was later than the extant one, as is likely, it could have been produced no earlier than 412 (when Attica was once again subject to enemy invasion) and must have been a substantially new play rather than a revision of the earlier play, which would no longer have suited contemporary realities. In the lost play the goddess Agriculture was a character with a speaking part (fr. 305): evidently Ar. had decided not to repeat his earlier portrayal of the goddess Peace as a mute statue, an idea ridiculed by Eupolis (fr. 62) and Platon (fr. 86).*



*Testimonium*

Hypothesis A2 to Ar. *Peace*

φέρεται ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις δεδιδαχὼς Εἰρήνην ὁμοίως ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης. ἄδηλον οὖν, φησὶν Ἐρατοσθένης (fr. 38 Str.), πότερον τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνεδίδαξεν ἢ ἑτέραν καθήκεν, ἥτις οὐ σφύζεται. Κράτης μέντοι δύο οἶδε δράματα, γράφων οὕτως· ἀλλ' οὖν γε ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαρνεύσιν ἢ Βαβυλωνίοις (test. vi) ἢ ἐν τῇ ἑτέρα Εἰρήνῃ. καὶ σποράδην δέ τινα ποιήματα παρατίθεται, ἅπερ ἐν τῇ νῦν φερομένη οὐκ ἔστιν.

305 Stobaeus 4.15

(Γε.) τῆς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισιν Εἰρήνης φίλης πιστῆ τροφός, ταμία, συνεργός, ἐπίτροπος, θυγάτηρ, ἀδελφή· πάντα ταῦτ' ἐχρήτό μοι.  
(B.) σοὶ δ' ὄνομα δὴ τί ἐστιν; (Γε.) ὁ τι; Γεωργία

306 Pollux 10.188

τὴν δ' ἀσπίδα  
ἐπίθημα τῷ φρέατι παράθες εὐθέως

307 Eustathius on *Il.* 1291.26

φίτῳ, ὃ δηλοῖ φυτόν ἢ φύτευμα·  
πόθεν τὸ φίτῳ; τί τὸ γένος; τίς ἢ σπορά;

*Testimonium*

Ar. appears in the *Production Lists* as having similarly produced another *Peace*. Eratosthenes (fr. 38 Str.) says it is unclear whether he restaged the same play or entered another that is not preserved. Crates, however, knows two plays, for he writes, "at any rate in *Acharnians* or *Babylonians* or in one or the other *Peace*"; and now and then he cites certain passages which are not found in the extant play.

305

(Agriculture) Of Peace, so dear to all mankind, a faithful nurse, housekeeper, helper, steward, daughter and sister: all these she had in me.  
So what is your name?

(A) Mine? Agriculture.

306

and the shield:  
put it right now on the well as a lid

307 "Shoot" means plant or scion:

Whence the shoot? What's the genus? What's the seed?

308 Pollux 10.187

μή μοι Ἀθηναίους ἀνείτ', ἢ μολγοὶ ἔσονται  
ἀνείτ', ἢ Bergk et Kaibel: ἀνείται (οἱ) vel αἰνείτε οἱ codd.

309 Scholia on Plutarch *Life of Solon* 19.4 Manfredini

ἄξων τινὲς ἄξονας τριγώνους φασὶν εἰς οὓς οἱ νόμοι  
τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγράφησαν, οἱ στρεφόμενοι παρέιχον  
ἀναγνώσκων τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν. οὐκ εὖ δέ τριγώνους  
γὰρ ὁ κύρβις ἦν στήλη τις εἰς ἣν οἱ στρατιωτικοὶ  
ἐνεγράφοντο κατάλογοι, ὡς καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς φησὶν Ἀρι-  
στοφάνη ἐν Εἰρήνῃ.

ΗΡΩΕΣ

310 Sud. a 1785

τρέχ' εἰς τὸν οἶνον ἀμφορέα κενὸν λαβὼν  
τῶν ἐνδοθεν καὶ βύσμα καὶ γευστήριον,  
κᾶπειτα μίσθου σαυτὸν ἀμφορεαφορεῖν

311 Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Ἄργος

(A) οὐκ ἠγόρευον; οὐτός ἐστ' οὐκ Ἀργόλας.  
(B) μὰ Δι' οὐδέ γ' Ἑλλην, ὅσον ἔμοιγε φαίνεται

308

winnow ye not the Athenians or they'll become  
leather bottles<sup>87</sup>

309 *Axon*: some say the *axons* were triangular tablets  
where the laws of the Athenians were written, which  
turned so as to allow passersby to read them, but this is not  
satisfactory, for the triangular *kurbis* was a tablet where  
military rosters were inscribed, as the comic poet Ar. says  
in *Peace*.

HEROES

*The chorus consisted of heroes, perhaps separately identi-  
fied (fr. 311). The only indication of date is a reference to  
Diettrephes (fr. 321), whose prominence seems to have be-  
gun in 414/3 and may (but need not) have ended in late  
411. Menander and Diphilus also wrote plays with this  
title.*

310

run to the wine-market and get an empty amphora  
from those within, and a spigot and tasting-cup,  
then hire yourself out as an amphora-bearer

311.

(A) Didn't I tell you? This one's no Argive.  
(B) Nor even a Greek, by Zeus, as far as I can tell.

<sup>87</sup> With the variant "praise not," for this oracle see fr. 103.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

312 Pollux 7.133

ὀβολῶν δεουσῶν τεττάρων καὶ τῆς φορᾶς

313 Pollux 10.112

ἢ καρδοπέϊω περιπαγῆ τὸν αὐχένα

314 Scholium on Ar. *Peace* 14c

εἰώθασι γὰρ ἅμα τῷ μάττειν ἐσθίειν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν  
 παυσικάπην ἐπενόησαν, τροχοειδές τι, δι' οὗ τὸν τρά-  
 χηλον εἶρον πρὸς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν χεῖρα προσ-  
 ἀγειν. μέμνηται δὲ ἐν Ἑρωσιν Ἀριστοφάνης·

παύσειν ἔοιχ' ἢ παυσικάπη κάπτοντά σε

315 Pollux 10.173

ἴθι δὴ λαβὼν τὸν ῥόμβον ἀνακωδώνισσον

316 Pollux 7.15

ἐμπολαῖος Ἑρμῆς καὶ ἀγοραῖος· καὶ ἐμπ. Διοσκ. ἐν  
 Ἑρωσιν Ἀριστοφάνους

ἐμπόρω Διοσκόρω

317 *Etymologicum Magnum* 672.56

πῶς πίομαι;

HEROES

312

less four obols and the portage-fee

313

or gets a kneading trough lid fastened round his neck

314 They customarily ate as they kneaded. As a result they invented the gulp-stopper, a circular device through which they put the neck to prevent bringing hand to mouth. Ar. mentions it in *Heroes*:

the gulp-stopper will probably stop your gulping

315

come, take the rhombus<sup>88</sup> and whirl it around

316 Hermes was styled Trader and Marketer, and in Ar. *Heroes* the Dioscuri are Merchants.

317

how shall I drink?

<sup>88</sup> A noise-making instrument whirled around on a string, used in the Mysteries and in various ecstatic cults.

**318** Choeroboscus on Theodosius *Canons: GrGr IV*  
1.251.25 Hilg.

οἱ γὰρ ἥρωες ἐγγύς εἰσιν

**319** Pollux 7.167

μηδὲ ποδάνιπτρον θύραζ' ἐκχεῖτε μηδὲ λούτριον

**320** Diogenes Laertius 8.34

τὰ δὲ πεσόντα μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐθίζεσθαι μὴ ἀκολάστως ἐσθιεν ἢ ὅτι ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τινος. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ τῶν ἡρώων φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πίπτοντα·

μηδὲ γεύεσθ' ἄτ' ἂν ἐντὸς τῆς τραπέζης  
καταπέσῃ

**321** Scholium on Ar. *Birds* 798

ὅτι δὲ ἦν νεόπλουτος οὗτος ἐνεφαίνετο καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑρωσι καὶ ἀπὸ—τραπέζης. εἰ μὴ ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ, καὶ πανταχοῦ ἄρπαξ καὶ πονηρός.

κάπο τῆς Διευρέφους τραπέζης

**322** Michigan Papyrus 3690 (second or third century CE), ed. Merkelbach in *ZPE* 1 (1967) 97–99

πρὸς ταῦτ' οἶν, ἄνδρες, φυλακῆν  
ἔχετε τούς θ' ἥρωες σέβεσθ', ὡς

**318**

for the heroes are nearby

**319**

don't pour the water from the footbath or the tub out  
of the doorway

**320** (Pythagoras): he forbade picking up crumbs so as to get in the habit of not eating excessively or upon someone's death. Ar. says that what falls belongs to the heroes:

nor taste of anything that should fall under the table

**321** (Dietrephes):<sup>89</sup> that this man was a nouveau-riche is seen also in *Heroes* (quote), unless (*sc.* this was said) ironically, and everywhere (he appears) rapacious and wicked.

and from Dietrephes' table

**322**

wherefore, gentlemen, stand  
guard and worship the heroes, as

<sup>89</sup> Dietrephes was a general, probably for the first time in 414/3 (cf. Ar. *Birds* 800), when he commanded the Thracian mercenaries who massacred the inhabitants of Mycalessus (Thucydides 7.29–30). In 411 he held a command in the Thracian theater of operations and installed an oligarchic government on Thasos (Thuc. 8.64.2). He is not heard of thereafter, unless the proposer of a decree in 408 by that name is the same person.

ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ ταμίαι  
 τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν,  
 κἀναθροῦντες τοὺς ἀδίκους  
 καὶ κλέπτας καὶ λωποδύτας  
 τούτοις μὲν νόσους δίδομεν·  
 σπληνιᾶν βήττειν ὕδερᾶν  
 κορυζᾶν ψωρᾶν ποδαγρᾶν  
 μαίνεσθαι λειχήνας ἔχειν  
 βουβῶνας ῥίγος πυρετόν  
 . . . ] . . [ . (.) . κλέπτα[ις] δίδομεν

323 Scholium on Ar. *Thesmophoriazusa* 21

φαίνεται ὑπονοῶν Εὐριπίδου εἶναι τὸ σοφοὶ τύραννοι  
 τῶν σοφῶν συνοουσία· ἔστι δὲ Σοφοκλέους ἐξ Αἴαντος  
 Δοκροῦ. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ὑπονοεῖ μόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς  
 "Ἡρωσιν ἀντικρὺς ἀποφαίνεται. καὶ Ἀντισθένης καὶ  
 Πλάτων Εὐριπίδου αὐτὸ ἠγοῦνται, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὃ τι  
 παθόντες ἔοικε δὲ ἦτοι πεπλανημένος συνεξάπατησαι  
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἢ, ὥσπερ ὑπονοοῦσιν τινες, σύμπτωσις τῷ  
 τε Σοφοκλεῖ καὶ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων  
 τινῶν. τὸ μέντοι δράμα ἐν ᾧ Εὐριπίδης ταῦτα εἶπεν οὐ  
 σώζεται.

324 Scholium on Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* 793

δοκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Διὸς λαμβάνειν τοὺς  
 χρησμούς, ὡς καὶ ἐν Ἴφικλέῃ φησί, καὶ Διοσχύλος ἐν  
 Ἱερείαις· . . . καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης "Ἡρωσιν.

we are the custodians  
 of what's bad and what's good,  
 and keeping a lookout for the unjust  
 and for thieves and robbers  
 we give them diseases:  
 distended spleens, coughs, dropsy,  
 catarrh, mange, podagra,  
 madness, canker-sores,  
 buboes, shivers, fever.  
 [ . . . . . ] to thieves we give

323 ("What a fine thing is converse with the clever"): he seems to imply that the line "clever are kings by converse with the clever" is by Euripides, but it is by Sophocles in *Locrian Ajax* (fr. 14). Here of course he only implies it, while in *Heroes* he definitely states it. Antisthenes (fr. 59 Caizzi) and Plato (*Rep.* 8.568ab; *Theag.* 125b) also consider it by Euripides, on what grounds I cannot say. It seems either that Ar. made a mistake and misled the others, as some suspect, <or> that there was an overlap between Sophocles and Euripides, as also in some other cases. The play in which Euripides said this is not preserved.

324 Apollo seems to get his oracles from Zeus, as he also says in *Iphicles* (fr. 313) and Aeschylus in *Priestesses* (fr. 86) . . . and Ar. in *Heroes*.

325

(a) Photius *a* 3404

Ἀφρόδιτος· ὁ Ἑρμαφρόδιτος. παραπλήσιοι δὲ τούτῳ  
καὶ ἄλλοι δαίμονες· Ὀρθάνης, Πρίαπος, Αἰακός, Γε-  
νετυλλίς, Τύχων, Γίγων, Κονίσσαλος, Κύννειος, καὶ  
ἕτεροι ὧν καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης μέμνηται Ἡρωσιν.

(b) Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.8.2.

*apud Calvum Aterianus adfirmat legendum pollentemque  
deum Venerem, non deam. signum etiam eius est Cypri  
barbatum, corpore et veste muliebri, cum sceptro ac sta-  
tura virili, et putant eandem marem ac feminam esse.  
Aristophanes eam Ἀφρόδιτον appellat.*

326 Pollux VII 16

ἀνδραποδώνης δ' εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς Ἡρωσι τοῖς Ἀριστο-  
φάνους.

327 Pollux 7.21

ἀρτοποιία.

328

(a) Pollux 10.61

καὶ ἡλίσκος ἐπικρούειν τὴν κλεψύδραν· τὸν γὰρ ἦλον  
καὶ ἡλίσκον ἐν Ἡρωσιν Ἀριστοφάνης κέκληκεν.

325

(a) Aphroditus: the Hermaphrodite, similar to which are other deities: Orthannes, Priapus, Aeacus, Genetyllis, Tychon, Gigon, Conisalus, Cynneius, and others mentioned by Ar. in *Heroes*.

(b) Calvus (fr. 7 Mor.) quotes Aterius as saying that we should read "Venus puissant god" not "goddess." On Cyprus there is a likeness of Venus wearing a beard, with female body and clothing, with a sceptre and male organ, and they consider her at once male and female. Ar. calls her Aphroditus.

326 "exporter of slaves"

327 "breadmaking"

328

(a) (*on dicastic equipment*): and the "little stud" that plugs the water-clock, for in *Heroes* Ar. calls the stud "little stud."

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(b) Pollux 10.188

ἤλους οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠλίσκους οἱ κωμῶδοι λέγουσιν.

329 Harpocration 265.16 Dind.

πυελίδα τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενον σφραγιδοφυλάκιον.

330 Athenaeus 10.409C

χερνίβιον.

ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ Β'

*Testimonium*

Athenaeus, *Epitome* 1.29A

ὅτι Ἀριστοφάνους τὰς δευτέρας Θεσμοφοριαζούσας Δημήτριος ὁ Τροϊζήνιος Θεσμοφοριασάσας ἐπιγράφει.

THESMOPHORIAZUSAE II

(b) The people and the comic poets say "little stud" for "stud."

329 πυελίς ("setting" of a ring) is what we call σφραγιδοφυλάκιον (*seal socket*).

330 χερνίβιον (dim. of χερώνη *ritual handbowl*).

THESMOPHORIAZUSAE II

Whereas the extant *Thesmophoriazusae* (411, probably at the *Dionysia*) is set on the second day of *Thesmophoria*, a day of fasting, this play is set on the festive third day (fr. 331, 333, 345); *Demetrius of Troezen* called it *Women Who Have Celebrated the Thesmophoria* (*t*). A date between 415/4 and 407/6 is suggested by an allusion to *Euripides' Antiope* (fr. 342) and by ridicule of *Agathon* (fr. 341), who debuted at the *Lenaea* of 416 and had left Athens by 405. Evidently neither play was a reworking of the other but one was a sequel to the earlier play (the ending of the extant play leaves open that possibility) or an entirely new play.

Some attribute to *Thesmophoriazusae II* also fr. 592, 617, 618, 641, 651, 688, 719, 869, *adesp.* 1005, 1132.

*Testimonium*

*Demetrius of Troezen* (*Suppl. Hellenist.* 377) entitled the second *Thesmophoriazusae* the *Women Who Have Celebrated the Thesmophoria*.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

Fragments

331

(a) Scholium on Ar. *Thesmophoriazusae* 298

δαίμων περὶ τὴν Δήμητραν, ἣν προλογίζουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἑτέραις Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις ἐποίησεν.

(b) Photius 127.8

Καλλιγένειαν Ἀπολλόδωρος μὲν τὴν γῆν, οἱ δὲ Διὸς καὶ Δήμητρος θυγατέρα, Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς τροφόν.

332

(a) (1–15) Pollux 7.95.

(b) (2–14) Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue* 2.124.1

(A) ξυρόν, κάτροπτον, ψαλίδα, κηρωτήν, λίτρον, προκόμιον, ὄχθοίβους, μίτρας, ἀναδήματα, ἔγχουσαν, ὄλεθρον τὸν βαθύν, ψιμίθιον, μύρον, κίσσηριν, στρόφον, ὀπισθοσφενδόνην,

5

κάλυμμα, φῦκος, περιδέραι, ὑπογράμματα, τρυφοκαλάσιριν, ἐλλέβορον, κεκρύφαλον, ζῶμ', ἀμπέχονον, τρύγημα, παρυφές, ξυστίδα,

κύφωνα, βάραθρον, ἔγκυκλον, κομμώτριον. τὰ μέγιστα δ' οὐκ εἶρηκα τούτων. (B) εἶτα τί;

(A) διόπας, διάλιθον, πλάστρα, μαλάκιον,

10

βότρυν,

268

THESMOPHORIAZUSAE II

Fragments

331

(a) (Calligeneia): a deity associated with Demeter, whom he makes prologue-speaker in the other *Thesmophoriazusae*.

(b) Calligeneia: Apollodorus makes her the earth (*FGrH* 244 F 141), others the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, Ar. the comic poet (says that she is Demeter's) nurse.

332

(A) razor, mirror, scissors, wax, soap, wig, dress-trimmings, headbands, barrettes, rouge—sheer devastation!—white face-powder, perfume, pumice-stone, brassiere, hairnet, veil, orchil paint, necklaces, mascara, soft gown, hellebore, headband, slip, shawl, negligé, bordered robe, long gown—the stocks, the death-pit!—striped jacket, curling-iron.

And the best is still to come.

(B) What's next?

(A) Earring, set gem, hoops, choker, cluster-pin,

269



ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

15 χλίδωνα, περόνας, ἀμφιδέας, ὄρμους, πέδας,  
σφραγίδας, ἀλύσεις, δακτυλίους, καταπλάσματα,  
πομφόλυγας, ἀποδέσμονς, ὀλίσβους, σάρδια,  
ὑποδερίδας, ἐλικτήρας, ἄλλα <πολλά> θ' ὦν  
οὐδ' ἂν λέγων λέξαις

333 Athenaeus 3.104E

(A.) ἰχθὺς ἐώνηται τις, ἢ σηπίδιον  
ἢ τῶν πλατειῶν καρίδων ἢ πουλύπους,  
ἢ νῆστις ὀπτᾶτ' ἢ γαλεὸς ἢ τευθίδες;  
(B.) μὰ τὸν Δί, οὐ δῆτ'. (A.) οὐδὲ βατίς; (B.) οὐ  
φημ' ἐγώ.  
(A.) οὐδὲ χόρι' οὐδὲ πύδος οὐδ' ἦπαρ κάπρου  
οὐδὲ σχαδόνας οὐδ' ἡτριάϊον δέλφακος  
οὐδ' ἐγγέλειον οὐδὲ κάραβος; μέγα  
γυναιξὶ κοπιώσαισιν ἐπεκουρήσατε

334 Athenaeus *Epttome* 1.29A

οἶνον δὲ πίνειν οὐκ ἔασω Πράμνιον,  
οὐ Χίον, οὐχὶ Θάσιον, οὐ Πεπαρήθιον,  
οὐδ' ἄλλον ὅστις ἐπεγερεῖ τὸν ἔμβολον

335 Scholium on Ar. *Clouds* 623b

ἀγαθὰ μεγάλα τῇ πόλει  
ἦκειν φέροντάς φησι τοὺς πυλαγόρους  
ἐκ τῆς Πυλαίας καὶ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα

THESMOPHORIAZUSAE II

bracelet, brooches, wrist-band, necklaces, anklets,  
signets, chains, rings, plasters,  
bubble-hats, breastbands, dildoes, carnelians,  
leis, hoops, and lots of other things that  
you (*masc.*) couldn't name if you tried

333

(A) Has anyone bought seafood, a cuttlefish  
or jumbo prawns or octopus?  
Or is a dogfish being roasted or a mullet or squids?  
(B) Certainly not, by Zeus.  
(A) No ray?  
(B) No indeed.  
(A) No haggis, then, or beestings or boar liver  
or honeycombs or pork belly,  
no eel or crayfish? You (*pl.*) have greatly  
aided tired women

334

I won't permit the drinking of Pramnian wine  
nor Chian, nor Thasian, nor Peparethian,  
nor any other that will rouse the boffing-ram

335\*

bearing great benefits for the city  
they say the Amphictyonic delegates have returned  
from Pylaea, and the Sacred Remembrancer

336 Athenaeus 15.690C

ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', οἶον ἐνέπνευσ' ὁ μισρὸς  
φάσκωλος εὐθύς λυμένός μοι τοῦ μύρου  
καὶ βακκάριδος

337 Scholium on Ar. *Wealth* 159

ὄσ' ἦν περίεργ' αὐταῖσι τῶν φορημάτων  
ὄσοις τε περιπέττουσιν αὐτὰς προσθέτοις

338 Pollux 7.66

τὴν πτέρυγα παραλύσασα τοῦ χιτωνίου  
καὶ τῶν ἀποδέσμων οἷς ἐνῆν τιθίδια

339 Suda α 1446

οἴμοι κακοδαίμων τῆς τόθ' ἡμέρας, ὅτε  
εἰπέν μ' ὁ κῆρυξ· οὗτος ἀλφάνει

340 Scholium on Ar. *Frogs* 3

καὶ ἐν δευτέραις Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις θεράπων φησὶν  
ὡς διὰ γε τοῦτο τοῦπος οὐ δύναμαι φέρειν  
σκεύη τοσαῦτα καὶ τὸν ὤμον θλίβομαι

341 Photius α 2101

καὶ κατ' Ἀγάθων' ἀντίθετον ἐξυρημένον

336

Most holy Zeus, how the blasted leather purse,  
as soon as I opened it, blew at me a stench  
of perfume and hazelwort

337

so much elaborate clothing they (*fem.*) had,  
so many attachments they decked themselves with

338

after she undid the flap of her girlish shirt  
and the bands that held her titties

339

alas how wretched on that day was I when  
the auctioneer said of me, This fellow's price

340 Also in *Second Thesmophoriazusae* a slave speaks:  
that because of this pronouncement I can't carry  
such heavy baggage and my shoulder's chafed

341

and in the manner of Agathon, a shaven antithesis<sup>90</sup>

<sup>90</sup> The tragic poet Agathon was beardless and therefore ridiculed by comic poets as effeminate; cf. *Thesm.* 1–294.

342

(a) Pollux 9.35.36

τὰ δ' ἔνδον ἀγυαί . . . ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἄμφοδα ἔστιν εὐρεῖν κεκλημένα.

(b) *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB ed. Reitz. *Gesch. gr. Et.* p. 41.10

λέγει δὲ Εὐριπίδης ὁ τραγικὸς ἐτυμολογῶν τὸ Ἄμφιον, ὅτι Ἄμφιον ἐκλήθη παρὰ τὸ ἀμφ' ὁδόν, ἦγγον περὶ τὴν ὁδὸν γεννηθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης κωμικεύμενος λέγει ὅτι οὐκοῦν Ἄμφοδος ὤφειλεν κληθῆναι.

Ἄμφοδον ἐχρῆν αὐτῷ τίθεσθαι τοῦνομα

343 Pollux 10.152

σακίον, ἐν οἷσπερ τὰργύριον ταμιεύεται

344 Zonaras 195

ἀναβῆναι τὴν γυναῖκα βούλομαι

345 Pollux 9.69

τὸ χαλκίον θερμαίνεται

342

(a) Alleys . . . can also be found called ἄμφοδα.

(b) Euripides the tragic poet says (fr. 182),<sup>91</sup> etymologizing the name Amphion, that Amphion was so named from ἀμφ' ὁδόν, that is from having been born "by the road," and Ar. jokingly says that he ought to have been called Amphodus:

they should have given him the name Amphodus

343

a little sack, the kind where silver is kept

344

I want to mount my wife

345 (See fr. 109):

the kettle's heating

<sup>91</sup> In his play *Antiope* (ca. 411-409).

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

**346** Galen, *Περὶ τῶν ἰατρικῶν ὀνομάτων* translated from Arabic into German by M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht, *APAW ph.-hist. Kl.* 31.3 (Berlin 1931), p. 31.25, and into English by R. Schneller in S. D. Olson and C. Austin, *Aristophanes Thesmophoriazusae* (Oxford 2004) lxxxi-ii.

Scholium on Ar. *Wasps* 1038a

ἄμα δ' ἠπίαλος πυρετοῦ πρόδρομος

Pollux 4.186

ὁ δ' ἔχων θέρμαν καὶ πῦρ ἦκεν

**347** Athenaeus 3.117C

ἦ μέγα τι βρῶμ' ἔστι ἢ τρυγφοδοπιουμουσική,  
ἠνίκα Κράτης τό τε τάριχος ἐλεφάντινου  
λαμπρὸν ἐνόμιζεν ἀπόνως παρακεκλημένον  
ἄλλα τε τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα μυρὶ ἐκιχλίζετο

**348** Hephaestion *Enchiridion* 13.3 (41.11 Consbr.)

μήτε Μούσας ἀνακαλεῖν ἐλικοβοστρύχους  
μήτε Χάριτας βοᾶν εἰς χορὸν Ὀλυμπίας·  
ἐνθάδε γάρ εἰσιν, ὡς φησιν ὁ διδάσκαλος

**349** Scholium on Plato *Cratylus* 421d

παροιμία ἀγὼν πρόφασιν οὐκ ἀναμένει, ἐπὶ τῶν φύσει

THESMOPHORIAZUSAE II

**346** A passage from Galen's *On Medical Terminology* showing familiarity with this passage survives in a ninth-century Arabic version of a Syriac translation; bibliography on facing page.

and at the same time ague, forerunner of fever

and he had come suffering from heat and fire

**347**

yes, inspired comic poesy was some hearty fare  
when Crates would consider his saltfish "ivoried,"  
"splendid," and "effortlessly summoned up,"  
and thousands of other such bits to raise a chuckle<sup>92</sup>

**348**

nor summon the curly-tressed Muses  
nor yell for the Olympian Graces to the dance,  
for, our producer says they're already present

**349** The proverb "a contest abides no excuse" is used of

<sup>92</sup> For Cratinus in his prime cf. *Knights* 537-39.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

ῥαιθύμων καὶ ἀμελῶν, ἤτοι ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ προσιεμένων  
τοὺς λόγους τῶν προφασιζομένων. μέμνηται δὲ αὐτῆς.

350 Suda λ 816

λύκος ἔχανεν . . . ἐπὶ τῶν συνελπιζόντων χρημα-  
τιεῖσθαι, διαμαρτανόντων δὲ λέγουσιν.

351 Erotian ο 45

οἶνος ἀνθοσμίας· ὁ εὐώδης καὶ ἡδύς.

352 Athenaeus 14. 619A

καὶ τῶν πισσοσῶν ἄλλη τις.

353 *Antiatticist* 78.24

ἀμεινόνως.

354 Hesychius β 212

βαρβός· μύστρον.

355 Anonymous commentator on Aristotle *Nicomachean  
Ethics*, CAG XX, 200.10 Heylb.

τῶν βαυκίδων, ὃ ἔστιν εἶδος ὑποδημάτων Ἰωνικῶν,  
οἷς αἱ Ἰάδες χρῶνται.

THESMOPHORIAZUSAE II

the naturally easygoing and carefree, or of those who do  
not approve the words of others who make excuses. Ar.  
recalls it.

350 "The wolf gaped" . . . of those hoping to make a profit  
but coming away unsuccessful.

351 Flowery wine: fragrant and sweet.

352 Another kind of song is sung by women winnowing.

353

in a better way

354 βαρβός: spoon.

355 βαυκίδες, a kind of Ionic shoe worn by Ionian  
women.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

356

(a) *Antiatticist* 88.28

διαλέξασθαι.

(b) *Pollux* 2.125

Ἵππερίδης δὲ διειλεγμένος ἐπὶ ἀφροδισίων Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ διαλέξασθαι ἔφη.

357 *Antiatticist* 96.25

ἐπανορθώσασθαι.

358 *Suda* λ 62

λακωνίζειν παιδικούς χρῆσθαι.

ΚΩΚΑΛΟΣ

*Testimonia*

(i) = *Aeolosicon* I/II, T ii.

COCALUS

356

(a) converse with.

(b) *Hyperides* (fr. 171) uses "converse with" of sexual intercourse, and so does *Ar.*

357 to amend

358 Play the *Laconian*: use boys sexually.

COCALUS

*The story of Cocalus, King of Camicus in Sicily, was treated in Sophocles' play Camici. Daedalus, escaping from Crete, took refuge with Cocalus, who refused to surrender him to Minos and his army. Cocalus' daughters, charmed by Daedalus' art, contrived to kill Minos in his bath. The Life says that "Ar. gave the first example of the style of New Comedy in Cocalus, which both Menander and Philemon took as their starting-point as dramatists" (4-6) and that the plot contained "rape, recognition and all the other elements that Menander imitated" (50-51).*

*The play was produced by Ar.'s son Araros at the Dionysia of 387 and won first prize (test. ii and IG ii2 2318.196).*

*Some scholars attribute to Cocalus also fr. 441.*

*Testimonia*

(i) = *Aeolosicon* I/II, t ii.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(ii) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 6.26.6

τὸν μέντοι Κώκαλον τὸν ποιηθέντα Ἀραρότι τῷ Ἀριστοφάνους υἱεὶ Φιλήμων ὁ κωμικὸς ὑπαλλάξας ἐν Ἰπποβολμαίῳ ἐκωμώδησεν.

359 Erotian φ 19

καλοῦσι δὲ φῶδας τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς γινόμενα, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν ἐκ ψύχους ἐν τῷ πυρὶ καθίσωσι, στρογγύλα ἐπιφλογίσματα.

†παρέσο, κατέτριβεν ἱμάτια. (B.) κάπειτα πῶς φῶδας τοσαύτας εἶχε τὸν χειμῶν' ὄλον;

παρέσο: codd.: <πολλά> γὰρ; ἔξω e.g. Austin

360 Athenaeus 4.156B

ἀλλ' ἐστίν, ὦ πάτερ, κομιδῇ μεσημβρία, ἤνικα γε τοὺς νεωτέρους δειπνεῖν χρεῶν

361 Harpocration 268.7 Dind.

(A.) <ῆ> λουδορία τις ἐγένεθ' ὑμῖν; [B.] πῶμαλα· οὐδ' εἶπον οὐδέν

362 Suda ω 14 (III 605.3)

ἐκδότῳ δέ τις  
καὶ ψηφολόγιον ᾧδε καὶ δίφρῳ δύο.

COCALUS

(ii) The comic poet Philemon, having altered the *Cocalus* by Ar.'s son Araros, made fun of it in his *Changeling*.

359 They call "blains" the round blisters caused by fire, especially when people come in from the cold and sit near the fire:

(A) he wore out <lots of> clothes <outdoors>.

(B) Then how did he get such blains all winter long?

360

but father, it's just now midday,  
when boys in their teens should eat

361

(A) did you (*pl.*) have an argument?

(B) No, not at all,  
I didn't say a thing

362

somebody go fetch  
a ballot counter and a couple of stools

363 Pollux 7.162

κοφίνους δὲ λίθων ἐκέλευες  
ἡμᾶς <ίμᾶν> ἐπὶ τὸν κέραμον

1 var. ἐκέλευον 2 suppl. Bergk

364 Athenaeus 11.478D

κοτύλη Ἀριστοφάνη Κωκάλῳ·

ἄλλαι ὑποπρεσβύτεραι γράες Θασίου μέλανος  
μεστὸν κεραμευομέναις κοτύλαις μεγάλαις  
ἔγχεον ἐς σφέτερον δέμας οὐδένα κόσμον,  
ἔρωτι βιαζόμεναι μέλανος οἴνου ἀκράτου

365 Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.18.4

ἤμον ἄγρουν  
βάρος, ἤγειρεν γάρ τοι μ' οἶνος  
\* \* \*  
οὐ μείζας πᾶμ' Ἀχελῶφ

366 Zenobius, *Vulg.* 6.47

χρυσὸς ὁ Κολοφώνιος· . . . εἴρηται δὲ παρόσον οἱ  
Κολοφώνιοι τὸν κάλλιστον χρυσὸν ἐργάζεσθαι νομί-  
ζονται.

367 Photius a 2051

ἀνταναιρέιν οἶον οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνθυφελεῖν λέγουσιν.

363

you (*var.* they) told us <to haul> baskets of stones  
up to the roof

364 "ladle": Ar. in *Cocalus*:

and others, some rather old bags, got a bottle of red  
Thasian, which from large ladles they poured pell-  
mell right into their skins, overcome with lust for  
the dark unmixed wine<sup>93</sup>

365 (on calling water "Achelous" *the river god*)

I had a savage fit  
of vomiting, for the wine stirred me up,  
having no admixture of Achelous

366 "Colophonian gold": . . . thus called because the  
Colophonians are thought to work the finest gold.

367 (For *deduct*) the many use *ἀνταναιρέιν* instead of  
*ἀνθυφελεῖν*.

<sup>93</sup> Anapests quoted as prose.



368 Pollux 3.86

ἀργύρια δὲ κατὰ πλήθος ἤκιστα λέγουσιν οἱ Ἄττικοί,  
εἴρηται δ' ἐν Κωκάλῳ καὶ Νήσοις Ἀριστοφάνους.

369 Hesychius ι 774

ἱπνός . . . Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ἐν Κωκάλῳ καὶ τὸν κο-  
πρῶνα οὕτως εἶπεν.

370 Stephanus of Byzantium 374.5

κορινθιάζομαι τὸ ἐταιρεῖν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐται-  
ρῶν, ἣ τὸ μαστροπεύειν.

371 Pollux 4.187

καὶ στραγγοῦρία.

ΔΗΜΝΙΑΙ

372 Athenaeus 9.366C

Δῆμνος κυάμους τρέφουσα τακεροῦς καὶ καλοῦς

373 Ammonius Diff. 480

ἐνταῦθα <δ'> ἐτυράννευεν Ἰψιπύλης πατὴρ  
Θόας, βραδύτατος τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις δραμεῖν

368 Attic writers very rarely use the plural "silvers," but  
Ar. uses it in *Cocalus* and *Islands*.

369 Ar. in *Cocalus* also uses "kitchen" to mean "privy."

370 To "play the Corinthian" is to consort with prosti-  
tutes, from the prostitutes of Corinth, or to be a procurer.

371 Strangury

LEMNIAN WOMEN

*Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides each treated the myth of Hypsipyle, who saved her father, King Thoas, and fell in love with Jason, when the women of Lemnos killed their husbands. If fr. 373 ridicules the etymology of Thoas' name given in E. IT 32, a date after 410 is probable.*

*It has been suggested that fr. 592 belongs to this play.*

372

Lemnos, font of fine and tender beans

373

here reigned as king the sire of Hypsipyle,  
Thoas, the slowest runner of all mankind<sup>94</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Euripides *IT* 30–33 had called him swift (the root meaning of his name).

