

ARISTOPHANES
LYSISTRATA

EDITED WITH
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY
BY
JEFFREY HENDERSON

CLARENDON PRESS · OXFORD

ARISTOPHANES
LYSISTRATA

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OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

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Dar es Salaam Delhi Hong Kong Istanbul Karachi Kolkata
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Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

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ISBN 0-19-814496-2

PREFACE

ARISTOPHANES' *Lysistrata* was last edited by Cantarella in 1956 and last annotated by Wilamowitz in 1927. The most recent English edition, by Rogers, was published in 1911. Meanwhile Aristophanic studies have continued to advance. The extent to which improvements have been made in editorial technique, in our knowledge of the transmission of Ar., and in our understanding of his art and his world has been demonstrated by my predecessors in this series. As an editor my aim has accordingly been to bring the text of *Lys.* into line with current knowledge and editorial practice, in particular by providing for the first time a full report of all the MSS and testimonial sources.

The format of the text closely follows the others in this series, so that readers may easily turn from play to play, and in the *apparatus criticus* I have used the same symbols and abbreviations. For the common ancestor of Vp2 and H, which are used for the first time in an edition of *Lys.*, I use the symbol *p*, which I used in my repertory in *HSCP* 82 (1978) 87 ff. and which Alan Sommerstein uses in his editions of Ar.'s plays.

In the introduction and commentary I approach the play solely in historical terms, not as a book written for readers but as the script of a performance. I therefore leave to critics the task of judging the play's artistic, literary, and theatrical merits. In my mind's eye I attempt to restage the performance as far as is possible from the evidence of the text itself, and to consider what effect its various parts are likely to have produced among the spectators in 411 BC. In particular, I try to assess the social and political import of the play's many topical references and historical recollections, keeping in mind all the while that they came from the imagination of a comic poet writing for a particular group of performers and spectators and competing for a prize.

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I also keep an eye on relevant aspects of the text's physical experience since it left Ar.'s own hands. In the introduction I devote more space to the history of the Aristophanic corpus in antiquity than is usual, and perhaps appropriate, in the edition of a single play. But this information (conveniently summarized in *PCG* III. 2, pp. 28-30) is not currently available in English in a concise and straightforward account, and I see no harm in taking this opportunity to provide one.

In discussing textual and interpretative problems I have tried to confine myself to primary evidence: the text itself, other contemporary texts, inscriptions, and material remains. Where I have been unable to locate such evidence, I indicate an insoluble problem and invite others to take it up. Thus I do not cite or evaluate the writings of other scholars unless they have already collected and interpreted the evidence necessary to explain a difficulty or to solve a problem, or unless their discussions point the way to an eventual solution.

This work has benefited along the way from the friendly advice and helpful criticism of many scholars, but there are a few whose generosity requires special acknowledgement. Ludwig Koenen of Michigan, Colin Austin of Cambridge, Hugh Lloyd-Jones of Oxford, Lowell Edmunds of Johns Hopkins, and Bernhard Zimmermann of Konstanz have in not a few cases shown me that matters are more complicated than I thought. Jack Winkler and his students at Stanford, who used an earlier draft in a seminar, were kind enough to keep track of the weaknesses which were thus exposed. Above all, Alan Sommerstein of Nottingham has been a source of sane advice, acute criticism, and sheer encouragement from the beginning. If the benefits of our lively correspondence are mostly on my side it is because they tend to flow in the direction of greater need.

I am grateful to John K. Cordy of the Oxford University Press for his many good suggestions and unfailing patience, and congratulate the typesetter on a work of exemplary craftsmanship.

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Such words as kindness and generosity are quite inadequate to describe the contribution of Sir Kenneth Dover of Oxford, who corrected and otherwise improved the final draft in hundreds of places, completely overhauled the metrical analyses, and generally showed me how to make my presentation of the play most effective. In our time no one has done more to advance Aristophanic scholarship than Professor Dover, and if readers find this to be a useful edition of *Lys.* they, like me, stand once more in his debt.

J.J.H.

Los Angeles
September 1985

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ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals are abbreviated as in *L'année philologique*. Ancient authors and works are cited by Hellenized equivalents of the abbreviations used in LSJ. The following are referred to by author's name alone or by an abbreviation:

ABV	Beazley, J. D., <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (Oxford 1956).
ARV	id., <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> ² (Oxford 1963).
Austin	C., <i>Comitorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta</i> (Berlin/New York 1973).
Barrett	W. S., <i>Euripides Hippolytos</i> (Oxford 1964)
Beare	W., <i>The Roman Stage</i> (London 1955)
Bechtel	F., <i>Die griechische Dialekte</i> (Berlin 1921-4). <i>Die attischen Frauennamen</i> (Göttingen 1902).
Bieber	M., <i>Griechische Kleidung</i> (Berlin/Leipzig 1928).
Björck	G., <i>Das Alpha Impurum</i> (Uppsala 1950).
Blaydes	F., <i>Ar. Lysistrata</i> (Halle 1880).
Bourguet	E., <i>Le dialecte Laconien</i> (Paris 1927).
Brommer	F., <i>Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensagen</i> ² (Marburg/Lahn 1960).
Bruhn	E., <i>Anhang zu Sophokles</i> (Berlin 1907).
Burckhardt	A., <i>Spuren der athenischen Volksrede in der alten attischen Komödie</i> (Basel 1924).
Berkert	W., <i>Greek Religion</i> , tr. J. Raffan (Oxford (Blackwells)/Cambridge, Mass. 1985). <i>Homo Necans</i> , tr. P. Bing (London/California 1983).
CA	= Comica Adespota.
Casabona	J., <i>Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec</i> (Aix-en-Provence 1966).
CEG	= (ed.) Hansen, P. A., <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> (Berlin/New York 1983).
Chantraine	P., <i>La formation des noms en grec ancien</i> (Paris 1933).
Connor	W. R., <i>The New Politicians of Fifth-century Athens</i> (Princeton 1971).
Dale	A. M., <i>Euripides Helen</i> (Oxford 1967).

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—————	<i>The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama</i> ² (London 1968).
Davies	J. K., <i>Athenian Propertied Families</i> (Oxford 1971).
de Ste. Croix	G. E. M., <i>The Origins of the Peloponnesian War</i> (London/Ithaca, N. Y. 1972).
Debrunner	A., in <i>Mélanges Pedersen</i> (Aarhus 1937).
Denn.	= Denniston, J. D., <i>The Greek Particles</i> ² (Oxford 1954).
Des Places	E., <i>La religion grecque</i> (Paris 1969).
Deubner	L., <i>Attische Feste</i> (Berlin 1932).
DFA	= Pickard-Cambridge, A. W., <i>The Dramatic Festivals of Athens</i> ² , rev. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford 1968).
Dover	K. J., <i>Aristophanic Comedy</i> (Berkeley/ Los Angeles 1972).
—————	<i>Aristophanes Clouds</i> (Oxford 1968).
—————	<i>Greek Homosexuality</i> (London 1978).
—————	<i>Greek Popular Morality in the time of Plato and Aristotle</i> (Oxford 1974).
—————	‘Der Stil des Ar.’ in <i>Ar. und die alte Komödie</i> , ed. H.-J. Newiger (Darmstadt 1975) 124 ff.
DTC	= Pickard-Cambridge, A. W., <i>Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy</i> ² , rev. T. B. L. Webster (Oxford 1962).
Ehrenberg	V., <i>The People of Ar.</i> ³ (New York 1962).
Elliott	R. T., <i>The Acharnians of Ar.</i> (Oxford 1914).
FGrH	= Jacoby, F., <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin/Leiden 1923–58).
Fraenkel	E., <i>Aeschylus Agamemnon</i> (Oxford 1950).
—————	<i>Beobachtungen zu Ar.</i> (Rome 1962).
—————	<i>Kleine Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie</i> (Rome 1964).
Frisk	H., <i>Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> (Heidelberg 1954–73).
GAI	= Threatte, L., <i>The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions</i> i (Berlin 1980).
GLP	(ed.) Page, D. L., <i>Greek Literary Papyri</i> (London 1942–).
Gomme	A. W. and Sandbach, F. H., <i>Menander: A Commentary</i> (Oxford 1973).
Goodwin	W. W., <i>Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb</i> (Boston 1890).
GVI	= (ed.) Peek, W., <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> (Berlin 1955–).

ABBREVIATIONS

Händel	P., <i>Formen und Darstellungsweisen in der aristophanischen Komödie</i> (Heidelberg 1963).
Hamdorf	F., <i>Griechische Kulturpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit</i> (Mainz 1964).
HCT	= Gomme, A. W., Andrewes, A. and Dover, K. J., <i>A Historical Commentary on Thucydides</i> (Oxford 1944-81).
Headlam	W. and Knox, A. D., <i>Herondas</i> (Cambridge 1922).
Henderson	J., <i>The Maculate Muse</i> (New Haven/London 1975).
Hofmann	H., <i>Mythos und Komödie</i> (Hildesheim 1976).
Horn	W., <i>Gebet und Gebetsparodie in den Komödien des Ar.</i> (Nuremberg 1970).
IG	= <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> .
Judeich	W., <i>Topographie von Athen</i> ² (Munich 1931).
KB	= <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache I</i> ³ by R. Kühner, rev. F. Blass (Hanover 1890-1902).
Kakridis	Ph., <i>Ἀριστοφάνους Ὀρνίθες</i> (Athens 1974).
Kannicht	R., <i>Euripides Helena</i> (Heidelberg 1969).
Keller	O., <i>Die antike Tierwelt</i> (Leipzig 1909-13).
KG	= <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache II</i> ³ by R. Kühner, rev. B. Gerth (Hanover 1898-1904).
Kleinknecht	H., <i>Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike</i> (Stuttgart 1937).
ΚΩΜΩΙΔΙΟΤΡΑΓΗΜΑΤΑ	<i>Studia aristophanea W. J. W. Koster in honorem</i> (Amsterdam 1967).
Kron	U., <i>Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen</i> (Berlin 1976).
Langholf	V., <i>Die Gebete bei Euripides</i> (Göttingen 1971).
Lautensach	O., <i>Die Aoriste bei der attischen Tragikern und Komikern</i> (Göttingen 1911).
Lawler	L., <i>The Dance of the Ancient Greek Theater</i> (Iowa 1964).
Leo	F., <i>Plautinische Forschungen</i> ² (Berlin 1912).
Lobeck	A., <i>Aglaophamus</i> (Regimontii Prussorum [Königsberg] 1829).
Lottich	O., <i>De sermone vulgari Atticorum</i> (Halle 1881).
LSJ	= Liddell-Scott-Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> ⁹ (Oxford 1940).
MacDowell	D. M., <i>Aristophanes Wasps</i> (Oxford 1971).
Meiggs	R., <i>The Athenian Empire</i> (Oxford 1972).
ML	= Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D. M., <i>A Selection of</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