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

374 Suda α 3109

*τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπεχρήσαντο τοὺς παιδοσπόρους*

375 Scholium on Ar. *Acharnians* 3 = Sud. ψ 22 (IV.840.9)

*ἀνδρῶν ἐπακτῶν πᾶσα γαργαίρει στοᾶ  
γαργαίρει στοᾶ Bergk: γάργαϊρ' ἐστία codd.*

376 Pollux 7.166

*ἀλλ' ἀρτίως κατέλιπον αὐτὴν σμωμένην  
ἐν τῇ πυέλῳ*

377 Suda χ 471

*ἦ καρδιώττει; ἀλλὰ πῶς χρήσται ποιεῖν;*

378 Photius 290.16

*ἕως νεαλῆς ἐστὶν αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκμὴν*

379 Pollux 10.25

*μόχλωσον τὴν θύραν*

380 Athenaeus 7.311CD (1) and 7. 302 D (2-3), joined  
by Dobree:

*οὐ κρᾶνίον λάβρακος, οὐχὶ κάρραβον πρίασθαι,  
οὐκ ἔγγελυν Βοιωτῖαν, οὐ γλαῦκον, οὐχὶ θύννου  
ὑπογάστριον*

LEMNIAN WOMEN

374

they did away with the men who had got them  
children

375

every colonnade (hearth: mss.) swarms with alien  
men

376

why, just now I left her soaping herself  
in the bath

377

Got heartburn, do you? Then what should be done?

378

while her bloom is at its very peak

379

jimmy the door

380

to buy no head of bass, no crayfish either,  
no Boeotian eel, no grayfish, nor tunafish  
fillet

381 Sud. ω 125

ὦν νῦν θερμοὶ βωμοί· ἐπὶ τῶν διὰ χρόνον σπουδῆς  
τυχαυόντων . . . μὴνύει ὅτι αἰεὶ τινας παρὰ τοῖς  
Ἀθηναίοις ξένοι θεοὶ ἐτιμῶντο

ὁ τὴν κρατίστην δαίμον', ἧς νῦν θερμὸς ἐσθ' ὁ  
βωμός

382

(a) *Etymologicum Genitivum* AB

δορίαλλος· λέγεται καὶ δόριλλος. Ἀριστοφάνης· αἰ—  
φράγγυνται. ἔστι δὲ τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον, ἐφ' ὕβρει  
τραγωδοποιῶ Δορίλλου.

(b) Hesychius δ 2230

δορύαλλος· τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν μόριον . . . ἐφ' ὕβρει τοῦ  
τραγωδοποιῶ Δορύλλου·

αἰ <δὲ> γυναικες τὸν δορίαλλον φράγγυνται

383 Pollux 9.126

πεντελίθουσί θ' ὁμοῦ λεκάνης παραθραύσματος

384 Photius 251.7

μεγάλην θεόν· Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἀημνίαις. ἴσως τὴν  
Βενδῖν. Θράκιος γάρ.

381 "Whose altars are now hot": of those getting atten-  
tion after being neglected . . . meaning that some strange  
god or other was always being worshipped in Athens:

the mightiest goddess, whose altar is now hot

382

(a) *δορίαλλος* or *δόριλλος* in Ar. (quote) is used of the  
female genitals, to insult the tragedian Dorillus.<sup>95</sup>

(b) *δορύαλλος*: the female genitals . . . referring to the  
tragedian Doryllus:

the women fence off their pussy shelleys

383

<playing> five-stones with bits of broken pot<sup>96</sup>

384 Ar. in *Lemnian Women*, perhaps meaning Bendis, for  
she was Thracian:

the Great Goddess<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Or possibly Dorilaos; punning in any case on *περίαλλος*  
(loins).

<sup>97</sup> A game resembling jacks and played mostly by women.  
<sup>97</sup> Stephanus of Byzantium 413.8, "Lemnos is named after the  
so-called Great Goddess they call Lemnos, to whom maidens are  
sacrificed;" see fr. 386.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

385 Orus *Orthography*, Lex. Mess. 282<sup>v</sup> 5 ed. Rabe *RhM* 47 (1892) 409

παρεωγμένης τῆς θύρας τῷ ι.

386 Harpocration 58.4 Dind.

ἀρκτηύσαι . . . τὸ καθιερωθῆναι πρὸ γάμων τὰς παρθένους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Μουνιχίᾳ ἢ τῇ Βραυρωνίᾳ . . . ὅτι δὲ αἱ ἀρκτηύμεναι παρθένοι ἄρκτοι καλοῦνται.

387 Harpocration 205.5 Dind.

μέταυλός ἐστιν ἡ ῥυπαρὰ λεγομένη αὐλή, οὗ ὄρνιθες ἦσαν.

388 Pollux 7.139

ναυφύλαξ.

389 Pollux 7.152

καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸ ὥρας πεπαινόμενος καρπὸς πρῶτος ἐν Λημνίαις Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ πρῶα δὲ κάρπιμα ὁ αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν.

390 *Ibid.*

τὰ δὲ φυτευτήρια τῶν συκῶν συκίδας.

LEMNIAN WOMEN

385 *παρεωγμένης* (*the door being opened*), with iota.

386 Serve as a Bear . . . of maidens consecrated before marriage to Munichian or Brauronian Artemis . . . because such maidens are called Bears.

387 *μέταυλος* is the so-called dirty yard, where the birds were.

388 ship watchman

389 Prematurely ripened fruit is called *πρῶτος* (*early*) in Ar.'s *Lemnian Women*, and he also speaks of *πρῶα* (*early crops*).

390 "fig slips": the layers of figs.

391 Scholium on Ar. *Lysistrata* 308

φανὸν μὲν πᾶν τὸ φαῖνον ἐκάλουν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀμπε-  
λίων τὰς λαμπάδας κατεσκευάζον εἰς ἕξαμην.

## ΝΕΦΕΛΑΙ Α΄

*Testimonia*(i) Hypothesis A6 on Ar. *Clouds*

αἱ πρῶται Νεφέλαι ἐδιδάχθησαν ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ ἄρχον-  
τος Ἰσάρχου, ὅτε Κρατίνος μὲν ἐνίκα Πυτίνη, Ἀμει-  
ψίας δὲ Κόννη. διόπερ Ἀριστοφάνης ἀπορριφθεὶς  
παραλόγως ᾤθη δεῖν ἀναδιδάξας τὰς Νεφέλας τὰς  
δευτέρας καταμέμφεσθαι τὸ θέατρον. ἀτυχῶν δὲ πολὺ  
μᾶλλον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα οὐκέτι τὴν διασκευὴν εἰσ-  
ήγαγεν. αἱ δὲ δευτέραι Νεφέλαι ἐπὶ Ἀμειψίου ἄρχον-  
τος.

(ii) Hypothesis A7 on Ar. *Clouds*

τοῦτο ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ προτέρῳ, διεσκευάσται δὲ ἐπὶ  
μέρους, ὡς ἂν δὴ ἀναδιδάξαι μὲν αὐτὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ  
προθυμηθέντος, οὐκέτι δὲ τοῦτο δι' ἥνποτε αἰτίαν  
ποιήσαντος. καθόλου μὲν οὖν σχεδὸν παρὰ πᾶν μέρος

<sup>98</sup> On this defeat see also the scholia on *Clouds* 524b and  
*Wasps* 1044. <sup>99</sup> Demonstrably false, since parts of our re-  
vised text were composed after 420.

391 Anything producing light was called "bright," and  
from vine twigs they made torches for kindling fires.

## CLOUDS I

*Internal evidence, together with the testimonia below,  
show that the extant Clouds is an incompletely revised and  
never-produced version of the original play (Dionysia  
423). Work on the revision seems to have been abandoned  
by c. 418.*

*Testimonia*

(i) The first *Clouds* was produced at the Dionysia in the  
archonship of Isarchus (423), when Cratinus won with  
*Flagon* and Ameipsias with *Connus*.<sup>98</sup> For this reason Ar.,  
being irrationally rejected, thought that he must produce  
*Clouds* again and rebuke the theater public. But he had  
much worse luck and never subsequently managed to get  
the revision produced. The second *Clouds* belongs to the  
archonship of Ameinias (422).<sup>99</sup>

(ii) This play is the same as the first<sup>100</sup> but has been re-  
vised in details, as if the poet wanted to produce it again  
but, for some reason or other, never did so.<sup>101</sup> Taking the  
play as a whole, the revision affects virtually every part,

<sup>100</sup> That is, not an entirely new play, like the second *Thesmo-  
phoriazusae*.

<sup>101</sup> In fact, our version lacks a necessary choral ode after 888  
and retains passages from the 423 production that would have  
been wholly inappropriate in the period of the play's revision.

γαγενημένη διόρθωσις τὰ μὲν γὰρ περιήρηται, τὰ δὲ παραπέλεκται καὶ ἐν τῇ τάξει καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν προσώπων διαλλαγῇ μετεσχημάτισται, ἃ δὲ ὀλοσχερῆ τῆς διασκευῆς τοιαῦτα ὄντα τετύχηκεν αὐτίκα ἢ παράβασις τοῦ χοροῦ ἤμειπται, καὶ ὅπου ὁ δίκαιος λόγος πρὸς τὸν ἄδικον λαλεῖ, καὶ τελευταῖον ὅπου καίεται ἡ διατριβὴ Σωκράτους.

(iii) Scholium on Ar. *Clouds* 520

ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν οὐδὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέτρου τῇ ἐν ταῖς πρώταις Νεφέλαις.

(iv) *Ibid.* 543a

οὐδ' εἰσηῖξε δῶδας ἔχουσα· οὐκ ἔστι δῆλος τίμη παρονειδίξει· ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐαυτῷ ἐπεὶ πεποίηκεν ἐν τῷ τέλει τούτου τοῦ δράματος καιομένην τὴν διατριβὴν Σωκράτους καὶ τινὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων λέγοντας "ἰὸν ἰὸν". ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις Νεφέλαις τοῦτο οὐ πεποίηκεν.

(v) *Ibid.* 549a

ὁς μέγιστον ὄντα Κλέων· ὁ Κλέων ἀποθνήσκει ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου. πρὸ δὲ τούτου ἐστὶν Ἰσαρχος, ἐφ' οὗ αἱ πρώται Νεφέλαι εἰσήχθησαν. ὁ μέντοι Ἀνδρότιων οὗτος ἐπὶ Ἀλκαίου φησὶ τοῦ μετὰ Ἀμεινίαν τὸν Κλέωνα τελευτῆσαι δυσὶν ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς τῶν Νεφελῶν διδασκαλίας . . . Σ 549 b ὡς περὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ

with some material removed, new material worked in, and changes made in arrangement and in the characters' exchanges. And some material as it now stands belongs entirely to the revised version: thus the parabasis of the chorus (518-62) has been replaced, and where Right Logos chatters to Wrong (889-948), and finally where Socrates' school is burned (1476-1511).

(iii) This (parabasis-speech) is different from that of the first play and not in the same meter.

(iv) ("nor does this comedy rush on carrying torches") It is unclear whom he is rebuking, unless perhaps himself, since at the end of this very play he has Socrates' school being burned and some of the philosophers crying "ow ow." In the first *Clouds* he did not do this.

(v) ("I punched Cleon in the stomach when he was at the height of his power"): Cleon died in the archonship of Ameinias (423/2). Before this came Isarchus, in whose archonship the first *Clouds* was produced. Now Androtion (324 F 40) says that Cleon died after Ameinias in the archonship of Alcaeus (422/1), two years after the production of *Clouds* . . . 549b He speaks as of a man still living

διαλέγεται ἐν οἷς φησι Κλέωνα τὸν λάρων καὶ Ἄνδρο-  
 τίων δέ φησιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἀλκαίου τεθνάναι δυσὶν  
 ἔτεσιν ὕστερον. Ἰσαρχος δέ, φησὶν, ἐφ' οὗ αἱ πρῶται  
 Νεφέλαι ἐδιδάχθησαν.

(vi) *Ibid.* 553

δῆλον ὅτι πρῶτος ὁ Μαρικᾶς ἐδιδάχθη τῶν δευτέρων  
 Νεφελῶν. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησι Καλλίμαχον ἐγκα-  
 λεῖν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις, ὅτι φέρουσιν ὕστερον τρίτῃ  
 ἔτει τὸν Μαρικᾶν τῶν Νεφελῶν, σαφῶς ἐνταῦθα εἰρη-  
 μένου, ὅτι πρῶτος καθεῖται. λανθάνει δὲ αὐτόν, φησὶν,  
 ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς διδαχθείσαις οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εἴρηκεν,  
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὕστερον διασκευασθείσαις εἰ λέγεται, οὐδὲν  
 ἄτοπον· αἱ διδασκαλῖαι δὲ δηλονότι τὰς διδαχθείσας  
 φέρουσιν.

(vii) *Ibid.* 591a

ἦν Κλέωνα τὸν λάρων καὶ μὴν ὡς μετὰ θάνατον  
 Κλέωνος φαίνεται γεγραφῶς τὸ δράμα, ὅπου γε τοῦ  
 Μαρικᾶ Εὐπόλιδος μέμνηται, ὃ ἐδιδάχθη καθ' Ἵπερ-  
 βόλου μετὰ τὸν θάνατον Κλέωνος. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἐτι  
 ζῶντος Κλέωνος λέγεται. δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι μετὰ πολλοὺς  
 τοὺς χρόνους διεσκεύασε τὸ δράμα . . . 591 b ταῦτα  
 ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων Νεφελῶν τότε γὰρ ἔζη ὁ Κλέων,  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τέθνηκεν. καὶ γὰρ Εὐπολις μετὰ θάνα-  
 τον Κλέωνος τὸν Μαρικᾶν ἐποίησεν.

when he calls Cleon a seagull (591), and Androtion says  
 that he died in the archonship of Alcaeus two years later;  
 the first *Clouds*, he says, belongs to the archonship of  
 Isarchus.

(vi) It is clear that Eupolis' *Maricas* (Lenaea 421) was  
 produced before the second version of *Clouds*. Era-  
 tosthenes says that Callimachus (454 Pfeiffer) found fault  
 with the production-lists because they put *Maricas* two  
 years later than *Clouds*, though it is plainly stated that it  
 was performed before that play. He fails to see, says  
 Eratosthenes, that (Ar.) says nothing to that effect in the  
*Clouds* that was produced, whereas there is no problem if  
 it is said in the revised version. The performance-lists ob-  
 viously record plays actually performed.

(vii) (Cleon the seagull): He seems to have written the  
 play after Cleon's death, at least where he mentions  
 Eupolis' *Maricas*, which was composed against Hyper-  
 bolus after Cleon's death. But these words are spoken as if  
 Cleon still lived. Thus it is clear that he revised the play  
 after some considerable interval of time . . . 591b: From  
 the earlier *Clouds*, for Cleon was then still alive, while at  
 the time of this version he had died. And Eupolis wrote  
*Maricas* after Cleon's death.

(viii) *Ibid.* 1115a

παράβασις. ἐν τῇ παραβάσει οὐ κωμωδεῖται ὁ χορός.  
τόπος κώλων ἔως ἄλλειπόντων, ὃ εἰκὸς ἦν συμβῆναι,  
περὶ ἃ εἴρηται καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρώταις Νεφέλαις.

(ix) Scholium on Ar. *Wasps* 1038c

πέρυσιν πέρυσι γὰρ τὰς Νεφέλαις ἐδίδαξεν, ἐν αἷς  
τοὺς περὶ Σωκράτην ἐκωμώδησεν. ἡπιάλους δὲ αὐτοὺς  
ὠνόμασεν εἰς ὠχρότητα παρασκώπτων.

392 Diogenes Laertius 2.18

ἐδόκει δὲ συμποιεῖν Εὐριπίδῃ·

Εὐριπίδῃ δ' ὁ τὰς τραγωδίας ποιῶν  
τὰς περιλαλούσας οὗτός ἐστι, τὰς σοφάς

393 Sud. π 1531

πηνίων· ζῶον ὅμοιον κώνωπι· Ἀριστοφάνης Νεφέλαις·  
κείσεσθον—βινουμένω. ἀντὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ· σκώπτει γὰρ  
τοὺς περὶ Χαιρεφῶντα εἰς ξηρότητα καὶ ἀσθένειαν.

κείσεσθον ὥσπερ πηνίω βινουμένω

394 Photius 398.11

ἐς τὴν Πάρνηθ' ὀργισθεῖσαι φροῦδαι κατὰ τὸν  
Λυκαβηττόν

(viii) Parabasis: in the parabasis the chorus does not perform in a comic role. (There is a) space for five *cola*, as if they were missing, which was likely to happen; I have discussed this matter in (my commentary on) the first *Clouds*.

(ix) ("last year"): In the previous year he had produced *Clouds*, in which he made fun of Socrates' circle. He calls them "fevers" in mockery of their pallor.

392 (Socrates) was reputed to have helped Euripides to compose:

this is the man who composes for Euripides  
his very chatty, clever tragedies

393 Moth: a creature like a gnat: Ar. *Clouds* (quote), meaning they are withered, since he mocks Chaerephon's circle for being withered and weak:

they'll lie like a couple of moths screwing

394

(the *Clouds*) in anger are gone off to Parnes on the road by Lycabettus



395

(a) Athenaeus 11.479C

κοτυλίσκος δὲ καλεῖται ὁ ἱερὸς τοῦ Διούσου κρατη-  
ρίσκος, ᾧ (Kaibel: καὶ οἷς codd.) χρώνται οἱ μύσται.

(b) *Ibid.* 11. 496A

πλημοχόη· σκεῦος κεραμεῶν βεμβικῶδες ἐδραῖον  
ἠσυχῆ, ὃ κοτυλίσκον ἔνιοι προσαγορεύουσι, ὡς  
φησι Πάμφιλος. χρώνται δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τῇ  
τελευταίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
προσαγορεύουσι Πλημοχόας.

μηδὲ στέψω κοτυλίσκον

396 Sud. o 918

οὐ μετὸν αὐτῷ· ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἔξόν.

397 Scholium on Ar. *Peace* 348e

Φορμίων . . . αὐτοῦ μέμνηται ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν . . .  
Νεφέλαις.

398 *Antiatticist* 98.1

ζυμῆσασθαι.

399 Scholium on Ar. *Wasps* 1038a

ἠπίαλος τὸ πρὸ τοῦ πυρετοῦ κρύος.

302

395

(a) *κοτυλίσκος* (chalice): the sacred bowl of Dionysus is  
called a chalice, which the initiates use.

(b) *πλημοχόη*: a ceramic vessel with a base and shaped  
like a top, which some call *κοτυλίσκος* . . . the initiates at  
Eleusis use it on the final day of the Mysteries, which they  
call "the Chalices" (*Plemochoi*) after it.

nor will I garland a chalice

396

"not available to him" instead of "not possible for."

397

Ar. mentions Phormion . . . in *Clouds*.

398

to leaven

399

Ague: the chill preceding the fever.

303

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

400 *Antiatticist* 105.2

κόλασμα.

401 Scholium on Ar. *Peace* 92a

ἔφη δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Νεφέλαις μετεωρολόσχας τοὺς φιλοσόφους, ὅτι τὰ οὐράνια περιουοῦσιν.

ΝΗΣΟΙ

*Testimonium*

*Life of Ar.* (T 1.59)

ἀντιλέγεται δ' ὡς οὐκ ὄντα αὐτοῦ . . . Ποίησις, Ναυαγός, Νῆσοι, Νίοβος, ἃ τινες ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ Ἀρχίππου.

402 Stobaeus 4.14.7 p. 374.7 H.

ὦ μῶρε, μῶρε, ταῦτα πάντ' ἐν τῆδ' ἔνι  
οἰκεῖν μὲν ἐν ἀγρῷ τοῦτον ἐν τῷ γηδῖα  
ἀπαλλαγέντα τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν πραγμάτων,  
κεκτημένον ζευγάριον οἰκεῖον βοοῖν,  
5 ἔπειτ' ἀκούειν προβατίων βληχωμένων  
τρυγός τε φωνὴν εἰς λεκάνην ὠθουμένης,  
ὄψω δὲ χρῆσθαι σπινιδίους τε καὶ κίχλαις,  
καὶ μὴ περιμένειν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἰχθύδια  
τριταῖα, πολυτίμητα, βεβασανισμένα  
10 ἐπ' ἰχθυοπώλου χειρὶ παρανομωτάτη

ISLANDS

400

chastisement

401

Also in *Clouds* he speaks of philosophers as "sky-gazers" because they study celestial phenomena.

ISLANDS

*Platon and Epicharmus also wrote plays with this title. Fragment 699 has also been attributed to this play.*

*Testimonium*

Four plays are rejected as spurious . . . *Poesy, Shipwrecked, Islands, Niobus*, which some say are the work of Archippus.

402

(of Peace)

You fool, you fool! All of it's in this life of peace:  
to live in the country on his small plot of land,  
free of the rat-race of the market,  
owning his very own yoke of oxen,  
and hearing the bleating of his flocks  
5 and the sound of new wine being bottled up,  
snacking on little finches and thrushes,  
no hanging around the market waiting for smallfry  
days old, overpriced, weighed out for him  
by a crooked fishmonger with a thumb on the scales  
10

403 Scholium on Ar. *Birds* 296

εἰσοδος δὲ λέγεται ἢ ὁ χορὸς εἰσεῖσιν εἰς τὴν σκηνήν.  
καὶ ἐν ταῖς Νήσοις·

(A.) τί σὺ λέγεις; εἰσὶν δὲ ποῦ;

(B.) αἰδὼ κατ' αὐτὴν ἣν βλέπεις τὴν εἰσοδον

404 Sud. ε 1684

ἔξεχ' ὦ φίλ' ἤλιε· κωλάριόν τι παροιμιῶδες ὑπὸ τῶν  
παιδῶν λεγόμενον, ὅταν ἐπινέφη ψύχους ὄντος·

λέξεις ἄρα

ὥσπερ τὰ παιδί, ἔξεχ' ὦ φίλ' ἤλιε

405 Photius (b, z) a 1285

ἄμυλος, τάριχος, πνός, ἰσχάδες, φακῆ

406 Photius (b, z) a 1187

ὁ μὲν τις ἀμπέλους

τρυγῶν ἄν, ὁ δ' ἀμέργων ἐλάας

407 *Etymologicum Genuinum* B

ἐνδημος· καὶ παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Νήσοις· ἀλλ'—ὄν.  
λέγει δὲ περὶ τοῦ Πόσειδῶνος ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιδημεῖ  
Ἴσθμοῦ. κυρίως δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον· οὐχ οὕτω γὰρ  
Ἴσθμος ὁ θεός, ὡς διὰ παντὸς ἐκεῖ διατρίβειν·

403

*eisodos* is the word for the entry by which the chorus enters the stage; also in *Islands*:

(A) What do you mean? Where are they?

(B) They're the ones you see at the entry there.<sup>102</sup>

404

"Come out, dear sun": a proverbial children's refrain, when it is cloudy in cold weather:

I suppose you'll say,  
as children do, Come out, dear sun

405

hot bread, herring, beestings, lentil soup

406

one would be crushing his grapes,  
one pressing his olives

407

In town: Ar. in *Islands* (quote) speaks of Poseidon as being away from the Isthmus, peculiarly, since the god is not an Isthmian in the sense that he always resides there:

<sup>102</sup> As in Ar. *Birds* and Eupolis *Cities*, the choristers portraying the islands may in the *parodos* have been individually introduced by name and perhaps individually costumed.

ἀλλ' οὐ τυγχάνει  
ἐπίδημος ὢν

408 Athenaeus *Epitome* 2.56 B

θλαστὰς ποιεῖν ἐλάας

οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστιν ἀλμάδες καὶ στέμφυλα

θλαστὰς γὰρ εἶναι κρεῖσσόν ἐστιν ἀλμάδος

409 Scholium on Ar. *Birds* 440

ἔοικε δὲ Παναίτιον κωμωδεῖν, ὃν καὶ ἐν Νήσοις καταλιπὼν—πίθηκον. ἔνθα καὶ μαγείρου πατρὸς εἶναι λέγει αὐτόν. πίθηκον δὲ αὐτόν εἶπε διὰ τὸ πανούργον, μαχαιροποιὸν δὲ τὸν μαχαίραις ἐργαζόμενον, ὡς μάγειρον·

καταλιπὼν Παναίτιον πίθηκον

410 Suda ξ 129

ὡς ἐς τὴν γῆν κύβασα κάτω καὶ ξυννεοφυῖα  
βαδίζει

411 Hesychius θ 953, 954

Θύρσος· ἀυλητῆς ἦν γυναικα ἔχων ἑταίραν. θύρσον κυνῆ· Ἀριστοφανῆς ἐν Νήσοις, οὐ τοῦ ἀυλητοῦ μνημονεύων, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ φύλλα εἰπεῖν καὶ κλάδους.

308

but he happens not

to be in town

408

to make crushed olives

salted and pressed are different kinds of olives

better to be a crushed olive than a salted one

409

He seems to mock Panaetius as also in *Islands* (quote). There he also calls him a cook's son. He also calls him a monkey on account of his rascality and a knife maker, one who uses knives professionally, as a cook:

leaving behind Panaetius the monkey

410

how downcast and clouded over she looks as she  
walks along

411

Thyrusus: an aulos player who kept an hetaera.<sup>103</sup> "Thyrusus cap": Ar. in *Islands*, not referring to the aulos player but using it of leaves and sprays.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Archippus fr. 27.

412 Pollux 9.89

ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τῶν κερμάτων οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Ἀττικοὶ ἤκιστα τῷ ἐνικῷ ἐχρῶντο, οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τῷ πληθυντικῷ τὰργύρια γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου σπανίως ἄν τις εὔροι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐγὼ δ' εἶρον ἐν ταῖς Νήσοις Ἀριστοφάνους. εἰ δὲ ὑποπτεύεται τὸ δράμα ὡς Ἀριστοφάνους γνήσιον, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ οἱ Κόλακες Εὐπόλιδος.

413 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

ἔλυμος· σπέρμα τι ὃ ἔφοντες ἤσθιον οἱ Λάκωνες.

414 Pollux 10.47

θρᾶνοι, θρανία, θρανίδια.

ΟΔΟΜ]ΑΝΤΟΠΡΕΣ[ΒΕΙΣ

*Testimonium*

*Inscriptiones Graecae* II<sup>2</sup> 2321.87 (Lenaean comedies)

]σ: Ἀριστο[φάνης?  
 Ὀδομ]αντοπρέσ[βεσι?  
 ἐ]νίκα

ΟΛΚΑΔΕΣ

412

The old Attic writers just as rarely used *κέρματα* (*small change*) in the singular as they used *ἀργύριον* (*money*) in the plural, for one will only occasionally find *ἀργύρια* for *ἀργύριον*; I found it in Ar.'s *Islands*, but if one suspects that this play is not by Ar., there is at any rate Eupolis in *Flatterers* (fr. 162).

413

"Millet": a kind of grain that the Spartans ate boiled.

414

θρᾶνοι (*benches*), θρανία, θρανίδια (*diminutives*).

‡ ENVOYS TO THE ODOMANTIAN

*Testimonium*

Aristo[phanes (?)  
 victorious with  
 Odom]antopres[beis (?)]

MERCHANT SHIPS

*The chorus consisted of the merchant ships that brought goods to Athens from all over the world (fr. 428–31). An Athenian and a Spartan acknowledge mutual suffering and perhaps have concluded a truce (fr. 415), and there was an attack on malicious prosecutors like Euathlus, mentioned in fr. 424 (from an epiirrheme).*

*Testimonia*

(i) Hypothesis A3 to Ar. *Peace*

οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης Ἀριστοφάνης τὸ δρᾶμα καθήκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαρνεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ἰππείας καὶ Ὀλκάδας, καὶ πανταχοῦ τοῦτο ἐσπούδακε, τὸν τε Κλέωνα κωμωδῶν τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα καὶ Λάμαχον τὸν φιλοπόλεμον αἰεὶ διαβάλλον.

(ii) Ar. *Wasps* 1037–1042

φησὶν τε μετ' αὐτοῦ

τοῖς ἡπιάλους ἐπιχειρήσαι πέρυσιν καὶ τοῖς  
 πυρετοῖσιν,  
 οἳ τοὺς πατέρας τ' ἤγγχον νύκτωρ καὶ τοὺς  
 πάππους ἀπέπνυγον,  
 κατακλινόμενοι τ' ἐπὶ ταῖς κοίταις ἐπὶ τοῖσιν  
 ἀπράγμοσιν ὑμῶν  
 ἀντωμοσίας καὶ προσκλήσεις καὶ μαρτυρίας  
 συνεκόλλων,  
 ὥστ' ἀναπηδᾶν δειμαίνοντας πολλοὺς ὡς τὸν  
 πολέμαρχον

1037 αὐτὸν Bentley

<sup>104</sup> I.e. Cleon; with Bentley's conjecture, "after him."

<sup>105</sup> The Lenaea of 423, since *Clouds* was produced at the Dionysia.

<sup>106</sup> I.e. sycophants (malicious prosecutors).

*The fragments point to a production date between 424 and 421; if the reference to "last year's play" in Wasps 1038 does refer to Merchant Ships (t ii), the play was produced at the Lenaea of 423, but Farmers is a candidate too.*

*Scholium on Ar. Lysistrata 722 mentions an ancient commentary on this play.*

*Some attribute also fragments 610 and 644 to Merchant Ships.*

*Testimonia*

(i) This is not the only play that Ar. produced on behalf of peace, but also *Acharnians* and *Knights* and *Merchant Ships*, and everywhere he pleads this case, ridiculing Cleon, who opposed peace, and constantly attacking Lamachus the war lover.

ii.

<the poet> says that, along with him,<sup>104</sup>  
 last year,<sup>105</sup> he also went after the agues and the  
 fevers<sup>106</sup>  
 who choked our fathers by night and strangled our  
 granddads,  
 that got into bed with the well-behaved people  
 among you  
 and whipped up affidavits, subpoenas and  
 depositions,  
 so that many leaped up in fear and ran to the  
 polemarch.

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

415 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

βαβαί, Λάκων ὡς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν ἄρ' ἦν  
τὰ πράγματ' οἰσνηρὰ καὶ βαρύσταθμα

416 Photius (z) α 3448

ἀδαχεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄχορ' ἐκλέγει τ' αἰεὶ  
ἐκ τοῦ γενείου τὰς πολιάς τοῦ Διός†

417 Suda η 8

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγενόμην οἴπερ ἦ' ἐπὶ ξύλα

418 Pollux 10.144

λόγχοι δ' ἐκαυλίζοντο καὶ ξυστή κάμαξ

419 Photius 12.1

πρώην ἐρανιστὰς ἐστιῶν ἤψησ' ἔτνος

420 Scholium on Ar. *Clouds* 699b

ὠὸ Λακεδαῖμον, τί ἄρα πείση τήμερον;

421 Photius α 2595

ἐξουχιῶ γὰρ ἔγωγε τοῦτ' (ἀκριβῶς)

422 Scholium on Ar. *Acharnians* 122

παῖδες ἀγένειοι, Στράτων

MERCHANT SHIPS

415

good heavens, Spartan, how greasy and cumbrous  
our mutual troubles turn out to have been!

416

for he scratches his dandruff for him and is always  
plucking out  
the grey hairs from his beard<sup>107</sup>

417

when I got to the place I was going to for wood

418

spearheads are being fitted and the whetted shaft

419

the other day, when hosting the dining club, I cooked  
soup

420

Ah, Sparta, what then shalt thou suffer today?

421

for I'll run a careful finger over this

422

the beardless boys, <Cleisthenes and> Strato

<sup>107</sup> Some of the testimonia gloss "his" with "Zeus".

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

423 *Antiatticist* 82.23

ἀλμαίαν πιών

424 Scholium on Ar. *Acharnians* 710b

ἔστι τις πονηρὸς ἡμῖν τοξότης συνήγορος  
ὥσπερ Εὐαθλος παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς νέοις

425 Athenaeus 3.91B

– ὁ δαρδάπτοντα, μιστούλλοντα, διαλείχοντά μου  
τὸν κάτω σπατάγγην

426 Athenaeus VII p. 329 B

ὁ κακοδαίμων ὅστις ἐν ἄλμῃ πρῶτον τριχίδων  
ἀπεβάβθη

427 Pollux 10.172

σπυρῖς οὐ μικρὰ καὶ κωρνίς, ἣ καὶ τοὺς  
μάττοντας ἐγείρει

428 Galen, *De alimentorum facultatibus* 1.27.1 (CMG V  
4.2 p. 253 Helmr.)

ἀράκους, πυρούς, ππισάνην, χόνδρον, ζειάς,  
αἴρας, σεμίδαλιν

MERCHANT SHIPS

423

having drunk brine

424

our generation has an accuser, a certain base archer,  
much as you young men have your Euathlus

425

devouring, carving, lapping up  
my sea-nettle below

426

unlucky the anchovy who's first to get doused in the  
brine

427

a sizeable creel and a punching bag, such as wakes up  
even the kneading-boys

428

chickling, wheat, hulled barley, spelt, rice-wheat,  
wheat-flour, and darnel



429

καὶ κολλύραν † τοῖς περῶσι † διὰ τοῦν  
Μαραθῶνι τροπαίον

τοῖσι γέρουσιν Bergk

430

σκόμβροι, κολίαι, λεβίαι, μύλλοι, σαπέρδαι,  
θυννίδες - -

431 Photius 517.12

□□ - □□ - σκαφίδας, μάκτρας, μοσσυνικά μαζονο-  
μεία

432 Pollux 10.173

φαίης δ' ἂν κατ' Ἀριστοφάνην λέγοντα ἐν Ὀλκᾶσι  
καὶ παττάλους ἐγκρούειν καὶ σκύταλον ὑποσίδηρον  
καὶ σμινύ[δ]ας καὶ ἀγκαλίδας.

433 Scholium on Ar. *Birds* 1283

τοῦ δὲ σκυτάλιον τὸ α ἐκτείνεται.

434 Pollux 10.159 (codd. FS, ABCL)

οἰκίσκον περδικικόν.

429

and a loaf for the oldsters<sup>108</sup> on account of their  
trophy at Marathon

430

plain mackerel, coly mackerel, scaly saltfish, mully,  
perch, tunafish

431

bowls, kneading-troughs, cake-stands

432

You may say, after Ar. in *Merchant Ships*, "hammer nails,"  
"ironclad cane," "mattocks," and "armfuls."

433

σκυτάλιον (diminutive of σκυτάλη, *Spartan cane*) with  
long *a*.

434

partridge cage

<sup>108</sup> With Bergk's emendation ("those who cross over" MSS).

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

435 Pollux 10.73

ὑρχας οἴνου.

436 Hesychius α 6067

ἀπεσφακέλισεν ἐσάπη . . . οἱ δὲ ἰατροὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς  
σῆψεως μελανίαν. ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ προσεσπάσθη, ἢ αἰφνι-  
δίως ἀπέθανεν.

437 Photius α 3138

Ἄττικωνικός.

438 Pollux 10.60

τὸ δραχμῆς ἄξιον δραχμιαίου.

439 Pollux 1.83

δρομάδες ὀλκάδες.

440 Harpocration 122.7 Dind.

ἐπίγυον.

441 Aulus Gellius 19.13.3

νάγους.

MERCHANT SHIPS

435

jars of wine

436

Went gangrenous: was mortified . . . used by doctors to mean the dark color of mortification. Alternatively, "went into convulsions" or "died suddenly."