Meisterhans	<i>Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> (Oxford 1969). K., <i>Grammatik der attischen Inschriften</i> ³ , rev. E. Schwyzzer (Berlin 1900).
Neil	R. A., <i>The Knights of Ar.</i> (Cambridge 1901).
Nilsson	M. P., <i>Geschichte der griechischen Religion</i> I ³ (Munich 1967).
-----	<i>Opuscula Selecta</i> (Lund 1951-60).
Owen	A. S., <i>Euripides Ion</i> (Oxford 1939).
PA	= <i>Prosopographica Attica</i> ² by J. E. Kirchner, rev. S. Lauffer (Berlin 1966).
Parke	H. W., <i>Festivals of the Athenians</i> (London 1977).
PCG	= (ed.) Kassel, R. and Austin, C., <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> (Berlin/New York 1983-).
PMG	= (ed.) Page, D. L., <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (Oxford 1962).
Prato	C., <i>I Canti di Ar.</i> (Rome 1962).
Radermacher	L., <i>Ar. Frösche</i> (Vienna 1921).
Rau	P., <i>Paratragodia</i> (Munich 1967).
Raubitschek	A., <i>Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis</i> (Cambridge, Mass. 1949).
Renehan	R., <i>Studies in Greek Texts</i> (Göttingen 1976).
Richter	G., <i>A Handbook of Greek Art</i> ⁶ (London 1969).
Rogers	B. B., <i>The Lysistrata of Ar.</i> (London 1911).
Rutherford	W. G., <i>The New Phrynichus</i> (London 1881).
Sachtsal	B., <i>De comicorum graecorum sermone metro accomodato</i> (Breslau 1908).
SB	= <i>Sitzungsbericht</i> .
Schinck	A., <i>De interiectionum epiphonematumque apud. Ar. vi atque usu</i> (Halle 1873).
Schwyzzer	E., <i>Griechische Grammatik</i> (Munich 1939-53).
SEG	= <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> .
Sifakis	G., <i>Parabasis and Animal Choruses</i> (London 1971).
SLG	= (ed.) Page, D. L., <i>Supplementum Lyricis Graecis</i> (Oxford 1974).
Sokolowski	F., <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (Paris 1969).
Spyropoulos	E., <i>L'accumulation verbale chez Ar.</i> (Thessaloniki 1974).
Stengel	P., <i>Opferbräuche der Griechen</i> (Leipzig 1910).
-----	<i>Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer</i> ³ . (Munich 1920).
Stone	L., <i>Costume in Aristophanic Comedy</i> (New York 1981).
Svennung	L., <i>Anredeformen</i> (Uppsala, 1958).

ABBREVIATIONS

Taillardat	J., <i>Les Images d'Ar.</i> ² (Paris 1965).
Thompson	D. W., <i>A Glossary of Greek Fishes</i> (London 1947).
Travlos	J., <i>Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens</i> (London 1971).
Trenkner	S., <i>The Greek Novella</i> (Cambridge 1958).
Turner	J. A., <i>Hiereiai: Acquisition of Feminine Priesthoods In Ancient Greece</i> (Diss. Santa Barbara 1983).
van Leeuwen	J., <i>Ar. Lysistrata</i> (Leiden 1903).
Vendryes	P., in <i>Mélanges Glotz</i> (Paris 1932).
Wackernagel	J., <i>Vermischte Beiträge</i> (Basel 1897).
—	<i>Kleine Schriften</i> (Göttingen 1956).
Webster	T. B. L., <i>The Greek Chorus</i> (London 1970).
Werres	J., <i>Die Beteuerungsformel in der attischen Komödie</i> (Bern 1936).
West	M. L., <i>Greek Metre</i> (Oxford 1982).
White	J. W., <i>The Verse of Greek Comedy</i> (London 1912).
Wide	S., <i>Lakonische Kulte</i> (Leipzig 1893).
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff	U. von, <i>Ar. Lysistrate</i> (Berlin 1927).
---	<i>Der Glaube der Hellenen</i> (Berlin 1931-2).
—	<i>Griechische Verskunst</i> ² (Darmstadt 1958).
Zimmermann	B., <i>Untersuchungen zur Form und dramatischen Technik der aristophanischen Komödien</i> (Königstein/Ts.); i (1984), ii (1985).
Zuntz	G., <i>The Political Plays of Euripides</i> (Manchester 1955).

Comic fragments from Ar. to Crobylus are cited from *PCG*, of the rest from Th. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1880-88). The plays of Menander are cited from F. Sandbach, *Menandri Reliquiae Selectae* (Oxford 1976), the fragments from A. Körte, *Menandri Reliquiae*², rev. A. Thierfelder (Leipzig 1957). Tragic fragments are cited (to date) from *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, edd. B. Snell, R. Kannicht, St. Radt (Göttingen 1971—), otherwise from A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*² (Leipzig 1889).

INTRODUCTION

I. *LYSISTRATA* AND THE EVENTS OF 411

The year 412/11 began on 5 August and was a regular one of 354 days (Meritt, *The Athenian Year* 218). 'Ath.π. 32. 1, which evidently preserves an accurate contemporary account (cf. *HCT* v. 234-7), tells us that Pryt. I. 1 of 411/10 was scheduled for the relatively late date of 14 Skirophorion. Unless substantial disturbance of the calendar was a factor, Gamelion and Elaphebolion came late as well, so that the Lenaia will have fallen in early to mid-February and the City Dionysia in mid-April. Hyp. I informs us that *Lys.*¹ was performed in 411 and that its didaskalos was Kallistratos,² but it contains no information about the festival or prize.³

The dating of the play depends upon internal evidence: the actions and arguments of the characters together with the assumptions underlying them. Secure dating is desirable because the play's topicality allows us a glimpse of the mood and situation of the Athenians during a critical period in their history. Events relevant to the period in which the play was conceived, scripted, rehearsed and performed are described by Thukydides in the eighth book of his *History*. Although Thukydides' chronology is in some important respects unclear, it is possible to establish a serviceable timetable (cf. *HCT* v. 450-1). Aligned with Thukydides'

¹ Two variant titles, derived from memorable passages in the play, existed in antiquity: *Adoniazousai* (Σ 389) and *Diallagai* (Σ 1114, Index Ambrosianus).

² For this man, who had produced *Banqueters* (427), *Babylonians* (426), *Acharnians* (425), and *Birds* (414), see D. M. MacDowell, *CQ* 32 (1982) 21 ff., *PCG* IV p. 56.

³ Lost perhaps through negligence, since this hypothesis is a reworked version of a Hellenistic original and dates from late antiquity or Byzantine times, cf. J. Gröbl, *Die ältesten Hypothesen zu Ar.* (Dillingen 1889/90) 83-5.

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account, the internal evidence very strongly favours the assignment of *Lys.* to the Lenaia.⁴

The Athenian disaster in Sicily, which had inflicted on Athens enormous losses of men and resources, encouraged Sparta and her allies to hope for decisive victory. The forces of King Agis II, permanently garrisoned at Dekeleia, continued to be a major peril: the Attic countryside was in enemy hands; the overland supply route from Euboia was cut off; mining at Laureion was impossible; more than 20,000 slaves (most of them skilled) had deserted; and Athenian troops had to be continuously vigilant. If these hardships had been heavy before the disaster (*Th.* 7. 27–8), they could only be expected to be worse after it. Moreover, in the spring of 412 the Peloponnesian fleet set out to gain control of the eastern Aegean and the Hellespont. The Persian satraps Pharnabazos and Tissaphernes offered financial support, and Alkibiades offered strategic advice. A number of Athenian allies had already expressed their desire to revolt, and the Peloponnesians had reason to expect that their number would grow.

In the aftermath of the news from Sicily, however, the Athenians had begun immediately to make their own preparations to meet the emergency and to avert further setbacks. They took steps to economize in administration and to restrain rash decisions by establishing a board of ten elderly men (*Probouloi*) who could propose for swift implementation measures to meet any emergency that might arise. From *Th.* 809 it seems that they could bring a

⁴ Recent full discussions of the dating are A. H. Sommerstein, *JHS* 97 (1977) 112 ff., H. D. Westlake, *Phoenix* 34 (1980) 38 ff., A. Andrewes, *HCT* v. 184 ff. For an account of the Lenaia festival, which only Athenians attended, see *DFA* 25–42. It is still uncertain whether Lenaian plays were in Ar.'s time performed at the Lenaion (location unknown) or in the theatre of Dionysos by the Akropolis: for a recent discussion see N. W. Slater, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 255. The theatrical topicality of *Lys.*, whose action is centred on the Akropolis, might be thought to be enhanced if the play was performed in the Dionysos theatre.

probouleuma directly to the Assembly, bypassing the Council, and from *Lys.* 421-3 it seems that they could draw emergency funds directly from the Treasury. And somehow the Athenians raised the money to build and equip new ships. In 412, to the astonishment of her enemies, Athens was again able to launch effective naval forces, so that by late June an Athenian fleet drove a Peloponnesian force of 21 ships to seek refuge in the Korinthian harbour of Speiraion.

Thereupon the Peloponnesians moved energetically to undermine the Athenian alliances. Alkibiades persuaded the Spartan ephors to send him and the nauarch Chalkideus with five triremes to Chios. Aided by sympathizers in the city, they persuaded the Chians to revolt. Soon thereafter Erythrai and Klazomenai joined the revolt, and by the end of the campaigning season of 412 the list of rebellious allies included Teos, Miletos, Lebedos, Hairai, Methymna, Mytilene, Iasos, Knidos, and Rhodes. Meanwhile the Peloponnesian fleet had grown equal (perhaps superior) to the Athenian in numerical strength, and they now enjoyed the active collaboration of Tissaphernes.