437

Atticonian<sup>109</sup>

438

drachma's worth

439

running merchant ships

440

stern cable

441

dwarfs

<sup>109</sup> Playing on "Laconians" as in Ar. *Peace* 215.

442 Scolium on Ar. *Lysistrata* 772

τροχιλία δέ ἐστιν ὁ τροχὸς τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ φρέατος, δι' οὗ ἰμῶσι.

443 Stephanus of Byzantium 600.20

Φᾶσις· πόλις τῆς Αἴας πρὸς τῷ Φάσιδι ποταμῷ ἐν Κόλλοις . . . τὸ ἔθνικόν Φασιάτης καὶ Φασιατικός καὶ Φασιανός.

ΠΕΛΑΡΓΟΙ

444 Scholium on Ar. *Wasps* 1238a

Ἄδμητον λόγον· καὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ σκολίου·

ὁ μὲν ἦδεν Ἄδμητον λόγον πρὸς μυρρίνην,  
ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἠνάγκαζεν Ἄρμοδίου μέλος

445 Photius a 1326

οὐ γὰρ σὺ παρέχεις ἀμφιέσασθαι τῷ πατρὶ

446 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1423.4

τί δὲ τὸν ὀρνίθειον οἰκίσκον φέρεις;

<sup>110</sup> The sprig was passed among the symposiasts and held by one who was singing a song.

442

“roller” of the windlass to a well, with which they draw water.

443

Phasis, an Asian city on the river Phasis in Cholcis . . . the ethnic is Phasiate and Phasiatic and Phasian.

STORKS

*We are told (fr. 453) that Storks was produced in the same year as the tragic poet Meletus' Oedipodea, to which it alludes; references to the poet Patrocles and the politician Neocleides (fr. 454–55) suggest a date in the 390's. Scholia to Ar. Wealth 84 and 665 mention an ancient commentary on the play.*

*Fr. 931 has also been attributed to Storks.*

444

“The Tale of Admetus” is also the beginning of a drinking-song:

he began to sing the Tale of Admetus to the myrtle-sprig,<sup>110</sup>  
but the other made him sing the Harmodius song

445

you don't give your father enough to clothe himself

446

why are you carrying the bird-cage?

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

447 [Herodian] *Philetaerus* 83

*ἀπεσημηνάμην*  
τὰς τῶν κακούργων οἰκίας

448 Athenaeus 9.387F

*ἀτταγᾶς ἡδιστον ἔψειν ἐν ἐπινικίοις κρέας*

449 Athenaeus 9.368D

*κεφαλᾶς τ' ἀρνῶν κωλᾶς <τ'> ἐρίφων*

450 Pollux 10.63

*βαλανεὺς δ' ὠθεῖ ταῖς ἀρυταίνας*

451 Pollux 10.174

*χαλκῶματα, προσκεφάλαια*

452 Athenaeus 6.247A

*ἦν γὰρ ἐν' ἄνδρ' ἄδικον σὺ διώκης,  
ἀντιμαρτυροῦσι  
δώδεκα τοῖς ἐτέροις ἐπισίτιοι*

453 Cf. fr. 117.

STORKS

447

I sealed up  
the houses of the malefactors

448

partridge is the best meat to cook at a victory feast

449

heads of lamb and hams of kid

450

the bathman shoves with his ladles

451

bronze vessels and pillows

452

if you prosecute one wrongdoer, twelve of his  
hangers-on, equally bad, will bring a countersuit

453

See fr. 117.

454 Scholium Ar. *Wealth* 665

εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Πελαργοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ῥήτωρ καὶ συκοφάντης ἐστίν.

455 *Ibid.* on 84

τὸν Πατροκλέα κωμωδεῖ ὡς Ἀθηναῖον μὲν καὶ πλούσιον, κνιπὸν δὲ καὶ φειδωλόν. ἦν δὲ τραγωδίας ποιητῆς, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ κακόβιος καὶ φιλοχρήματος, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς Πελαργοῖς εἴρηται περὶ τούτου· ὅστις ἔνεκεν τῆς φειδωλίας οὐδένα εἶα προσίεσθαι φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ γλίσχρου βίου.

456 *Antiatticist* 111.7

ὀβολίας ἄρτους· τοὺς ὀβολοῦ πωλουμένους.

457 Photius (b, z) α 1364

ἀμφίσβαινα· ὄφεις ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐρᾶς κεφαλὴν ἔχων.

ΠΑΟΤΤΟΣ Α΄

454

(Neocleides) is also mentioned in (the commentary on) *Storks* as being a politician and a sycophant.

455

<Ar.> ridicules Patrocles as a rich Athenian but also as niggardly and miserly, and otherwise as base-living and greedy . . . who on account of his miserliness would let no one get near him out of his concern for his belongings and shabby life.

456

Penny loaves: those sold for an obol.

457

ἀμφίσβαινα: a serpent with a head also on its tail.

WEALTH I

*The first version of Wealth was produced, according to t ii, in 408. The fragments do not conclusively decide the question whether the extant play was a revision or a new play, though fr. 459 comes from an agon in iambic tetrameters while the agon of the extant play is anapests, but the structure and complexion of the extant play are much more typical of comedy in the fourth than in the fifth century. Frag. 672 has also been attributed to Wealth I.*

*Testimonia*

(i) Choeroboscus in Hephaestion *Enchiridion* 9.235

Αιολοσίκων δράμα γέγονε πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον Ἀριστοφάνους, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πλούτος πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον.

(ii) Scholium on *Wealth* 173

ἔσχατος ἐδιδάχθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ὕστερον.

458 Scholium Ar. *Wealth* 115

τῆς συμφορᾶς ταύτης σε παύσειν ἧς ἔχεις

459 Scholium on Ar. *Frogs* 1093

καὶ θ' οἱ Κεραμεῖς· οἱ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν οἰκοῦντες. δῆμος δὲ Ἀθηναίων· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἀγὼν ἦγετο. καὶ ἐν Πλούτῳ πρῶτῳ τῶν—πλατειῶν. τοῦτο δὲ φησιν Εὐφρόνιος ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἀγώνος τῆς λαμπάδος καὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους τρέχοντας τῶν νεανίσκων τύπτεσθαι πλατείας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγοραίων χερσὶ, καὶ λέγονται αἱ τοιαῦται Κεραμεικαὶ πλγαί·

τῶν λαμπαδηφόρων τε πλείστων αἰτίαν  
τοῖς ὑστάτοις πλατειῶν

*Testimonia*

(i) The play *Aeolosicon* had a first and a second version, just as *Wealth* had a first and a second.

(ii) (The second *Wealth*) was produced by (Ar.) as his last play twenty years later (than the first) (i.e. in 388).

458

that you'll be rid of the misfortune you now bear

459

(The Cerameis) were the inhabitants of the Ceramicus, an Athenian deme where the contest was held, as also in the first *Wealth* (quote). Euphronius (fr. 64 Str.) says that this is from the torch-race in the Ceramicus and that the young men who came in last were given open-handed slaps by the crowd in the market-place, blows known as Ceramican blows:

for the also-rans among the torch-bearers the  
cause of a great many slaps

460 Suda α 2014

ἀναπηρίαν.

461 *Antiatticist* 88.7

γραΐζειν ὅταν τὸ συναγόμενον ἐν ταῖς χύτραις καὶ ἐπαφρίζον ἐκχέωσιν.

462 Pollux 9.139

Ἄριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Πλούτῳ καὶ τῷ ἐπικρούσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ νουθετήσαι κέχρηται.

463 *Antiatticist* 95.29

ἐμπαΐζειν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταγελαῶν.

464 Pollux 7.115

καὶ ἄρματοπηγεῖν εἴποις ἂν καὶ ἄμαξοπηγεῖν καὶ ἄρματοποιεῖν καὶ ζυγοποιεῖν.

465 *Antiatticist* 113.11 ῥυφήσαι διὰ τοῦ υ.

ΠΟΙΗΣΙΣ

460

lameness

461

γραΐζειν (*skim*):<sup>111</sup> when they pour from the pots what has gathered on the surface as scum.

462

In *Wealth* Ar. uses “knock at” to mean “admonish.”

463

“make fun of” for laugh at.

464

You can say “build chariots” and “build wagons” and “make chariots” and “make yokes.”

465

ῥυφήσαι (*gobble*) with υ.<sup>112</sup>

POETRY

The “making of poetry” (*poesis*) was evidently personified as a female.

Frag. 623 has also been attributed to Poetry.

<sup>111</sup> Connected with *γραῦς* (*old woman*).

<sup>112</sup> Said to be an Ionic form, e.g. Photius 493.18.

*Testimonium*

(iii) Cf. test. ii on *Islands*.

466 Priscian, *Inst. Gramm.* 18.264 + *Pap. Turner* 4 = *P. Yale* 1625 (II c.)

  ]εν[  
  ]ητε[  
  ]ἀπάσης Ἑλλάδ[ος  
5    γυναῖκα δὴ ζητοῦ]ντες ἐνθάδ' ἤ[κομεν  
  ]ἦν φασιν εἶναι π[αρά σέ· ταύτη[  
  κ]αὶ χαριεῖ του[  
  τ]ινῶν εἰδ' ἴσθ' ὅτ[ι  
  ]ον ζώπυρον τ[  
  ]ον Δι' ὅτι δηπ[  
10    ]δημων· παρω[  
  ]ν ἔργα καὶ τὰ π.[  
  ]ειν ὑμῖν φρα[  
  ]. ἦσπερ οὐνεχ'[  
  ]ἔφασκ' ἀδικουμ[  
15    ]επειτ' ἐγὼ γνομ[  
  ]. ἀδικουμένη.[  
  ]δοκῶμεν σοι μ[  
  ].[...]. ....[  
  ] .ο[  
20    ] ... [

*Testimonium*

(iii) = *Islands*, test. ii.

466

<through> ]all of Greece  
seeking the woman<sup>113</sup> we've come to this place;  
they say she's here with you: her[  
  ]and you will be pleasing th[  
  ]of some, you're well aware[  
  ]hot coal[  
  ]by Zeus, that[  
  ] ? [  
  ]deeds and the[  
  ]say to you all[  
  ]she for whose sake [we've come  
  ]said she was wronged[  
  ]then I[  
  ]the woman wronged[  
  ]we think it's in your [interest

<sup>113</sup> Probably Poetry herself.

<sup>114</sup> = Sophocles *Electra* 1133.



467 *Etymologicum Genuinum* B

οὐχ οἶα πρῶτον ἦδον ἑπτάχορδα πάνθ' ὁμοῖα

ΠΟΛΥΙΔΟΣ

468 Stobaeus 4.51.15, vol. V 1069 H.

τὸ γὰρ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν θάνατον λήρος πολὺς·  
πᾶσιν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ὀφείλεται παθεῖν

467

not the sort of songs they used to sing of old, in seven chords and all alike.

POLYIDUS

*Both Euripides and Sophocles (Seers or Polyidus) dramatized the story of the legendary Corinthian seer Polyidus (cf. Apollodorus Library 3.3.1). King Minos, searching for his son Glaucus who had drowned in a tub of honey, held a contest to find the best seer and chose Polyidus, who then located the boy's body. But Minos, who had wanted the boy returned alive, locked Polyidus up with the corpse. Polyidus killed a snake that had approached the body and then saw a second snake cover the first with grass, which revived it. He revived Glaucus by putting this grass on his body. Minos detained Polyidus until he had taught Glaucus the art of prophecy. As he was about to sail away, Polyidus told Glaucus to spit in his mouth; when Glaucus did so he lost the art of prophecy. In Ar.'s play, Minos betrothes his daughter Phaedra to someone (fr. 469).*

*Polyidus postdates Sophocles' Electra (fr. 468), and Polylux 10.45 attributes Ar. Thesmophoriazusae 633 to our play.*

468

for fear of death is the greatest senselessness:  
we're all of us obliged to suffer it<sup>114</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Candidates are Theseus, Hippolytus, or Polyidus.

469 *Ibid.* 4.22<sup>b</sup>, 43 p. 517 H.

ἰδοὺ δίδωμι τήνδ' ἐγὼ γυναῖκά σοι  
Φαίδραν· ἐπὶ πύρ δὲ πύρ ἔοιχ' ἦκειν ἄγων

470 *Suda* a 2048

διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τρέχων, ἀναρίστητος ὤν

471 *CGFP* 343.21

[βέλεκκοι - - - Ἀριστοφάνη]ς ἐν Πολυίδῳ  
καὶ | [τῶν βελέκκων

472 *Pollux* 9.31

ἐλλιμενίζεις ἢ δεκατεύεις

473 *Suda* ε 2965

ἔρημον ἐμβλέπειν

474 *Moeris* 204.19 Bk.

οὐκ ἀπῆρκει· ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἀπέχρη.

475 *Suda* θ 369

θησειότριψ· ὁ ἐν τῷ Θησειῷ διατρίψας. . . . καὶ  
θησ<ει>ομούζων δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λέγει.

469

(*that marriage is not a good thing*)

there, I'm giving this woman to be your<sup>115</sup> wife,  
Phaedra; I'm likely to be adding fuel to the fire

470

running through the market-place, unbreakfasted

471

[βέλεκκοι - - - Aristophane]s in *Polyidus*:

and [of βέλεκκοι<sup>116</sup>

472

you impose harbor duties and ten-percent tax

473

To have a vacant look

474

οὐκ ἀπῆρκει (*it wasn't enough*): equivalent to οὐκ ἀπέχρη.

475

"Theseum-loiterer": one who loiters in the Theseum . . .  
also "Theseum-hider" in the same play.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Hesychius β 485 "a kind of pulse resembling the chickling vetch and about the size of a chickpea." <sup>117</sup> See on fr. 577.

<sup>118</sup> *Wasps* 1017-22 show that Ar. produced *Wasps* himself;

476 Pollux 9.130

προσεμφερής.

ΠΡΟΑΓΩΝ

*Testimonia*

(i) Hypothesis II to Ar. *Wasps*

ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀμεινίου διὰ Φιλωνίδου ἐν τῇ  
πθ' Ὀλυμπιάδι. β' ἦν εἰς Λήναια. καὶ ἐνίκα πρῶτος  
Φιλωνίδης Προάγωνι. Λεύκων Πρέσβεσι.

(ii) Cf. *Δράματα* test. iv.

477 Pollux 10.44

οἶμοι τάλας, τί μου στρέφει τὴν γαστέρα;  
βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας πόθεν ἂν λάσανα γένοιτό μοι;

478 Athenaeus 3.95D

ἐγευσάμην χορδῆς ὁ δύστηνος τέκνων  
πῶς ἐσίδω ῥύγχος περικεκαυμένον;

that he was also the author of *Proagon* may be assumed by the attribution of citations from it to Ar. and never to Philonides, who produced at least two other plays for Ar.

<sup>119</sup> Thyestes perhaps speaks after having eaten his children.

476

resembling.

PROAGON

*At a ceremony in the Odeum, poets and actors gave a preview (proagon) of the plays scheduled to be performed at the Dionysia; Ar.'s play portrayed a proagon that included Euripides. Proagon was evidently written by Ar. and produced at the Lenaea of 422 by Philonides, cf. test. i.*

*Testimonia*

(i) *Wasps* was produced in the archonship of Ameinias (422) by Philonides in the 89th Olympiad and came in second at the Lenaea. Philonides won first prize with *Proagon*, and Leucon <third prize> with *Ambassadors*.<sup>118</sup>

(ii) = *Dramas I/II*, test. ii.

477

Alas, poor me! What's making my stomach turn?  
Go off to blazes! Where do I find a potty?<sup>119</sup>

478

I've tasted—a wretch!—the guts of my own children.  
How can I look upon roast pig-snout now?

<sup>120</sup> Apparently the play by Strattis named after the famous

479 *Ibid.* 3.80A

κάμνοντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ θέρουσ ἰδῶν ποτε  
ἔτρωγ', ἵνα κάμνοι, σῦκα τῆς μεσημβρίας

480 *Ibid.* 10.422E

ᾧρα βαδίζειν μούστῖν ἐπὶ τὸν δεσπότην·  
ἤδη γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἶομαι δεδειπνάναι

481 *Ibid.* 11.478F

ὁ δ' ἀλφίτων ▯ πριάμενος τρεῖς χοίνικας  
κοτύλης δεούσας ἑκτέα λογίζεται

482 Athenaeus 9.380D

τί οὐκ ἐκέλευσας παραφέρειν τὰ ποτήρια;

483 Suda σ 982

σταθερὰ δὲ κάλυξ νεαρᾶς ἤβης

484 Scholium on Lucian *Alex.* 4 p. 181.12R

ὁ Φρυνώνδας ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ βοᾶται.

485 Scholium on Plato *Laches* 187B

παροιμία ἐν πίθῳ τὴν κεραμείαν ἐπὶ τῶν τὰς πρώτας  
μαθήσεις ὑπερβαινόντων, ἀπτομένων δὲ τῶν μειζόνων  
καὶ ἤδη τῶν τελειοτέρων.

340

479

one summer, on seeing him with a belly-ache,  
he ate some figs at noon, so as to be sick too

480

it's time for me to go fetch the master:  
I imagine they've finished their supper by this time

481

having bought three quarts of flour,  
less a cup, he reckons it makes eight

482

why haven't you ordered the drinks to be passed  
around?

483

and long-lived the flowercup of tender youth

484

Phrynonidas is decried for wickedness.

485

Proverb: "pottery on the barrel," of those who skip the first  
steps in learning something, trying tasks that are more  
difficult and better suited to experienced people.

486 Photius *a* 2129

ἀντιαντλητήρας.

ΣΚΗΝΑΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΤΣΑΙ

487 Pollux 10.67

λήκυθον  
τὴν ἑπτακότυλον, τὴν χυτρείαν, τὴν καλήν,  
ἣν ἐφερόμην, ἵν' ἔχομι συνθεάτριαν

488 Scholium Areth. (B) on Plato *Apology* 19C

Ἄριστοφάνης . . . ἐκωμωδεῖτο δ' ἐπὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μὲν  
Εὐριπίδην, μιμείσθαι δ' αὐτόν . . . καὶ αὐτὸς δ'  
ἐξομολογεῖται Σκηναῖς καταλαμβανούσαις

χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στόματος τῷ στρογγύλῳ,  
τοὺς νοῦς δ' ἀγοραίους ἦττον ἢ κείνος ποιῶ

486

"buckets."

WOMEN CLAIMING TENT-SITES

*Spectators at festivals who lacked local accommodation might erect temporary shelters (cf. Ar. Peace 880 with scholia). In this play, women compete with men over such shelters at a festival that the fragments suggest is theatrical. The speaker of fr. 488 is said by its testimonium to represent Ar. himself; if so, this is the only such self-reference in Ar. outside a parabasis other than in Acharnians 377-82, 497-503, where Dicaeopolis speaks for Ar.; it is possible that in this play Ar., like Cratinus in Flagon, was a character. There is no firm evidence for dating the play.*

*Frr. 598, 604, 714, 893 have also been attributed to Women Claiming Tent-Sites.*

487

the carrying-flask—  
three-quart capacity, ceramic, fine quality—  
that I took along to watch the show with me

488

*Ar. . . was criticized for ridiculing Euripides while at the same time imitating him . . . and he himself plainly admits it in Women Claiming Tent-Sites:*

I make use of his polished, compact style,  
but I compose less vulgar conceptions than he does

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

489 Photius 340.22

καὶ μὴν ἄκουσον, ὦ γυναῖ, θυμοῦ δίχα  
καὶ κρίνον αὐτή, μὴ μετ' ὄξυρεγμίας

490 Pollux 10.28–29

ὥσπερ ἐν Καλλιπιδῆ  
ἐπὶ τοῦ κορήματος καθέζομαι χαμαί

491 Athenaeus 7.286 F

ἀλλ' ἔχουσα γαστέρα  
μεστὴν βοάκων ἀπεβάδιζον οἴκαδε

492 Pollux 7.157

καὶ τῶν πλατυλόγχων διβολίαν ἀκοντίων

493 Pollux 10.144

καὶ τῶν πλατυλόγχων, ὡς ὄρας, ἀκοντίων

494 Pollux 7.202

τὴν πόρδαλι καλοῦσι τὴν κασαλβάδα

495 Pollux 10.106

τὴν κακκάβην γὰρ κἄε τοῦ διδασκάλου

WOMEN CLAIMING TENT-SITES

489

yet listen, woman, with anger put aside,  
without heartburn, and be yourself the judge

490

just as in *Callipides*<sup>120</sup>  
I'm sitting in the garbage on the ground

491

I set off for home  
with my belly full of grunter-fish

492

(preceding fr. 850 and. 881)

and a brace of the broad-pointed javelins

493

and of the double-pointed javelins, as you see

494

they call the strumpet The Leopardess

495

so fire your instructor's boiling-pot<sup>121</sup>

tragic actor. <sup>121</sup> *Didaskalos* indicates any instructor (here a cook or potter?), but more particularly the instructor of a chorus (producer of a play).

<sup>122</sup> Playing on *ploutos* "wealth."

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

496 Scholium on Ar. *Knights* 424a

ἀλλὰ συσπάσαι

δεῖ τὰς κοχῶνας

497 Pollux 10.114

ὥσπερ {κόσκινον} αἰρόπινον τέτρηται

498 Pollux 10.147

Ἄριστοφάνης ἐν Σκηνὰς καταλαμβάνουσais ὠνόμασεν, εἰπὼν τοῖχον μοχλίσκῳ σκαλεύειν.

499 Heysch. o 1541

οὐ γὰρ ἄκανθαι παραιμία.

οὐδ' <ἄν> ἴσως ἀντέλεγες τούτῳ τῷ δειπνίῳ· οὐ γὰρ ἄκανθαι

500 Harpocration s. v. δῆμαρχος 89.13 Dind.

ὅτι δὲ ἠνεχυρίαζον οἱ δῆμαρχοι δηλοῖ Ἄριστοφάνης ἐν Σκηνὰς καταλαμβάνουσais.

501 Photius 404.20

πεζίδα· τὴν ᾧσαν τοῦ ἱματίου.

502 Pollux 10.172

τὴν δὲ πῆραν πηρίδιον εἴποις ἄν.

346

WOMEN CLAIMING TENT-SITES

496

but you've got to draw your buttocks in

497

s/he's as punctured as a sieve

498

(On burglar-tools): Ar. in *Women Claiming Tent-Sites* uses "jimmy" in this sense when he says "to poke at a wall with a jimmy."

499

(See fr. 284): "no thorns there": a proverb:

nor, perhaps, would you say no to this dinner party:  
no thorns there

500

That the demarchs had the power to distrain is shown by Ar. in *Women Claiming Tent-Sites*.

501

πεζίς: the hem of a cloak.

502

For πῆρα (*wallet*) you can say πηρίδιον (*diminutive*).

503 Heysch. τ 1451

τριποστάτις.

ΤΑΓΗΝΙΣΤΑΙ

504 Stobaeus 4.53.18, vol. V p. 1102 H

καὶ μὴν πόθεν Πλούτων γ' ἂν ὠνομάζετο,  
εἰ μὴ τὰ βέλτιστ' ἔλαχεν; ἐν δέ σοι φράσω,  
ὄσῳ τὰ κάτω κρείττω ἴσθιν ὦν ὁ Ζεὺς ἔχει.  
ὅταν γὰρ ἰσθήσ, τοῦ ταλάντου τὸ ῥέπον  
κάτω βαδίζει, τὸ δὲ κενὸν πρὸς τὸν Δία  
\* \* \* \*

< > οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε

οὕτω † στεφανωμένοι  
προὔκειμθ', οὐδ' ἂν † κατακεκρινομένοι †,  
εἰ μὴ καταβάντας εὐθέως πίνειν ἔδει.  
διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ τοι καὶ καλοῦνται μακάριοι.  
πᾶς γὰρ λέγει τις, ὁ μακαρίτης οἴχεται,  
κατέδαρθεν εὐδαίμων, ὅτ' οὐκ ἀνιάσεται.  
καὶ θύομεν † αὐτοῖσι τοῖς ἐναγίσμασιν  
ὡσπερ θεοῖσι, καὶ χοάς γε χεόμενοι  
αἰτούμεθ' αὐτοὺς δεῦρ' ἀνίεναι τὰγαθά

505 Athenaeus 15.677B

τί οὖν ποιῶμεν; χλανίδ' ἐχρήν λευκὴν λαβεῖν.

503

third-row choruswoman.

FRY-COOKS

adesp. \*745 may also belong to this play.

504

and how would he ever have gotten the name Pluto<sup>122</sup>  
if he hadn't the best of everything? I'll note one fact  
that shows the underworld is better than Zeus' realm.  
When you use scales, the pan that's full goes down,  
but the one that's empty rises up toward Zeus

[  
[ ] for we would never

this way wearing garlands [  
be laid out, nor be thus anointed [ ]  
unless to start drinking as soon as we got below.<sup>123</sup>  
That must, you see, be why they're called The Blest.  
For don't we all say, "he's gone to his reward,  
he rests in peace, he's happy and free of care"?  
And we make them sacrificial offerings  
just as we do the gods, and when pouring libations  
we beg them to send their blessings up to us

505

So what shall we do? We ought to don white clothes

<sup>123</sup> Garlanding and anointing were preparations both for funerals and for dinner-parties.

<sup>124</sup> Persian gold coins, which circulated also in Greece.



ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

εἶτ' ἰσθμιακὰ λαβόντες ὥσπερ οἱ χοροὶ  
ἄδωμεν εἰς τὸν δεσπότην ἐγκώμιον

506 Scholium on Ar. *Clouds* 361a

τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρ' ἢ βιβλίον διέφθορεν  
ἢ Πρόδικος ἢ τῶν ἀδολεσχῶν εἰς γέ τις

507 Athenaeus 10.418D

(A.) τί πρὸς τὰ Λυδῶν δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ Θετταλῶν;  
(B.) τὰ Θετταλικά μὲν πολὺ καπανικώτερα

508 Suda a 3655

ἀλλὰ στεφάνωσαι καὶ γὰρ ἡλικίαν ἔχεις  
ἀποχρῶσαι ἤδη

509 Photius 13.2

ἐρείδεται, καγὼ κατόπιμ σφῶν ἔψομαι

510 Sud. a 2934

ἀπασκαρίζειν ὥσπερ εἰ πέρκην χαμαί

511 Harpocration p. 47.3 Dind.

σ - υ - οὐ μὴν ὅ γε σὸς ἀδελφὸς οὐ  
ἀπελάγγανεν

FRY-COOKS

then taking Isthmian crowns just like choruses  
let's sing a song of praise for the master

506

either a book has been the ruin of this man here  
or else Prodicus or one of those idle chatterers

507

(A) How do our meals compare to the Lydians' or the  
Thessalians'?  
(B) Well, a Thessalian meal needs many more carts to  
hold it

508

so put on your funeral-wreath: you're more than old  
enough already

509

you two keep chowing down, and I'll follow along

511

[ ] yet *your* brother never got  
his fair share

512 Suda π 500

πέρδιξ ὄρουσον

513 Athenaeus 10.422F

ὑποπεπόκαμεν <υ>, ὄνδρες, καὶ καλῶς ἡρίσταμεν

514 Pollux 10.88

τὸ δ' ἔτνος τοῦν ταῖς κυλίχναις τουτὶ θερμὸν καὶ  
τοῦτο παφλάζον

515 Scholium on Ar. *Frogs* 293

ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ Ἑκάτῃ, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς  
Ταγηνισταῖς:

χθονία θ' Ἑκάτῃ  
σπείρας ὄφεων εἰλιξαμένη  
(B.) σ υ τί καλεῖς τὴν Ἐμπουσαν;

516 Athenaeus 9.410B

φέρε παῖ ταχέως κατὰ χειρὸς ὕδωρ,  
παράπεμπε τὸ χειρόμακτρον

517 Athenaeus 4.71AB

ὡς οὐψώνης διατρίβειν  
ἡμῖν τᾶριστον ἔοικε

352

512

run like a partridge

513

we've had a bit to drink, gentlemen, and a fine  
breakfast

514

the soup in the bowls here is hot, in fact boiling over

515

(Empusa): some writers equate her with Hecate, as Ar. in  
*Fry-Cooks*:

(A) and infernal Hecate  
twined round with snakes  
(B) [            ] why do you summon Empusa?

516

boy, bring the finger-bowls on the double,  
pass the hand-towel

517

the caterer seems to be  
taking his time about our breakfast

518 Pollux 10.151

ὁ δὲ λύων κύστιν ὑεῖαν  
κάξαιρῶν τοὺς Δαρεικοὺς

519 [Herodian], *Philetaerus* 103:

δεῦρο δ' ἂν οὐκ ἀπέδραμεν

520 Athenaeus 3.96C

ἄλις ἀφύης μοι  
παρατέταμαι γὰρ  
τὰ λιπαρὰ κάπτων.  
ἀλλὰ † φέρετατ' ἀπόβασιν † ἠπάτιον ἢ  
καπριδίου νέου  
5 κόλλοπά τιν'. εἰ δὲ μή, πλευρὸν ἢ γλωτταν ἢ  
σπληνὰ γ' ἢ νῆστιν, ἢ δέλφακος ὀπωρινῆς  
ἠτριαίαν φέρετε δεῦρο μετὰ κολλάβων  
χλιαρῶν

4 φέρετ' ὀπτὸν ὑὸς ἠπάτιον Arnott

521 Athenaeus 7.285E

μηδὲ τὰ Φαληρικὰ τὰ μικρὰ τὰδ' ἀφύδια

522 Athenaeus 3.110F

λαμβάνετε κόλλαβον ἕκαστος

518

and opening his pig's-bladder wallet  
and taking out the darics<sup>124</sup>

519

we should never have run off to this place

520

no more sardines for me:  
I'm sick of bolting down  
the oily things.  
Bring me instead some pork p<sup>â</sup>te  
or a chine of young boar, or else  
a flank or a tongue or a spleen  
or the tripe, or bring me here  
a belly of autumn sow with warm  
dinner-rolls

521

nor yet these anchovies, the small ones from  
Phalerum

522

each of you grab a dinner-roll

<sup>125</sup> From an explanatory monologue in the prologue or from

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

523 Herodian, *Singular Vocabulary* II 913.22 L.

Ἄγχομενός· γενναία (-αν V) βοιώτιος ἐν (ἐξ Lehrs)  
ἀγχομενοῦ.

524 Scholium on Plato, *Euthydemus* 292E

παροιμία Διὸς Κόρινθος· ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγαν μὲν ὑπερ-  
σεμνυνομένων, κακῶς δὲ καὶ πονηρῶς ἀπαλλαττόν-  
των.

525 Pollux 10.93 after fr. 220

μελιτηρὸν ἄγγος.

526 Galen, *Hippocratic Aphorisms* 18.1, p. 147 K.

ἀμφαρίστερον.

527 Pollux 10.47

βάθρα, βαθρίδια.

528 *Alphabetic Parsings of Homer* (An. Ox. I 223.19)

δόκος . . . σημαίνει τὴν ἀγχόνην.

529 Pollux 10.101

Ἄριστοφάνους ἐν *Ταγηνισταῖς* . . . ἐσχάρια, καὶ πού  
καὶ ἐσχαρίδα.

FRY-COOKS

523

Anchomenus: "noble (*fem.*) Boeotian in (from?) the house  
of Anchomenus."

524

The proverb "Corinthus son of Zeus," of those who put on  
airs and then come to grief in a base and wicked fashion.

525

a vessel called a honey-pot.

526

having two right hands

527

benches and "little benches."

528

δόκος in the sense "throttling."

529

Ar. in *Fry-Cooks* says ἐσχάρια (*brazier*) and elsewhere  
also ἐσχαρίδα (*diminutive*).

530 Pollux 7.149 (codd. FS, A)

τὰ δὲ καρπεῖα ἐν τῷ Γηρυτάδῃ Ἀριστοφάνης εἰπὼν  
τὸ εὐκαρπεῖν ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς καρπεῖν (καρπεύειν A)  
λέγει.

531 Pollux 10.173

κηρύκιον

532 Harpocration 187.1

κύπασσις, κύπασις . . . οἱ γλωσσογράφοι χιτῶνος  
εἰδὸς φασιν αὐτὸν εἶναι . . . οἱ μὲν γυναικείου, οἱ δὲ  
ἀνδρείου.

533 *Etymologicum Genivinum* AB

κωνῆσαι κυρίως τὸ τὸν κέραμον πισσῶσαι. κωνᾶν  
γὰρ τὸ στρέφειν. καὶ τοὺς βέμβικας κώνους λέγουσι.  
καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς τὸ περινεγκεῖν  
κωνῆσαι λέγει.

534 Suda λ 20

λάγνος· πόρνος, αἰσχρὸς. καταφερῆς πρὸς τὰ ἀφρο-  
δίσια.

535 Pollux 10.119

μυρίδιον εἶρηκε τὸ μύρον.

530

Having spoken of "the fruits" in *Gerytades* (fr. 183), Ar. in  
*Fry-Cooks* says "reap the fruits" for "do well."

531

herald's staff.

532

κύπα(σ)σις: the lexicographers say that it is a kind of tunic  
. . . some say worn by women, some say by men.

533

κωνῆσαι: properly of putting pitch on ceramics, for κωνᾶν  
means to turn. They also call tops κῶνοι, and Ar. in *Fry-  
Cooks* uses κωνῆσαι to mean rotate.

534

λάγνος: male prostitute, shameful, disposed to erotic ac-  
tivity.

535

μυρίδιον (diminutive) for μύρον (*scent*).

536 Pollux 10.173

νεβρίδα.

537 Pollux 7.168

καὶ παραλοῦται.

538 Pollux 10.173

λίθους πωρίνους.

539 Photius 531.10

σπίνος.

540 Scholium on Plato, *Philebus* 66d

ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις . . . ἐκρινῶντο . . . κρατήρες τρεῖς.  
καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμ-  
πίων ἔλεγον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἡρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον  
σωτήρος . . . ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τέλειον, ὡς Εὐρι-  
πίδης Ἀνδρομέδα καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Ταγηνισταῖς.

541 Scholium on Ar. *Peace* 1165c

φήληκα.

542 Herodian, *Universal Prosody* fr. 28.3 Hung.

οὕτως δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς  
\*\*\*\*\* καὶ παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Θρήσσαις: τρόποι δ'  
ἀμεμφεῖς φιλόμουσοι, φιλοσυμπόται.

536

fawnskin

537

(after fr. 247): also "bathes with."

538

tufa stones

539

chaffinch

540

At parties . . . they mixed . . . three bowls, the first for  
Olympian Zeus and the Olympian gods, the second for the  
Heroes, and the third for (Zeus) the Savior . . . and this last  
they also called "perfect," as Euripides in *Andromeda* and  
Ar. in *Fry-Cooks*.

541

φήληξ (wild, or perhaps unripe, fig).

542

Thus in Ar.'s *Fry-Cooks*: (the quotation is illegible), and in  
Aeschylus' *Thracian Women*: blameless ways, devoted to  
the Muses, devoted to banqueters.

## ΤΕΛ(Ε)ΜΗΣΣΗΣ

543 Scholium on Plato, *Hipparchus* 229d

οὐ γὰρ τίθεμεν τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδε τὸν τρόπον  
ὥσπερ τέως ἦν, ἀλλὰ καινῶν πραγμάτων

544 Aelius Aristides, *Oration* 47.16 (379 K.)

ὕμεῖς μὲν οὖν διὰ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτᾶτε τίς ἀγορεύειν  
βούλεται, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἡδέως ἀν ἐροίμην τίς ὑμῶν  
βούλεται πράττειν ἢ κωμῳδία γε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστίν·  
ἔλεγον δὲ ἀναφέρων εἰς τοὺς Τελμησέας τοῦ Ἀριστο-  
φάνους, ὡς ἐκεῖ λόγῳ τις ἠγωνίζετο, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐ.

545 Athenaeus, *Epitome* 2.49C

(A.) τράπεζαν ἡμῖν <ἐκ>φερε  
τρεις πόδας ἔχουσαν, τέτταρας δὲ μὴ χέτω.  
(B.) καὶ πόθεν ἐγὼ τρίπουν τράπεζαν λήψομαι;

## 546 Pollux 10.72

οἴνου τε Χίου στάμνον ἦκειν καὶ μύρον

the introduction to an agon.

<sup>126</sup> The corb is a fish with black fins that resemble the wings of

## TEL(E)MESSIANS

*Tel(e)messus, a coastal town of Lycia and a member of the Delian League, was known as a center of prophecy and for its oracle of Apollo; both may be relevant to the plot of this play (cf. fr. 554). A late fifth-century date is suggested by mockery of Chaerephon (fr. 552), who was dead before 399, and by a reference to Aristyllus (fr. 551), who is otherwise mocked in the late plays Assemblywomen and Wealth.*

## 543

for we're not holding this contest in the way  
that's formerly been the case, but of novel  
situations<sup>125</sup>

## 544

You have the herald ask, "who wishes to speak to the assemblymen?" But I would gladly ask, "who wishes to act? Or is the rest mere comedy?" speaking in reference to Ar.'s *Telmessians*, where someone competed in speech but not in deed.

## 545

(A) Bring us out a table  
with three legs; it mustn't have four.  
(B) And where am I to get a three-legged table?

## 546

and bring a bottle of Chian and some perfume

547 *Ibid.* 10.82

πινακίσκον ἄπυρον ἰχθυηρόν

548 Stephanus of Byzantium 612.13

† ὡς ἂν τις ἂν οὖν ἢ τί ποιήσας, ὦ Τελεμησιῆς;  
φέρε δὴ τοίνυν, ταῦθ' ὅταν ἔλθῃ, τί ποιεῖν χρῆ  
μ', ὦ Τελεμησιῆς;

549 Hesychius μ 1011, cf. Athenaeus 14.690F

τὸ Μεγάλλειον ὀνομάσθη . . . ἀπὸ Μεγάλλου τοῦ  
Σικελιώτου. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖόν φασι εἶναι τὸν Μέγαλ-  
λον.

μεταπέμπου νῦν ταῦτα σπουδῇ καὶ μύρον εὔρημα  
Μεγάλλου

550 Athenaeus 7.308F

μελανοπτερύγων κορακίνων

551 *Etymologicum Magnum* 142.55

Ἀρίστυλλος.

552 Scholium Areth. on Plato, *Apology* 20e

Χαιρεφῶν . . . Ἀριστοφάνης . . . ἐν δὲ Τελμισσεύσιν  
εἰς συκοφάντην ἀποσκώπτει.

547

an unfired fish dish

548

how in the world, or by what means, Telemessians,  
could anyone  
well, then: when this gets here, what should I do,  
Telemessians?

549

The Megallian: named . . . for Megallus the Sicilian, but  
some say Megallus was Athenian.

now send for these as quick as you can, and the  
perfume Megallus invented

550

of ebon-winged corbs<sup>126</sup>

551

Aristyllus

552

Chairephon . . . Ar. . . ridicules in *Telmissians* as a mali-  
cious prosecutor.

"corvids."

<sup>127</sup> I.e. spoken in the Ionic dialect.



553 Photius α 1073

ἀλφιτόχρωτος· τῆς λευκῆς. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς  
πολιᾶς.

554 Hesychius π 4340

πύλαι· Ἀριστοφάνης Τελμισσεύσιν ἀπὸ τῶν θυτῶν  
λέγει. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἐπισκέπτονται τὰς ἐκτροπὰς καὶ  
τὰς φλέβας.

555 Harpocration 273.8

σιπύα.

ΤΡΙΦΑΛΗΣ

*Testimonium*

Lucian *Fugitives* 32

ἔστιν τι, ᾧ ἀγαθὲ, Τρικάρανος βιβλίον. (B) οὐδὲν  
ἄτοπον, ἐπεὶ καὶ Τριφάλης.

556 Athenaeus 12.525A

ἔπειθ' ὅσοι παρήσαν ἐπίσημοι ξένοι  
ἐπηκολούθουν κῆντιβόλον προσκείμενοι  
"ὄκως ἔχων τὸν παῖδα πωλήσει 'ς Χίον,"  
ἕτερος δ' "ὄκως ἐς Κλαζομενάς", ἕτερος δ' "ὄκως

553

Wheat-colored: white, of the white-haired.

554

Gates (?): Ar. in *Telmissians* uses it of sacrificers, for they  
inspect the branches and the veins (of victims).

555

grain bin.

TRIPHALES

*Frr. 563–64 suggest a date after 411. Frr. 622, 902, adesp.  
154, 1083 have also been attributed to Triphales.*

*Testimonium*

(A) There's a book, sir, called *Τρίκρανος* (*Three-Headed*).  
(B) That's nothing; there's also one called *Τριφάλης*  
(*Three-Phallused*).

556

(*on the softness and luxurious life of the Ionians*):  
then all the distinguished foreigners who were there  
began to follow and asked importunately,  
"looky, bring the boy to Chios to be sold,"  
or "looky, to Clazomenae," or yet again "looky,

εἰς "Ἐφεσον", ὁ δ' "ἐς Ἀβυδον." ἦν δ' ἐκεῖ 5  
ἀπανθ' "ὄκως"

5-6 ἐκεῖ ἀπανθ' ὄκως Austin: ἐκεῖνα πανθόδω codd.

**557** Pollux 10.151

ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τοῦψον ἦκε τὴν σπυρίδα λαβὼν  
καὶ θυλακίσκον καὶ τὸ μέγα βαλλάντιον

**558** Scholium on Hippocrates, *Epidemics* 5.7

τίς δ' ἔσθ' ὁ λίσπος ἐγγύτατα τὰς ὀσφύας  
ἐπὶ τῶν κοχωνῶν ἀργουάτης οὔτοσί;

δ' ἔσθ' ὁ λίσπος Schneidewin: δὲ εἰς ὁ λοιπὸς codd.

**559** Pollux 10.162

καὶ τὴν κυνὴν ἔχειν με κυρβασίαν δοκεῖς

**560** *Ibid.* 9.90

ἦτουν τι τὰς γυναῖκας ἀργυρίδιον

**561** *Ibid.* 10.121

ἀλαβαστοθήκας τρεῖς ἔχουσαν ἐκ μιᾶς

**562** Scholium on Plato, *Phaedo* 72c

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Τριφάλῃτι. ἡ γὰρ τὸν Τριφάλῃτα

to Ephesus" or "to Abydus": there it was  
all "looky"<sup>127</sup>

**557**

then he went to the fishmarket with his basket  
and his little bag and his great big purse

**558**

and who's the flat-rump with his waist so very  
close to his buttocks? The argo-naught there

**559**

and you think my cap is a Persian bonnet

**560**

I/they asked the women for a little money

**561**

(ἀλαβαστοθήκαι):

now she has three tube-holders instead of one

**562**

In Ar. *Triphales* . . . the woman giving birth to Triphales

<sup>128</sup> Theramenes gained power in the oligarchic coup of 411

τίκτουσά φησιν·

λαβέσθαι καὶ γάρ ἐσθ' ὁμοῦ

**563** Suda τ 871, cf. Scholium on Ar. *Frogs* 541

δοκεῖ δὲ οὗτος καὶ τὰ τρία ψηφίσασθαι ἐπιζήμια, ἢ δεσμεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ ἢ πιεῖν κώνειον ἢ ἐκφυγεῖν.

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀπὸ Θηραμένους δέδοικα τὰ τρία ταυτί

**564** Stephanus of Byzantium 324.10

λανθάνοντες τοὺς Ἰβηρας τοὺς Ἀριστάρχου

πάλαι

τοὺς Ἰβηρας οὓς χορηγεῖς μοι βοηθήσαι δρόμῳ

λανθάνοντες Edmonds: *μανθάνοντες* codd.

**565** Scholium on Ar. *Wasps* 1348a

κοῦδὲν ἂν δράσειας ἄτοπον οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιήλαιμεν  
<ἂν>

ἂν δράσειας . . . ἐπιήλαιμεν <ἂν> Bergk: ἄνδρα εἰς . . .  
ἐπιήλαι μεν codd.

**566** Hesychius ε 5953

Ἑρμῆς τρικέφαλος . . . τοῦτο ἔφη παίζων κωμικῶς,  
παρόσον τετρακέφαλος Ἑρμῆς ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ τῇ Κε-  
ραμεικῷ ἴδρυτο.

370

says

take hold of me; the time is near

**563**

(Theramenes) seems to have decreed the choice of three penalties: imprisonment, drinking hemlock, or exile.

for I fear this trinity because of Theramenes<sup>128</sup>

**564**

evading<sup>129</sup> the Iberians of Aristarchus for a time<sup>130</sup>  
the Iberians whom you furnish me (must) relieve me  
on the double

**565**

and you would do nothing unusual nor would we put  
our hand to it

**566**

Three-Headed Hermes: a comic joke, since there was a  
Four-Headed Hermes at the Ceramicus cross-road.

(Th. 8.68, 70).

<sup>129</sup> The MSS read "perceiving."

<sup>130</sup> Aristarchus (though a common name) may be the oligarch  
who in 411 attacked Oinoe with a troop of "very barbaric archers"  
(Thuc. 8.98).

<sup>131</sup> Mention of Sabazius seems to indicate that *Seasons* is the

567 *ibid.* ι 533

Ἰλάων ἦρως, Ποσειδῶνος υἱός, οὗ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Τριφάλῃτι Ἰλάονα εἶπε τοὺς φάλητας μεταφέρειν, ὡς ὑπερβάλλοντα τῷ μεγέθει, ὡσεὶ ἔλεγε Τιτυοὺς ἢ τινας τοιούτους. ἄλλοι δὲ θεὸν πριαπώδη φασίν.

568 Scholium on Ar. *Clouds* 1001

οὔτοι ὡς ὑάδεις τινὲς καὶ ἀπαίδεντοι κωμωδοῦνται. καὶ τάχα ἂν εἴησαν προκέφαλοί τινες, ὡς ἐν Γεωργοῖς φησι καὶ ἐν Τριφάλῃτι.

569 Harpocration 92.7 Dind.

διὰ μέσου τείχους . . . τριῶν ὄντων τειχῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν Τριφάλῃτι, τοῦ τε βορείου καὶ τοῦ νοτίου καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ, διὰ μέσου τούτων ἐλέγετο τὸ νότιον.

ΦΟΙΝΙΣΣΑΙ

570 Athenaeus 4.154E ὅτι δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἦν τὸ περὶ τοὺς μονομάχους καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης εἶρηκεν ἐν Φοινίσσαις οὕτως:

ἐς Οἰδίπου δὲ παῖδε, διπτύχῳ κόρῳ,  
Ἄρης κατέσκηψ', ἔς τε μονομάχου πάλης  
ἀγῶνα νῦν ἐστάσιν

567

Hilaon: a hero, son of Poseidon, after whom Ar. in *Triphales* called penises "Hilaons" as being excessively large, as if he were to say "Tityuses" or the like; others say he was a priapic god.

568

*See fr. 116.*

569

By the middle wall: . . . there were three walls in Attica, as also Ar. says in *Triphales*, the northern, the southern and the Phaleric; the middle was the name of the southern.

PHOENICIAN WOMEN

*Apparently a send-up of Euripides' play of the same title, which was produced after Andromeda (412) and before Orestes (408).*

570

That single combat was old-fashioned Ar. also says in *Phoenician Women*:

on Oedipus' twain sons, lads twofold,  
has Ares fall'n, and now they stand ready  
for the contest of one-on-one struggle

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

571 Pollux 10.17

καὶ τὸν ἱμάντα μου  
ἔχουσι καὶ τὰνάφορον

572 Suda a 788

εἰκὸς δῆπου  
πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἴφνα φῦναι  
καὶ τὰς κранаὰς ἀκαλήφας

573 Pollux 10.119

στίλβη θ' ἢ κατὰ νύκτα μοι  
φλόγ' ἀνασειράζεις ἐπὶ τῷ  
λυχνείῳ

574 Sud. ν 162

ὠ Νέμεσι, βαρύβρομοί τε βρονταί

575 Pollux 7.199 θεατροπώλης ὁ θέαν ἀπομισθῶν.

576 *Ibid.* 10.155 ἐκ δὲ τῶν σκευῶν καὶ γαλεάγρα . . .  
καὶ μυάγρα.

PHOENICIAN WOMEN

571

they've got my strap  
and my tote-pole

572

of course it's fitting  
that the very first crops were spike-lavender  
and stony nettles

573

and lamp that by night  
restrainest the flame  
on my lampstand

574

o Nemesis and deep-crashing thunderbolts

575

One selling tickets to the show is a "theater-seller."

576

The implements "weasel trap" and "mouse trap."

## ΩΠΑΙ

*Testimonium*Cicero, *Laws* 2.37

*novos vero deos et in his colendis nocturnas pervigilationes sic Aristophanes, facetissimus poeta veteris comoediae, vexat, ut apud eum Sabazius et quidam alii dei peregrini iudicati e civitate eiciantur.*

577 Pollux 7.13

ἐμοὶ κράτιστόν ἐς τὸ Θησεῖον δραμεῖν,  
ἐκεῖ δ' ἕως ἂν πρᾶσιν εὐρωμεν μένειν

578 Scholium on Ar. *Birds* 873

τὸν Φρύγα, τὸν αὐλητῆρα, τὸν Σαβάζιον

579 Ammonius, *Diff.* 134

διέφθορας τὸν ὄρκον ἡμῶν

## SEASONS

*Testimonium*

*If the testimonium indeed refers to Seasons, the play satirized immigrant gods and their cults and featured a trial in which such gods as Sabazius were expelled from (presumably) Athens. The play was produced after Euripides' Erechtheus (c. 423/2) and before the death of Chaerephon in 399 (fr. 580, 584); the use of anapests in fr. 581 is freer than is normal in Ar.'s plays of the 420s.*

Thus Ar., the very witty poet of old comedy, attacked new gods and the nocturnal vigils that accompanied their worship, so that in his play<sup>131</sup> Sabazius and certain other immigrant gods are expelled from the city after a trial.

577

I think it's best to run to the Theseum  
and wait there till I find someone to buy me

578

the Phrygian aulos player Sabazius

579

you have spoiled our oath

play Cicero had in mind, and not *Lemnian Women*, *Heroes* or some other play.

<sup>132</sup> The identity of the speakers and the assignment of lines are

## 580 Hesychius ζ 125

ζεύγος τριπάρθενον. Εὐριπίδης Ἐρεχθεΐ. καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Σισύφῳ. Χαρίτων τριζύγων. Ἀριστοφάνης Ὠραις καταχρηστικῶς ἐπὶ τῶν τριῶν τὸ ζεύγος ἔθηκε.

ζεύγος τριδουλον

## 581 Athenaeus 9.372B

(A.) ὄψει δὲ χειμῶνος μέσου σικκούς, βότρυς,  
ὀπώραν,  
στεφάνους ἴων <(B.) οἶμαι δὲ καὶ> κονιορτὸν  
ἐκτυφλοῦντα.

(A.) αὐτὸς δ' ἀνὴρ πωλεῖ κίχλας, ἀπίους,  
σχαδόνας, ἐλάας,  
πυόν, χόρια, χελιδόνας, τέττιγας, ἐμβρύεια.  
ὑρίσους δ' ἴδοις ἂν νειφομένους σύκων ὁμοῦ τε  
μύρτων.

(B.) ἔπειτα κολοκύντας ὁμοῦ ταῖς γογγυλίσι  
ἀροῦσιν,

ᾧστ' οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς οἶδ' ὀπηνίκ' ἐστι τούνηαυτοῦ;

(A.) <ἄρ' οὐ> μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, εἴπερ ἔστι δι'  
ἐνιαυτοῦ

ὄτου τις ἐπιθυμῆί λαβεῖν; (B.) κακὸν μὲν οὖν  
μέγιστον

εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπεθύμουν οὐδ' ἂν  
ἐδαπανῶντο.

## 580

"three-girl yoke": Euripides in *Erechtheus* (357 N); Sophocles in *Sisyphus* (545 R) says "Graces triple-yoked;" Ar. in *Seasons* misuses "yoke" to refer to three:

three-slave yoke

581<sup>132</sup>

(A) In midwinter you'll see cucumbers and the fruit  
of the vine  
and crowns of violets.

(B) And blinding clouds of dust, I think.

(A) One and the same man sells thrushes, pears,  
honeycombs, olives,  
beestings, haggis, swallows, crickets, fetal meat;  
and you'd see baskets with figs and myrtle-sprays  
even when it snows.

(B) Then they sow the pumpkins together with the  
turnips,  
so that no one knows what time of year it is.

(A) Well, isn't it fine indeed if, at any time of the year,  
you can get what your heart desires?

(B) In fact there's nothing worse:  
if they couldn't get it, they'd not want it, and so  
they'd save their money.

unclear; Athena is a likely candidate for A.

<sup>133</sup> Referring to Egypt's lack of seasonal change and perhaps

ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτ' ὀλίγον χρόνον χρήσας ἀφειλόμην  
αὖν.

(A.) κάγωγε ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι δρῶ ταῦτα πλὴν  
Ἀθηνῶν

τούτους δ' ὑπάρχει ταῦτ', ἐπειδὴ τοὺς θεοὺς  
σέβουσιν.

(B.) ἀπέλαυσαν ἄρα σέβοντες ὑμᾶς, ὡς σὺ φῆς.

(A.) τὴ τί;

(B.) Αἴγυπτον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν πεποίηκας ἀντ'  
Ἀθηνῶν

15

582 Scholium on Ar. *Wasps* 1183

ὁ Θεογένης οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς, ὃν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ  
μεγάλα ἀποπατεῖν κωμωδοῦσιν. δῆλον δὲ ἐν ταῖς  
ᾠραις.

583 Scholium on Lucian, *Zeus the Tragedian* 48

ὁ μὲν Καλλίας οὗτος . . . Ἴππονίκου υἱὸς ἦν, τὸν  
δῆμον Μελιτεύς, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ᾠραις, πλούσιος  
καὶ πασχητιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ πορνιδίων διαφορούμενος καὶ  
κόλακας τρέφων.

584 Scholium on Plato *Apology* 20e

Χαιρεφῶν οὗτος ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἰσχνὸς ἦν καὶ ὠχρὸς  
. . . Ἀριστοφάνης . . . ἐν δ' ᾠραις νυκτὸς αὐτὸν παῖδα  
καλεῖ.

380

SEASONS

I'd lend them this stuff for a little while, then take it  
all away.

(A) I do just that with every city, with the sole  
exception of Athens:

they have all these things because they revere the  
gods.

(B) They've done well, then, by revering you as you  
say.

(A) What do you mean?

(B) You've changed their city from Athens into  
Egypt.<sup>133</sup>

582

This Theogenes is the Acharnian, whom they also ridicule  
for copious excretion, as is clear in *Seasons*.

583

This Callias . . . was the son of Hipponicus of the deme  
Melite, as Ar. in *Seasons*, rich and dissolute, ruined by  
prostitutes, and keeping a retinue of flatterers.

584

This Chaerephon the Socratic was dry and pale . . . Ar. . .  
in *Seasons* calls him Child of Night.

also to their soft style of life.

381



ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

585 Hesychius α 6978

Ἄρας ἱερόν· ἱερόν Ἄρας Ἀθήνησιν. Ἀριστοφάνης  
ᾠραις. ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν βλάβην λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐνόμισαν.

586 Photius (z) α 2427

ἀπίχθους· τοὺς οὐκ ἐσθιομένους ἰχθῶς.

587 Pollux 10.160

καὶ ἀσκοπήρα.

588 Hesychius δ 1813

δικαστικόν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν ᾠραις τριώβολόν φησιν  
εἶναι. οὐ μέντοι ἔστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐδίδετο.

589 Pollux 7.187

χοιροπῶλαι.

SEASONS

585

Shrine of Curse, at Athens; Ar. in *Seasons*. But some have thought that it was harm that he meant.

586

ἀπίχθους: fish that are not eaten.

587

skin purse

588

Dicastic Fee: Ar. in *Seasons* says it was the three-obol fee. It did not of course remain stable but different amounts were paid at different times.

589

pig sellers

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

590 Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2737=CLGP 27 (late second century CE)

Fr. A col. I

]τος τουτ[  
 ]τα τουδε[... ]ον  
 ....]τα από Διοτίμου, ἐφ' οὐ  
 πρώ]τον οἱ Ἀριστοφάνους  
 5 Δαι]ταλείς ἐδιδάχθησαν. τὴν  
 ....]μὴν ἴζουσιν ὅπως βα[-  
 λανεύ]σῃ ἐν λειψυδρία που  
 σμήγ]ματος αὐθις ἀπαντλή[-  
 σας τὸ] παλαιὸν λούτριον α[  
 10 ]ωτος· μετὰ τὸ π[  
 ο]ῦ φέρεται τὸ λουπὸν  
 τοῦ σ]τίχου. τάχ' ἂν οὖν τὸ  
 νῦν] ἀσαφὲς λόγου τοῦ ἐξῆς  
 τῶν σ]τίχων σαφὲς ἂν ᾖν  
 15 ....]πληρωμ[... ]ο[... ]στ.[  
 ..]..ληνογεν[.....]τ.[

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

590

*From a commentary (on Anagyrus? cf. ll. 67–68 with fr. 51); the quotations were drawn (as their meter shows) from a parabasis.*

(2–29) ]the <second or tenth> from Diotimus, in whose archonship (428/7) Ar.'s first play, *Banqueters*, was produced.

they se(a)t the [ ] so that during some drought the bathman can wash with the dirty old water that he's drawn off again from the <scum><sup>134</sup>

Following [ ], the rest of the line is not transmitted; perhaps the sense of the following lines, now unclear, would then have been clear . . . “dirty water”: some say [ ], as has

<sup>134</sup> Perhaps an accusation of plagiarism against a rival (Eupolis?) or rivals.

- .]φησ[λούτριον[.....] .[  
 λ]έγουσί τινες ἀπ[  
 π]ροείρηται ἐν Ἴππευσι. κύ-  
 >  
 20 κν]ος ὑπὸ πτερύγων τοιόνδε  
 ..]το μὲν Ἀριστάρχειον δο  
 ..]υν ὅτι Τερπάνδρον ἐστὶν  
 ἦ] ἀρχή. Εὐφρόνιος δὲ ὅτι ἐκ  
 τ]ῶν Ἰ[ω]νος μελῶν, ὁ δὲ τῆν  
 25 π]αραπλοκὴν ὅτι τῶν Ἄλ-  
 κ]μάνος. ἔστι δ' ἐκ τῶν εἰς Ὅμη-  
 ρ]ον <ἀναφερομένων> ὕμνων. ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν χορὸν  
 >  
 δι]δόντας τὸν ἐπὶ Δηναί  
 φ] σκοπε[ῖ]ν ε.[...] ..[] εστιπ[ι]  
 30 ]νειθ.[ ]εται  
 ]στων.[ ] ]ωμμα  
 ] .[ ]φνειστον  
 ] τωνδε  
 Δ]ηναϊκὸν

Fr. A col. ii

- 35 μέ]ν εἶναι τὰ θεα[  
 .] .. κα τὸ δὲ Δηναϊκ[  
 ]ρίως ἐνδοξο[  
 ]ι τάχα καὶ διὰ τὸ ε[  
 συ]μμαχ[ .....]ηδη αφ[  
 40 ] .α.[ ]ν καταθ[

already been noted in the commentary on *Knights*.

swan to wingbeats <sings> this <song>:<sup>135</sup>

[The opinion] of Aristarchus is that this is the beginning of Terpander's song (*SLG* 6). But Euphronius says it is from Ion's songs (*SLG* 316), and the author of *On Interpolation* says that it is from Alcman (*SLG* 2). And there is (a parallel) from the hymns <attributed> to Homer (21.1).

but when assigning a chorus<sup>136</sup> in the Lenaean competition they<sup>137</sup> should have considered

<sup>135</sup> The odes in this parabasis perhaps referred to Apollo.

<sup>136</sup> I.e. to a competitor.

<sup>137</sup> I.e. the successive archons.



## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

- δ' ὅτι . . . ατο[  
 λεγον μαλ[  
 ἐρίων. την[                   βε-  
 βρασμένην· διαλελυμ[ένην  
 εἶτα νεωαγμένην πάλι[ν.  
 70 π[ά] ροῖνος· ἐστι πάντως ὠ[νωμέν-  
 Fr. B  
 ος. κεκραμ[  
 ] παραχε[  
 ] φησὶν ε[  
 κεκραμ[  
 75 ταλλα[                   φα-  
 >  
 κοὺς π[  
 νῦν φ[  
 φακού[σ  
 δεφα[  
 80 τοὺς φακο[ύς  
 >  
 πρὸς τὴν ε.[  
 ἵνα δραμα[  
 ται χορὸς κα[  
 πρῶτον τ[  
 >  
 85 μενουμ[  
 μιαν αρα[  
 ἠ Τρικору[  
 ὅτι τονδ[

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

- winnowed:  
 scattered, then made into a pile again. [ . . . winned up (?):  
 meaning completely drunk . . .  
 (72-94) diluted . . . lentils . . . the lentils . . . drama . . . cho-

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

τον κω[  
 90 ταδ' Ἑρμι[ππο  
 δε τὴν ἀρχ[ὴν Αἰ-  
 σχύλον. α[  
 >  
 πασα δη πα[  
 Δίρκης ἀγχ[  
 95 ]τ[

2 δε[ύτερ]ον vel δέ[κατ]ον Lobel 7 suppl. Lobel  
 35-44 suppl. e.g. Luppe διττὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ θεά[ματα (vel  
 θέατρα) εἴρ]ηκα, τὸ δὲ Δηναικ[ὸν οὐχ ὁμ]οίως ἔνδοξο[ν δοκεῖ  
 εἶνα]ι, τάχα καὶ διὰ τὸ ἔ[αρος συ]μμάχ[ους] ἤδη ἀφ[ικνεῖ-  
 σ]θα[ι ἔξωθε]ν καταθ[ε]α[σομένους καὶ πρ]αγματ[ε]υσομέ-  
 ν[ους. τῷ δὲ π]ρὸς τῇ[ν] πόλιν σ[ημαίνεται] δὴ τὰ Διονύσια  
 65 Ἑρατοσθένης Lobel οἱ Ἀττικοὶ Luppe 70 suppl.  
 Luppe

591 Florence Papyrus 112=CLGP 28 (second or third  
 century CE)

|   | Fr. B          | Fr. A col. i |
|---|----------------|--------------|
|   | ]μακν[         | ] ...        |
|   | ]νουτ[         | ]της. ν.     |
|   | ]... ριωνκ...[ | , ]απ...[    |
|   | ]τακη υφ[      | ]ερδανεις    |
| 5 | ]εγημε[        | ]σκεπτο[ .]  |
|   | ]παραλλο[      | ]πραγμα      |

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

rus . . . first . . . Tricorythus . . . Hermippus . . . the begin-  
 ning . . . of Aeschylus . . . the entire [homeland?] of Dirce  
 . . . ]

591

*From a commentary, perhaps on Old Age or Gerytades.*

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

|    |                        |                   |
|----|------------------------|-------------------|
|    | ]πεδητ[                | ]εμφρανευ         |
|    | ]ιν οινο.[             | ] .ω εἰς τὸ γ[ .] |
|    | ] . νεοκρ[             | ] .το πρὸ του     |
| 10 | ]τομεν[                | ] ... πε          |
|    | ] .α.....[ ]τον σπα[   | ] ...ιναπωρ       |
|    | ]ουν...γτα ε.[         | ]σ καὶ λει        |
|    | ]πων σ[                | ]νος λε           |
|    | ] τι δῶσω φέρων        | ] .ισων           |
| 15 | νεοκράτᾳ τις ποιείτω   | ]ασεισει          |
|    | ]π[ ..... κ]απηλίδων[  | ] .οθεν           |
|    | ] .διαλιθου.[.] . τιφ[ | ]ξέλθω            |
|    | ]θεισφω[               | ] .αεκ            |
|    | ] γ. . γενήσομαι[      | ]ποστο            |
| 20 | ]εις περικω[           | ] .ες ζη          |
|    | π]εριενέγκαι α.[       | ] .στους          |
|    | ]ων κεραμων[           | ]ακτων            |
|    | ]νοιον εὐζων.[         | ]καταλ            |
|    | ]καὶ τοὺς ἐτέρ[ους     | ]ηδορ             |

Fr. A col. ii

|    |               |
|----|---------------|
| 25 | θε[           |
|    | <u>χο[</u>    |
|    | απτ[          |
|    | ανδ[          |
|    | οτισυ[        |
| 30 | <u>νομαζ[</u> |
|    | παρεμ.[       |
|    | οις λεγο[     |

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(14-15)

I will go give . . . someone prepare the fresh-mixed (wine)<sup>141</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Possibly quoting Platon, fr. 71.7-8, "Then I will go give each of the drinkers a garland. Someone prepare the fresh-mixed wine."

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

- /. πιβάται.[                    ἐ-  
       σθαι.[  
 35 σητογ[  
 ·/. ὄτι Ἴοφ[ῶν  
       τὴν τέχνην κ.[  
       χρῆ πολὺ νικῶν.[    πο-  
       λὺς [πρ]ῶτος ἢ δεύτερο[ς    τρί-  
 40 ·/. τος δ[ἐ] σχεδὸν ἀπαξ.[  
       σται εἰόκασιν αἱ διδα[σκαλία  
       τοῦ πλείστου μέρους.[  
       ὡς πικρὸν τις ἀνέκραγε[ν. τίς ἄρα  
       ποτ' ἄλλος ἐστὶν ἀντὶ Φ[ιλοκλέους  
 45 σ[υ]ν[ε]χῶς αὐτὸν πικρὸν [καλεῖ· τὴν ποί-  
       ησιν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν νοῦν κ[  
       τὰς κωμ[ωδία]ς μελογ[  
       τιουμελ[                    ] ...[

Fr. E

]ουσ[

- 50                    ] ἀνθιαναπ[  
                       ] ,ξη[  
                       ] ...[

Fr. D

- ]ρη...[    ]μάτιον ἀμφί μοι  
 ἀντ' ἀν[θρώπων ] [ ]ητη παρὰ τὴν ξα[  
 55 ———] . ακην ἀρχήν· ἀμφί μοι αὐτ[ις

Fr. C col. I

ἀνα[κ]τα . τῶν μὲν ἦτε βίαν ἦτε κλε[μμ]

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(36) . . . Iophon . . .

(37–42) . . . the craft . . . decisively victorious should . . . of-  
 ten first or second, but third about once . . . the production  
 records seem (for) the most part . . .

(43–47)

“how bitter,” someone cried.

<Who>ever else could it be but P[hilocles]<sup>P142</sup>

He continually calls him bitter, for . . . his poetry according  
 to his mind . . . the comedies

(54–74)

about me again the man:

. . . (playing) on the <predlud>ic opening, “about me again  
 the lord” (PMG 697).

yea their (*pl.*) violence or else thievishness:

<sup>142</sup> This tragic poet was nicknamed “Son of Briny.”



- a. τὸ {[ἀ]ντὶ τοῦ} ἦτε ἀντὶ τοῦ εἶτε [[ουδ]  
 οὐκ ἐτὸς [ἐ]γὼ μετ[ἀ] δε[ι]πνον οὐκ...[  
 ..[.].]εἰ τις τὰ νῦν τὸ ἐτὸς ἀν εἰκ[ό-  
 60 τῶ[s.]] ὀρᾶς ἄρ' ὡς ἐνῆν τι κὰν κη[ἀ-  
 /· ρῶ κακόν. πρὸς τὴν παροιμίαν προ-  
 φέ[ρ]ε[τ]α[ι,] ὡς Καλλίστρατος, ἔστιν κι-  
 θάρ[ο]ν κ[α]ὶ [κ]ακόν. τὸ δὲ πλήρες ὀρῶ  
 ὡς ἐνῆν τι. [ῶ]σπερ πελεκᾶς πλατυ-  
 65 γί[ζ]ων· καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρνιθῶν πελεκᾶν-  
 /· τι ἔλεγεν οἴμοι τοῦ χεῖλους· τὸν γέ-  
 /· ρ[ο]ντ[α] ἐπ' ἀληθείας τύπτουσιν. ὦμοι  
 τῆς ἀλέας, ἣν ἀνθρωπὸς μὲ ἀποδύσας  
 /· φεύγε[ι] συγκύψας· τῆς ἐκ τῶν πλη-  
 70 γῶν θερμασίας· ἀλλὰ δῆτ' ἐς τοῦ στρα-  
 τηγοῦ κωμάσω τοῦ Σκελλίου· εἴρηται  
 ὅτι Ἀρι[στ]οκράτης διέταττε σὺν Θη-  
 /· ραμένει τότε καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ πράγμα-

Fr. C col II

- τα]—————  
 75 [κατηγόρησ-,  
 ἄν δέ μου καὶ περὶ τῆς ἱκετηρίας ὡς,  
 καταθείην ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ, νό-  
 μος δ' εἴη πάτριος ὅς ἀν καταθῆ ἱκε-

143 The scholium written above the line reads, "Didymus: from a prelude in the (Pythian?) mode."  
 144 If, as the commentator suggests, the play associated Aristocrates ("Scel-

ete instead of ette.

nothing peculiar if I after dinner.<sup>143</sup>

not . . . anyone today (says) "peculiar" for "unlikely"

you see then that even in the citharist there's something bad:

According to Callistratus, spoken according to the proverb, There's also badness in the citharist; in full: I see that there was something in there.

flapping his wings like a woodpecker:

Also in *Birds* (884) he uses "woodpecker."

ouch, my lip:

They are really beating the old man.

alas for the warmth, which the fellow left me when he stole my cloak and ran off:

Referring to the heat from the blows.

all the same I'll take my revel to General Scellias' place.<sup>144</sup>

It has already been mentioned that Aristocrates was himself at that time organizing affairs with Theramenes.

(75–100) "They have also accused me in connection with the suppliant's branch, alleging that it was I who placed it in the Eleusinium, and that there is an ancestral law that

lias") with Theramenes, we may date it between 411 and 406; the following quotation also suggests this dating.