But the Athenians managed to mount an effective counter-attack. After the revolt of Chios they voted to draw upon the special reserve of 1000 T set aside by Perikles in 431 and since then untouched. With this money they equipped additional ships, principally for service in the growing fleet at Samos, now their Aegean base of operations. By the end of summer 412 the Athenians had regained Mytilene and the rest of Lesbos, recovered Klazomenai, and fought a respectable (though indecisive) land battle outside Miletos. Early in winter (but not earlier than 1 November: *HCT* iii. 706) they fortified a position on Chios itself.

Thus the Athenians' prospects for recovery were not as discouraging at year's end as might have been predicted, even if they had lost important territory in 412 and were still in straitened circumstances. The fleet at Samos was a formidable presence in the Aegean, and the series of risings that had begun with the revolt of Chios had been effectively

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arrested. The Athenians had stalemated the fighting through great self-discipline and sheer martial resolve.

The assumptions underlying the plot of *Lys.* and the arguments used by its characters exactly fit the situation just described and reveal a general attitude of guarded optimism about Athenian chances. Lysistrata's opponents defend the Athenian policy: the war must go on because there is no other choice (497). There is enough money in the treasury and triremes in the fleet to keep up the fight (496, cf. 168-76). Negotiation is out of the question because the Spartans are 'as completely untrustworthy as a hungry wolf' (629): they will neither agree to nor abide by acceptable terms. The central emphasis on the Akropolis funds indicates the confidence they inspired in the Athenians, and frequent references to the glorious past reflect the feeling that Athenian superiority will somehow tell in the end. Popular impatience with the performance of the fleet at Samos (cf. Th. 8. 38. 5) can be heard in the old men's jibe at 313 and reveals a mood of rising expectations among those who hoped for fresh successes. The high-handed references to the allies (108, 944, 1176-82) suggest a mood of recovery from the rash of defections in the period following the Sicilian disaster.⁵ References to the disaster itself (387 ff.), like those to the mutilation of the herms (1093 ff.), are jocular enough to suggest that the initial shock, if not the subsequent recriminations, had largely passed. Taken together, the arguments of Lysistrata's opponents amount to this: we have successfully weathered the crisis and are in a position to fight on to victory or to such successes as will guarantee acceptable terms.

Lysistrata argues a different view: the war is a stand-off and, should it continue, can only end in the mutual ruin of the combatants on each side (29-35, 523-6). It is therefore

⁵ Earlier in the play, however, before *Lys.*'s plan has achieved its success, Ar. appears to be cautiously diplomatic in his allusion to the allies: at 578 ff., in her appeal for the creation of an Athenian 'united front', *Lys.* includes them under the rubric 'colonial cities'.

senseless to endure further hardship and deprivation, and needless any longer to suffer the arrogance of men like the Proboulos. Those who tell us to keep up the fight are motivated by selfish concern for their own political advancement and by greed (489 ff.). The Spartans are traditionally our friends, not our enemies, and they want an end to the war as much as we do. Let us negotiate our differences and return to the peace and prosperity which all enjoyed before the war (1128-61). Throughout the play Aristophanes lays heavy stress on nostalgia for peaceful times, on the Persian invasions when Athens and Sparta were allies, and on the common gods and festivals which both sides traditionally shared. In the end, the Spartans turn out to be even more eager than the Athenians to negotiate and are easily outbargained, allowing Athens to keep the empire intact (1162 ff.). In the banqueting that follows the negotiations the Spartans reveal themselves to be jolly good fellows after all (1228 ff.).

The remarkable feature of *Lysistrata's* success is the degree to which it depends on fantasy and wishful thinking. Aristophanes envisages the internal crisis as a family squabble and the war as a neighbourhood feud. By comparison with the blessings of family solidarity and neighbourhood peace the issues of the feud seem trivial and self-defeating. Thus Aristophanes manages to avoid any realistic confrontation with the problem of negotiations. He focuses instead on the question: how might the feuding parties be made to patch up their quarrel without loss of face? His solution is to have the wives and older women stop the feuding by guile and force. In this way the men need not take the initiative, nor must they accept the validity of the women's arguments. The fighting men (husbands) are coerced by sexual deprivation. The home-guard (Men's Chorus) are physically restrained. The leaders (represented by a Proboulos) are cut off from their funds by *Lysistrata's* occupation of the Akropolis. Thus *Lysistrata* makes her case before a captive audience and leaves the combatants with no choice but to shake hands and promise to fight no more.

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Surely no one imagined that enemies could so quickly become friends or that negotiations could be so painless anywhere but on the comic stage. The play's fantastic and utopian features are a measure of the gravity with which the spectators viewed their actual situation. At the same time, Aristophanes' choice to present a play about that situation shows that his purpose was not solely to cheer up the spectators with an escapist entertainment. Clearly the Athenians were prepared to be congratulated on their recent success and to be reassured about their prospects for acceptable terms in an eventual settlement. If in hindsight these attitudes seem over-optimistic we must bear in mind how difficult it is for anyone involved in a long war to see when they have lost and to reconcile themselves to a costly settlement. At the time of *Lys.* Aristophanes preferred to look at the bright side of the Athenian predicament, and his audience was in a receptive mood. Later in the year even the extremist oligarchs hoped to retain the empire (Th. 8. 91, cf. 48. 5-7), and Athens did after all manage to survive for eight years after 413.

But new initiatives by Alkibiades and by the officers of the fleet at Samos threatened to alter the Athenian situation drastically. Alkibiades, whose relations with the Peloponnesians had deteriorated since the Miletos battle, now wished to have himself recalled to Athens. He thought he could bring this about if he could gain significant Persian support for the Athenians and use this both to gain favour with the fleet and to undermine the anticipated resistance of his enemies at Athens. His chances were favourable inasmuch as Tissaphernes had found collaboration with the Peloponnesians difficult for reasons financial, strategic, and political. Indeed Tissaphernes seems to have decided (with Alkibiades' concurrence, if not on his advice) that an offer of support for Athens would be to his advantage whether or not it was accepted. By linking the offer to Alkibiades, Tissaphernes could at the very least expect to some degree to destabilize the already beleaguered Athenian leadership. If

the offer was accepted he would be in a position to prevent either side from gaining a decisive advantage, while at the same time ensuring that each could inflict the maximum damage on the other. By November 412 Alkibiades was in contact with the Athenian officers at Samos, and by December he had moved to Tissaphernes' court.

Alkibiades proposed to the officers the following plan. He would persuade Tissaphernes to switch his support to Athens if the Athenian constitution was changed in such a way that Alkibiades' enemies lost their ascendancy and if the Athenians voted to recall him. Despite the plausible objections of the general Phrynichos (that Alkibiades was an unprincipled opportunist and that civil strife was at all costs to be avoided) most of the officers accepted the plan. They thought that their share of the war effort had been disproportionately great by comparison with their say in determining policy. In addition, the prospect of Persian money offered an attractive (and arguably the only obtainable) way out of the financial difficulties that impeded more vigorous prosecution of the war. Therefore, in early December, the officers proclaimed an oligarchy and dispatched to Athens a delegation headed by Peisandros to inform the Athenians of their requirements. Thukydides' account is at this point chronologically confusing, but on the most straightforward interpretation of his narrative Peisandros seems to have arrived in Athens in late December and to have departed in mid-March (cf. *HCT* v. 131).

The most direct indication of the date of *Lys.* appears at 489-92, where Lysistrata defends her occupation of the Akropolis to the Proboulos:

(Pro.) So we are fighting because of the money?

(Lys.) Yes, and because of the money everything else was thrown into turmoil, too. For it was for opportunities to steal (the money) that Peisandros and the others aiming for public office were always stirring up some sort of turbulence. That is why I say, let them now do as they please, for no longer shall they be hauling this money down from the citadel.

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'Always' clearly means 'throughout the war,'⁶ and the imperfect tenses indicate dramatic time, i.e. the time prior to the women's seizure of the citadel. Thus Peisandros is attacked as the same warmongering demagogue familiar from earlier plays. The 'others aiming for public office' with whom Peisandros is aligned are the factions which all along have been in charge of the war effort. Clearly Peisandros' advocacy of and activities promoting drastic constitutional changes cannot yet have been public knowledge at Athens. Since Peisandros must, by any chronology, have left Athens well before the City Dionysia (when his revolutionary plans could no longer be secret), the play must be Lenaian.

This passage does not unambiguously corroborate Thukydides' timetable for Peisandros' return from Samos to Athens before the Lenaia: Ar. may have picked on him arbitrarily, and comic ridicule can be directed at persons not physically present in the city (e.g. Eukrates at 103). But Lysistrata's remark does not look like simple coincidence: Peisandros is the only named person singled out for political attack in the play and is thus identified as the principal advocate for the policy of continued war (note the emphasis on 'now as before'). This suggests that Peisandros had in fact returned and had made some sort of public statement. Since Ar. clearly had the impression that he was merely up to his old tricks, Peisandros must for the moment have been presenting himself as one working within the traditional constitutional framework, and we must conclude that before revealing his plans publicly he spent some time canvassing the political clubs and otherwise testing the waters: more than a month if the Lenaia was held in February.

In his initial public appearance(s) Peisandros probably spoke encouragingly about the fleet's military readiness while at the same time explaining its difficulties in such a

⁶ Ar. evidently thought of 'the war' as having begun in 418, not 431. Lys. stresses the repudiation of the Treaty of 421 as the beginning of the war (512 ff.) and the semichorus of men praise Phormion as a hero from the more glorious past (804).

way as to discredit its enemies. He probably secured from the Athenians the immediate deposition of Phrynichos and (S)kironides. By placing the blame for the loss of Iasos and the betrayal of Amorges on Phrynichos, Peisandros could both account for these setbacks as being no fault of the fleet and shortcircuit any plans by Phrynichos to undermine its plans. We may be sure that Peisandros, by way of preparing full revelation of his plans, generally underscored the inadequacies of the present Athenian leadership by stressing the need for greater *sophrosyne* in the management of affairs.

Further evidence that Ar. was in the dark about the oligarchic plans of the fleet appears at 313, where the old men of the chorus invoke the generals' aid in evicting the women. Although the comic point here seems to be that the generals ought to be more active and stand up against a truly formidable enemy like the women (the old men are proud infantrymen), it is significant that they think of the generals as potential allies. Given their character and views—they are veterans of the fight against tyranny and of the Persian invasions, patriotic hoplites, and members of the present home-guard—it is highly unlikely that they would take this line were the generals' proclamation of oligarchy yet common knowledge at Athens.