- 80 τηρίαν μυστηρίους τεθνήαι. και  
 με]τ' οὐ πολλά· ἔπειτα δὲ νόμον  
 πάτ\_ριον λέγεις, ἢ δὲ στήλη παρ' ἧ  
 ἔστ\_ηκας χιλίας δραχμὰς κελεύει  
 ὀφελειν εἰάν τις ἰκετηρίαν θῆ  
 ἐν, τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ. φέρε νυν ἐ-  
 85 γῶ τ]ῆν δαίμον' ἦν ἀνήγαγον, ἐς τὴν  
 ἀγορὰν ἄγων ἰδρύσωμαι βοῦ· προεί-  
 ρηται ὅτι ἔλεγον χύ[τρ]αις ἰδρύ-  
 εσθαι καὶ ἱερείῳ, οἶον βοῦ ἢ ὄψω-  
 οῦν. καὶ ἐν τῇ Εἰρήνῃ ἔφη. δεῦρ' ᾧ  
 90 π]ότνια βάδι[ζ]ε. γενναῖον δέ σοι τα-  
 χέως ὑπακούειν· ὅτι γενναῖον  
 ./. ἀντὶ τοῦ συγγενές, πρὸς τὸ παρ' Ὀμή-  
 ρῳ. ἐλαφρὸν οἶά τις μόλυβδος· ὅ-  
 ./. τι οὐ κακῶς παίζει, ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ γε-  
 95 ρόντων ὁ χορός. ἔκυσα νῦν ἐνταῦ-  
 θ' ἐγὼ ταύτην δοκῶν φορμὸν πλέ-  
 κ[ε]ιν· μήποτε οἱ πλέκοντες τοὺς  
 ./. φορμούς προσῆγον τὸ στόμα, ὥστε  
 κα[τ]έχειν ἢ ἐπισφίγγειν· ἅμα δὲ  
 100 ἐπεὶ] ἐκάθισαν, ἀτρέμας ἔλαβο[ν]

43-44 τίς ἄρα] ποτ' Luppe Φ[ιλοκλέους suppl. van  
 Leeuwen 54 αὐτ' Luppe 55 προοι]μακῆν Luppe  
 58 supra lineam Δίδυμος [ἐκ] τοῦ προοιμ[ίου] του π[.,.]ιου  
 νόμου (Πυθίου Kassel)

anyone who places a suppliant's branch during the Mys-  
 teries is to be put to death" (Andocides 1.110). And shortly  
 after this, "Then you speak of an ancient law, when the  
 stone beside which you stand states that the penalty for  
 placing a suppliant's branch in the Eleusinium shall be a  
 fine of 1000 drachmas" (*ibid.* 116).

come now, I'll take the goddess I've brought back up  
 to the marketplace and dedicate her there with an ox:

It has been mentioned earlier that they spoke of dedicating  
 with pots and such victims as an ox, as he also says in *Peace*  
 (923, 925).

this way, reverend mistress, come; it suits your high  
 birth  
 to hearken at once:

"high birth" in the sense "kindred," as in Homer (*Il.* 5.253).  
 as nimbly as a lump of lead:

Not a bad joke, since the chorus was composed of old men.

now I've kissed this one (*fem.*) here,  
 like plaiting a reed mat:

Perhaps because those plaiting mats puckered their lips so  
 as to hold it down or draw it tight; at the same time, when  
 they set it down, they grasped it accurately

## 592 Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 212 (I/II CE)

FR. A

]ξομαι

]έρχεται

]ανῆ σχολή·

]παγε

5

]χμας·

]γύναι·

]ατι

]

]ομαι

10

]δεσοι

]λέγω·

(desunt versus fere 9)

ὑβριζόμεναι. (B.) μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἐγώ[

ἦν νοῦν ἔχωμεν, σκεψό[μεθα

μηδὲν πλέον τούτους.]

15 (A.) τί οὖν γένοιτ' ἄν; (B.) ἔχ' ἀπ[όκρινάι μοι τόδε·

τί ἐστι τοῦθ' ὃ λέγουσι τ[ὰς Μιλησίας

παίξειν ἐχούσας, ἀντιβολῶ, [τὸ σκύτινον;

(A.) φλυαρία καὶ λήρος ὑβρεω[ς ἀνάπλεως,

κἀλλως ὄνειδος καὶ κατ[άγγελως δὴ πολὺς.

20 το[ύτ]ω γὰρ ὡσπερ τοῖσιν [ῥοῖς χρωῖντ' αἰ

τ[οῖς] ἀνεμιαίοις, ὅτι νεοτ[οὺς οὐκ ἔχει.

οὔ[τ]ω] δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστίν· εὐ[θ'] ἀνὴρ ἀπῆ,

ἐς [τοῦ]το χρήσει καὶ πόνο[υ πολλοῦ πλέον.

(B.) κα[ὶ μ]ῆν λέγεταί γ' ὡς ἐσθ['] ὅμοιον ποσθίω

## 592

*Perhaps from Thesmophoriazusae II or Lemnian Women.*  
(12-31)(A) insulted (*fem. pl.*).

(B) No, by Zeus; I [

If we've got sense we'll look for [a way to stop]  
these men from any longer [

(A) What's to be done?

(B)

Look, [answer me this:]

what's the thing they say the Milesian women  
use to play with themselves, the leather thing?(A) Nonsense and inanity [full of] outrageousness,  
and shameful too, and [very] laughable.Whenever they use one of them it's just like using  
one

of those so-called wind-eggs: nary a chick inside.

That's the way it is with this too: [whenever hubby's  
away,]

that's what it's for, and it's a lot of botheration.

(B) But still they say the thing is very like

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

- 25 ἀλη[θ]ινῶ κ[αὶ τ]οῦτο. (A) νῆ Δ[ί], ὦ τάλαν,  
 ὥσπερ [σ]ελήνη γ' ἠλίω· τὴν μὲν χρόαν  
 ἰδεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστι, θάλπει δ' οὐ[δαμῶς].  
 (B.) οὐκ ἄξιον γάρ ἐστι; (A.) διὰ τοῦπὸν[  
 (B.) φέρ', εἰ [δ]ὲ τοῖς θεράπουσι κοινοσ[αίμεθα  
 30 τὸ πρ[ᾶ]γμα, τί ἂν εἴη; λάθραι τριπ[α]  
 (A.) ἐγὼ μ[ε]ν οὔτε π[ό]τερον αὐτησ[α]

## Fr. B

- ] ..[  
 ]τραγικῶ[  
 ]ιν θύραζ[  
 35 ἐκφέρετε πεύκας κατ' Ἀγάθωνα φωσφόρους  
 ]εστυνασφ[  
 ]ταναις ὦ 'γ[  
 ]τον θεὸν  
 ]εν ἐν ᾧδαῖς

## Fr. C

- 40 ]γ καμὲ π[  
 ] · οἰδαγα[  
 ]νειχομ[  
 ]φιληκο[  
 ]σι πλεο[  
 45 ]υλι[

15 suppl. ed. pr. 18 suppl. Wilamowitz 19–20. suppl. Herwer-  
 den 21 suppl. Kassel 22 suppl. Fraccaroli 23 suppl.  
 Platt

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

a genuine pecker.

- (A) Sure it is, my dear,  
 as the moon is to the sun: same general hue  
 when you look at it, but no heat at all.  
 (B) And isn't that fitting?  
 (A) [ ]  
 (B) Well, what if we share the matter in hand  
 with the slaves? Secretly [ ]  
 (A) I wouldn't [ ] ahead of her

(32–39)

- ] rather tragic [ ]  
 ]outside[  
 bring out what Agathon calls "light-bringing pines"  
 ]  
 ]  
 ]god  
 ]in songs

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

593 Amherst Papyrus II 13=CLGP 29 (Third century CE)

5 ] . σ' ἢ μὴ ἔμβάλω  
 νεῖν, ἐξ ὑπτίας  
 ] .. ινω.  
 ] τί δὴ μαθῶν  
 ] λέγειν  
 ] οτι  
 ]  
 ] οτας  
 ] . ρατων  
 10 τοσο]υτουὶ χρόνου  
 ] χρόνος  
 ] Βυζαντίου  
 ] ια πόλις  
 ] ρος ἠρξ' ἐγώ  
 15 ] λλ. . ιου  
 ] οὐντά σε  
 ] ι μάρτυρας  
 ] νειῖ  
 ἐφη]μέρω.  
 20 ] . [ . ] . σθαί μ' αὐτίκα  
 δεῖ τὴν γραφή]ν  
 ἀλλ' ἐκκαλῶ γο]  
 ὄν ἐὼ φιλῶ μ[άλιστα  
 ὄς καίπερ ὄντα]  
 25 παῖ παῖ το . [

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

593

(1-2) ] if I don't throw you in  
 to swim] backstroke  
 (10—)for such a long time as this  
 ] time  
 ] Byzantium  
 ] city  
 ] I ruled  
 ]  
 ]  
 ] witnesses  
 ]  
 ] of a day  
 ] me right away  
 the charge should [  
 but I will summon [  
 whom I love [especially  
 who . . . him despite being  
 Boy, boy!

....]ο[

2 suppl. Grenfell et Hunt cl. Pollux 7.138

## 594 Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1403 (V CE)

]..[

]υκκεν[

]υσάμενος

]νωτορον τ[

] .

]

]τορντ .[

] οικενα[

]..[

595 Satyrus, *Life of Euripides* fr. 39 col. xvi 1 (Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1176, II CE)

β.[...] ἔπειθ' ὑπ[.....]εναν[.....]φ[.....]

ε[... ]ο[.....]χ[... ] δὲ Σοφοκλ[έους] λαβὼν

πα[ρ' Αἰσχύλου] υ[... ]ρ ὅσον ..[. ] εσθ', ὅλον

Εὐριπίδην, πρὸς τοῖσι δ' ἐμβαλεῖν ἄλας,

μεμνημένος δ' ὅπως ἄλας καὶ μὴ λάλας 5

1 διε]βλ[ήθη] ἔπειθ' ὑπ' [ἄλλων] ἐναν[τίων] (ut Satyri verba)

West 2 -έους Taillardat: -έα Demianczuk

## 594

*Supplementation uncertain.*

## 595

*Gerytades?*

then [

and taking [ ] of Sophocles,

from Aeschylus [ ] as much as is [ ],

and

Euripides entire, and on top of these throw in some piquancy,

but make it piquant, mind you, not multiloquent

596 *Life of Euripides* 6 6.2

εἶχεν οἰκογενὲς μειράκιον ὀνόματι Κηφισοφῶντα.  
πρὸς τοῦτον ἐφώρασε τὴν οἰκείαν γυναῖκα ἀτακτοῦ-  
σαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἀπέτρεπεν ἀμαρτάνειν, ἐπεὶ δ'  
οὐκ ἔπεισθε, κατέλιπεν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα βουλομένου  
αὐτὴν ἔχειν τοῦ Κηφισοφῶντος. λέγει οὖν καὶ ὁ Ἄρι-  
στοφάνης:

Κηφισοφῶν ἄριστε καὶ μελάντατε,  
σύ γὰρ συνέζης ὡς τὰ πόλλ' Εὐριπίδῃ  
καὶ συνεποίεις, ὡς φασι, τὴν μελωδίαν

## 597 Photius a 2331

τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐγελάσειε χαρίεντ' εἰσορῶν  
παθόντα τόνδε καὶ καλῆς ἀπ' ἐλπίδος  
σφαλέντα

598 Dio Chrysostom, *Declamation* 35.17a

τὰ δὲ μέλη οὐκ ἔχει πολὺ τὸ γνωμικὸν οὐδὲ πρὸς  
ἀρετὴν παράκλησιν, ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου, ἡδονὴν  
δὲ θαυμαστὴν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ὥστε μὴ εἰκῆ  
τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἄριστοφάνην εἰρηκέναι

ὁ δ' αὖ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ μέλιτι κεχριμένου  
ὥσπερ καδίσκου περιέλειχε τὸ στόμα

## 596

*Gerytades?*

(*Euripides mocked women for the following reason*) He had a homebred slave boy named Cephisophon, with whom he caught his own wife misbehaving. At first he tried to make her mend her ways, but when he failed to persuade her he gave up the woman to him, since Cephisophon was willing to take her. As Ar. also says,

finest and swarthiest of men, Cephisophon,  
you lived for the most part with Euripides  
and helped him compose his arias, they say

## 597

who wouldn't laugh aloud to see this one  
having a nice time and with his fair hopes  
dashed?

## 598

*Gerytades?*

The songs (of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*) do not contain much moralizing or exhortation to excellence, like those of Euripides, but wonderful pleasure and high dignity, so that it is quite on the mark for Ar. to say of him

but Sophocles' mouth, bedaubed with honey,  
he licked as clean as if it were a jar's

## 599 Pollux 2.18

ἄλλαι δὲ κυαμίζουσιν αὐτῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ  
ἤδη πρὸς ἄνδρας ἐκπετήσιμοι σχεδόν

600 *Ibid.* 2.189

ἢ μέντοι κωμωδία τὴν ἀλετρίδα μυλακρίδα καλεῖ ἢ  
ζῶόν τι ἐν τῷ μυλῶνι γινόμενον, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης  
λέγει·

ἵνα ξυνῶσιν ᾧπερ ἤδεσθον βίῳ,  
σκόλληκας ἐσθίοντ' ἀεὶ καὶ μυλακρίδας

601 *Ibid.* 7.17

ἔνιοι δ' οἴονται καὶ ἀνάγκην σκευὸς εἶναι δικαστικόν,  
εἰπόντος Ἀριστοφάνους·

οὐκ εἶ λαβδῶν θύραζε τὰ ψηφίσματα  
καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐς κόρακας ἐντευθενί;

602 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1419.52

δικαστήριον ἱστοροῦσιν Ἀθήνησιν ἐπώνυμον τῆς  
Παλλάδος. Ἀριστοφάνης· ἄκων—δίκην. ἐδίκαζον δὲ  
κατὰ Πανσαϊνίαν ἐκεῖ ἀκουσίους φόνους οἱ ἐφέται.

“ἄκων κτενῶ σε, τέκνον.” ὁ δ' ὑπεκρίνατο·  
“ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ τᾶρ', ᾧ πάτερ, δώσεις δίκην”

## 599

and other girls sprout beans upon their chests,  
and are just about ready to fly off to the men

## 600

*Babylonians?*

Comedy calls the mill-woman “mill-roach,” a kind of crea-  
ture spawned in mills, as Ar. says:

so that they may share the life they both enjoy,  
eating their fill of worms and mill-roaches

## 601

Some think that “coercion” is also an implement used in  
lawcourts, since Ar. says:

take your decrees and your coercion too,  
and go straight out of here to blazes

## 602

*Banqueters?*

Ancient historians speak of a lawcourt named after Pallas:  
Ar. (*quote*). According to Pausanias the Ephetae judged  
cases of unintentional homicide there.

“Unwilling shall I slay thee, child.” And he replied,  
“In the Palladium then, father, you'll pay the price”



## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

603 *Etymologicum Magnum* 280.28

καταντιβολείτον αὐτὸν ὑποπεπτωκότες.  
ἐκμαίνετον τὸν πατέρα τοῖς ὀρχήμασι

604 *Ar. Life* 55

μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον παιδᾶς καταλιπὼν τρεῖς . . . τινὲς  
δὲ δύο φασί, Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀραρότα, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς  
ἐμνήσθη τὴν—παιδίῳ, ἴσως αὐτοὺς λέγων.

τὴν γυναῖκα δὲ  
αἰσχύνομαι τῷ τ' οὐ φρονοῦντε παιδίῳ

605 *Athenaeus, Epitome* 2.52F

ἄγε νυν τὰς ἀμυγδαλᾶς λαβὼν  
τασδὶ κάταξον τῇ κεφαλῇ σουτοῦ λίθῳ

606 *Pollux* 7.26

τὴν χύτραν  
ἐν ἧ τὰ κρεάδι' ἔψευ' ἐζωμενμένα

607 *Pollux* 7.198

πρὸ δὲ τῶν καμίνων τοῖς χαλκεύσιν ἔθος ἦν γελοῖα  
τινα καταρτᾶν ἢ ἐπιπλάττειν ἐπὶ φθόνου ἀποτροπῆ.  
ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ βασκάνια ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης·

πλὴν εἴ τις πρίατο δεόμενος  
βασκάνιον ἐπικάμινον ἀνδρὸς χαλκῆως

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

## 603

then falling down before him they both entreat;  
they drive their father quite mad with their dances

## 604

(Ar.) passed away leaving three children . . . but some say  
two, Philippus and Araros, whom he himself mentions  
(*quote*), perhaps speaking of them:

my wife  
I'm ashamed to face, and the two infant children

## 605

well, then, take these nuts  
and use your head to crack them instead of a stone

## 606

the pot  
where you (*pl.*) boiled the bits of soup meat

## 607

It was the custom to hang up or plaster on the front of  
forges certain humorous amulets to avert malice. They  
were called *βασκάνια*, as also Ar.:

unless one pleaded to buy  
a forge amulet from a blacksmith

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

608 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1467.36

Ἐκάτης ἀγάλματα, αἱ κύνες ταύτη γὰρ, φασί, θύονται. ἦν καὶ κννοπρόσωπον διαπλάττονται

καὶ κύων ἀκράχολος,  
Ἐκάτης ἄγαλμα φωσφόρου γενήσομαι

609 Herodian, *Universal Prosody* fr. 30

βλνάζει κωβιδὸς τὸν κωβιδὸν  
αἰεὶ θ' ἐκάστῳ κωβιδὸς παιδοσπόρος

610 Eustathius on *Iliad* 217.24

ἀλλ' ἱμάντα μοι  
δοῦς καὶ ζμινύην· ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶμι' ἐπὶ ξύλα

611 Suda a 1940

εἰς οἷ' ἀνάλουν οἱ πρὸ τοῦ τὰ χρήματα

612 Athenaeus 7.310F

λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ συνέσει τῶν ἄλλων ἰχθύων διαφέρει, ἐπινοητικὸς ὢν τοῦ διασώζειν ἑαυτόν. διὸ καὶ ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς Ἀριστοφάνης φησί·

λάβραξ ὁ πάντων ἰχθύων σοφώτατος

<sup>145</sup> Parodying Euripides, fr. 968, "you will be the bitch of light-bearing Hecate."

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

608

Hecate's images are bitches, for these are sacrificed to her, they say, and she is also portrayed as having a bitch's face:

the image of light-bearing Hecate I'll become<sup>145</sup>  
a prickly-tempered bitch,

609

goby breeds the goby  
and to each one the fertile goby

610

*Merchant Ships* (cf. fr. 432)?

but give me  
cord and mattock: I'm going for wood

611

*Banqueters*?  
(following fr. 230)

what sorts of things the men of old spent their money  
on

612

The bass is said to surpass all other fish in intelligence, being keen at thinking of ways to survive; and so the comic poet Ar. says:

bass, the cleverest of all fishes<sup>146</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Labrax (bass) is the name of a pimp in Archippus fr. 15.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

613 Athenaeus 10.444D

ἡδύς τε πίνειν οἶνος Ἀφροδίτης γάλα

614 Athenaeus 10.446DE

πικρότατον οἶνον τήμερον πίνῃ τάχα

615 Athenaeus 11.485A

τὸ δ' αἶμα λέλαφας τοῦμόν, ὦναξ δέσποτα

616 Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 6.14.5

αἰσχρὸν νέα γυναικὶ πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ

617 Eustathius on *Iliad* 148.45

πυθοῦ χελιδὼν πηνίκ' ἄττα φαίνεται

618 Scholium to Plato, *Sophist* 220 A (after fr. 617)

ὀπηνίκ' ἄτθ' ὑμεῖς κοπιᾶτ' ὀρχοῦμενοι

619 Pollux 2.34

λούσησθε καὶ κτενίσησθε πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον

620 Pollux 2.39

(ἡ κεφαλῇ) καλεῖται . . . παρὰ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνει  
σκάφιον

418

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

613

and wine sweet to drink, the milk of Aphrodite

614

you may well drink a very bitter wine today<sup>147</sup>

615

you gulped my blood, o lord and master

616

for a young wife an old husband is a disgrace

617

ask when the swallow's likely to appear

618

whenever you're (*pl.*) tired out from dancing

619

(if/so that?) you bathe and comb in the sun

620

In Ar. (the head) is called a pot:

<sup>147</sup> Very similar is Euripides *Cyclops* 589, "Alas, I may well see a wine that's very bitter."

419

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

ἵνα μὴ καταγῆς τὸ σκάφιον πληγεῖς ξύλῳ

621 Pollux 6.24

τί τὸ κακόν; ἀλλ' ἦ κοκκύμηλ' ἠκρατίσω;

622 Pollux 2.6

ἦτις κυοῦσ' ἐφάνη κύος τοσοντουί

623 Pollux 6.80

τουτὶ δὲ τὸ ἰαμβεῖον Ἀριστοφάνης οὐκ ἴδιον ὄν εἶρη-  
κεν, ἀλλ' ὡς Δίσχυλον

ὄξυγλύκειάν τᾶρα κοκκιέεις ῥόαν

624 Pollux 10.32

τὸ παραπέτασμα τὸ Κύπριον, τὸ ποικίλον

625 Suda μ 940

τὴν φάρυγα μηλῶν δύο δραχμὰς ἕξει μόνας

626 Suda π 2702

τὸ πᾶγμα τοῦτο συλλαβεῖν ὑπίσχομαι

627 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1442.5

ἔφενγε, καὶ γὰρ τῆς ὑπαντᾶξ εἰχόμεν

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

so that you don't get your pot cracked with a stick

621

What's the matter? Have you breakfasted on plums?

622

a pregnant woman showing so much belly

623

Ar. spoke this line not as his own but as a line of Aeschylus:  
you'll pit a sour-sweet pomegranate then<sup>148</sup>

624

the Cyprian curtain, multicolored

625

if you tickle his gullet you'll only get two drachmas  
up<sup>149</sup>

626

I promise to share this task with you

627

he fled, and I held to the opposite direction

<sup>148</sup> Perhaps metaphorically of deflowering a girl.

<sup>149</sup> See Ar. *Knights* 1147 (of Cleon).

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

- 628 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 98.16  
οὐκὸν μ' ἑάσεις ἀναμετρήσασθαι τάδε;
- 629 Plutarch, *Comparison of Ar. and Menander* 853C  
ὑπὸ γέλωτος εἰς Γέλαν ἀφίξιμαι
- 630 Galen on Hippocrates, *Fractures* 18.2  
χωρεῖ ἔπι γραμμῆν λορδὸς ὡς <εἰς> ἐμβολήν
- 631 Zonaras 1168  
οὐχ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἔλαχεν. οἰμώζων κάθου
- 632 *Anecdota Graeca* Bachmann 93.17  
σὺ δ' οὐκ ἀνείχεσ ἀυτὸν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν  
var. σ(ε)αυτὸν
- 633 Sud. a 3501  
οὕτως τι τὰ πόρρητα δρᾶν ἔστιν μέλι
- 634 *Etymologicum Magnum* 61.17  
γίγνωσκε τὸν ἄλεισόν <τε> καὶ τὰ γράμματα
- 635 *Etymologicum Magnum* 270.44. 42  
ὄρῳ γὰρ ὡς <στ>όμφακα διασαυλούμενον

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

- 628  
so you won't let me measure these?
- 629  
I'll giggle all the way to Gela
- 630  
he moves to the starting-line flexed back as for  
ramming<sup>150</sup>
- 631  
though he's elected; you sit down and weep
- 632  
you didn't restrain him (*var.* yourself) as was only  
fitting
- 633  
such honey it is to do forbidden things
- 634  
look at the cup and the writing on it
- 635  
I see him sashaying like a ranter  
<sup>150</sup> A parody of Euripides *Heracles* 869.

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

636 *Etymologicum Magnum* 298.53

καὶ τῶν πρὸς εἰλημ ἰχθύων ὠπτημένων

637 Choeroboscus on Theodosius, *Canons*: GrGr IV  
1.267.6 Hilg.

ἴκτινα παντόφθαλμον ἄρπαγα στρέφων

638 Stephanus of Byzantium 186.7 (cf. Hesychius β  
1112)

Βρέττος, πόλις Τυρρηνῶν . . . οἱ οἰκοῦντες Βρέττοι, καὶ  
ἡ χώρα Βρεττία καὶ ἡ πίσσα. Ἀριστοφάνης:

(A) μέλαινα δεῖν' ἡ πίττα.

(B) Βρεττία γὰρ ἦν

δεῖν' ἡ πίττα Blaydes: δευη γλωττα codd. :: B. γὰρ ἦν Nauck;  
B. παρῆν codd.

639 Eustathius on *Iliad* 73.42

ἐπὶ τῷ ταρίχει τὸν γέλωτα κατέδομαι

640 Eustathius on *Iliad* 959.43

ἡ μάζα γὰρ σαὶ καὶ τὰ κρέα χῶ κάραβος

641 Eustathius on *Iliad* 1166.52

ἐνδὺς τὸ γυναικείον τοδὶ χιτώνιον

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

636

and of the fishes baked in the sun

637

wrenching a rapacious all-seeing kite

638

Brettus: an Etruscan town . . . the inhabitants are Bret-  
tians, and the country Brettia, also pitch, as Ar.:

(A) The pitch was awfully black.

(B) Yes, it was Brettian.

639

I'll eat up the laughter with my salt-fish

640

for the cake is safe, and the cutlets and the crab

641

donning (*masc.*) this womanly frock

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

642 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1387.4

ἑστῶτας ὥσπερ τοὺς ὀρεωκόμους ἄθρους

643 Theognostus 142.18

λίθος τις ὤζησεν τεθυμιαμένος

644 Scholium on Ar. *Knights* 137c

ποταμὸς τῆς Ἀττικῆς χειμάρρους ὁ Κυκλοβόρος. τὴν  
κακοφωνίαν οὖν τοῦ Κλέωνος εἵκασε τῷ ἤχῳ τοῦ  
ποταμοῦ. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ·

ᾧμην δ' ἔγωγε τὸν Κυκλοβόρον κατιέναί

645 Scholium on Euripides, *Medea* 46

ἐβάδιζέ μοι τὸ μειράκιον ἐξ ἀποτρόχων

646 Choeroboscus on Theodosius, *Canons*: GrGr IV  
1.396.30 Hilg.

καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις ἤκετον πρέσβη δύο

647 Erotian η 14 and fr. 94 (Scholium V<sup>H</sup> on Hippocra-  
tes, *Barrenness* 230)

έκτεὺς δέ <γ'> ἐστὶν ἕξαχοίνικον μέτρον

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

642

standing (*masc.*) all together like muleteers

643

(s)he smelled (like) some fumigated stone

644

*Perhaps from Merchant-Ships or Dramas or Niobus.*

The Cycloborus is a torrential river in Attica, so he likens  
Cleon's cacophony to the noise of the river. And elsewhere:

I for one thought the Cycloborus was headed our way

645

the lad came over to me from the running track

646

and two ambassadors have come as well

647

and a ἕκτεὺς is a measure of eight quarts

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

648 *Antiatticist* 86.3

θύ<σ>ειν με μέλλει καὶ κελεύει βῆ λέγειν  
θύ<σ>ειν με (suppl. West) Dindorf: θύτην codd.

649 Scholium on Oribasius, *Collectiones Medicae inc.*  
12.1

ὅτων φίλοι παρήσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν  
ὅτων Nauck: ὅταν codd.

650 Eustathius on *Iliad* 911.63

ἀνὴρ πεδῆτης ἰτέαν ἐνημμένος

651 Photius a 76

ἀγαθός τε δαίμων καγαθὴ σωτηρία

652 Photius a 1148

σαντὸν δ' ἀμανροῖς, ὥστε λήσεις> τῷ χρόνῳ

653 Photius a 1197

κατεσκέδασέ μου τὴν ἀμίδα κεχηρότος

654 Scholium on Lycophron 1

εἰ μὴ Προμηθεύς εἰμί· τᾶλλα ψεύδομαι

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

648

he's going to sacrifice me and tells me to say "baa"

649

(quoted after *Cratinus fr.* 305)

those whose loved ones were present for the funeral

650

a man in fetters equipped with a wicker shield

651

and Good Spirit and Good Salvation

652

you dim yourself and so in time will be forgotten

653

as I was gaping he dumped the piss pot over me

654

(*I hope to die*) if I am not Prometheus; I'm lying  
about the rest



UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

655 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1415.62

πόθεν δ' ἐγώ σοι συγγενής, ᾧ φαρμακέ;

656 Satyrus, *Life of Euripides* fr. 8 col. ii 9

[κ]ατὰ μὲν οὖν [τ]ὴν τέχνην [ἀ]νήρ τοιοῦτος· διὸ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐπιθυμῆί τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ μετρήσαι·

δι' ἧς τὰ [ . . ]τα ῥήματ' [ἐξ]εσ[μ]ήχετο

suppl. Wilamowitz

657 Pollux 4.114

φθέγγαι σὺ τὴν φωνὴν ἀνατειχίσας ἄνω

658 *Ibid.* post. fr. 657

φθέγμα κεκράτηκεν

659 Sud. a 4418

ἐνταῦθα δὴ παιδάριον ἐξαναίνεται

660 *Ibid.* after fr. 659

ὥστ' ἔγωγ' ἠυαινόμην  
θεώμενος

661 Plutarch, *Comparison of Ar. and Menander* 1.853C

σ - τί δὲ σοὶ δράσω, κακόδαιμον, ἀμφορεὺς  
ἐξοστρακισθεῖς;

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

655

how am I kin to *you*, you scapegoat?

656

Such a man was he (Euripides) in his art, which is why Ar. wants to measure his tongue,

with which he used to polish (or erase) [ . . . ] words

657

speak with your voice raised like a rampart

658

he has his voice under control

659

here a baby goes all stiff with fear

660

as I watched so that I went stiff with fear

661 .

what can I do for you, wretch, pot that I am  
and thoroughly de-sherded<sup>P151</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Literally, "ostracized" (banished from the polis by having one's name inscribed on potsherds by voters).

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

662 Harpocration in Keaney *TAPA* 98 (1967) 213 #45

ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐγγυήσει σοι ὁ -  
τὴν καλλίπαιδα

663 *Etymologicum Magnum* 526.19

κόλλοπες· τὰ τῶν ὑἄν καὶ βοῶν σκληρὰ δέρματα περὶ  
τοὺς τραχήλους . . . ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ τὸ νωτιαῖον δέρμα  
. . . Ἀριστοφάνης τὴν σκληρότητα Αἰσχύλου ἐνδει-  
κνύμενος ἔφη·

οἶμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν κόλλοπι  
ἐοικέναι

664 Pollux 7.67

ἀλλὰ τὸ στρόφιον λυθὲν  
τὰ κάρυά μου ἔξιπτεν

665 Priscian, *Inst. Gramm.* 18.240 (*GrL* III 327.7)

οὔτε νύκτωρ παύεται  
οὔθ' ἡμέραν

666 Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3.9 1410<sup>a</sup> 24

ἀργὸν γὰρ ἔλαβεν - ὁ - ὁ - ὁ -  
ἀργὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

662

but truly he will betroth to you . . .  
the beautiful girl

663

Chine: the tough skin around the neck of pigs and cattle . . .  
also used of the skin on the back . . . Ar. so speaks of Aes-  
chylus' toughness:

I think that he's like

chine

664

my brassiere unfastened,  
out fell my nuts

665

(s)he stops neither night  
nor day

666

for the plot he got . . .  
from him was shot

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

667 Heyschius *a* 6049

ἀπόμακτρ' ἀπεσκοτωμένα

668 Photius *a* 3493

ἄωροθάνατος ἀπέθανεν

669 Ammonius, *Diff.* 488 127.3 Nick.

ἐγὼ δ' ὑπερῶ τὸν ὄρκον

670 Scholium on Euripides, *Hippolytus* 102

μὰ τοὺς πρόσωθεν

671 *Etymologicum Magnum* 682.52

ποῖ κῆχος; :: εὐθὺ Σικελίας

672 *Etymologicum Magnum* 198.57

βλᾶκες φύγεργοι

673 Scholium on Ar. *Peace* 1081a

πόσος ἔσθ' ὁ καῦνος;

674 Eustathius on *Iliad* 1357.1

φαύλως φέρει νῦν τὸ κακόν

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

667

shady-daubed strickles

668

(s)he died an early death

669

and I will dictate the oath

670

by those who come from afar<sup>152</sup>

671

(A) Where to?

(B)

Straight to Sicily

672

work-avoiding simpletons

673

how much is the share?

674

now he bears his misfortune lightly

<sup>152</sup> An oath.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

675 Excerpta Guelferbyтана (E) in Ritschl on Thomas  
Magister 274.17

σὺ δ' ὀμέστιος θεοῖς; πόθεν;

676 Pollux 7.63-4

□ - ἀνήσω κροκίδα μαστιγουμένη  
var. ἀήσεις

677 Zonaras 1170 (before fr. 678)

καῖτα καθεδῆ δῆτά μοι

678 *Ibid.* 1170 (after fr. 677)

καθεδῶ δικαστάς

679 *Life of Sophocles* 22

κηρὸς ἐπεκαθέζετο

680 Pollux 7.134

κοπρολογεῖ κόφινον λαβῶν

681

(a) Athenaeus 14.652F

οὐδὲν γλυκύτερον τῶν ἰσχάδων

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

675

you share a hearth with gods? Since when?

676

I'll<sup>153</sup> be beaten till the lint flies off my sweater

677

then you'll sit by me

678

I will hold a session of the court

679

beeswax sat upon (his lips?)<sup>154</sup>

680

he'll get a basket and collect dung

681

(a)

there's nothing sweeter than figs

<sup>153</sup> Variant "you'll be beaten"; with either reading the victim is female.

<sup>154</sup> Perhaps *keros* (beeswax) is a surprise for *kerion* (honeycomb), often of sweet singing or speaking; compare Eupolis fr. 102.5.

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(b) [Julian], *Letters* 180.229.12

Ἄριστοφάνει μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ πλὴν μέλιτος εἶναι τῶν  
ἄλλων γλυκύτερον ἰσχάδας, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀνέχεται  
τῶν ἰσχάδων εἶναι γλυκύτερον, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπικρίνας  
λέγει.

πλὴν μέλιτος οὐδὲν γλυκύτερον τῶν ἰσχάδων / ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ  
μέλι γλυκύτερον τῶν ἰσχάδων arr. Cobet

682 Scholium on Ar. *Frogs* 775

στρεψίμαλλος τὴν τέχνην Εὐριπίδης

683 Pollux 6.31

τὸν Πειραιᾶ δὲ μὴ κεναγγίαν ἄγειν

684 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1441.23

λαλίστερον εὐρηκά σε

685 *Etymologicum Magnum* 96.22

τὴν θύραν ἀναζυγώσας

686 Suda κ 36

οὐ φθερῆ, κάθαρμα, κάκποδὼν ἡμῖν ἄπει;

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(b) Ar. considers figs sweeter than anything except honey, and even honey he holds not as sweet as figs, as he himself pronounces in judgment.<sup>155</sup>

682

Euripides, his art like tangled fleece

683

Piraeus not to go without food

684

I found you more prattlesome

685

having unbolted (*masc.*) the door

686 .

go to blazes, you pariah, and get out of our way

<sup>155</sup> Cobet reconstructs e.g. "Nothing except honey is as sweet as figs, / but not even honey is as sweet as figs."

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

687 Philodemus, *Rhetoric* 1

348 Sudh., col. li 1 κ|αθῆκον| .....σει..ε| ..λ.  
μ..... οἱ σποδοῦμενοι πεπαύσε[τα]ι, φη|σὶν Ἄριστο-  
φάν[η]ς, οὕτω | θείς ἀσυρῶς ὡ[ς] ἐ|κεῖνος· τοιγαροῦν  
ἐνίοτε | μεγάλα σφάλλ[μα]τα λαμβάνουσιν αἱ πόλεις,  
ὅταν τοιούτων συμβουλιῶν ἀκού|σωσιν.

οἱ σποδοῦμενοι Usener: μισπολοῦμενοι papyrus

688 Athenaeus, *Epitome* 1.30BC

ὁ Πράμνιος . . . οὔτε γλυκὺς οὔτε παχύς, ἀλλ'  
αὔστηρός καὶ σκληρὸς καὶ δύναμιν ἔχων διαφέρου-  
σαν οἷω Ἄριστοφάνης οὐχ ἤδεσθαι Ἀθηναίους φησί,  
λέγων τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον οὔτε ποιηταῖς ἤδεσθαι  
σκληροῖς καὶ ἀστεμέφεισιν οὔτε πρᾶμνίους οἴνους συν-  
άγουσι τὰς ὀφρῦς τε καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν, ἀλλ' <ἀν-  
θ>οσομῖα καὶ πέπονι νεκταροσταγεί.