Ar. puts great emphasis on the chronic problem of political strife at Athens (cf. esp. 574 ff.) but gives no hint anywhere in the play that he suspected imminent change: indeed it is business as usual that is the problem. The Council is still in charge of important business (1011-12), the Assembly still opposes the idea of negotiations (170-1, 507-22, 698-703) and the leaders are still behaving as they always have (489-92). The appointment of Probouloi had been the Athenians' major concession to those who called for greater *sophrosyne* (Th. 8. 1. 3), but our Proboulos is portrayed as a pompous and arrogant bureaucrat who, after verbal and physical humiliation, is ignominiously expelled. Ar. may have considered the Probouloi a nuisance (cf. Th. 809) but evidently not a threat to democracy (387-423 n.).

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Anti-democratic factions are mentioned only once, and there they are lumped together with democratic factions (office-seekers like Peisandros) in a sweeping indictment of all troublemakers (577–8). When the old men accuse the women of conspiring to set up a new tyranny (616–35) Ar. is merely ridiculing the kind of divisive smear-tactics so often heard in the rhetoric of popular leaders. *Th.* 1136–7 provides a significant contrast, for there reference to tyranny has lost its usual jocular tone and reflects the menacing change of atmosphere at the time of the City Dionysia (cf. *HCT* v. 190 ff.).

If Ar. was unaware of plans for constitutional changes, he must have been equally unaware of plans to recall Alkibiades, since the two issues were inseparable. Had the question of Alkibiades been debated recently it is difficult to imagine that in a play like *Lys.* Ar. would have kept his silence (cf. *Ra.* 1422 ff.). Yet he seems rather to forego than exploit opportunities to allude to Alkibiades. At 108 *Lysistrata* mentions the loss of Miletos, but only in connection with the unavailability of dildoes. At 390 ff. the Proboulos recollects the decision to dispatch the armada to Sicily, but blames the disaster not on the misbehaviour of Alkibiades but on the conduct of men like Demostratos, who debated the issue on an occasion rendered ill-omened by their own wives. At 507 ff. *Lysistrata* condemns the repudiation of the treaty of 421, but only to blame it on the foolishness of the Assembly. And at 1093 ff. the jocular references to the mutilation of the herms refer generally to any mutilators who may be lurking among the spectators.⁷

⁷ The curious fact that none of the many persons known to have been denounced in the scandal of the Mysteries is mentioned by name in comedies produced between 415 and the installation of the Four Hundred may well be the result of the decree of Syrakosios mentioned in Σ^{VEF} *Av.* 1297 and protested by the comic poet Phrynichos in *Monotropos* (Fr. 26). Nevertheless, the decree did not prevent comic poets from alluding to these persons in general terms (*Av.* 145–7 is an allusion to Alkibiades' arrest). Thus Ar. could have addressed the issues of constitutional changes and the recall of Alkibiades if he so wished. For ridicule of named individuals in comedy generally see S. Halliwell, *CQ* 34 (1984) 83–8; for the decree see A. H. Sommerstein, *CQ* 36 (1986) 101–8.

LYSISTRATA AND THE EVENTS OF 411

Finally, none of the many allusions to Persia reflect knowledge that a deal with Tissaphernes was in the making. The basic assumption of the plot is that all the money available to Athens is in the Akropolis treasuries. Unlike Dikaiopolis (*Ach.* 100 ff.) Lysistrata does not worry that politicians may be tempted by Persian gold. Her attitude about the Persians appears at 1133-4, where she rebukes Athens and Sparta alike (*κωνῆ* 1129) for having forgotten their cultural and historical kinship: 'At a time when enemies with a *barbarian* army are abundantly at hand, it is *Greek* men and cities that you destroy!' That is, if you must fight, fight Persians and not one another. Lysistrata proceeds to urge a return to the policy of earlier times, when Athens and Sparta enjoyed joint hegemony in Greece and gloriously resisted Persian interference. This same argument appears in previous plays and cannot have been unfamiliar to the spectators. Ar. indeed alludes to all the major battles of the Persian struggle in the course of the play,⁸ by way of preparing for Lysistrata's speech. At the end of the play are two Spartan songs that underscore her message. The first (1247 ff.) highlights the battles of Artemision and Thermopylai, and the second (1296 ff.) prepares for an exit-hymn to Athena, protectress of both cities.

Ar.'s vision for Athens at the time of the Lenaia of 411 was reconciliation at home and abroad in the form of a return to the polity and prosperity of the good old days. Had he known about the far different vision soon to be foisted on the Athenians by Peisandros and the generals, he would have staged a very different play—*Thesmophoriazousai*, for example.

II. THE CHARACTER OF THE PLAY

An Athenian citizen called Lysistrata ('Disbander of Armies') organizes and successfully prosecutes a panhellenic conspiracy of citizen wives that forces the chief combatants

⁸ Except Plataia, where the Boiotians (included in Lysistrata's peace) played what would have been considered an embarrassing role.

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(Athens and Sparta) and their allies to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the war and promise never again to fight one another. Her conspiracy consists of two plots, which are separately enacted. One is a conjugal strike staged by young wives from the warring cities and designed to force the fighting men to lay down their arms and come home. The other is the occupation of the Akropolis and its treasuries by the older wives of Athens, so that the politicians will no longer be able to finance the war. The strike-plot (described in the prologue and illustrated at 706–1013) succeeds virtually unopposed. The occupation-plot (254–705) contains the agonistic component of the play: strife between a semichorus of old men and a semichorus of old women, and an encounter between Lysistrata and an old Proboulos. The following schematic outline reveals the play's basic structure:¹

1. *Prologue* (1–253). Lysistrata persuades the young wives to enact a conjugal strike and reveals a separate plan whereby older Athenian women will take and hold the Akropolis. The foreign leaders return to their respective cities, leaving hostages, and the Athenian women enter the Akropolis, which has by now been occupied (240).

OCCUPATION-PLOT

2. *Parodos* (254–386). A semichorus of old men attempt to evict the occupying women and are repulsed by a semichorus of old women.

¹ For discussions of the plot of *Lys.* see Schmid 319 ff.; Gelzer 1475. 37 ff., 1479. 10 ff.; D. Grene, *Hermathena* 50 (1937) 87 ff.; C. H. Whitman, *Ar. and the Comic Hero* (Cambridge, Mass. 1964) 200 ff.; A. O. Hulton, *G & R* 19 (1972) 32 ff.; J. Vaio, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 369 ff.; J. Henderson, *YCS* 26 (1980) 153 ff. For Aristophanic plots generally see W. Süß, *RhM* 97 (1954) 115 ff., 229 ff., 298 ff.; M. Landfester, *Handlungsverlauf und Komik in den frühen Komödien des Ar.* (Berlin/N.Y. 1977). Typical structural features of parodoi are described by B. Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zur Form und dramatischen Technik der ar. Komödien I, Beitr. z. Klass. Phil.* 154 (1984); of agons by Th. Gelzer, *Der epirrhematische Agon bei Ar., Zetemata* 23 (Munich 1960); of parabases by M. Sifakis, *Parabasis and Animal Choruses* (London 1971). For parallel structures in the plays of other comic poets see M. Whittaker, *CQ* 29 (1935) 181 ff.

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3. *Episode* (387-475). A Proboulos and his police attempt to evict the occupying women and are repulsed by Lysistrata and her helpers.
4. *Onstage Debate* (476-613). Lysistrata defends the occupation to the Proboulos, who will not listen and is expelled.
5. *Choral Debate* (614-705). The women's chorus defends the occupation to the men's chorus. The men will not listen and are silenced.

STRIKE-PLOT

6. *Episode* (706-80). Lysistrata rallies the young wives for continued prosecution of the conjugal strike.
7. *Songs* (781-828). The semichoruses defend the behaviour of their respective sexes by recalling Timon and Melanion.
8. *Episode* (829-953). Myrrhine illustrates the conjugal strike by sexually frustrating her husband Kinesias.
9. *Duet* (954-79). Kinesias laments his discomfiture and is consoled by the koryphaios.
10. *Episode* (980-1013). A Spartan herald reveals to Kinesias the success of the strike at Sparta. Both sides agree to summon negotiators.

RECONCILIATION

11. *Choral Dialogue* (1014-42). The semichoruses end hostilities and unite.
12. *Song* (1043-71). The chorus renounces war and anticipates peace.
13. *Episode* (1072-1188). Lysistrata presents arguments against warfare among Greeks and mediates the combatants' disputes. All enter the Akropolis for a banquet.
14. *Song* (1189-1215). A resumption of 12.
15. *Episode* (1216-1315). The success of the banquet is described. All assemble onstage, and a Spartan and an Athenian sing songs celebrating their united valour against the Persians and rejoicing in the new accord. The wives are returned to their husbands.

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16. *Exodos* (1316–21). All exit to a hymn to Athena Chalkioikos, the Spartan equivalent of Athena Polias.

This plot is remarkable for its complexity, for the number and variety of its personnel and for its imaginative manipulation of typical comic structures. Because *Lysistrata* must coordinate two separate initiatives that are supposed to occur simultaneously, Ar. proceeds in a less desultory and inconsequent fashion than in other plays:² contrast, for example, the diptych-style management of the double plot of *Frogs* (underworld journey and contest). Particularly noteworthy is Ar.'s ingenious exploitation of the humour in two scenarios—wives striking husbands at home and wives deserting their homes—only one of which is actually staged and neither of which is motivated by the original complaint (the husbands are never at home). In performance this is made to seem quite logical (see the notes at 65–180, 149, 240–53). Noteworthy too is the suspenseful postponement of the resolution until nearly the end of the play. Along the way, much colourful and varied action is provided by a large number of characters and two remarkably active and independent semichoruses. The customary mix of young and old Athenian males is enriched by a number of Spartan males and by numerous young and old females both Athenian and foreign. The appearance of a heroine was unusual and perhaps a novelty: although female choreutai were not uncommon in comedy³ there are no earlier examples of a female protagonist like *Lysistrata*.⁴

² In *Ekkh.* Ar. employs a simple linear plot in which the action contained in each episode is finished off before the next episode begins.

³ Schmid 418 n. 3 gives a list.

⁴ Aside from brief appearances by such characters as market-women and minor goddesses, female speaking parts in earlier plays are personifications (Comedy in Kratinos' *Pytine*), figures from mythology (Phrynichos' burlesque treatment of Andromeda, *Nub.* 556 with Σ^E) or relatives of prominent men (Hermippos' *Artopolides* caricatured Hyperbolos' mother: *Nub.* 557 with Σ^{RVE}). For female mutes see G. Richter, *De mutis personis quae in traegodia et comoedia Attica producuntur* (Halle 1934) 53 ff., 78.

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Ar. maintains the typical pattern, prologue—epirrhematic section—episodes, but adapts it to the special requirements of this plot. Because the resolution comes so late in the play, the chorus remains divided into antagonistic semi-choruses long after the end of the epirrhematic section (until 1042). For this reason the sphragis which usually ends the central debate does not appear until 1108, and a pair of agonistic epirrhematic syzygies (614-705) take the place of a parabasis. The kind of advice to the city that normally appears in a parabasis-speech is worked into the agon-speeches of Lysistrata (cf. 567 ff.). The solo songs and communal dancing in the final scene (1247 ff.) memorably express the spirit of reconciliation between husbands and wives, citizens, age-groups and cities.

In spite of its individual qualities, the plot of *Lys.* conforms to a common pattern observable also in *Acharnians*, *Peace*, *Birds*, and *Ekklesiazousai*. By means of a daring, fantastic, and unorthodox scheme a hero(ine) who feels in some way frustrated or victimized by the operations of contemporary society manages to evade or alter the situation of which (s)he initially complains and proceeds to effect a triumph of wish-fulfilment over reality. Those powers human, natural, or divine which would obstruct the scheme are either converted by argument or overcome by guile, magic, or force. At the end there is celebration and revelry in which only the hero(ine)'s supporters participate, for the obstructors and those who would undeservedly benefit by the hero(ine)'s success have been expelled.

As in the other heroic plays, Ar. in *Lys.* expects the audience to sympathize with the heroine and applaud her success. We sympathize with Lysistrata because she is intrepid and commanding; because she makes clever and plausible arguments for the justice of her scheme and the desirability of its success; because her goals are presented as being in the best interests of the spectators; because we enjoy the way in which the familiar mechanisms of reality magically, but at the same time logically, operate to her

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advantage; and because her opponents are portrayed in so unsympathetic a fashion that we derive pleasure and a sense of relief from their discomfiture.

Sympathy for the heroine creates sympathy for her views, however outrageous they may initially sound or would sound if maintained anywhere but on the comic stage. For in composing arguments for his characters Ar. did not seek to emulate (except comically) composers of rational programmes for advocacy in an assembly, persuasive cases for delivery in a lawcourt, or closely reasoned pamphlets for publication. Like an epic or tragic poet, he wrote for his characters arguments appropriate to their identity and situation. Since these are comic characters in a comic situation, they offer the spectators only comic choices. Whether or not Ar. held the same views in life as his sympathetic characters hold onstage, we may be certain that he would not have argued his views as a citizen with anything like the methods employed by his characters. Even when, in a parabasis-speech, he more or less speaks in his own voice he invariably speaks as poet not as citizen: he advertises his superior poetic skills and belittles his rivals, or he offers moral advice of the sort that poets were traditionally expected to offer. He never takes any sort of position on the issues raised in the rest of the play.⁵

We must not, however, imagine that *Lys.* was a purely escapist entertainment. True observation and just advice are as much a part of comedy as fantasy, distortion, and farce. Indeed, there were thoughts best publicly articulated in comic guise. Who in 411 could tell the Athenians that the Probouloi were decrepit bunglers, that the politicians were selfish and thievish, and that the Spartans were old friends? Who could give public expression to the desolation and fear suffered by the women? It was the comic poet who gave communal expression to the social currents running beneath

⁵ See Dover, *AC* 51 ff. A different view is advanced for *Ach.* by A. M. Bowie, *CQ* 32 (1982) 27 ff.

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the surface of public discourse, and his actors were, after all, men in disguise speaking to their mates in the audience.

In the heroic plays particularly, the general appeal of the motive complaint is enhanced by its being resolved in terms of a utopian (which is to say, festive) solution that would be rejected only by a most wrong-headed person. *Lysistrata* reminds the spectators of the blessings of peace and denounces the evils of the present war (not all war: 1133-4) in terms with which none of the spectators would quarrel. The proffered blessings of peace are prosperity, a secure and happy domestic life, civic solidarity and loyalty, friendly and profitable relations with other Greek cities, festivals, banquets, and dancing. The alternatives are poverty, domestic discord, civil factionalism, political corruption, hostile and self-defeating relations with other Greek cities, campaigns, sudden death, and sexual frustration. Peace, *Lysistrata* argues, can be attained simply by deciding to renew the old friendship among Greeks, and when that happens all the evils occasioned by the war will disappear.

When the Athenian situation is put in these terms it becomes impossible for any character to offer an argument in favour of continuing the war or to mount an honourable resistance to the women's initiatives. That is, the poet does not encourage the spectators to ask how the scheme might fare in the real world nor do his characters address the difficult issues that would have to be faced by anyone who advocated a negotiated peace in the Assembly, who forcibly obstructed access to the public treasuries, or who abandoned her conjugal duties. For a comic festival was not only an artistic competition but also a ritual relief from the burdens and uncertainties of life.⁶ There the spectators were encouraged to believe what they hoped was true (that life would soon be better) and to expect what they knew was impossible

⁶ Cf. *Ra.* 408-9 *κάξεῦρεν ὡστ' ἀζημίους παίζειν τε καὶ χορεύειν*, Th. 2. 38. 1 *καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μὲν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίαις νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέειν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἢ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει.*

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(that the forces arguably responsible for their unhappiness could be painlessly eliminated).

The utopian fantasy of *Lys.* is distinct from those of the other heroic plays in being more practical: the situation is fantastic but realizable in principle, and the actions of the characters are not fundamentally outside the realm of human possibility.⁷ The women of the play neither alter their characteristic situations nor adopt uncharacteristic ones. None questions her ordinary role or seeks in any way to change it. On the contrary, the women want only to return to their normal lives, which have been disrupted by the war. Their conspiracy is unselfish and temporary and relies not on magical or supernatural mechanisms but only on the employment of the skills, attributes, and prerogatives peculiar to their sex: in particular, domestic management, domestic finances, procreation, and care of kin. The fantasy lies in the projection of these outside the domestic sphere by means of a conspiracy in which the city is assimilated to the individual household and the aggregate of cities to a neighbourhood (cf. § I, above).

Contrast the magical rise of Dikaiopolis from insignificance to power and prosperity in *Acharnians*; the grandiose apotheoses of Trygaeos in *Peace* and Peisetairos in *Birds*; or the *monde renversée* achieved by Praxagora in *Ekkl.*, where the women adopt exclusively masculine roles, usurp public functions reserved for men, and effect fundamental alterations of human society.⁸ In *Lys.* domestic normality is the

⁷ Cf. E. Schwinge, 'Ar. und die Utopie,' and B. Zimmermann, 'Utopisches und Utopie in den Komödien des Ar.', respectively in *WuJbb* NF 3 (1977) 57 and 9 (1983) 57 ff.

⁸ The contrast is not weakened by the fact that Praxagora plans to preserve in her new regime the enjoyments that the women had had in the old (*ἄσπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ*, 221 ff.). That there were other plays of this type is apparent from such titles as *Woman Tyrant* (Pherekrates, Amphis and Alexis) and *Women On Campaign* (Theopompos). For the motif of gynaeocracy in Greek literature, cult, and myth see R. F. Willetts, *Hermes* 87 (1959) 495 ff.; S. G. Pembroke, *JWCI* 30 (1967) 1 ff.; W. B. Tyrrell, *ASNP* 12

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keynote: the men have disrupted it and the women restore it. The fun lies not in a fantastic transformation of ordinary reality but in the exploration of its fantastic possibilities.

The practicality of Lysistrata's utopian scheme requires that Ar. represent domestic life in a much less flamboyantly unrealistic manner than usual. The extramarital outlets for husbands that in comedy and in a slave-owning society are normally available must be ignored in order to motivate the sexual tension on which the strike-plot turns. Thus the wives long only for their husbands, not their lovers (as e.g. *Th.* 491-2), and the husbands cannot get along without their wives. Kinesias genuinely misses Myrrhine, and not only sexually: he misses her tending of their child (880 ff.), her clothesmaking (896-7), her household management (895-6), and her companionship (865 ff., 868-9). Even after she tricks him he professes his love for her (970 ff.). The wives, too, are barely able to live up to their oath and must constantly be rallied by Lysistrata (728 ff.). That the men would be willing to end the war because they missed their wives is of course a fantastic assumption, but it is not a possibility raised only in comedy. Recall the words of Odysseus to the despondent Achaians (*Il.* 2. 292 ff.): 'Any man who remains with his intricate ship apart from his wedded wife even for one month is impatient. . . and for us it is now the ninth year that we wait here. For this reason I do not blame the Achaians for their impatience.'

Drawn from life, too, is the wives' complaint that the absence or loss of husbands in war disrupts domestic life, the sphere after all where Greek women were traditionally in charge and from which they drew their civic identity and had their safety. And it is difficult to believe that citizen wives had many illusions about the injustice of a social system that denied them a public voice in determining

(1982) 1213-37; P. Vidal-Naquet in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* (Paris 1970) 63 ff. Ancient discussions about gender roles are collected by J. Vogt, *Von der Gleichwertigkeit der Geschlechter in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft der Griechen*, *Abh. Akad. Wiss. und Lit.* 2 (Mainz 1960).

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policies that immediately affected their lives. The idea, maintained by the Proboulos, that wives must silently acquiesce in their husbands' behaviour regardless of its possible consequences for themselves (cf. 507 ff.), is irreconcilable with life as actually lived and is ably rebutted by Lysistrata in terms which cannot be entirely the product of Ar.'s imagination. Against the similar sentiments of a Hektor (*Il.* 6. 441 ff.) or a Perikles (Th. 2. 44-6) must be put the care taken by Laertes to avoid his wife's anger (*Od.* 1. 428 ff.) and the warning by the speaker of *Against Neaira* that in the interest of domestic harmony the jurymen must not cast the vote that would displease their wives (D. 59. 110). Tragedy, too, affords ample evidence of what could happen to husbands whose behaviour threatens their wives' domestic security: witness the cases of Agamemnon, Herakles, Jason, the husbands of the Lemnian women and of the Danaids.⁹

Sexual manipulation of husbands by wives may indeed be one of the few Aristophanic motifs that is more common in life than in literature. The Greek prototype was, of course, the Homeric Hera (e.g. in *Il.* 14), but there is also Alkmene, who refused sex until her husband avenged her brothers' murder (Hes. *Shield* 14 ff.), and the wife of the tragic actor Theodoros, who refused sex until he won a first prize (Plu. *Mor.* 737B, cf. Machon 226 ff.). We may probably compare the loyalty to kin which prompted Antigone and Elektra to forego marriage in defiance of their masters' wishes (S. *Ant.* 905 ff., *El.* 164 ff.).