## 689 Suda α 4570

εἴ τις <σε> κολακεύει παρῶν καὶ τὰς κροκύδας  
ἀφαιρῶν

suppl. Porson

690 Eustathius on *Iliad* 959.42

οὕτω παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ πόλις μάλιστα σῶς ἂν εἴη

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

## 687

... will cease ... the bugged ones,<sup>156</sup> as Ar. says, thus put-  
ting it as lewdly as that other did. For this very reason cities  
sometimes suffer great falls when they pay heed to such  
counsels.

## 688

Pramnian wine ... is neither sweet nor full-bodied but dry,  
hard, and exceptionally strong. Ar. says that the Athenians  
do not like it when he writes that the Athenian people en-  
joy neither poets who are hard and dry nor Pramnian wines  
that contract the brows and the bowels, but prefer a rich  
bouquet and a taste of nectar.

## 689

if someone present flatters <you> and picking off  
bits of lint

## 690

this way, as we see it, the city would likeliest be safe

<sup>156</sup> I.e. politicians, cf. Ar. *Assemblywomen* 112–13.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

691 Achilles Tatius, *Introduction to Aratus* 27.1 Maass:

ὄς τὰ φανῆ μεριμνᾷ  
τὰ δὲ χαμᾶθεν ἐσθίει

692 Scholium on Ar. *Birds* 11

Ἐξηκεστίδης· . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερος·

ἔχων λύραν,  
ἔργον Εὐδόξου, τιταίνει ψίθυρον εὐήθη νόμον

693 *Alphabetic Parsings of Homer* (An. Ox. I 264.28)

σφοδελὸν ἐν χύτραισι μεγάλαις ἐψόμενον - - -

694 Satyrus, *Life of Euripides* fr. 39 col. ix 16

ἅπαν εἶ τι μὴ μεγαλείου ἢ σεμνὸν ἠτιμακῶς. ὁ γούν  
Ἄριστοφάνης φησὶν ὥσπερ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κεκλη-  
μένος·

ο[ἶ]α μὲν π[ο]εῖ λέγε[ι]ν

τοῖός ἐστιν

695 Athenaeus *Epitome* 11.106

ἐπτάπους γούν ἢ σκιά ἔστιν  
† ἢ πὲρ τὸ δεῖπνον ὡς ἤδη καλεῖ μ'  
ὁ χορὸς ὁ φιλοτήσιος

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

691

who ponders what can't be seen  
yet eats what's on the ground

692

There is another (Execestides) who

takes his lyre  
and twangs a silly twittering tune, Eudoxus' work

693

asphodel boiling in large pots

694

(Euripides) . . . despising anything that was not grand or  
elevated. Ar. at any rate says, as if summoned as a witness  
for this very purpose:

as he makes his characters say,  
so is he himself<sup>157</sup>

695

you see, the shadow's seven feet long,  
announcing dinnertime; and now  
the chorus<sup>158</sup> of good fellowship invites me

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Ar. *Women at the Thesmophoria* 149-50.

<sup>158</sup> With Casaubon's emendation; "the time" mss.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

696 *Ibid.* 1.21E

Αἰσχύλος . . . πολλὰ σχήματα ὀρχηστικά αὐτὸς  
 ἐξευρίσκων ἀνείδιδου τοῖς χορευταῖς. Χαμαιλέων γοῦν  
 πρῶτον αὐτὸν φησι σχηματῖσαι τοὺς χοροὺς ὀρχη-  
 στοδιδασκάλους οὐ χρησάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τοῖς  
 χοροῖς τὰ σχήματα ποιοῦντα τῶν ὀρχήσεων καὶ ὅλως  
 πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς τραγωδίας οἰκονομίαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν περι-  
 ιστάντα . . . Ἀριστοφάνης γοῦν ποιεῖ αὐτὸν Αἰσχύλον  
 λέγοντα

τοῖσι χοροῖς αὐτὸς τὰ σχήματ' ἐποίουν

καὶ πάλιν

τοὺς Φρύγας οἶδα θεωρῶν,  
 ὅτε τῷ Πριάμῳ συλλυσόμενοι τὸν παιδ' ἦλθον  
 τεθνεώτα,  
 πολλὰ τοιαντὶ καὶ τοιαντὶ καὶ δεῦρο  
 σχηματῖσαντας

697 Pollux 7.143

ὥστ' ἀνακύπτων καὶ κατακύπτων τοῦ σχήματος  
 οὐνεκα τοῦδε  
 κηλωνείου τοῖς κηπουροῖς

698 Athenaeus, *Epit.* 2.50E

ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν <δ' > αὐτόματ' αὐτοῖς τὰ  
 μιμαίικνλ' ἐφύετο πολλὰ

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

696

Gerytades, Danaids, or a version of Frogs?

Aeschylus . . . created many of his own choral dances and presented them to the dancers. Chamaeleon (fr. 41 W.) says that he was the first to arrange dances for his choruses without employing a choreographer, all by himself both creating moves for his choruses and taking the entire responsibility for the whole structure of the tragedy . . . Ar. portrays Aeschylus himself saying

for my choruses I myself created the dances  
 and again

That I know by watching your *Phrygians*:  
 when they came to help Priam ransom his dead son,  
 they did lots of *this* and they did lots of *this* while  
 they danced

697

then swinging up and swinging down in this posture  
 of a well-beam for gardeners

698

in the mountains the wild strawberry trees unbidden  
 produced for them abundantly



## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

699 Pollux 7.194-95

κιρυάντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν κοτυλίζετε τοῖσι  
πένησιν

700 Pollux 6.62

ἴν' ἐπαγλαΐση τὸ παλημάτιον, καὶ μὴ βήττων  
καταπίνῃ

701 Pollux 6.61, 62

πολφούς δ' οὐχ ἦψον ὁμοῦ βολβοῖς

702 Pollux 6.56

χορδαί, φύσκαί, πασταί, ζωμός, χόλικες

703 Photius a 3495

ἔθανον κάλλουσιν ἄωροι  
παῖδες

704 Photius a 1401

ἐκ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν ἀπίασιν

705 Athenaeus 4.173CD

ἀλλ' ὦ Δελφῶν πλείστας ἀκονῶν  
Φοῖβε μαχαίρας  
καὶ προδιδάσκων τοὺς σοὺς προπόλους

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

699

for you mix our city like wine and sell it to the poor  
by the glass

700

(after frags. 701 and 918)

to mill the finest wheatmeal and not cough as he  
swallows

701

they never boiled macaroni and onions together

702

tripe, puddings, broths, soup, sausages

703

and many another's children have untimely  
perished

704

they will go from the stairs

705

O Phoebus, who whet  
a great many knives<sup>159</sup>  
and teach this skill to your servants

<sup>159</sup> I.e., for use in the sacrifices at his great shrine at Delphi.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

706 Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Grammarians* 1.228

διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσην πόλεως,  
οὐτ' ἀστείαν ὑποθηλυτέραν  
οὐτ' ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγρικοτέραν

707 Photius *a* 1105

Ἄμαλθείας κέρας· τὸ πάντων ἐπιτυγχάνειν, ἐπειδὴ οἱ  
εὐχόμενοι τῇ οὐρανίᾳ αἰγί ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν

ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν Ἄμαλθείας  
κέρας † σὺ μόνον εὔξαι καὶ πάντα παρέσται

708 Pollux 6.49

τὸν σαπέρδην ἀποτίλαι χρῆ  
κᾶτ' ἐκπλῦναι καὶ διαπλῦναι

709 Athenaeus, *Epit.* 2.67CD

ἐν δὲ Κλεωναῖς ὀξίδες εἰσί

710 Pollux 9.154

εἰκοβολοῦντες καὶ πλάττοντες

711 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 6.23.1

δύναται γὰρ ἴσον τῷ δρᾶν τὸ νοεῖν

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

706

using the medial speech of the city,  
neither effeminately sophisticated  
nor slavishly rusticated

707

“Amalthea’s Horn” means getting everything, since those  
who pray to the heavenly she-goat get what they pray for:

the city is Amalthea’s horn:  
just say a prayer and get all that you want

708

the perch<sup>160</sup> should be scaled  
and then washed inside and out

709

at Cleonae there are vinegar-cruets

710

taking wild guesses and making things up

711

thinking has the same force as doing

<sup>160</sup> A cheap fish, here possibly of some worthless man.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

712 Scholium on Homer, *Iliad* 13.428a

ἀλλ' εἰς ἥρων τι παρήμαρτον

713 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

διὰ τῆς τρήμης παρακύπτων

714 Erotian κ 12

οὐκ ἔσθω κενέβρειον ὅταν θύσης τι, κάλει με

715 Athenaeus, *Epitome* 2.48C

ὄστις ἐν ἡδυσμοῖς  
στρώμασι παννυχίζων  
τὴν δέσποιναν ἐρείδεις

716 Scholium on Ar. *Knights* 254a, cf. 129a

καὶ σὺ κρηβιοπῶλα  
Εὐκράτες στύπαξ

717 *Anecdota Graeca* Bachmann 30.4

τί γὰρ ἐπὶ κακότηρον ἔμολε τότε βίου  
ἀδικομηχάνῳ τέχνῃ;

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

712

I/they have done a hero some wrong

713

*(following fr. 750)*

peeping through the hole in the shaft

714

I don't eat carrion; when you sacrifice something, call me

715

you who on fragrant  
coverlets spend the night  
humping the mistress

716

*Perhaps from Babylonians or Old Age.*

and you, the bran-dealer,  
hempy Eucrates<sup>161</sup>

717

why *at that* time did he turn to a life of base behavior,  
with a foul-devising craft

<sup>161</sup> See fr. 149.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

718 Hephaestion, *Handbook* 8.8 27.22

τίς ὄρεα βαθύκομα τάδ' ἐπέσντο βροτῶν;

719 Sud. a 2874

ρήματά τε κομῶ καὶ παίγνι' ἐπιδεικνύναι  
πάντ' ἀπ' ἀκροφυσίων κάπῳ καναβευμάτων

720 Aelius Aristides, *Oration* 32 (225 K.)

ὁ δέ φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης περὶ Αἰσχύλου, σκότου  
εἶναι τεθνηκότος, τούτ' ἄξιον καὶ περὶ τούτου νῦν  
εἰπεῖν εἰς παιδείας λόγον

721 Hesychius ι 835

Ἴπποκλείδης· οὕτω κακοσχόλως τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς μό-  
ριον Ἀριστοφάνης εἶπεν.

722 [Plutarch] 836EF

Ἰσοκράτης Θεοδώρου μὲν ἦν παῖς τοῦ Ἐρχιέως τῶν  
μετρίων πολιτῶν, θεράποντας αὐλοποιούς κεκτημένου  
καὶ εὐπορήσαντος ἀπὸ τούτων . . . ὅθεν εἰς τοὺς  
αὐλοὺς κεκωμώδηται ὑπ' Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Στράτ-  
τιδος.

723 Hesychius κ 3050

Κλύμενος· ἰατρὸς ἀφνῆς, ὃν Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἀνα-

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

718

what mortal has sped to these thick-forested  
mountains?

719

to unfurl chic phrases and jokes as well,  
all fresh from the bellows' tip and the foundry mold

720

What Ar. says of Aeschylus, that it has been dark since he  
died, is appropriate to be said also of this man in respect to  
learning.

721

(Hippocrides): Ar. impishly refers to the female genitals by  
this name.

722

Isocrates was the son of Theodorus of Erchia, a respect-  
able citizen who had slaves who manufactured flutes and  
who so prospered in that business that he was able to  
finance choruses and to educate his sons . . . whence he was  
ridiculed by Ar. and Strattis (fr. 3) about his flutes.

723

(Clymenus) An undistinguished physician, whom Ar. says

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

μεμίχθαι τῷ Μορσίμῳ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν Μόρσιμον  
 ἰατρὸν εἶναι ἀφνή. ἦν δὲ καὶ τραγωδοποιὸς ἀφνης ὁ  
 Μόρσιμος. cf. Schol. Ran. 151 ἦν δὲ καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν  
 ἰατρὸς ἀγαθός

724 Plutarch, *Comparison of Ar. and Menander* 1.853B

τούτοις . . . χρῆται . . . καὶ πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ εὐκαίρως  
 καὶ ψυχρῶς. ἐπαινεῖται . . . ὅτι τοὺς ταμίας ἐβάπτισεν,  
 οὐχὶ ταμίας ἀλλὰ Λαμίας ὄντας.

725 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1854.13

ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄδδιξ μέτρον τι, φασί, τετραχοίνικον. Ἄρι-  
 στοφάνης ἀλφίτων μελάνων ἄδδιχα.

726 Pollux 2.150

Ἄριστοφάνης δὲ ἀμεταχειρίστων τῶν κοινῶν.

727 Photius a 1666

ἀνασπᾶν βούλευμα καὶ ἀνασπᾶν γνωμίδιον.

728 Pollux 2.233

εὐσαρκος . . . πολύσαρκος . . . Ἄριστοφάνης δ'  
 εἴρηκεν ὡς οὐχ ἕτερον ἄνδρα σάρκινον.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

was mixed with Morsimus because Morsimus was also an  
 undistinguished physician. There was also an undistin-  
 guished tragedian named Morsimus.

724

(Ar.) makes use of these sorts (of word-play) . . . frequently,  
 inappropriately, and unwittily. He is praised . . . for saying  
 he soaked the servants as being not ταμίας (*servants*) but  
 Λαμίας (*goblins*).

725

There was also the ἄδδιξ, said to be a four-quart measure,  
 as Ar. "an ἄδδιξ of dark barley groats."

726

Ar. speaks of "the commonwealth difficult to handle."

727

"to draw forth a plan" and "to draw forth a choice idea."

728

"fleshy" . . . "very fleshy" . . . and Ar. spoke of "a man as  
 fleshy as they come."

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

## 729 Photius a 1980

ἄνθρωπος οὐ σεμνός· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ ἐπιτυχῶν καὶ εὐτελής.  
καινῶς πάννυ ἔρρηται παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει.

## 730 Photius a 3276

αὐχμηρὰ γῆ· ἢ μὴ λιπαρὰ μηδὲ εὐγείως μηδὲ ἐπιτη-  
δεΐα πρὸς καρπῶν φορὰν καὶ φυτῶν.

## 731 Photius a 3313

ἀφείναι ἐλεύθερον· τὸ ἐλευθερῶσαι.

732 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 56.11

γαλῆν καταπέπωκεν Ἀριστοφάνης· ἐπὶ τινος νέου μὴ  
δυναμένου φθέγγασθαι.

## 733 Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1801.49

γῆ βεβυσμένη

## 734 Photius δ 213

δεσποσύνων ὄψων· ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσποτικῶν ὄψων.

## 735 Pollux 7.30

ἔξαινε δὲ τῶν ἐρίων.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

## 729

Very common in Ar. is "a person without gravity," that is, nondescript and of small value.

## 730

"parched land," i.e. not fat nor with good soil nor suitable for bearing crops or plants.

## 731

"to let go free": of manumission.

## 732

"he swallowed a cat," in Ar. of a tongue-tied young man.

## 733

plugged-up land

## 734

"the masterly snacks" for the snacks of masters.

## 735

carded some wool

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

736 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 76.15

ἰξοί· ἐπὶ τῶν γλίσχρων καὶ φειδωλῶν. καὶ ἔοικε παρὰ τὸν ἰξὸν γεγενῆσθαι τοῦνομα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἰξὸς γλίσχρος ἐστίν. λέγει δ' Ἀριστοφάνης οὕτως· ἰξοί, ῥυποκόνδυλοι, ὅπερ σημαίνει καὶ αὐτὸ τοὺς γλίσχρους καὶ διὰ τὴν φειδωλίαν μῆτε λουομένους μῆτε κτενιζομένους.

## 737 Pollux 10.27

ἐπιπακτοῦν τὰς θύρας.

## 738 Pollux 4.67

καλαμίνην σύριγγα.

## 739 Pollux 4.166

κάμνον βαλανείου.

## 740 Photius 173.7

κνημία· τὰ ἐν τοῖς θρόνοις καὶ τροχοῖς διερέισματα . . . καὶ τὸ κνημιοπαχὲς ξύλον, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης.

## 741 Pollux 7.134

κόπρου ἀγωγάς.

## 742 Photius 198.11

Κωπαῖοι σφήκες.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

## 736

Birdlimes: of the miserly and penurious, a usage probably from "birdlime" in that it is sticky; thus Ar. "birdlimes, grimy-knuckled," which itself signifies the miserly, who because of their penury neither bathe nor groom themselves.

## 737

to shut fast the door

## 738

reed pipe

## 739

bath-house furnace

## 740

Shins: the supports on chairs and wheels . . . and the "beam as thick as a leg," as in Ar.

## 741

(preceding fr. 680) "dung gatherings."

## 742

Copaic wasps

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

743 Pollux 7.162

λεπρᾶν δὲ κεράμιον ὀξηρόν, ἀντὶ τοῦ μυδᾶν.

744 Hesychius α 8726

ἀφορμή· ἡ νῦν ἐνθήκη λεγομένη. Ἀριστοφάνης· μέλλει δὲ πέμπειν τοὺς εἰς ἀφορμήν. ἢ πρόφασις. ἢ αἰτία.

745 Hesychius μ 900

μεσαύχενες· Ἀριστοφάνης φησί, μεσαύχενας νέκυντας τοὺς ἀσκούς . . . ὅτι μέσον τὸν αὐχένα ἀσκού πιέζει ὁ περιβάλλοντο σχοινίου. τραγωδίῃ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ Φιλοξένου Σύρω.

746 Pollux 8.28 μεστέγγνον τὴν μείρακα καταθέσθαι Ἀριστοφάνης λέγει.

747

(a) Pollux 6.163

καὶ ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης πάγκυφος ἐλαία.

(b) Pollux 9.17

ἡ δὲ κωμωδία καὶ ἀστῆς ἐλαιίας εἶηκε τῆς ἐμ πόλει.

748 Pollux 7.32

στήμονα δ' ἐξεσμένον τὸν ἰσχνὸν καὶ λεῖον Ἀριστοφάνης καλεῖ.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

743

Ar. speaks of a cruet being "leprous" instead of "moldy."

744

ἀφορμή (*capital*): what is now called ἐνθήκη; Ar. says "he's going to put some into capital." Or excuse or reason.

745

Neck-tied: Ar. speaks of wine-skins as "necktied corpses," because the cord ties the neck of a wineskin around the middle. He parodies the words of Philoxenus' *Syrian*.

746

(lawcourt terms) Ar. says "to deposit the girl with a third party."

747

(a) And as Ar. says, "quite stooped olive tree."<sup>162</sup>

(b) Comedy also refers to the olive tree on the acropolis as the "citizen olive tree."

748

Ar. says "shaven thread" of one thin and sheer.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Of the sacred olive on the Acropolis because it was low to the ground, according to Hesychius α 7851 and π 23; cf. fr. asdesp. 810.

<sup>163</sup> Perhaps of a thin person.



## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

749 Pollux 6.159

συλλήπτριαν Ἀριστοφάνης. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ σύγκοιτον εἶρηκε, καὶ συστάδας ἀμπέλους.

750 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

στελειῆς· τοῦ τρήματος τοῦ πελέκως, δι' οὗ τὸ στελεὸν ἐνείρεται, ἢν τρήμην Ἀττικοὶ λέγουσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης· τρήμας ἔχει.

751 Suda v 495

ὑποζυγιάδης ἄνθρωπος· ὁ μὴ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως καὶ προθυμίας τι πράττων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρων κελεύσεως, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια. εἶποις δ' ἂν καὶ ὑποζυγιάδες πράγμα. Ἀριστοφάνης.

752 Pollux 6.167

Ἀριστοφάνης δέ που φησί καὶ φιλοκηδῆ λόγον.

753 Pollux 4.64

Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ μελωδός καὶ προσωδός εἶρηκε καὶ λεπτόφωνος καὶ βαρύφωνος καὶ φωνάριον ᾠδικὸν καὶ καμπτικόν καὶ ἡσματοκάμπτας.

754 Pollux 7.60

(χιτών) Μασσαλιωτῶν δὲ ὁ χορταῖος . . . τὸν δὲ

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

749

Female helper: Ar. (cf. fr. 895). The same also says "bed-mate" (fr. 893) and "clumped vines."<sup>164</sup>

750

(preceding fr. 713) *στελειῆς*: the hole in the axe through which the haft is inserted, called *τρήμη* by Attic writers. Ar.: "has haft holes."

751

Like a pack animal: a person not acting from choice and desire but at the behest of others, like pack animals. You may also use it of a thing. Ar.

752

Ar. somewhere speaks also of a "meticulous argument."

753

Ar. says "melodic" (fr. 853) and "harmonious" (fr. 877) and "delicate-voiced" (fr. 844) and "deep-voiced" (fr. 793) and "a musical and twisty little voice" and (*Clouds* 333) "song-twisters."

754

For the Messalians it's the barncoat . . . and Ar. says that

<sup>164</sup> Vines not planted in regular rows: Pollux 7.147, Hesychius ξ 193.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

χορταῖον τοὺς τυροπάλας φορεῖν ὡς ἀγοραῖον Ἄριστοφάνης ἔφη.

755 Zenobius, *Athos* 1.65

Ἄβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀηδῶν τάττεται ἢ παροιμία . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῶν συκοφαντεῖσθαι τοὺς ξένους. ἔνθεν καὶ Ἄριστοφάνης τὸν συκοφάντην Ἄβυδοκόμαν ἐκάλεσεν.

## 756 Pollux 2.108

Ἄριστοφάνης δὲ ἄγλωττον τὸν εἰπεῖν ἀδύνατον ἔφη, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἄγλωττον τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀγλωττίαν δὲ Ἄντιφῶν εἶρηκεν.

## 757 Pollux 3.48

Ἄριστοφάνης δὲ τὸν ἀγύνην ἄγνον.

## 758 Photius (Gal.) a 345

ἀδηφάγοι ἀγωνισταὶ ἵπποι οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο, ὡς Ἄριστοφάνης καὶ Φερεκράτης.

## 759 Photius a 399

Ἄδώνιος Φερεκράτης εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἀδώνιδος. λέγει δὲ καὶ τὴν αἰτιατικὴν τὸν Ἀδώνιον. οὕτως δὲ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Κρατῖνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἄριστοφάνης καὶ ἔτεροι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Ἄδωνιν αὐτὸν πολλάκις.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

cheesemongers wear the barncoat as appropriate to the market.

## 755

Abydean Dessert: the proverb is applied to odious types . . . from their extortion of foreigners. Thus Ar. uses *Ἀβυδοκόμας* (*pride of Abydus*) of the extortionist.

## 756

"tongueless" is used by Ar. of one unable to speak and by Sophocles (*Trach.* 1060) of the barbarian; Antiphon (87 B 97) uses "tonguelessness."

## 757

(*wifeless*) Ar. uses *ἄγνος* for *ἀγύνης*.

## 758

Gluttonous: used of racehorses, as by Ar. and Pherecrates (fr. 212).<sup>165</sup>

## 759

(Adonis) Pherecrates (fr. 213) uses (the genitive) *Ἀδώνιος* instead of *Ἀδώνιδος*, and also the accusative *Ἀδώνιον*. So Platon (fr. 4) and Cratinus (fr. 404) and also Ar. and others; they often also use *Ἄδωνιν*.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Hesychius a 1110 "the Athenians and Boeotians call adult horses 'gluttonous' in distinction from foals."

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

760 Pollux 3.140

ἀθλοθεσία ἢ ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἀθλοθετία.

761 Pollux 7.93

τὰ δὲ πλοιάρια καὶ ἀκάτια ὀνομάζει Ἀριστοφάνης, εἶδος ὄντα γυναικείων ὑποδημάτων.

762 Photius α 781

ἀκολασία ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἔφη, ἀκολαστία δὲ Ἄλεξις, ἀκολαστότατον δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ ἀκολαστοτέραν Νικόλαος.

763 Photius α 785

ἀκόλουθον οὐδετέρως μὲν Ἀριστοφάνης, θηλυκῶς δὲ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ περὶ ψυχῆς.

764 Photius α 814

ἀκουσέτην Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη, ἀκούσεσθαι δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης.

765 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 6.13

ἀκύμων· Εὐριπίδης ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν τέθεικεν, ὡσάνει ἀγόου. ὡσαύτως καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης. &lt;λέγεται καὶ ἀκύμων θάλασσα ἢ μὴ ἀνέμοις ταρασσομένη καὶ κυμαινομένη.&gt; λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀκύματος κτλ.

Glossam ex Hesych. α 881 suppl. Borries.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

760

ἀθλοθεσία (*the office of judge at competitions*) or, as Ar. has it, ἀθλοθετία.

761

Ar. calls small boats "skiffs," being a kind of women's shoe.

762

Thucydides (3.37.3) uses ἀκολασία (*licentiousness*), Alexis (fr. 37.6) ἀκολαστία, Ar. ἀκολαστότατον (*most licentious*), Nicolaus (fr. 2) ἀκολαστότερον (*rather licentious*).

763

Ar. uses ἀκόλουθον (*follower*) in the neuter, Plato in the feminine in his dialogue on the soul (*Phaedo* 111C).

764

Sophocles (fr. 991a) uses ἀκουσέτην, Ar. ἀκούσεσθαι.

765

ἀκύμων (*unswelling*): Euripides (*Andr.* 158) uses it for not bearing offspring, as it were barren, as does Ar. <The sea not disturbed and swollen by winds is called barren.> And it is also spoken of as ἀκύματος (*waveless*).

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

## 766 Photius a 913

ἀλειφόβιον τὸν περὶ παλαιστράν ἀναστρεφόμενον  
καὶ ὑπηρετοῦντα.

## 767 Photius a 1203

ἄμιλλον τὴν ἄμιλλαν Δωρόθεος εἶρηκεν ἀρσενικῶς.  
καὶ ἀμιλλοφόρος Ἀριστοφάνης.

## 768 Photius a 1245

ἀμπελουργός καὶ ἀμπελουργεῖν.

## 769 Photius a 1289

ἀμυκλᾶδες ὑποδημάτων εἶδος. προσγράφεται μὲν τὸ  
ι, οὐ μὴν καὶ συνεκφωνεῖται. κέκληται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν  
Λακεδαίμονι Ἀμυκλῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖ κατασκευαζομένου τοῦ  
τοιούτου ὑποδήματος. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Φρύνι-  
χος.

## 770 Photius a 1408

ἀναβιώην καὶ ἀναβιούς Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη, ἀναβε-  
βίωκα δὲ Εὐριπίδης καὶ ἀναβιώναι Πλάτων καὶ ἀνα-  
βεβιώσθαι Σανυρίων. Cf. Harpocration cod. Marc. 444  
ap. Keaney TAPhA 98 (1967) 209, nr. 16 ἀναβιών ἀντὶ  
τοῦ ἀναβιώσας . . . καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

## 766

Oilman: one who hangs around the gym and does menial  
tasks.

## 767

Dorotheus has ἄμιλλος (*competition*) in the masculine  
gender instead of ἄμιλλα, and Ar. has ἀμιλλοφόρος  
(*judge of a competition*).

## 768

"vine-dresser" and "to dress vines"

## 769

ἀμυκλᾶδες: a kind of shoe. The iota is written but not pro-  
nounced. So called after the inhabitants of Amyclae, since  
such a shoe is worn there. So Ar. and Phrynichus (fr. 87).

## 770

Ar. says "may I be resurrected" and "resurrected ones,"  
Euripides says "I am resurrected" (fr. 955), and Platon (fr.  
139) and Sannyrion (fr. 12) say "to be resurrected."

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

771 Sud. a 2064

ἀνασηκῶσαι ἀνταποδοῦναι ἢ ἀναλαβεῖν, ὅπερ ποιῶ-  
σιν οἱ ἰστάντες, οἷον ἐξισῶσαι τὸ λείπον τῷ πλεο-  
νάζοντι. οὕτως Ἄριστοφάνης.

ἀντισηκῶσαι Kock cl. Phryn. PS 32.6 ἀνασηκῶσαι τὸ ἀντι-  
θεῖναι καὶ ἀντιστῆσαι.

772 Pollux 2.20

ἀνδρίζεσθαι δὲ Ἄριστοφάνης ἔφη ἀνδροῦσθαι, καὶ  
ἀνδριζόμενοι Ἱππερίδης.

773

(a) Photius a 2113

ἀντίπαις· ὁ πρόσηβος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ἡλι-  
κίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀνδρόπαις παρ' Ἄριστοφάνει.

(b) Sud. a 2706

ἀντίπαις· ὁ ἐγγὺς ὢν τοῦ Ἰουλος γενέσθαι, ὁ τὸν  
πῶγονα ἐκφύων. ὁ δὲ Ἄριστοφάνης ὁ πρόσηβος καὶ  
ἀνδρόπαις εἶπεν.

774 Photius a 1856

ἀνεπιεικές· ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἐπιεικές, ἀλλὰ κακόν. Ἄρι-  
στοφάνης καὶ Αἰσχίνης.

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

771

To balance up: to give or receive back as do weighers, as it  
were to equalize by restoring what is too little to what is too  
much.

772

Ar. uses ἀνδρίζεσθαι (*attain manhood*) for ἀνδροῦσθαι,  
and Hyperides (fr. 228) uses ἀνδριζόμενοι.

773

(a) ἀντίπαις (*instead of a boy*): one grown to manhood and  
beyond the stage of boyhood; this as well as ἀνδρόπαις  
(*manboy*) are found in Ar.

(b) ἀντίπαις: one nearing the bearded age, growing a  
beard. Ar. calls one grown to manhood ἀντίπαις.

774

Ar. and Aeschines (fr. 59) use "unreasonable" for not rea-  
sonable but base.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

775 Photius a 1904

ἀνεψιαδαὶ Ἀριστοφάνης, καὶ ἀνεψιαδοῦς Φερεκράτης,  
καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἀνεψιαδοῦν.

776 Photius a 1921

ἀνηλέητος, οὐ μόνον ἀνηλεής . . . ἀνηλεήτως δὲ  
Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη.

777 Photius a 2020

ἀνοητίαν· τὴν ἄνοιαν.

778 Photius (1) a 2235

ἀπαλοσώματος· Ἀριστοφάνης εἶρηκεν.

(2) 2236

ἀπαλύνειν· ἀντὶ τοῦ διαχεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ θηλύνειν.  
Ἀριστοφάνης.

779 Photius a 2710

ἀποφέρει· οἶον παρασύρει καὶ ἄγει. ἡ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ  
τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

775

ἀνεψιαδαὶ (*first cousins' sons*) Ar., ἀνεψιαδοῦς Phere-  
crates (fr. 221), ἀνεψιαδοῦν Hermippus (fr. 82).

776

ἀνηλέητος as well as ἀνηλεής (*pitiless*) . . . and Ar. says  
ἀνηλεήτως (*pitilessly*).

777

ἀνοητίαν (*mindlessness*) for ἄνοιαν.

778

(1) Ar. says "soft-bodied." (2) "to soften up": for melting  
the spirit and becoming womanish.

779

Bear off: as it were to sweep and carry away, a river meta-  
phor.

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

780 Photius *a* 2831

† ἀρκύσας· ἀντὶ τοῦ βροχίσσας.

ἀρκυωρήρας Theodoridis cl. Eup. fr. 339, ἄρκυς <στή>σας  
Degani

781 Photius *a* 2840

ἀρμωδιῶν φίλων, προσηγῶν, ὡς ἔμπαλι ἀνάρσιοι οἱ  
πολέμιοι.

782 Pollux 7.22

ἀρτοστροφεῖν δ' Ἀριστοφάνης λέγει. διαπλάσαι κτλ.

783 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 14.8

ἀσπάλαθος· ἀκανθῶδες φυτόν. Κλέανδρος θηλυκῶς,  
Ἀριστοφάνης ἀρσενικῶς.

784 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 21.1

αἰθεσθαι πῦρ καὶ ἐναέσθαι Ὅμηρος εἶπεν. Ἀριστο-  
φάνης αὐόμενος, Κρατῖνος ἐναέσθαι.

785 Photius *a* 3190

ἀνπνίαν Σοφοκλῆς, ἀνπνείν δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης, καὶ  
ἀύπνω Σαννυρίων. καὶ ἀνπνεῖσθαι λέγουσιν.

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

780

ἀρκύσας (P) (*netted*): for "ensnare"

781

Harmodii: friends, kind souls, as opposed to enemies who  
are hostile,<sup>166</sup>

782

Ar. says "to turn the loaf," to form it.

783

ἀσπάλαθος: a plant like a thorn. Cleander in the feminine  
gender, Ar. in the masculine.

784

Homer said "to take fire" and "make a fire," Ar. "taking  
fire," Cratinus (fr. 450) "to get fire."

785

Sophocles (fr. 1027) says ἀνπνίαν (*sleeplessness*), Ar.  
ἀνπνείν (*be sleepless*), and Sannyrion (fr. 13) ἀύπνωσ  
(*sleeplessly*). They also use ἀνπνεῖσθαι.

<sup>166</sup> Harmodius the tyrannicide was a hero of the democracy.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

786 Photius *a* 3258

αὐτοῦ· ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτόθι. (in margine αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ σπήλαιον.)

787 Photius *a* 3283

ἀφάκη· ὄσπριόν τι ἐμφερὲς φακῶ.

788 Photius *a* 3399

Ἄφροδιτίδιον.

789 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 21.9

ἀψευδοῦντες.

790 *a.* Photius *β* 39

βαλανεύειν· λαμπροφωνεῦεσθαι.

791 Photius *β* 50

βάμβαλον· ἱμάτιον Βαβυλώνιον.

792 Pollux 4.63

λυρίζειν, κιθαρίζειν . . . καὶ ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης βαρβιτίζειν.

793 Cf. fr. 753.

476

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

786

αὐτοῦ (*here*) for αὐτόθι (on this spot).<sup>167</sup>

787

ἀφάκη (*tare*): a kind of pulse resembling the lentil.

788

little Aphrodite

789

unlying

790

Sound like a bathman: to speak loudly.

791

βάμβαλον: a Babylonian cloak.<sup>168</sup>

792

"play the lyre," "play the cithara" . . . and "play the barbiton," as Ar.

793

See fr. 753.

<sup>167</sup> The marginal comment "here about the cave" is unlikely to be from comedy and may refer to e.g. Homer *Od.* 5.68.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. Hesychius (1) *β* 176 *bambalon*: a cloak, also the genitals. Phrygians. (2) *β* 175 *bambala*: winter cloaks.

477



## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

794 Comic gloss in Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1801.59

βήρηκες Ἀριστοφάν[ης ἐν——| .....] βήρη[κ ..]  
φυρά[ματα]

795 Pollux 7.210

εἴποις ἂν βίβλοι, βιβλίον· παρὰ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνει καὶ  
βιβλιδάριον.

796 Pollux 7.187

Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ βοηλατεῖν καὶ ὄνηλατεῖν εἶπεν.

797 Photius (1) β 201

βολβορυκτικόν· γενναῖον. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης.

(2) β 202

βολβορυκτικὸν τόλμημα· τὸ μετὰ βίας γενναῖον.

(3) β 203

βολβωρυχεῖν· ἀντὶ τοῦ τοιχωρυχεῖν.

798 Thomas Magister 55.10

λέγε ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς εὐθείας τῶν πληθυντικῶν βόες, εἰ καὶ  
Ἀριστοφάνης κὰν ἀναγκασθεὶς ἅπαξ βούς εἶπεν· ἐπὶ  
δὲ τῆς αἰτιατικῆς βούς.

799 Photius β 320

βωλίς· ἡ μάζα.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

794

βήρηκες: Ar. . . . mixtures . . .

795

You can say books, booklets, and in Ar. also "little booklet."

796

Ar. also said "drive oxen" and "drive asses."

797

(1) Bulb-diggerly; with character, so Ar. (2) Bulb-diggerly  
deed: forcefully with character. (3) Dig bulbs: in place of  
"breaking and entering."

798

Use βόες (*oxen*) in the nominative plural, even if Ar. once  
said βούς when compelled.<sup>169</sup> βούς is the accusative.

799

βωλίς: a cake.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>169</sup> I.e. by meter.

<sup>170</sup> Hesychius β 1371 *bolis*: a kind of cake in sacrifices.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

800 Pollux 7.141

*βωλοκοπέιν.*

801 Photius β 325

*βῶμαξ· ὁ βωμὸς ὑποκοριστικῶς.*802 Bekker's *Lexicon* 231.1*Ἄριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ τὰς ὥιας τοῦ ἱματίου γέισα εἶπεν.*803 Scholium on Lucian, *Anacharsis* 32.170.22 R.*γέρρον . . . Ἄριστοφάνης ὡς ἐπὶ φυλακῆς τινοσ καὶ μοχλοῦ τροπικῶς παρέλαβε τὴν λέξιν.*

804 Photius δ 5

*Δάειρα· τινὲς Στυγὸς ἀδελφὴν. ἔνιοι τροφὸν Περσεφόνης. ἄλλοι τὴν αὐτὴν Δήμητρι. τινὲς τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ Ἥρα. καὶ πιθανὸν τὴν Ἥραν δάειραν τοῦ Πλούτωνος λέγεσθαι· δαήρ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφός. Ἄριστοφάνης δὲ Σεμέλης φησὶν μητέρα εἶναι.*

805 Hesychius δ 336

*δαφνοπώλην τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα λέγουσιν, ὡς Ἄριστοφάντης.*

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

800

break up clods

801

*βῶμαξ*: enderingly for *βωμός* (*altar*).

802

Ar. also used "cornices" for the fringes of a cloak.

803

Wattle screen: Ar. used the word metaphorically for a guard-post and bolt.

804

*Daeira* (*she who knows*): some say sister of Styx, a few say nurse of Persephone, others say that she is identical to Demeter, some say to Hera. And it is plausible that Hera is called the "knower" of Pluto, since *δαήρ* is a husband's brother. Ar. says that she is Semele's mother.

805

They call Apollo "laurel-seller," so Ar.<sup>171</sup><sup>171</sup> Cf. Photius δ 74 At Delphi laurel-mongers were those who changed money.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

806 Pollux 2.200

διαβάτην.

807 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 63.13

διετησίως· ἀντὶ τοῦ δι' ἔτους, οἶον καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος.  
Θουκυδίδης καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης.

808 Hesychius δ 2302

δράκαιναν τὴν μάστιγα, τὴν ὑστριχίδα ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης.

809 Herodian, *On Dichronic Rhythms* II 10.1

τὰ εἰς αἴψ λήγοντα ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν φαμεν  
συστέλλειν τὸ α, λαίλαιψ. ἐν δὲ μονοσυλλάβοις τὸ  
δράψ ἐκτείνεται κείμενον παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει, καὶ τὸ  
λάψ παρὰ Ταραντίνοις. ἡ δὲ γράψ καὶ φάψ θηλυκῶ  
γένει κατακλειόμενα συστέλλεται.

810 Scholium on Dionysius Thrax, GrGr I 3.276.32 Hilg.

τὸ δὲ δῖς καὶ τρίς πέπονθε, τὸ γὰρ δνάκις καὶ τριάκις  
παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει.

811 Pollux 2.154

ἐγχειρητῆς δὲ καὶ ἐγχείρησις.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

806

Crosser: Ar.

807

Yearly: for annually, as it were each year: Thucydides  
(2.38.1) and Ar.

808

Dragon: the whip, the cat o' nine, so Ar.

809

We say that words of more than one syllable ending in -αἴψ  
have short α, as λαίλαιψ, and among monosyllabic words  
δράψ has long α in Ar. as does λάψ among the Tarantines.  
γράψ and φάψ being confined to the feminine gender  
have short α.

810

"twice" and "thrice" are changeable, for "twicewise" and  
"thricewise" are in Ar.

811

"one who undertakes" and "undertaking"

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

812 Photius ined.

ἐλλιπαίνειν· τύπτειν † ἢ παριέναι † ὀξέως.

813 Hesychius ε 2426

ἐμπεδορκεῖν· εὐορκεῖν. παίζει δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης παρὰ τὰς πέδας.

814 Harpocration cod. Marc. 444 in Keaney TAPhA 98 (1967) 215 nr. 54

ἐνεύναιον· ἱμάτιον τὸ ἐν τῇ εὐνῇ.

815 Photius ined.

ἐνηντιοῦντο λέγουσί ποτε, οὐκ ἤναντιοῦντο.

816 Photius ined.

ἐνθεσίψωμος, καὶ ἐνθεσίδουλος· ὁ ψωμόδουλος.

817 Harpocration cod. Marc. 444 apud Keaney TAPhA 98 (1967) 215 nr. 61

ἐπεκθύσασθαι ἐλέγετο τὸ {μη} τῶν ἱερείων μὴ καλῶν φανέντων δεύτερον ἱερεῖον ἀνατεμεῖν.

818 Pollux 2.199

τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς δακτύλους κρούματα πταίσματα· Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ ἐπιπταίσματα αὐτὰ καλεῖ.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

812

“anoint”: flog or ? sharply.

813

ἐμπεδορκεῖν: to keep an oath. Ar. puns on πέδαι (fettters).

814

Bedclothes: a cloak worn in bed.

815

They once said ἐνηντιοῦντο not ἤναντιοῦντο.

816

“taker of morsels” and “mouthful-slave”: the “morsel-slave.”

817

“to add on a sacrifice” meant to open up a second victim when the victims appear unfavorable.

818

Knocks on the toes are “stubbings.” Ar. also calls them “stub-ons.”

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

819 Pollux 6.79

τὰ δ' ἐπιδορπίσματα Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν ἐπιφορήματα  
καλεῖ.

820 Zonar. cod. Cahir. 217 = Alexandr. 360 and Par. 2669  
(from Orus)

Εὐριπίδης ἐπροξένει, καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐπροτίμων.

821 Pollux 2.42

ἐτερεγκεφαλᾶν ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης, τὸ παραφρονεῖν.

822 Hesychius ε 6627

ἐτνήρυσις· ἔπαιξεν Ἀριστοφάνης, ἀντὶ <τοῦ> φάναί  
τὴν σανίδα τὴν ἐτνήρυσιν εἰπών.

823 Photius 30.6

εὐειλος· εὐήλιος.

824 Sud. ε 3489

εὐθετῆσαι κοσμηῆσαι. συνθεῖναι.

825 Pollux 9.162

εὐκόπως.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

819

Ar. calls second courses "desserts."

820

Euripides (fr. 1104) has ἐπροξένει and Ar. ἐπροτίμων.<sup>172</sup>

821

To be half-brained: so Ar., to be out of one's mind.

822

Soup ladle: Ar. jokingly uses "soup ladle" for the plank.<sup>173</sup>

823

εὐειλος for εὐήλιος (*sunny*).

824

Put straight: put in order, arrange.<sup>174</sup>

825

easily

<sup>172</sup> Placing the temporal augment before the prefix of the verbs.

<sup>173</sup> To which offenders were bound or nailed.

<sup>174</sup> Probably of the hair, cf. Poll. 2.31.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

826 Pollux 6.161

*ἡμιφωσώνιον.*

827 Photius 72.21

*ἢ ποθεν· ἀμόθεν. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης.*

828 Pollux 1.12

*τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι χειροτέχνας οὐκ ἀγαματοποιοὺς μόνον οὐδ' ἀγαλματουργοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοποιοὺς καὶ θεοπλάστας.*

829 Pollux 7.150

*Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα θερίστριαν, καὶ φρυγανίστριαν.*

830 Pollux 7.100

*τοὺς δὲ μεταλλέας θυλακοφορεῖν Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη.*

831 Pollux 6.125

*εὐτελέστερον ὁ Ἡροδότου ἀκρομανής, καὶ κωμικώτερον ὁ Ἀριστοφάνους θυμάγροικος.*

832 Pollux 2.41

*καὶ καρηβαρικὸν ποτὸν ἢ βρώμα . . . καὶ καρηβαρικὸν τὸ πάθος Τηλεκλείδης. τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ μέθης τοῦτο*

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

826

half-sail cloak<sup>175</sup>

827

Or whence: somewhence, so Ar.

828

The crafters of images are called not only image-makers and image-workers but also god-makers and god-fashioners.

829

Ar. also calls a woman "lady reaper," and (fr. 916) "lady firewood-gatherer."

830

Ar. speaks of the miners as "sack-bearers."

831

On the edge of insanity: more economically in Herodotus (5.42.1) and "bumpkin-souled" more comically in Ar.

832

There's the "heavy-head-making" drink or brew . . . and the "heavy-head" malady in Teleclides (fr. 66). To suffer this

<sup>175</sup> Cf. Pollux 7.71 "there is also the *phoson*, an Egyptian cloak made of dense linen, and elsewhere the *hemiphosonion*."

πάσχειν καρηβαρᾶν Ἀριστοφάνης.

833 Sud. ε 191

ἐγγυτρίστριαν αἰ τὰς χοὰς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐπιφέρουσαι. Μίνως ἢ Περὶ νόμου. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τὸ βλάψαι καταχτρίσαι, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης.

834 Pollux 2.57

ὑπόπτῃς, καχύποπτος ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης, καχυπόπτος ὡς Πλάτων.

καχυπόπτος Kassel et Austin cl. Pl. *Phdr.* 240e: καχύποπτος codd.

835 Harpocration 173.17

κελέοντες . . . κυρίως μὲν κελέοντές εἰσιν οἱ ἰστόποδες

836 Photius 168.12

κλέος· τὴν φαύλην δόξαν.

837 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 81.4

κοινοθυλακεῖν· τὸ ἐν ὁδῷ κοινωνεῖν σιτίων καὶ τραπέζης καὶ καταγωγῆς καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε.

838 Photius ined.

κόλερα· ἔρια, τὰ μεταξὺ τῶν μαλακῶν καὶ τῶν τραχεῶν, ἃ τινες νόθα λέγουσιν.

from drinking is "to have a heavy head" in Ar.

833

Potting women: those who brought urns for the deceased: *Minos or On Custom* ([Plato] 315C). They also say "to pot up" of harming, so Ar.

834

Suspicious, suspecting evil, so Ar.; suspicious of evil, so Plato.

835

Beams . . . beams are properly the long beams of the loom.

836

Fame: ill repute.

837

Share the purse: to share food, table, and lodging and the like on the road.

838

κόλερα: woolsens between fine and coarse, called νόθα by some.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

839 Photius ined.

κουριῶν· κουρᾶς δεόμενος. καὶ διαφέρειν φασὶ τὸ  
κουριῶν τοῦ κομᾶν τὸ μὲν κομᾶν τετημελημένας ἔχειν  
τὰς τρίχας, κουριῶν δὲ κατὰ συμφορὰν ἀπλῶς κομο-  
τροφεῖν.

840 Harpocration 184.5

κράστις· Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λυσικράτην. κράστις  
ἐστὶν ἡ πόα, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης.

841 Pollux 6.91

κρεοστάθμης.

842 Photius 211.21

λεγωνῆσαι· ἀντὶ τοῦ παῖσαι.

cf. Photius ἐλεγωνῆσαι· πατάξαι Hesychius λ 707 λετωνῆσαι  
ἀφειδῶς παῖσαι κατὰ τῶν ἰσχύων.

843

(a) Pollux VI 85. 86

τὰς δὲ καλουμένας πατέλλας λεκανίδας ὀνομαστέον,  
εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀργύρου εἶεν. Θεόπομπος μὲν γὰρ ὁ κωμικὸς  
εἶρηκεν ὀρνιθίων λεκάνην, Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ λεκα-  
νίσκη, ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ λεκάνην καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· καὶ μοι  
λεκάνιον τῶν λαγῶν δὸς κρεῶν.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

839

Being shaggy: needing a haircut. They say that "to be  
shaggy" differs from "wearing it long": the latter means to  
have well-groomed locks whereas the former means to let  
the hair grow any which way.

840

Green fodder: Dinarchus in *Against Lysicrates* (fr. xlvi 2  
S.): green fodder is the grass, as also Ar.

841

butcher scales

842

To haunch: to spank.

843

(a) The bowls called *πάτελλαι* should be referred to as  
*λεκανίδες* even if made of silver. The comic poet Theo-  
pompus' (fr. 83) spoke of a *λεκάνη* for bird-meat, Ar. of a  
*λεκανίσκη*, and elsewhere of a *λεκάνη*, and elsewhere  
"and hand me a *λεκάνιον* for the hare-pudding" (*Achar-  
nians* 1110).



(b) Photius p. 213,12

οἱ παλαιοί, ὁ ἡμεῖς λεκάνην, ποδονιπτήρα ἐκάλουν·  
λεκάνιον δὲ καὶ λεκανίδα ἀγγεῖα ὧτα ἔχοντα πρὸς  
ὑποδοχὴν ὄψων καὶ τοιούτων τιῶν. οὕτως Ἀριστο-  
φάνης.

(c) id. 214.1

λέκος καὶ λεκίσκιον, καὶ λεκάνη καὶ λεκανίς· τὰ ἐκπέ-  
ταλα τρυβλία. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης.

844 Pollux 4.64

Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ μελωδός καὶ προσωδός εἶρηκε, καὶ  
λεπτόφωνος καὶ βαρύφωνος.

845 Pollux 7.196

λιβανωτοπᾶλαι· λιβανωτοπωλεῖν δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης  
ἔφη.

846 Choeroboscus, *Orthography* (An. Ox. 2.239.6)

λείπω. λέγει ὁ Ὄρος ὅτι πάντα τὰ παρὰ τὸ λείπω διὰ  
τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράγεται, οἷον λειπόνεως, λειποτα-  
ξία, λειποτάξιον, λειποστράτειον· ὁ δὲ Ὀριγένης διὰ  
τοῦ ι λέγει γράγεσθαι, οἷον λιποτρόφια παρὰ Νεοπτο-  
λέμῳ, ἐλιπέες παρ' Εὐφορίῳ, † λιποκτενίασσα,  
λιποναῦται, λιποταξίου παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει.

λιποναῦται: λιποναυτίου Kock

(b) What we call λεκάνη the ancients called ποδονιπτήρ  
(*foot-basin*); λεκάνιον and λεκανίς are vessels with han-  
dles for holding meats and the like, so Ar.

(c) λέκος and λεκίσκιον, λεκάνη and λεκανίς: bowls with  
handles, so Ar.

844

See fr. 753.

845

Incense-sellers: Ar. says "to be an incense-seller."

846

λείπω: Orus says that all words like λείπω are written with  
the diphthong εἰ, for example λειπόνεως, λειποταξία,  
λειποστράτειον, but Origenes says that they are written  
with ι, for example λιποτρόφια in Neoptolemus, ἐλιπέες  
in Euphorion, λιποκτενίασσα (?), λιποναῦται, λιποτα-  
ξίου (*indictment for desertion*) in Ar.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

847 Phrynichus, *Eclogē* 292

κοχλιάριον τούτο λίστριον Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμωδοποιὸς λέγει, καὶ σὺ δὲ οὕτως λέγε.

848 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 87.12

λογγάζειν τὸ διαδιδράσκειν τὸ ἔργον, προφασίζόμενον τινα πρόφασιν. καὶ τοῦτο Ἀριστοφάνης τίθησιν ἐπὶ ἵππων προσποιουμένων χωλεύειν.

## 849 Photius 231.11

λουτρίδες· δύο κόραι περὶ τὸ ἔδος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ἐκαλούντο δὲ αὗται καὶ πλυντρίδες.

## 850 Pollux 7.157

καὶ λοφοπωλεῖν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν.

## 851 Photius 240.5

μαγίδες· μάζαι. καὶ τὰ τῇ Ἑκάτῃ συντελούμενα δείπνα.

## 852 Photius 244.3

μαλθακόν· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγαθόν.

## 853 Pollux 4.64

Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ μελωδὸς . . . εἴρηκε.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

## 847

κοχλιάριον (*spoon*): the comic poet Ar. calls this λίστριον, as you should also call it.

## 848

Maligner: to shirk one's task on some pretext; and Ar. uses this of horses pretending to be lame.

## 849

λουτρίδες (*washers*): two girls serving the image of Athena. These were also called πλυντρίδες.

## 850

(*following fr. 492 and 881*) and the same poet also said "to sell crests."

## 851

μαγίδες: cakes, and the meals offered to Hecate.

## 852

"soft" meaning "good"

## 853

See fr. 753.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

854 Pollux 9.25

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν μεγάλης πόλεως πολίτης μεγαλοπολίτης  
 ἂν λέγοιτο, ὁ δὲ μικρᾶς μικροπολίτης, ὅθεν καὶ Ἀρι-  
 στοφάνει εἴρηται τὸ μικροπολιτικόν.

855 Photius 280.3

μύξαν αὐτὸν τὸν μυκτῆρα καλοῦσιν, οὐχὶ τὸ ὑγρόν.

856 Pollux 7.177

μυροπωλεῖν δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη. μυροπώλιον, μύρου  
 ἀλάβαστρον, μυρίδα, μυρηρὰ λήκυθος, ἀλαβαστρο-  
 θῆκαι.

857 Scholium on Theocritus 1.133

νάρκισσος· θηλυκῶς λέγεται ἐνταῦθα, παρὰ δὲ Ἀρι-  
 στοφάνει ἀρσενικῶς.

858 Pollux 7.139

ναῦταν οἷς προσήκουσι καὶ αἱ παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει  
 ναῦτριάι.

859 Pollux 2.20

τὸ δὲ τολμᾶν νεανιεύεσθαι Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

854

The citizen of a large polis may be called "megalopolitan,"  
 and of a small one "micropolitan," whence also "the micro-  
 political" in Ar.

855

They call the actual nostril "mucus," not the liquid itself.

856

Ar. says "to sell perfume." Perfumery, perfume flask, per-  
 fume box, perfume bottle, flask-holders.

857

"narcissus" is feminine gender here but masculine in Ar.

858

Sailors, to which corresponds "sailoresses" in Ar.

859

Ar. calls acting boldly "to act youthful."

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

860 Pollux 1.231

νεοφυές, νεόφνυτον· εὐτελὲς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα, κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀριστοφάνης.

861 Stephanus of Byzantium 479.20

Νῶνακρῖς, πόλις Ἀρκαδίας . . . τὸ ἐθνικὸν Νῶνακρίτης . . . καὶ Νῶνακρῖεύς λέγεται παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει.

862 Pollux 2.180

τὸν δὲ μαστιγίαν Ἀριστοφάνης νωτοπλήγα ἐκάλεσεν.

863 Photius 308.23

χειρίς· φυτὸν ἀρωματικόν.

864 Photius 330.12

τὸ ἱερὸν Ὀλυμπιεῖον πεντασυλλάβως, ὡς Ἀσκληπιεῖον.

865 Pollux 7.187

Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ βοηλατεῖν καὶ ὄνηλατεῖν εἶπεν.

866 Sud. ο 411

ὄνηχίζεται· ἀκριβολογείται.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

860

Although "newly planted" is an ordinary word, Ar. uses it.

861

Nonacris: a city in Arcadia . . . the ethnic is Nonacrite . . . and "Nonacrian" is found in Ar.

862

Ar. calls a whipping boy "backstruck."

863

χειρίς (*gladwin*): an aromatic plant.

864

The sacred Olympieium has five syllables, like Asclepieium.

865

Ar. said "to drive cattle" and "to drive asses."

866

Runs a fingernail over: examines closely.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

867 Photius 342.8

ὀπίττομαι οὐ πείθομαι. καὶ τοῦτο Βοιώτιον. Ἄριστοφάνης † Ἐκκλησιαζούσαις.

ὀπίττομαι cf. Hesych. ο 1028: ὀπλίττομαι Phot.

868 Photius 356.8

οὐδαμά· οὐδέποτε.

869 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 30.3

αἱ τῶν γυναικῶν παγίδες τοὺς κόσμους καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας, αἷς χρῶνται αἱ γυναῖκες καλλωπιζόμεναι, παγίδας εἶπεν Ἄριστοφάνης.

870 Stephanus of Byzantium 498.12

Παμβωταδάει δῆμος Ἀττικὸς Ἐρεχθίδος φυλῆς. ὁ δημότης Παμβωταδάης. τὰ τοπικὰ ἐκ Παμβωταδῶν, εἰς Παμβωταδῶν, ἐν Παμβωταδῶν. Ἄριστοφάνης.

871 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1542.38

πέδων δούλος ὁ . . . πεδῆτης.

872 Pollux 10.156

πέτευρον δέ, οὗ τὰς ἐνοικιδίας ὄρνιθας ἐγκαθεύδειν συμβέβηκεν, Ἄριστοφάνης λέγει.

502

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

867

Be reverend: refuse; this is also Boeotian. Ar. *Assembly-women*.<sup>176</sup>

868

οὐδαμά for οὐδέποτε (*never*).

869

The snares of women: the ornaments and apparel that women use to make themselves attractive Ar. called "snares."

870

Pambotadae: an Attic deme of the tribe Erechtheis; its demesman is Pambotades, its locatives are toward/in Pambotadae. Ar.

871

One in fetters . . . prisoner.<sup>177</sup>

872

Perch: where domestic birds are to be found sleeping, Ar. says.

<sup>176</sup> Not found in our text of that play.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. fr. 99.

503

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

873 Pollux 4.163

πολλαχόθεν, πανταχόθεν Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἔφη καὶ  
πλεισταχόθεν.

874 Pollux 7.12

ὁ δὲ τοῖς πιπράσκουσι προξενῶν προπράτωρ, ὡς Δεί-  
ναρχος καὶ Ἰσαῖος εἴρηκεν προπόλην δ' αὐτὸν  
Ἀριστοφάνης καλεῖ, προπωλοῦντα δὲ Πλάτων.

875 Photius 463.21

προσχίσματα· εἶδος ὑποδήματος.

876 Pollux 4.106

πρόσχορον δ' Ἀριστοφάνης τὴν συγχορεύουσαν κέ-  
κληκεν, τὴν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ συγχορεύτριαν.

877 Pollux 4.64

Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ . . . προσωδός εἴρηκε.

878 Suetonius, Περὶ βλασφημιῶν 202.203.60 Taill.

τούτους δὲ βεκκεσελήνους καὶ πρωτοσελήνους Ἀρι-  
στοφάνης καλεῖ.

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

873

From many sides, from all sides; Ar. even uses "from most sides."

874

He who sponsors sellers is a προπράτωρ (*agent*), as Dinarchus (fr. lxxxix S.) and Isaeus (fr. 168 S.) say, but Ar. calls him a προπόλης and Plato προπωλῶν (*Laws* 954a).

875

Split-toes: a kind of shoe.<sup>178</sup>

876

Ar. calls a female dancing partner πρόσχορος, and also συγχορεύτρια.

877

See fr. 753.

878

(preceding fr. 907) Ar. calls them (old men) "mooncalves" (*Clouds* 398) and "old as the moon."

<sup>178</sup> Worn by old people, according to Pollux 7.91.

879

(a) Pollux 4.18

καὶ δελτίον δὲ τῶν ἐν γραμματιστοῦ, καὶ πυξίον, ἔστι γὰρ παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει τοῦνομα, καὶ δέλτος.

(b) *id.* 10.59, 60

πυξίον· εἴηται μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ ζωγράφου τοῦνομα . . . οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ εἰς ταύτην αὐτὸ τὴν χρῆσιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ γράφειν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἄγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης οὕτω κέχρηται.

880 Photius 478.2

πυτίνη· πλεκτὴ λάγυνος.

881 Pollux 7.157

καὶ σάγμα τὸ ἔλυτρον τὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος, σαγὴν δὲ τὴν πανοπλίαν.

882 Photius 496.8

σαικωνίσαι ἀντὶ τοῦ κινήθηναι.

883 Photius 503.19

σεῖν· τὸ λεγόμενον τοῖς παιδίοις ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν, ὅταν αὐτὰ βούλωνται οὐρήσαι.

506

879

(a) δελτίον (*writing tablet*) for those in elementary school, and πυξίον (*boxwood palette*), for the word is in Ar., and δέλτος.

(b) πυξίον: the word is also used for a painter . . . but there is no reason why we should not apply it in the same fashion for writing, since Ar. uses it that way.

880

πυτίνη (*flagon*): wicker flask.

881

(*following fr. 492 and 850*) and σάγμα for the shield case (*Acharnians* 574), σαγή (*pack*) for the panoply.

882

σαικωνίσαι for "be in motion."

883

σεῖν: spoken by nurses to children when they want them to urinate.

507

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

884 Hesychius σ 428

Σέριφος: Ἀριστοφάνης τὴν Λακεδαίμονα Σέριφον.

885 Photius 518.2

σκελετεύεσθαι· ξηραίνεσθαι.

886 Pollux (1) 10.17

ὅτῳ δὲ τὰ σκεύη ἐκομίζετο, σκευοφόριον μὲν τοῦτ' Ἀριστοφάνης καλεῖ τὸ ξύλον κτλ.

(2) 7.175

τὸ δὲ τὰλλα σκεύη φέρον (ξύλον) οὐ μόνον σκευοφόριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάφορον εὔροις ἂν ἐν Βατράχοις Ἀριστοφάνους εἰρημένον.

887 Photius 520.12

σκιμβάζειν· χωλεύειν. καὶ ἀσκολίζειν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο.

888 Photius 524.4

σκοπεῖν καὶ σκοπιᾶν λέγουσιν, καὶ σκοπᾶν Ἀριστοφάνης.

σκοπεῖν L. Dindorf: σκοπῆν codd.

889 Pollux 7.148

τὴν δὲ σμινύην Ἀριστοφάνης σμινύδιον καλεῖ.

508

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

884

Seriphus: Ar. calls Sparta Seriphus.<sup>179</sup>

885

Wither away: dry up.

886

(1) Ar. calls the piece of wood used to carry equipment "baggage carrier." (2) You will find not only the "baggage carrier" that carries equipment but also the tote-pole mentioned in Ar.'s *Frogs* (8).

887

σκιμβάζειν: to limp, and ἀσκολίζειν means the same.

888

(For *keep watch*) they say σκοπεῖν and σκοπιᾶν, and Ar. σκοπᾶν.

889

Ar. calls the σμινύη (*mattock*) σμινύδιον.

<sup>179</sup> Perhaps oracular.



UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

890 Photius 532.16

σπυρθίζειν τὸ ἀνασκιρτᾶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὄνων.

891 Pollux 3.146

σταδιοδρόμος καὶ σταδιεύς· Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ σταδιοδρόμης εἴρηκεν.

892 Pollux 7.190

στρογγυλοναύτας.

893 Pollux 6.59

σύγκοιτον.

894 Pollux 4.106

πρόσχορον δ' Ἀριστοφάνης τὴν συγχορεύουσαν κέκληκεν, τὴν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ συγχορεύτριαν.

895 Pollux 6.158

συνθεάτριαν δὲ καὶ συλλήπτριαν.

896 Pollux 6.159

εἴρηκε δὲ (Ar.) καὶ σύμποδα.

897 Stephanus of Byzantium 599.17

ταμείον· οἶκος ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀπετίθεσαν.

510

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

890

σπυρθίζειν: to kick up the heels, from donkeys.

891

(*stadium runner*) σταδιοδρόμος and σταδιεύς; Ar. also says σταδιοδρόμης.

892

merchant seamen

893

bed-mate

894

Ar. calls a fellow chorus-woman "chorus-member," and also "fellow chorister."

895

"fellow spectator" (*cf. fr. 487.3*) and "accomplice" (*both feminine gender*).

896

(Ar.) also says "with feet together."

897

"storehouse": a building where they kept supplies.

511

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

898 Photius 570.3

τάρρωμα· τὴν κωπηλασίαν.

899 Photius 572.4

τάχας· τοὺς καταστοχασμούς, παρὰ τὸ τάχα.

900 Photius 580.22

τετραχίλειον· οἶον ἐπὶ τετάρτῳ μέρει ποιεῖν τι.

901 Photius 588.13

τίθει· τί λέγειν.

902 Photius 589.1

τικτικόν· τὸ ταῖς τικτούσαις διδόμενον φάρμακον.

903 Pollux 7.11

ἐφ' ὃ δ' ἀναβαίνοντες οἱ δοῦλοι πιπράσκονται, τοῦτο τράπεζαν Ἀριστοφάνης καλεῖ.

904 Anonymous Seguerianus ("Graeven's Cornutus")  
107

μείωσις δέ, ὅταν σμικρύνων τι λέγῃς, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης, οἶον τριηριτη, βοιδάριον, ἱκναρίδιον.

512

## UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

898

τάρρωμα (*a broad, flat surface*): the oaring.

899

Perhapses; guesses, from "perhaps."

900

To quarterise: to do something for a quarter-share.

901

Whying: saying "why?"

902

τικτικόν: the drug given to women giving birth.

903

Ar. calls the platform which slaves mount when they are sold the "table."

904

Diminution, when you say something belittlingly, as Ar., such as "shipler," "oxlet," "doggie."

513

905 Pollux 6.165

τρίκλυστος.

906 Photius 607.23

τρόχμαλον· σωρὸς λίθου.

907

(a) Suetonius *Περὶ βλασφημιῶν* 204.60 Taill.

καὶ τυμβογέροντα ἐκάλεσε τὸν ὑπέργηρων.

(b) Eustathius on *Iliad* 1289.18

τοῦ δὲ σορέλλημος σαφέστερον εἰς σκῶμμα τὸ τυμβογέρων παρὰ τῷ κωμικῷ.

908 Suda *v* 82

"Της· ἐπίθετον Διονύσου, ὡς Κλείδημος, ἐπειδή, φησὶν, ἐπιτελοῦμεν τὰς θυσίας αὐτῷ καθ' ὃν ὁ θεὸς ὕει χρόνον . . . Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ συγκαταλέγει ξενικοῖς θεοῖς τὸν "Την.

909 Photius 617.20

ὑλην· τὸ καθίζον τοῦ οἴνου ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος.

910 Photius 626.13

ὑπογεγραμμένη· ἐστιβισμένη.

514

905

thrice-cleansed

906

τρόχμαλον: a heap of stones.

907

(a) (*following fr. 878*) and he called the very old man "old tomb."(b) In the comic poet "old tomb" is a more obvious insult than "wee coffin" (*fr. 205.1*).

908

Hyes (*rainmaker*): epithet of Dionysus, so Clidemus (323 F 27), since, as he says, we make offerings to him when the god makes rain . . . Ar. lists Hyes with foreign gods.

909

Stuff: the sediment of wine or water.

910

Underlined (*feminine gender*): wearing mascara.

911 *Etymologicum genuinum* B

ὑπόξυλος· ὁ κίδηλος, ὡς ὑπόχαλκος.

## 912 Pollux 7.7

τοὺς μέντοι μὴ ἀκριβεῖς τεχνίτας φαυλοργοὺς κατὰ Ἀριστοφάνην λέγε.

## 913 Photius 643.22

φαύστιγγες· οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐν ταῖς κνήμαις στίλοι.

## 914

(a) *Etymologicum genuinum* B φνεῖ· μίμημα φωνῆς ὀρνέων παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει. οὐδέποτε γὰρ λέξις Ἑλληνικὴ ἄρχεται ἀπὸ φ καὶ ν . . . τοῦτο δὲ πεποιήται. λέγουσι δέ τινες, ὅτι οὐκ ἄρχεται τοῦτο ἀπὸ φ καὶ ν οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ φνεῖ ἢ λέξις ἀλλὰ τοφνεῖ, τοῦ το μὴ ὄντος ἄρθρου ἀλλὰ μέρους τῆς λέξεως. καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ εὐρίσκεισθαι αὐτὸ χωρὶς τοῦ το παρὰ τισι. Χοιροβοσκός.

(b) Theognostus 155.19 βλῆ μίμημα φωνῆς ἀλόγου . . . τὸ εἰ . . . τὸ φνη παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει· ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ μίμημα φωνῆς ὀρνέου.

(c) Photius 651.7 φλίει· μιμητικὸς ἦχος τῶν γαμφωνύχων. Ἀριστοφάνης.

## 911

“part-wooden”: phony, like “part-bronze.”<sup>180</sup>

## 912

Inaccurate craftsmen you may call, with Ar., “sorry workmen.”

## 913

Burn-blister: the blemishes on the shins from fire.

## 914

(a) φνεῖ: an imitation of a bird-call in Ar. In Greek no word begins with φν- . . . and that has been done here. But some say that this word does not begin with φν- because the word is not φνεῖ but τοφνεῖ, the το being not the definite article but part of the word, which is clear from the word being nowhere found without the το. Choeroboscus.

(b) βλῆ: an imitation of inarticulate speech . . . the εἰ . . . the (το) φνη in Ar.: this too is an imitation of bird-call.

(c) φλίει: a mimetic sound of birds of prey, Ar.

<sup>180</sup> Attributed (implausibly) to Menander by Photius 626.13.

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

915 Phrynichus *Preparation for Sophists* 123.18

φορτηγείν· φόρτον ἄγειν. καὶ φορτηγούς Ἀριστοφάνης.

916 Cf. fr. 829.

917 Pollux 10.123

καὶ χειμῶνος σισύραι καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει χείμαστρον.

918 Pollux 6.62

εἴη δ' ἂν ἔττους ιδέα καὶ τὰ χίδρα· γίγνεται δ' ἐκ πυροῦ χλωροῦ, ὃν χιδρίαν Ἀριστοφάνης καλεῖ.

919 Photius (z) ined.

χολοβάφινον.

920 *Etymologicum magnum* 31.14

ψευδίστατον.

921 Photius (z) ined.

ψιδεῶν βάσκανος.

922 Moeris 214.2 Bk.

(a) ψίλαξ Ἀριστοφάνης, ψιλὸς καὶ λείος Ἕλληνες.

518

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

915

Port: carry baggage, and "porters" Ar.

916

Cf. fr. 829.

917

Jackets in winter, and in Ar. "winter-wrap."

918

χίδρα too would seem to be a kind of soup: it is made from raw wheat, which Ar. calls χιδρίας.

919

dyed bilious

920

falsest

921

ψιδεῶν: slanderer.

922

(a) ψίλαξ (*hairless*) Ar., ψιλὸς and λείος in common Greek.

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(b) Thomas Magister 403.8 ψίλαξ ποιηταί, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης, ψιλὸς δὲ καὶ λείος λογογράφοι.

923 Photius 655.12

ψο· ἐπὶ τοῦ σαπροῦ καὶ μὴ συναρέσκουτος. ἔστι δὲ ἀποκομματικὸν λεξείδιον. ψόθον γὰρ καλοῦσιν \* \* \* Ἀριστοφάνης. πλέω γράσου καὶ ψοθοίου καὶ ῥύπου καὶ ψόθου. Δῖσχύλος Θεωροῖς.