The truly fantastic possibility in the situation portrayed in *Lys.* is that wives might employ their traditional domestic weapons (complaint, dereliction of domestic duties, and passive resistance) in a corporate conspiracy designed to operate in the men's public sphere. For, in effect, Lysistrata converts the Akropolis into a household for all the city's

⁹ For the typology of wives acting when husbands' behaviour threatens the household see M. Shaw, *CP* 70 (1975) 255 ff. and H. P. Foley, *CP* 77 (1982) 1 ff. For parallels from Greek history see D. Schaps, *CP* 77 (1982) 193 ff.

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female citizens. Its exclusivity turns the tables on the men, who have excluded their wives from the process of policy-making. Fantastic, too, is the abnormal strength and discipline displayed by the women versus the uncharacteristic pusillanimity and rapid capitulation of the men: a reversal of prevailing gender stereotypes. For Greek tradition contains no parallel to the organized defiance of Lysistrata and her comrades.

The only exception was in the context of religion, where female sacerdotal personnel had a certain degree of public competence.¹⁰ A sixth-century priestess of Athena Polias forbade Kleomenes to enter the temple (Hdt. 5. 72), and in Ar.'s time Theano, a priestess of Demeter and Kore (*PA* 6636), defied a public order to curse Alkibiades (*Plu. Alk.* 22, 33). There is good reason to suppose that Lysimache, the Polias priestess in office in 411, held views similar to those of Lysistrata (see III below). With these examples of priestly autonomy we may align those festive events in which women ritually exclude and sometimes defy the men: Dionysian maenadism, Thesmophoria, Skirophoria, the festival of the new fire on Lemnos (Burkert, *HN* 190 ff.), and the many festivals of the Agriania/Agrionia type (*ibid.*, 168 ff.). Lysistrata's initiatives, however, place no reliance on sacerdotal licence or bakchic mania; they are undertaken by women in their ordinary capacities as citizens, albeit in extraordinary ways.

Nevertheless, Ar. reminds the spectators of salient legendary and foreign parallels: the Amazons, who in Theseus' time occupied the Pnyx and battled with men (678), and the Karian queen Artemisia, who fought the Greeks more

¹⁰ Turner, 383 ff. lists the social, economic, and legal benefits that might have motivated women to become priestesses and that distinguished priestesses from ordinary women. For a general discussion see J. Gould, *JHS* 100 (1980) 38 ff. The fact that priestesses could sue (a Demeter-priestess sues the hierophant: *Athen.* 13. 594B) and be sued (the priestess of Artemis Brauronia: *Deinarchos, Against Aristogeiton* 212) must condition our evaluation of spectator response to Lysistrata's forensic skills.

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valiantly than Xerxes' male admirals (675). The audience had perhaps heard also of the Ionian women mentioned by Herodotos who shunned their husbands (1. 146. 3) or of such Near Eastern tales as the one recorded by Josephus, where Balaam sends women to seduce the Hebrews and then refuse further sex until the Hebrews renounce their laws (*AJ* 4. 126-55, cf. *Ph. Mos.* 1. 295-311).

We moderns have parallels closer to home. Since the social reform movements of the nineteenth century women have been demanding, and steadily achieving, a greater voice in public, in many cases by means of organized public protest. What was a ludicrous and fantastic idea to the spectators of *Ekkli.*—that women might vote in assemblies—has become the reality of our century. That a frustrated group of citizens seeking to acquire a platform for their views or demands might seize a public building was, for the spectators of *Lys.*, an equally fantastic idea. But this too has become a common political tactic.¹¹ As for the organized conjugal strike there are two recent parallels known to me. In Birmingham, England in the winter of 1970, the wives of striking motorcar workers refused sex until their husbands returned to the factories,¹² and in Smithfield, Rhode Island, in the winter of 1983, a group of housewives decided 'to do absolutely nothing of the things that wives and mothers are normally expected to do' until their husbands promised 'to pay more attention to us and communicate more'.¹³

III. DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Except for *Lysistrata*, the characters of this play are portrayed as conventional citizens and conform to the prevailing public (male) stereotypes of the day. The young

¹¹ We might compare the strategy of *Telephos* in Euripides' play which is borrowed by *Dikaiopolis* in *Ach.* and by the *Relative* in *Thesm.*

¹² *San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 Dec. 1970, p. 21.

¹³ *Associated Press*, 6 Dec. 1983.

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wives are frivolous, naive and unreliable.¹ The old women are indifferent to sexual temptation² and display the haughty forthrightness, relative independence, and prickly temper characteristic of their age-group. Because they work in a righteous cause, however, Ar. portrays both wives³ and old women⁴ as belonging to the respectable (and perhaps upper-class) stratum of Athenian and foreign society. The old men of the chorus are raggedy, right-thinking patriots who live on their jury-pay (625), dwell Nestor-like on their past glories while belittling the standards of the present day, and refuse on principle to give in to women. Their elderly champion, the Proboulos, is a pompous, arrogant, and bumbling bureaucrat whose humiliation affords the spectators vicarious pleasure in authority debunked. The young warriors and plenipotentiaries who finally appear late in the play are noteworthy for their impatience to do whatever they must do in order to relieve their extreme sexual frustration.

Only Lysistrata is extraordinary. She is identified neither as a housewife nor as an elderly woman. No details about her age or marital status appear. In the strike and in the seizure of the citadel she is the strategist and spokesman, while the other women are her agents. She understands and makes use of her helpers' talents but does not herself share in them. In fact she pointedly differentiates herself from the other women, especially the young wives. Moreover, she is not merely a representative of her own sex but also an advocate of traditional values for all Greeks male and female. She is endowed with a degree of intelligence, will, and eloquence that would have been considered extraordinary in a citizen

¹ Lysistrata's Spartan counterpart, Lampito, shows more courage (145) and political savvy (168 ff.) than the other wives, as befits her stature.

² This stereotype first appears in *hHDem.* 101-2, cf. Pl. *Lg.* 759D.

³ See nn. at 6, 77, 86, 90, 696-7 (names and descriptions), 44 (clothing).

⁴ Their participation in the city's major cults (638 ff.) is an indication of high social position. Some of the women occupying the Akropolis, however, are fierce market-women who serve Lysistrata as soldiers (456 ff.).

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of either sex and that emerges triumphant on all fronts. Only the Proboulos, a scapegoat, is immune. In her possession of the most admired attributes, in her dual role as defender of home and of city, in her acquaintance with both domestic and martial arts, in her panhellenic outlook, in her advocacy of internal solidarity,⁵ in her cool discipline and immunity to sexual temptation, in her appeal to young and old and in her close connection with the Akropolis, Lysistrata finds her closest analogue in Athena herself.

This characterization of Lysistrata has prompted speculation that our heroine was modelled on an actual contemporary of Ar., the priestess of Athena Polias, Lysimache.⁶ This priesthood was the most prominent and venerable in Athens and represented the last grand stronghold of the aristocracy and its values. It was an hereditary possession of the ancient *genos* of the Eteoboutadaï and its incumbents can be traced from the fifth century BC until the second century AD.⁷ The priestess, who served for life, had a residence on the Akropolis,⁸ where she managed the cult and its personnel and where she supervised such activities as the training of *arrhephoroi* (641-2 n.) and the preparation of sacred banquets (*IG* ii² 776. 10 ff.). Occupants of this office had a public visibility and authority denied to other citizen women (see II above), and as representatives of the city's eponymous goddess they embodied and safeguarded the city's oldest and most enduring traditions.

Lysimache (*PA* 9470) was the daughter of Drakontides of Bate (*PA* 4549) and sister of Lysikles (*PA* 9432), who held the important office of Secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 417/16-415/14 (*IG* i³ 306.24, 307.44, 308.67). She held office for sixty-four years (*Plin. NH* 34. 76) and a commemo-

⁵ Cf. A. *Eum.* 858-66 and the skolion *Παλλὰς Τριτογένει' ἀνασσ' Ἀθάνα, / ὄρθου τήνδε πόλιν τε καὶ πολίτας / ἄτερ ἀλγέων καὶ στάσεων / καὶ θανάτων ἀώρων, / σύ τε καὶ πατήρ* (*PMG* 884 Page).

⁶ D. M. Lewis, *BSA* 50 (1955) 1 ff.

⁷ An up-to-date list is provided by Turner, 247 ff.

⁸ B. Jordan, *Servants of the Gods* (Göttingen 1980) 30.

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rative statue of her was made by Demetrios of Alopeke, whose working career fell in the period *c.* 400–360. We may therefore assume that Lysimache held office in 411. Two passages in *Ar.* seem to refer to her by name; if so, they suggest that she was publicly identified as a proponent of peace with the Peloponnesians. At *Peace* 991–2 Trygaios, in a prayer to Peace (represented onstage by a statue), says *λύσον δὲ μάχας καὶ κορκορνγὰς, ἵνα Λυσιμάχην σε καλώμεν*, and at *Lys.* 554 Lysistrata says that if her scheme succeeds ‘we women will, I imagine, be called Lysimaches throughout Greece’. It is possible that *Λυσιμάχη* is an otherwise unattested epithet or personification of Peace (not a cult term, because the Athenian cult of Peace was not established until 375/4: Deubner 37–8, Parke 32–3),⁹ but even so it could allude to the most prominent citizen of that name.

Lysimache would thus be one of only two examples in all of Greek comedy of a respectable woman being publicly named by a free man not related to her:¹⁰ her priesthood exempted her from the ordinary protocol. The other example is Lysistrata, who is so named at 1086, 1103, and 1147. Lysistrata’s name, which is similar in sound and significance to Lysimache’s and which in fact was borne by more than one Polias priestess in later times,¹¹ her close connection with the Akropolis and her assimilation to Athena are characteristics that may well have reminded the spectators of the priestess who occupied a seat of honour in the theatre and whose name was known to them.

We should probably not conclude, however, that Lysistrata was modelled on Lysimache, that actual portraiture was involved. Nothing said or done by Lysistrata depends

⁹ Horn 46–7 considers *Pax* 991–2 an example of mere etymological word-play designed to parody prayer-convention, but he overlooks *Lys.* 554 (where there is no word-play) and the topical significance of *Λυσιμάχη*.

¹⁰ See A. H. Sommerstein, *Quad. di storia* 11 (1980) 393 ff. For a similar protocol in Athenian lawcourts see D. Schaps, *CQ* 27 (1977) 323 ff.

¹¹ Perhaps in earlier times, too, since Lysimache is the first identifiable incumbent.

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for its intelligibility on references to a person external to the play (contrast e.g. Paphlagon/Kleon in *Knights*). She makes no appeal to family or cult prerogatives to buttress her authority, and she explains her extraordinary endowments as having been acquired by listening to her father and other venerable men (1124-7), much as Praxagora acquired her forensic skills from listening to orators while she was living near the Pnyx (*Ekk.* 243 ff.). Her name is appropriate and self-explanatory, and it was not exclusively associated with the Polias cult: a priestess of Demeter by that name appears c. 450 (*CEG* 317 = *IG* i³ 953). Like other Aristophanic hero(in)es, Lysistrata acquires, in the course of the play, a stature that no actual citizen (Lysimache included) could achieve: the two chief powers of Greece must come to submit their differences to her for arbitration. At the beginning of the play she is as much a nonentity as Dikaiopolis and Trygaeos. It is then significant that she is not named by a man until her victory (and hence public stature) is assured (cf. 433 n.).

It has also been suggested that Myrrhine was modelled on an actual person, the priestess of Athena Nike (for this cult cf. 317-18 n.), occupant of the most prominent demotic priesthood.¹² This identification depends on the interpretation of an epitaph of c. 405 (*CEG* 93 = *IG* i³ 1330) which states that one Myrrhine, daughter of one Kallimachos, was first to tend (*ἀμφιπόλευσε*) the temple of Athena Nike. The epitaph seems, however, to rule out the possibility that Myrrhine was the incumbent priestess of Athena Nike in 411. There is no way of determining when she held her post, but it must have been subsequent to the completion of the Nike temple in the 420s. Thus she cannot have been the cult's first priestess: the cult was established in the 440s and its priestesses were allotted *ἕξ ἀπάντων*, serving only a year or two, lifelong tenure being reserved for gentile priesthoods like that of Polias.¹³ The format and content of the epitaph

¹² I. Papademetriou, *Arch. Eph.* (1948/9) 146 ff.

¹³ Jordan (n. 8, above) 33 n. 54, Turner 88-9.

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rather suggest that Myrrhine held a low-echelon post¹⁴ whose only distinction was that she was the first to hold it.

We are left with the possibility that Myrrhine Kallimachou had for at least ten years held a sub-priestly position in the Nike temple which afforded her enough public recognition for an appearance in a Lenaian comedy. But this is a most unlikely possibility. The Myrrhine in our play is a typical housewife with a farcical role. It is impossible to discern any contribution to her characterization that a connection with Athena Nike would provide. Furthermore, Myrrhine is one of the most common Athenian names and was evidently chosen (like 'Kinesias') for its sexual connotations (838 n.). If it suggested any cult it was Aphrodite's, not Athena's.¹⁵

IV. PRODUCTION

The scene-building requires at least two doors (see notes at 1-64, 5, 916) and a roof that communicates easily with the stage (829 ff., 884 ff.). The stage-area¹ must have been large enough to accommodate the battle between the Proboulos' archers and Lysistrata's market-women (437 ff.) and the lively crowd-scene that closes the play (1216 ff.). There are numerous references to sites on and around the Akropolis, but there is no evidence that any were naturalistically represented: even the door supposed to be the Propylaea must be identified for the spectators (245 ff.).

At least four actors are required: in the prologue Lysistrata (1), Kalonike (6), Myrrhine (69), and Lampito (77); in the episode at 387 ff. Proboulos (387), Lysistrata (430), and at least two women (439, 443, 447); in the episode at 706 ff. Lysistrata (708) and at least three wives (727, 735,

¹⁴ For ἀμφοτελεύ cf. Hdt. 2. 56. 2.

¹⁵ See G. W. Elderkin, *CP* 35 (1940) 387 ff.

¹ Probably raised and separate from the orchestra: cf. *Wasps* 1341 ff., where the action presupposes a raised stage (but one raised not very high).

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742, 760); in the seduction-scene (829 ff.) Lysistrata (829), a wife (830), Myrrhine (837), and Kinesias (845).

A fifth actor is indicated by three passages of dialogue amounting to four and a half lines. (1) At 129–35 Kalonike and Myrrhine refuse to go along with Lysistrata's request for a sex-strike:

(Kal.) I won't do it: let the war drag on! (Myr.) Nor will I: let the war drag on! (Lys.) This from you, flatfish? You just now said that you would cut yourself in half. (Kal.) I would do that or anything else, even walk through fire! Anything but sex: there is nothing like it, my dear Lysistrata.

Then at 136: (Lys.) 'And what about you? (–?–) I also am ready to walk through fire.' It could be that Myrrhine echoes Kalonike, but it is hard to see why Lysistrata should ask Myrrhine to repeat her refusal, especially in so lame a fashion. Indeed, were line 136 not in the text we would not miss it. (2) In the episode at 706 ff. Lysistrata confronts a series of wives each of whom has a different excuse for a furlough (727, 735, 742). At 758–9 Wife C says, 'But I can't even sleep in the citadel, ever since I caught sight of the sacred snake!' Then someone says (760–1) 'And I am kept miserably awake by the constant hooting of the owls!' As at 136b, the speaker chimes in with an apparently gratuitous echo of the previous speaker. There is no reason why Wife A or Wife B should add this final excuse to the ones they have already given. (3) In the episode at 387 ff. the Proboulos, accompanied by four archers, seeks to arrest Lysistrata but is foiled by the appearance of three old women (439, 443, 447). The third woman might be the koryphaios of the semichorus of women, but the parallelism of her threat to the threats of the previous two suggests that she, like they, suddenly appears from the Propylaia. The point of the action here is that the Proboulos is surprised by the appearance of Lysistrata's bodyguards.

I have assigned these three passages to a fifth actor even though it is hard to account for his presence. (1) and (2)

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seem to be merely tacked on, and if they have any dramatic function it is apparently to increase the number of recalcitrant wives. (3) is motivated by the presence of four archers, but it is hard to see why Ar. was not satisfied with three, as he was in *Wasps* 433 ff. and *Frogs* 605 ff. Since the fifth actor's role is so small and inessential, it may be that Ar. for some reason had to accommodate him or that he was a novice.

In the following assignment of roles, Actor I has the most prominent role, Actor II the roles requiring an expert clown and Actor III the roles requiring the personification of Spartans.

- I. Lysistrata (1-864, 1112-87); Athenian Ambassador (1216-end).
- II. Kalonike (6-253); Proboulos (387-613); Wife A (727-80); Kinesias (845-1013); Athenian Ambassador (1086-1188); Athenian (1221-end).
- III. Lampito (81-244); Old Woman A (439-607); Wife B (735-80); Wife (830-6); Spartan Herald (980-1013); Spartan Ambassador (1076-1188, 1242-end).
- IV. Myrrhine (69-253, 837-951); Old Woman B (443-607); Wife C (742-80).
- V. Wife (136b); Old Woman C (447-607); Wife D (760-80).

Mute roles are as follows.

Prologue: *Athenian Wives* (65); *Boiotian Wife* (85); *Korinthian Wife* (90); *Archeress* (184); *Slave* (199).

Episode (387-475): The Proboulos enters with *Two Slaves* (426), *Four Archer-Policemen* (τοξόται 433-49) and a *Troop of Archers* (Σκύθαι 451, τὸ τοξικόν 462). The Archer-Policemen are driven off by Lys. (435-6) and three helpers who emerge from the Propylaia (439-40, 443-4, 447-8); the Troop of Archers is driven off by a *Troop of Market-women* who emerge from the Propylaia (452-61), leaving the Proboulos alone and defenceless.

Episode (829-953): *Slave and Child/Doll* (879, 908).

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Episode (1072–1188): *Spartan* (1072) and *Athenian* (1082) *Husbands* enter with their respective Ambassadors. *Lys.* is accompanied by *Diallage* (1114).

Episode (1216–end): *Doorkeeper* and *Slaves* (1216 ff.). The Spartan and Athenian Husbands reappear (1216, 1241) to reclaim their wives (1271 ff., cf. 1186–7). The *Spartan* and *Athenian Wives* (led by a mute *Lysistrata*?—see 1273–8 n.) emerge from the Propylaia (1271 ff.) and join their Husbands for celebratory dances (1278–1315).

The costumes worn by characters and choreutai are those which, allowing for comic exaggeration, their real-life counterparts would wear and are discussed in the notes. *Kinesias* and the other young men who follow wear erect phalloi. The text does not indicate whether the semichorus of old men wore phalloi (which would not be erect): for this question see 799–800 n. Outlandish barbarians like the Odomantians in *Ach.* 158 ff. can wear the grotesque circumcized phalloi mentioned at *Nu.* 538–9 (see Dover's note) and illustrated by vase-paintings, but it is unclear whether this would have been appropriate for such familiar barbarians as the Skythian archer-police of *Lys.* Female nakedness is represented by tights to which breasts and genitalia were attached (1106–27 n.). The young wives' masks probably had a light complexion, snub nose, and black hair fashionably styled, such as is worn by Nike on a contemporary vase (*DFA*, Pl. 77A). The foreign wives' masks (like their costumes) were appropriate to the prevailing regional stereotypes (tanned and fair-haired for Lampito, opulent for the Korinthian). The old women onstage and in the orchestra had wrinkles, a mop of unruly white hair, and a straight nose, such as we see in the early fourth century.² The *Proboulos* and the male choreutai probably wore the embittered-looking mask with full head of white hair and short

² A. D. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, *BICS Suppl.* 8 (1959) 23, 78.

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wedge beard that is known in the fourth century.³ The young husbands had dark hair and beards. The slaves (if they wore masks) had full hair (perhaps red), short beards and open trumpet-mouths.⁴ The Skythian archers had long hair and clean-shaven faces, as on contemporary vase-paintings. The Spartans had long, unkempt hair and beards (275-80 n.).