924 Vitruvius 6, praef. 3

*non minus poetae, qui antiquas comeodias graece scripserunt, easdem sententias versibus in scaena pronuntiauerunt, ut Eu<polis,> Crates, Chionides, Aristophanes, maxime etiam cum his Alexis etc.*

suppl. Krohn

UNATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(b) ψίλαξ in the poets, as Ar., ψιλὸς and λείος in prose writers.

923

ψο: of what is rotten and unpleasant. It is a truncated word, for they call [ ] ψόθος [ ] Ar. Full of goat-stink and uncleanness and filth and ψόθος, Aeschylus *Watchers* (fr. 82).

924

(the preference of notable sages for spiritual over material goods) No less the poets who wrote the old comedies in Greek and expressed from the stage the same opinions in their verses, for example Eu<polis,> Crates (fr. 60), Chionides (fr. 8), Aristophanes, and especially Alexis (fr. 305) among them.

## DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

925 Stobaeus 3.40.2<sup>a</sup> 735 H.

Ἄριστοφάνης·

πατρις δὲ πᾶσα τῷ πένητι προσφιλής  
ἀφ' ἧς τροφήν τε καὶ τὸ μὴ πεινῆν ἔχει

926 *Etymologicum genuinum* AB s. v. κνυζώσω = *Etymologicum Gudianum* 330.48 Sturz

παραιτητέον δὲ τοὺς γράφοντας κατακνησθεῖν. περί  
τε Ἄριστοφάνους ἀναγνώσεως·

ἀλλ' Ἄριφράδῃ δέδοικα μὴ τὰ πράγματα  
ἡμῶν διακναίση

Ἄριφράδῃ Dobree: ἀλλὰ ρίμφα codd.      περί τε Ἄριστοφάνους ἀναγνώσεως *Et. Gud.*: περί τε Ἄριστοφᾶ ἀναγνώσεως *Et. Gen.*: παρὰ τε Ἄριστοφάνει Ἄναγύρω Dobree

## DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

925

Aristophanes:

a pauper's homeland is anywhere  
he can get food and keep from starving

926

One should not heed those who write *κατακνησθεῖν*;  
and concerning Ar.'s reading:<sup>181</sup>

I'm afraid that Aripgrades will eat away our business  
for us<sup>182</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Or with Dobree's conjecture, "and in Ar.'s *Anagyros*."

<sup>182</sup> Aripgrades (a likely correction of the mss' reading) moved in sophistic circles, may have been a comic poet, and was somehow associated with cunninglingus.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

927

(a) Lucian, *Zeus the Tragedian* 32

οὐκοῦν ἀκουσον, ὦ Ζεῦ, μετὰ παρρησίας· ἐγὼ γάρ, ὡς ὁ κωμικὸς ἔφη, ἄγροικος—λέγω(ν).

(b) Lucian, *How History Should Be Written* 41

τοιοῦτος οὖν μοι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἔστω, ἄφοβος ἀδέκαστος ἐλεύθερος, παρρησίας καὶ ἀληθείας φίλος, ὡς ὁ κωμικός φησιν, τὰ σῦκα σῦκα, τὴν σκάφην δὲ σκάφην ὀνομάσων.

(c) Julian, *Oration* 7.208A

ἀλλ' ἄμεινον ἂν τις διδαχθεῖη μὴ τὰ πράγματα ἀκούων αὐτὰ μηδὲ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντα;

(d) Plutarch, *Sayings of Kings and Emperors* 178B

τῶν δὲ περὶ Λαοσθένην τὸν Ὀλύμπιον ἐγκαλούντων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων, ὅτι προδότας αὐτοὺς ἔνιοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκαλοῦσι, σκαιοὺς ἔφη φύσει καὶ ἀγροίκους εἶναι Μακεδόνας, τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντας.

(e) Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, 8.556 L.

ὡς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντέλεξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀστείως, / ἔκ

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

927

(a) So listen, Zeus, if I may speak frankly, for as the comic poet<sup>183</sup> said (quote).

(b) My kind of writer, then, would be intrepid, impartial, free, friend of frankness and truth, one who, as the comic poet says, will call the figs figs, and the tub a tub.<sup>184</sup>

(c) Would anyone be better taught by not acknowledging facts as they are and by their actual names, like the comic poet who calls the tub a tub?

(d) When the retinue of Lasthenes of Olynthus angrily complained that some in Philip's retinue called them traitors, Philip replied that Macedonians are naturally gauche rustics who call the tub a tub.

(e) As the king wittily countered them, / aptly quoting

<sup>183</sup> Not necessarily Ar.: later in this dialogue (53) "the comic poet" refers to Menander.

<sup>184</sup> From this passage, together with a passage in Lucian's *Pseudologistae* (4), Meineke reconstructs lines from Menander (fr. 507): "I am Refutation here before you, / the friend of truth and frankness, / who calls the figs figs, and the tub a tub."



DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

κωμωδίας δεξιῶς εἶπὼν Ἀριστοφάνους· / οἱ Μακεδόνες  
ἀμαθεῖς, σκάφην φασὶ τὴν σκάφην, / τουτέστιν  
ὥσπερ ἔχουσι τὰ πράγματα καλοῦσιν. / ὑμᾶς προ-  
δότας ὄντας δὲ προδότας καὶ καλοῦσιν. / Ἀριστο-  
φάνης δὲ φησιν ἐν κωμωδία τούτο·

(f) Tzetzes, *Theogony* 739

εἰ δέ ποτε δεήσει με καὶ πρὸς ἀγροίκους γράφειν, /  
ὥσπερ φησὶν ὁ κωμικός, σκάφην τὴν σκάφην γράφω.

ἀγροικός εἰμι· τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγω

928 Hesychius ο 1799

οὐ—πλοῦς· Ἀριστοφάνης, ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ τοῖς ἐς Κόρινθον  
εἰσπλέουσι ξένοις χαλεπὴ τις ἢ πόλις εἶναι, διὰ τὴν  
τῶν ἐταιρῶν γοητείαν. ἐσπούδαζον γὰρ περὶ τούτο οἱ  
Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ῥαθύμως διὰ τούτο διηγούν.

οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς

929 Sud. a 2310

ἀνέρριπται κύβος· οἶον ἀποκεκινδύνευται.

φράζε τοῖνυν· ὡς ἐγὼ σοι πᾶς ἀνέρριμμαί κύβος

930 Suda χ 296

χιάζειν· Πραξιδάμας Δημόκριτον τὸν Χίον καὶ Θεο-

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

from Ar.'s comedy, / "the Macedonians are ignorant, the  
tub they call a tub, / that is, they call things what they are. /  
You are traitors, so that's what they call you. / Ar. says this  
in a comedy (quote).

(f) If ever you ask me to write to rustics too, / I will, as the  
comic poet says, write "tub" for the tub.

I'm from the country: I call the tub a tub<sup>185</sup>

928

(quote): Ar., because visitors sailing to Corinth thought it a  
difficult city on account of the witchery of its courtesans.  
The Corinthians took this seriously, and as a result they  
lived idle lives.

the voyage to Corinth is not for every man

929

The die is cast, in the sense, the ultimate risk has been  
taken.

tell me, then, since I'm your last cast of the dice

930

Play the Chian: Praxidamas says that Democritus of Chios

<sup>185</sup> The familiar English version of this saying, "to call a spade  
a spade," derives from a 16<sup>th</sup>-century mistranslation.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

ξενίδην τὸν Σίφνιον πρῶτους ἐπὶ χρώματος τάξει τὴν  
ἰδίαν ποιήσιν, ὡς Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Εἰδόθεον, ὡς  
παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει κατατεταγμένου ὑποτείνει, <εἰ> δέ  
τις αὐτῶν βωμολοχεύσαιτο, αὐτὸς δείξας ἐναρμονίως

χιάζων ἢ σιφνιαίων.

Σωκράτης Fabricius: Ἰσοκράτης codd.

931 Suda α 4702

ἄχθομαι βαροῦμαι, ἀγανακτῶ. Ἀριστοφάνης . . .  
καὶ ἄχθομαι—ρύπῳ, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῇ ἀνελευθερίᾳ καὶ  
μικρολογίᾳ. τὸν γὰρ ῥύπον ἐπὶ τῶν γλίσχρων καὶ  
ἀνελευθέρων ἐπίθεσαν. οὕτω γοῦν ῥυποκονδύλους λέ-  
γουσι τοὺς τοιοῦτους. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης: κρομύους  
γὰρ ἄχθομαι

ἄχθομ' αὐτοῦ τῷ ῥύπῳ

932 Photius α 1029 = Bachmann's *Lexicon* 75.26

ἀλοῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ περιάγων, ὡς οἱ ἀλοῶντες βόες. οὕτως  
Ἀριστοφάνης: ἀλοῶν—γνάθους. ἀλοῶν τύπτειν, βάλλειν.

ἀλοῶν χρὴ τὰς γνάθους

ἀλοῶν κτλ. *Lex. Bachm.*

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

and Theoxenides of Siphnos were the first to arrange their  
compositions in chromatic style, as Socrates<sup>186</sup> says in his  
treatise to Idotheus, that in Ar. anyone of them tunes away  
from the arrangement if he has acted the buffoon by show-  
ing himself harmonically<sup>187</sup>

playing the Chian or the Siphnian

931

Grieved: oppressed, fed up with. Ar. (quote) "Grubbiness": for meanness and stinginess, for they associated dirt with niggardly and mean people. Thus they called such people "grubby-knuckled." And Ar. says "I'm fed up with onions" (*Acharnians* 1100).

I'm fed up with his grubbiness

932

"treading out": for going around like oxen treading out grain, so Ar. (quote). Treading out: to hit, to pound.

his jaws need pounding

<sup>186</sup> A grammarian, cf. *FGrH* 310 F 16.

<sup>187</sup> Text and translation uncertain.

933 Suda μ 1191

μολγός· ὁ βραδύς· ἢ ὁ τυφλός· οὕτω δὲ ἔλεγον τοὺς  
ἐξαμέλγοντας καὶ κλέπτοντας τὰ κοινά· ἢ ὁ πένης,  
παρὰ τὸ ἀμέλγεσθαι καὶ ζημιοῦσθαι· Ἀριστοφάνης·  
παρὰ δὲ τοῖς κωμικοῖς μολγός, ὁ μοχθηρός· λέγεται δὲ  
καὶ ἀμολγός ὁ αὐτός· ἀμολγός γοῦν ὁ ἀμέλγων τὰ κοινά·

μολγόν σε ποιήσω

934 Zenobius, *Vulg.* 1.52

Ἀκασίας ἰάσατο· ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἰωμένων· ὄλην  
δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τετραμέτροις τὴν παροιμίαν ἐκ-  
φέρει, λέγων Ἀκασίας τὸν πρωκτὸν ἰάσατο·

935

(a) Meletus *On Man's Nature and Structure* 10

γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κάπη φάτνη, παρὰ τὸ κάπτειν,  
ὃ ἔστιν ἐσθίειν· φησὶ γὰρ Ἀριστοφάνης Ἰππεῦσι  
καπαῖον ἦτοι φάλτον Δία·

Ἀριστοφάνης codd.: Ἀντιφάνης Meineke Φατναῖον Meineke

(b) Eustathius on *Iliad* 722.3

ὥσπερ δὲ φάτνη ἀπὸ τοῦ φαγεῖν, οὕτω καὶ κάπη παρὰ  
τὸ κάπτειν, ὃ ἔστιν ἐσθίειν, οὗ ἢ χρῆσις καὶ παρὰ τῷ  
κωμικῷ·

933

Leather bag; short or blind. Thus they called mulcters or  
stealers of public funds. Or poor, from being mulcted and  
fined. Ar. (quote). In the comic poets leather bag means  
good-for-nothing. The same sort is also called ἀμολγός  
because he mulcts public funds.<sup>188</sup>

I'll turn you into a leather bag

934

Cured by Acasius: of those doctored for the worse. Ar.  
gives the whole proverb in tetrameters, "Acasius doctored  
his ass hole."

935

(a) From κάπη *crib* also comes φάτνη *manger*, related to  
κάπτειν meaning *eat*; Ar. in *Knights* says "Zeus Καπαῖος  
or Φάλτος."<sup>189</sup>

(b) As φάτνη from φαγεῖν *eat*, so κάπη related to  
κάπτειν *eat*, a usage also in the comic poet.

<sup>188</sup> Punning on the epic word for "milking time."

<sup>189</sup> Not in our text of *Knights*, which was also the title of plays  
by Antiphanes and Alexis.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

936

(a) *Etymologicum Magnum* 250.8

Δαυλίαν κορώνην· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀηδόνα. Ἀριστοφάνης διὰ τὸν μῦθον, ἔνιοι τὴν δασείαν.

(b) Zenobius, *Vulg.* 3.14 ~ Hesychius δ 325

Δαυλίαν κορώνην· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀηδόνα. Δαυλία δὲ ἐλέχθη διὰ τὸ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τηρέα ἐν Δαυλίδι τῆς Φωκίδος συστήναι . . . ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν δασείαν ἀκούουσιν· δαυλὸν γάρ ἐστι τὸ δασύ.

937 Hesychius ε 2838

Ἐνδυμίωνα Κᾶρα. Ἀριστοφάνης τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα Κᾶρά φησι διὰ τὸ περὶ τὸν Λάτμον δοκεῖν αὐτὸν τεθάφθαι.

938

(a) Athenaeus 9.373A

ὄρνεις ἐπήσαν ταῖς κολοκύνταις καὶ ἄλλοις κνιστοῖς λαχάνοις (οὕτως εἶρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δηλίᾳ τὰ σύγκοπτα λάχανα, κνιστὰ ἢ στέμφυλα) κτλ.

(b) Athenaeus *Epitome* 1.1

τὰ συγκοπτὰ λάχανα κνιστὰ Ἀριστοφάνης φησίν.

532

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

936

(a) Daulian Crow: for the nightingale. Ar. because of the myth; some say the shaggy bird.<sup>190</sup>

(b) Daulian Crow: for the nightingale. Called Daulian because the story about Tereus was set in Daulis in Phocis . . . but some hear the shaggy bird because δαυλός means shaggy.

937

Carian Endymion: Ar. says Carian Endymion because he seems to have been buried near Latmos.

938

(a) Birds were added to gourds and other shredded vegetables; so Ar. spoke of chopped vegetables, shredded ones or pressed grapes, in *Delian Woman*.<sup>191</sup>

(b) Ar. spoke of chopped vegetables as shredded.

<sup>190</sup> Possibly Aristophanes the grammarian is cited, who wrote a treatise on proverbs.

<sup>191</sup> Possibly a play by Antiphanes.

533

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

939 Phrynichus, *Preparation for Sophists* 94.21

οὐδὲ πάτταλον ἂν δοίης. Ὅμηρος τὸ ἄγριον καὶ ἄξε-  
 νον δηλῶν οὐδ' ἄλλα ἂν δοίη περὶ τινος ἔφη. Ἀριστο-  
 φάνης μεταβαλὼν ἐπὶ τὸ καινότερον οὐδὲ πάτταλον  
 εἶπε δίδωσι. πάτταλον γὰρ καὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐρριμμένον  
 ἔστιν εὐρεῖν. δύναται συμβολικῶς εἰπεῖν τὸν διὰ βρό-  
 χου θάνατον.

940 Scholium on Theocritus 5, 118/119b

ἢ ἐκάθηρεν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτυπτε καὶ ἐξέδερε. καὶ Ἀριστο-  
 φάνης †πέδει† τὰς πλευρὰς ἐκάθηρεν.

941 Scholium on Sophocles, *Ajax* 286

ἀμφηκες· ἦτοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἠκονημένον, ὥσπερ καὶ  
 Ἀριστοφάνης εἶπεν ἀμφήκη γνάβον.

942 *Antiatticist* 78.29

αὐτός· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ δεσπότης. αὐτὸς λέγει, αὐτὸς ἔρχε-  
 ται· Ἀριστοφάνης

943 *Suda* α 1197

ἄληπτος· ἀκράτητος. εἰπεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀφ' ἧς ἀλη-  
 πτός ἐστι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. Ἀριστοφάνης.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

939

You wouldn't give so much as a nail: Homer exemplified  
 wildness and inhospitableness by saying "he wouldn't give  
 so much as a pinch of salt." Ar. freshened this by saying "he  
 doesn't give so much as a nail," because a nail can even be  
 found discarded in the street. It can be said metaphorically  
 for death by noose.

940

"cleansed" for beat or flayed: also Ar. "cleansed his ribs."

941

Two-edged: sharpened on each side, and as Ar. said, "two-  
 edged jaw."

942

Himself, meaning the master: himself says, himself is com-  
 ing, Ar.

943

Hard to catch: hard to master. To explain the reason why  
 he is hard to catch by enemies, Ar.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

944 Suda α 2961

ἄπαιρε· ὃ οἱ πολλοὶ ἄρον λέγουσιν. ἀπαίρειν· ἀντὶ τοῦ παραγίνεσθαι. Ἀριστοφάνης. ἀπαίροντες· μεθιστάμενοι.

945 Pollux 2.56

Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ βλέπος που λέγει καὶ βλέπησιν.

946 Pollux 10.100.101

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ βαῦνον ἂν εἴποις τὸν χυτρόποδα, καὶ που καὶ ἀνθράκιον, Ἀλεξίδος εἰπόντος ἐν Δημνία· . . . καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐσχάραν εἴποις ἂν τὸ ἀνθράκιον τοῦτο, καὶ ἐσχάριον, Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς εἰπόντος ἐσχάρια, καὶ που ἐσχαρίδα.

947 Photius 129.15

κάνδυλος· σκευασία ὀσπομική, μετὰ γάλακτος καὶ στέατος καὶ μέλιτος· ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ κρέως καὶ ἄρτου καὶ τυροῦ. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης.

κάνδυλος codd. corr. Dindorf

948

(a) Sud. κ 2209

κωβάλω· ἢ λέξις παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

944

ἄπαιρε set off: colloquially ἄρον. ἀπαίρειν to mean attend, Ar. ἀπαίροντες: departing.

945

Ar. somewhere says βλέπος look ([*Clouds*] 1176) and βλέπησις.

946

And you may also call a cauldron βαῦνος, and somewhere ἀνθράκιον brazier, as Alexis said in *Lemnian Woman* (fr. 139) . . . and indeed you can call this brazier ἐσχάρα and ἐσχάριον, as Ar. said ἐσχάρια in *Fry Cooks* (fr. 529), and somewhere ἐσχαρίς.

947

κάνδυλος: a culinary preparation made with milk, fat, and honey, but some say with meat, bread, and cheese, so Ar.<sup>192</sup>

948

κωβάλω = (pomegranate flower): a word in Ar.

<sup>192</sup>Cf. Ar. *Peace* 123.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

949 Pollux 2.125

ἤπου δὲ καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν καὶ ὁ λάλος καὶ λαλίστερος καὶ ἡ λαλιά καὶ τὸ καταλαλεῖν παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει, καὶ ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ἡ λάλησις, καὶ ἀπεριλάλητος ὡς Δι-  
σχύλος.

950 Suda λ 638

λογάρια· οἱ λόγοι. Ἀριστοφάνης.

951 Photius 241.8

μάθος λέγουσι τὴν μάθησιν. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης.

952 Photius 255.5

μελαναίων τοῦ πλοίου τὸ πεπιτωμένον, τὸ ἔναλον.  
Ἀριστοφάνης.

953 Plutarch, *On Music* 30.1142A

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς μνημονεύει Φιλοξένου  
καὶ φησιν ὅτι εἰς τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς <κρουματικά>  
μέλη εἰσηρέγκατο. ἡ δὲ Μουσικὴ λέγει ταῦτα  
<κρουματικά> Conti Bizzarro, *μονωδικὰ* Westphal

954 Photius 651.4

Φλεήσιον· τὸ Φλιάσιον πεδῖον. Ἀριστοφάνης.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

949

also λαλεῖν (*chatter*) and λάλος and λαλίστερος and  
λαλιά and καταλαλεῖν (fr. 151) in Ar., and likewise  
λάλησις, and ἀπεριλάλητος, as Aeschylus.

950

λογάρια (*petty speeches*) in Ar.

951

μάθος: they use this for μάθησις (*learning*), so Ar.

952

μελαναίων: the tarred portion of the ship, under the water.  
Ar.

953

Ar. the comic poet mentions Philoxenus and says that he  
introduced <strumming sounds> into his dithyrambic cho-  
ruses. And Music says this (quotes Pherecrates 155.26-  
28).

954

Phleesion:<sup>193</sup> the Phliasian plain. Ar.

<sup>193</sup> Perhaps an Ionic form.

955 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1535.15

οὐ μόνον ἄρκτος τὸ ζῶον λέγεται σὺν τῷ τ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρκος διὰ μόνου τοῦ κ . . . 22 ἀλλ' ὁ κωμικὸς τὸ κάππα ἐξελὼν γέλωτα ἐκίνησεν, εἰπὼν οὕτω ψελλόν—σῦκα. ταῦτα δὲ τί δηλοῖ, περιττόν ἐστι φράσαι ἄρκει δὲ μόνον ἐπισημῆσθαι ὡς οὐ ψελλὰ τὰ εἰρημένα κυριῶς, εἰ μὴ τις πᾶν παιδίον μὴ σαφῶς διαλεγόμενον ψελίζεσθαι λέγει, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ Αἰσχύλος φαίνεται δηλοῦν ἐν τῷ ψελλόν τε καὶ δυσεύρετον

ψελλόν ἐστὶ καὶ καλεῖ  
τὴν ἄρκτον ἄρτον, τὴν δὲ Τυρῶ τροφαλίδα,  
τὸ δ' ἄστν σῦκα

956 Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1788.20

ἐκ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα Ὀμηρικοῦ ὄνου παρὰ τοῖς ὕστερον ἢ ὠνή, ἀφ' ἧς εὐρηται καὶ ἰσωνία ἢ ἴση πρᾶσις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς. εἰ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παρήκται καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῷ κωμικῷ ὄνωνις, ἧς χρήσις φέρεται παρὰ τοῖς τεχνικοῖς τὸ εἶτα—ὄνωνιδα, οὐκ ἔστι βεβαίως ἀπισχυρίσασθαι. ὄνομα δὲ βοτάνης ἢ ὄνωνις, δι' ἧς ἐπ' ἀλογία ἴσως ὁ κωμικὸς τινα σκώπτει καὶ ῥαθυμία, ὡς τοῦ ὄνου καὶ νωθροῦ ὄντος, καθὰ καὶ Ἰλιάς οἶδε, καὶ παροιμιάζοντος τό τε ἀπ' ὄνου πεσεῖν τινα καὶ τοὺς ὄνου πόκους, οὓς ὁ κωμικὸς εἰς πόκας παράδησε.

εἶτα δὴ  
εἰς <τὴν> πόλιν ἄξεις τήνδε τὴν ὄνωνιδα;

955

The animal ἄρκτος (*bear*) is spelled with the τ and also with only the κ, ἄρκος . . . but the comic poet raised a laugh by removing the *kappa* (quote). What this means is more than sufficiently explained by simply noting that these examples are not properly ψελλὰ (*mispronunciations*), unless “mispronounce” is applied to every child’s unclear speech, which for instance Aeschylus seems to indicate in “inarticulate and hard to make out” (*Prometheus Bound* 816).

it’s inarticulate to call  
bear “bread” (ἄρτος), and Tyro “a piece of cheese,”  
and the citadel “figs”

956

After the Homeric ὄνος (*purchase*) here (*Odyssey* 15.445) is ὠνή in later writers, from which is found also ἰσωνία, “of equal value,” in the old writers. It cannot be securely determined whether ὄνωσις (*rest-harrow*) in the comic poet, as quoted in the grammarians, is derived from it (quote); ὄνωσις is the name of a plant, by which the comic poet perhaps mocks someone for absurdity and laziness, as of the ass (ὄνος) and the sluggish, just as also the *Iliad* knows (11.558–62), and the proverbialist’s “fall off an ass” and “ass fleece (πόκους),” which the comic poet changes in parody to πόκας (*Frogs* 186).

So then,  
Do you mean to bring this rest-harrow into the  
city?<sup>194</sup>

<sup>194</sup> A nuisance weed.



957 Scholium on Pindar, *Pythian* 2.125

κατὰ Φοίνισσαν ἔμπολάν· οἶον ἐπὶ κέρδει καὶ πράσει·  
οἱ γὰρ Φοίνικες παλιγκάπηλοι. Σοφοκλῆς . . . καὶ ὁ  
κωμικός·

εὐθύς <δὲ> Φοῖνιξ γίγνομαι  
τῇ μὲν δίδωμι χειρί, τῇ δὲ λαμβάνω

## 958 Diogenes Laertius 4.20

ἦν δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφοκλῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἐκείνοις ὅπου  
κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῷ κύων—Μολοτ-  
τικός, καὶ ἔνθα ἦν κατὰ τὸν Φρύνιχον οὐ γλύξις οὐδ'  
ὑπόχυτος, ἀλλὰ Πράμνιος.

κύων τις ἐδόκει συμποεῖν Μολοττικός

959 Eustathius on *Iliad* 1291.44

δοχμῆς ἢ δόχμης . . . περὶ ἧς Αἴλιος Διονύσιός φησιν  
οὕτω· δόχμη τὸ τετραδάκτυλον. Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ ὀξύ-  
νει, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν τῷ·

οὗτοι δ' ἀφεστήκασι πλείν ἢ δύο δοχμά

960 Stephanus on Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1373<sup>a</sup>23

. . . καὶ φησὶν ὁ κωμικός·

συνεπίνομέν τε καὶ συνεκοτταβίζομεν

## 957

“Phoenician business”: in the sense of buying and selling,  
for the Phoenicians are retailers of imported goods, Sopho-  
cles (fr. 909) . . . and the comic poet:

I've become a genuine Phoenician:  
with one hand I give, with the other I take

## 958

(Polemon) was fond of Sophocles, particularly of the pas-  
sages where, according to the comic poet, (quote), and  
where there was, according to Phrynichus (fr. 68), not in-  
spid or adulterated wine but Pramnian.

A Molossian mastiff seemed to help him write

## 959

δοχμῆς or δόχμης . . . of which Aelius Dionysius says (δ  
30) δόχμη is the width of four fingers; but Aristarchus  
writes it oxytone, as the comic poet also shows in

these stand more than two *dochmai* apart

## 960

And the comic poet says,

together we drank and played cottabus

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

961 [Herodian] *Philetaerus* 305

ἀργός κοινόν ἐστὶν ὄνομα ἐπὶ τε ἀρσενικοῦ καὶ θηλυκοῦ, οἷον ἀργὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀργὸς ἡ ἑτάίρα. καὶ ὁ κωμικός·

ἀργοὶ κάθηνταί μοι γυναῖκες τέτταρες

962 Photius 404.23

πεζῆ <βαδίζειν> τὸ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐλθεῖν λέγουσιν. καὶ πεζῆ φράσαι τὸ ἀνευ μελῶν παῦσαι—φράσον, ὁ κωμικός

παῦσαι μελωδουσ', ἀλλὰ πεζῆ μοι φράσον

963 Suda τ 147

Ταντάλου τάλαντα . . . ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ κωμικῷ εἴρηται

Ταντάλου τάλαντα τανταλίζεται

964 Suda τ 1119

τρύχνον· τὴν πόαν . . . παρὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τὴν ἀπαλωτέρος τρύχνου παρωδῶν ὁ κωμικός φησιν·

ἤδη γάρ εἰμι μουσικώτερος τρύχνου

965 Suda α 4196

ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ τὸ προσαγορεύειν, ὡς ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὸ

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

961

The word ἀργός (*idle*) is the same in both the masculine and feminine, for example “idle man” and “idle courtesan;” and the comic poet,

I've got four women sitting idle

962

“<walk> afoot” means to make one's way on foot; and to “speak afoot” means without music, as the comic poet:<sup>195</sup>

stop your singing and speak to me afoot

963

Tantalus' talents: . . . as also in the comic poet, he weighs as much in talents as Tantalus

964

Nightshade: the plant . . . the comic poet says, parodying the proverb “softer than nightshade”:

now I'm more musical than nightshade

965

ἀσπάζεσθαι: also to accost, as we say, and simply to greet,

<sup>195</sup> Addressed to a female.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

χαίρειν τινὶ ἀπλῶς, καὶ ἀγαπᾶν καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι.  
καὶ ἀσπαζόμεσθα σὺν τῷ σ' ἀσπαζόμεσθ' ἔρ. καὶ σκ.,  
φησὶν ὁ κωμικός.

ἀσπαζόμεσθ' ἔρετμὰ καὶ σκαλμῖδια

966 [Herodian], *Philetaerus* 34

κατακεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐστιωμένων, ἀνακεῖσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ  
εἰκόνων καὶ ἀνδριάντων. εἰπόντος γοῦν τινος ἀνά-  
πιπτε, ὁ κωμικός παίζων ἀνδριάντας ἐστιᾶς; ἔφη

(A.) ἀνάπιπτ'. (B.) ἀνδριάντας ἐστιᾶς;

967 Scholium on Euripides, *Orestes* 168

θωύξασα: . . . ἃ γὰρ μὴ δύναται γράφεσθαι, ταῦτα δι'  
ἐτέρων προσώπων δηλοῦται, οἷόν τι καὶ παρὰ τῷ  
κωμικῷ οἰκέτου στενάξαντος ἕτερός φησιν·

ἀκούεις ὡς στένει;

968 Photius 351.16

ὀρχήστρα· πρῶτον ἐκλήθη ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, εἶτα καὶ τοῦ  
θεάτρου τὸ κάτω ἡμίκυκλον, οὗ καὶ οἱ χοροὶ ἦδον καὶ  
ὠρχοῦντο, εἰς—ἐκεῖ, φησὶν ὁ κωμικός

εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν· ἔτι γὰρ τὴν θέαν ὠκεῖτ' ἐκεῖ

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

to show affection, or to treat kindly; and ἀσπαζόμεσθα  
with the σ (quote), says the comic poet.

we welcome the oars and oarlocks with open arms

966

κατακεῖσθαι (*be put down*) is used of diners, ἀνακεῖσθαι  
(*be put up*) of portraits and statues. For instance, when  
someone says ἀνάπιπτε (*put your feet up*), the comic poet  
jokingly replies, "are your guests statues?"

(A) Put your feet up.

(B) Are your guests statues?

967

She having shouted . . . what cannot be verbalized is shown  
through other characters, as when in the comic poet a slave  
groans and another says,

do you hear how he groans?

968

(orchestra): the first place to be so called was in the agora,  
and then also the semicircle below the theater, where the  
choruses used to sing and dance (quote), says the comic  
poet.

into the orchestra: for you still used to gather there<sup>196</sup>

<sup>196</sup> I.e. in the agora, when theatrical shows were still held  
there. The line is in the eupolidean meter and thus from a para-  
basis.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

969 Eustathius on *Iliad* 518,42

ὁ δὲ κωμικός, φασί, βροτολοιγὸν ἰδίως που ἔφη τὸν καὶ αἰσχρολοιχὸν λεγόμενον κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τοῦ ματιολοιχοῦ διὰ τὸ τοὺς τοιούτους παραιτίους γίνεσθαι τοῦ μὴ κύειν τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ οὕτως ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ βροτῶν εἶναι.

970 Eustathius on *Iliad* 1163,27

ἀναλογία δὲ τοῦ ἐνωγάλισται κατὰ τὸ κέκληται ἔκτηται . . . καὶ τὸ τέκπέπηξε ἐφέπηξεῖ παρὰ τῷ κωμικῷ.

971 *Etymologicum Magnum* 192,18

βαυκαλᾶν τὸ κατακοιμίζειν. κατεβαυκάλησέ με, φησὶν ὁ κωμικός.

972

(a) Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1910,10

ὅτι δὲ καὶ γυναικείον μόριον σημαίνει ὁ Κένταυρος δηλοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοί, φέροντες καὶ χρῆσιν Θεοπόμπου εἰς τοῦτο. πικρότερον δὲ τούτου εἰς σκῶμμα τὸ εἰρηῆσθαι, κένταυρον, ὃς κεντεῖ ὄρρον, τὸν παρὰ τῷ κωμικῷ.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

969

The comic poet, they say (Suetonius, *Περὶ βλασφημιῶν* 70,53), used βροτολοιγός (*bane of mortals*) in a peculiar sense also of the doer of shameful deeds, on the analogy of ματιολοιχός (*feeder on scraps*), because of the tendency of such people to become responsible for women's infertility and thus to be destructive to mortals.

970

ἐνωγάλισται on the analogy of κέκληται ἔκτηται . . . and in the comic poet ῥέκπέπηξε ἐφέπηξεῖ.

971

βαυκαλᾶν: to lull to sleep; the comic poet says "(s)he lulled me down to sleep."

972

(a) The old writers show that "centaur" indicates the female genitals, citing its use by Theopompus in this sense (fr. 92). More biting than this is the mockery of the man in the comic poet as a centaur who pricks arses.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(b) *Id.* on *Iliad* 527.45

ἡ κωμικὴ βλασφημία κενταύρους ἔπαιξε τοὺς αἰσχρῶ  
ἔρωτι κεντοῦντας ταῦρον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὄρρον.

973

(a) Eustathius on *Iliad* 228.40

ὅτι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στρουθοῦ καὶ στρουθίζειν τὸ εὐτελῶς  
πως ἄδειν, δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ κωμικός.

(b) *Id.* on *Odyssey* 1411.15

τὸ μέντοι στρουθίζειν ὃ φησιν ὁ κωμικὸς ἐκ τῆς  
Ὀμηρικῆς παρήκται στρουθοῦ.

974 Hesychius π 390

πάντα λίθον κινεῖν παροιμία, ἧς μέμνηται Ἀρίσταρ-  
χος.

975 Excerpta Guelferbytana (E), in Ritschl on Thomas  
Magister 289.14

ποδαπὸς καὶ ὁ ποδαπὸς ἐπὶ τε γένους καὶ ἐπὶ τόπου,  
οἶον ἐν Ἰππεύσῳ Ἀριστοφάνους· σὺ δ' ἐκ ποίου τελεῖς  
τοῦ δαπέδου;

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

(b) The comic insult mocks those κεντοῦντας ταῦρον  
(pricking the bull), that is, the arse.

973

(a) Also the comic poet shows that from στρουθός comes  
στρουθίζειν, to sing in a paltry way.

(b) The verb στρουθίζειν used by the comic poet is taken  
from the Homeric στρουθός.

974

To turn every stone: proverb, mentioned by Aristarchus.

975

ὁ ποδαπὸς and ὁ ποδαπός (*where from*) are used both of  
lineage and of place, as in Ar.'s *Knights*:<sup>197</sup> "from what soil  
are you paying?"

<sup>197</sup> Not in our text of that play, cf. n. 189.

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

976 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 6.24.9

Ἀριστοφάνους γράφοντος βέβαιον—καλῶς, ὁ Ἐπίκουρος λέγει· δικαιοσύνης καρπὸς μέγιστος ἀταραξία.

βέβαιον ἔξεις τὸν βίον δίκαιος ὢν,  
χωρὶς τε θορύβου καὶ φόβου ζήσεις καλῶς

DUBIOUSLY ATTRIBUTED FRAGMENTS

976

Ar. having written (quote), Epicurus says, "impassivity is the greatest reward of justice."

Be just and you will live your life secure,  
And you will live well without turmoil and fear

*Other fragments attributed by scholars to Ar. include Adespota (Kassel-Austin, volume VIII) 174, 260, 740, 875, 1005, 1024, 1026, 1033, 1035, 1037-44, 1053, 1055, 1058-59, 1075, 1080, 1083, 1088, 1094-95, 1099, 1111-13, 1132, and (Kock) 676b.*

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