The large number of props identified in the text are: a shield supplied by an Archeress (185); a large wine-bowl and wine-bottle (195-6); twenty-four olivewood logs (255, 291); twelve vine torches (308, 1216 ff.); twelve pots (297) of live coals (293); twelve pitchers of water (327); several crowbars (428-9); a basket containing woolworking equipment (535, 567 ff.); funeral accessories (599 ff.); Athena's helmet (751); a written oracle (767-8); items of bedding and two bottles of perfume (916-47); banquet garlands (1216 ff.); Spartan bagpipes (1242).

V. THE SPARTAN DIALECT

In *Lys.* the Spartans are represented as speaking their local dialect.¹ Thukydides (5. 97) and Xenophon (*HG* 1. 1. 23, 3. 3. 2, 4. 4. 10) reproduce Spartan texts and a few fragments of comedy represent Lakonian: Eup. (?) *Helots* (138, 140), Epilykos *Koraliskos* (3). It is likely that some of the words preserved by lexicographers like Hesychios derive from comedy as well. Plu. *Alk.* 28 and Poll. 4. 102 probably derive from fifth-century sources. The language of the seventh-century Spartan poet Alkman, with whose poetry the Athenians were acquainted (*Av.* 251), may have been

³ T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments, BICS Suppl.* 23 (1969) 7-8.

⁴ Trendall 60.

¹ Full descriptions are: H. L. Ahrens, *De gr. linguae dialectis* (Göttingen 1839-43); S. P. Cortsen, *De dorische Stykker i Ar. Lys.* (Copenhagen 1900); F. Bechtel, *Die gr. Dialekte* (Berlin 1923) ii; E. Bourguet, *Le dialecte laconien* (Paris 1927); A. Thumb and E. Kieckers, *Handbuch der gr. Dialekte*² (Heidelberg 1932) ii. 76 ff.; C. D. Buck, *The Gr. Dialects*² (Chicago 1955).

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based on contemporary Lakonian but represents a less local Doric idiom, containing an admixture of Lesbian and epic forms.² Hellenistic writers like Theokritos and Kallimachos do not use Lakonian but a hybrid literary Doric. There are very few Lakonian inscriptions from Ar.'s time and earlier.

The paucity of attestation of contemporary Lakonian makes it difficult to determine how accurately Ar. reproduced it. Possible distorting factors are caricature; modification in the interest of intelligibility (including the introduction of Attic words); errors in the transcription of the original script (which may have been written in the Old Attic alphabet); and the subsequent entry into the text of corruptions and intrusive dialect items. In the medieval tradition atticizing is the most common corruption,³ and in manuscripts of the *Γ* family (especially B) the substitution of Lesbian forms is not uncommon.⁴

In this edition I have adhered to the MSS where they are not demonstrably incorrect. The following synopsis lists the features of Ar.'s Lakonian that differ from the Attic.

1. Vowels

- (a) \bar{a} was retained where Att. substituted η : $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (144).
- (b) ϵ before α/ω > ι : $\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ (1321), $\sigma\acute{\iota}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ (1298), $\sigma\acute{\iota}\acute{\omega}$ (81).
- (c) α for Att. ϵ in $\gamma\alpha$ (170), $\text{Ἄρταμιτῖ}\omega$ (1251) = $\text{Ἄρτεμισί}\omega$.
- (d) $\epsilon + \epsilon > [\epsilon:]$ (long back e-sound) and $o + o > [\circ:]$ (long back o-sound): $\mu\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\delta\eta\nu$ (1076), $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$ (143). At 1102, where meter rules out Lak. $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ (cf. 2 (c)), I print $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\eta\varsigma$, although MSS $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ may be correct (Theokr. 2. 128 $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$). $\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (106) and $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\phi\alpha$ (1303) are doubtful in Lak. and are probably Attic substitutions made by Ar.
- (e) ι is consonantal in $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ (1148) and possibly in $\delta\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ (183): contrast $\mu\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ (1002).

² See L. R. Palmer, *The Greek Language* (London/Boston 1980) 119 ff.

³ The reverse can also occur, e.g. $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ for $\tau\eta\nu$ (89).

⁴ For a general discussion of the MSS transmission of dialect in the text of Ar. see Elliott, 207-41.

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2. Nondiphthongal Vowel Combinations
 - (a) $a + \epsilon > \eta$: *ὄρην* (1077).
 - (b) $\bar{a} + o/\omega > \bar{a}$: *ἄς* (173) < **āos*, Att. *ἔως*; *τᾶν* (94) < *τᾶων*. Uncontracted in *Μενέλαος* (155).
 - (c) $\epsilon + \epsilon$ are uncontracted: *τριήρες* (173), but see 1(d).
3. Consonants
 - (a) Initial *w* in *ἀλεός* (988), *ἔσθος* (1096), *παρα-υιδών* (156), possibly *πελλάνας* (996, cf. 988), but absent elsewhere, e.g. *ἰδῆν* (118), *συναλίαξε* (93).
 - (b) Intervocalic, ante- and postconsonantal *w* has disappeared: *μόνας* (143), *κόρας* (1307), *καλῶς* (180).
 - (c) Intervocalic sigma > *h*: *μῶά* (1297) = *μῶσα*. At 168 *πέισομες* < **πειθσ-*.
 - (d) τ before *i* where Att. substituted σ : *Ἄρταμνίω* (1251).
 - (e) θ had become a sound (presumably MGk. θ) represented by Attic writers as σ , as in *σιόν* (1298), but this spelling does not appear when *v* precedes: *Κορινθία* (91), *πεπόνθαμες* (1098), *συνθήκαισι* (1268).
 - (f) $\delta\delta$ for Att. ζ : *γυμνάδομαι* (82).
 - (g) *ξιν-* is virtually (though not entirely) absent from West Greek inscriptions, thus *σιν-* at 93, cf. *συνθήκαισι* (1298).
4. Apocope is frequent, as in *ἀμπτάμενος* (106), *ποττό* (117), *πάρ* (1308).
5. Inflection
 - (a) Nom. pl. *πρυτάνιες* (981).
 - (b) Dat. pl. *τοῖσι... ἀμοῖσι* (1180-1), *ταῖσι συνθήκαισι* (1268), but *Ἀμύκλαις* (1298).
 - (c) At 1174 (the line is unmetrical) MSS *πρώτα* cannot be genuine: Lak. *πράτα* has a different root.
 - (d) Personal pronouns: *ἐγών* (983), *μ(έ)* (84), *τύ* (1188), *ἄμές* (168), *ἄμων* (168: later Doric shows *ἄμέων* or *ἄμίων*), *ἄμίν* (1081), *ἄμέ* (95), *ἔμέ* (87).
 - (e) Possessive adjectives: *ἔμός* (105), *τεός* (1249), *ἄμός* (1181).

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- (f) Relative pronouns are like the article: *τοί* (1301), *τᾶ* (1305).
6. Pronominal Adverbs; Conjunctions of Time, Place, Manner
- (a) *-α* for Att. *-η*: *ᾗ* (1320), *ὄπᾳ* (1080), *πᾳ* (171), *πα* (155), *τᾷδε* (180), *ᾗπερ* (84), *παντᾷ* (1081). The analogy of other IE languages suggests that these forms were originally instrumental (*-ā*), but I have followed the MSS and inscriptions, which generally show dative/locative iota, cf. Schwyzer i. 550, ii. 163. For the accents see 11.
- (b) *-ā*: *ἀμᾶ* 'likewise' (1258) as in inscriptions, although this adverb may belong with those in 6 (a) (cf. Hdn. i. 489, 16–17; KB ii. 305–6). *οὔπα* (1157) is otherwise unattested but apparently = *οὔπω* (cf. 1158, 1225), although on the analogy of Lak. *πήποκα* and *ὄπη* we would expect **οὔπη*. This adverb might be classified with such inscriptional formulas as *taulā hāl(e)* 'in such a way as...'.
 (c) *-κα* for Att. *-τε*: *δκα* (1251), *ποκά* (105).
 (d) *ἀές* (1267: MSS *αιές*) for Att. *ἀεί*.
7. The conditional relative is *αἰ/αῖκ* (1099), cf. Schwyzer i. 404.
8. The modal particle (*~* Att. *ἄν*) is *κα*.
9. Verbs
- (a) Active personal endings: 1 pl. *-μες*, 3 pl. *-ντι*.
 (b) The aor. of verbs in *-ίξω* shows *ξ* for Att. *σ*: *συναλίαξε* (93). *πορπακισάμενος* (106) is a metrical accommodation.
 (c) The Doric future in *-σέω* appears in 183 *ὀμιώμεθα* (as in Att. *ὀμούμεθα* < **ὀμεσούμεθα*, cf. 1 (b)) but not in *πωτάδμαι* (1013); thus I print *κάειώ* not *κάειῶ* at 1243.
 (d) The infinitive of athematic verbs is *-μεν*: *ἀποδόμεν* (1163).
 (e) The 3 pl. imperfect of *εἶμι* is *ἦν* (1261).
 (f) For the verb *λῶ* (981), *λῆς* (95), *λῆ* (1163), *λῶμες*

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(1162), λῆτε (1105) see J. Brause, *Glotta* 2 (1910) 204.

10. Syntax and Usage

- (a) In oaths *ναί* and *οὐ* are used without following *μά* (81, 990).
- (b) *οἰῶ* (like Att. *οἴομαι*, to which it may be related) is used parenthetically (81), cf. Bechtel ii. 351, Ahrens ii. 350.
- (c) *δ' αὖ* is simply copulative like Att. *δέ* (90-1).
- (d) *μάν* strengthens imperatives (like Att. *δή*), as in epic and in the choral parts of drama (183), cf. KG ii. 136, GP 331-2.
- (e) *τε* following a relative, as in epic, appears in a purely Lakonian song (1307) and may therefore have survived in Lak.
- (f) For *αἰ(κ)* with past indicative cf. KG ii. 483.
- (g) *ἄνθρωπος* appears to be an exclamatory nominative at 988-9.
- (h) The locative dat. *τὸν Ἀμύκλαις σιόν* (1298) only here in Ar.
- (i) *ἄφατον ὡς* (198, 1148) and *ἄφατα* (1080) appear to be Lak. mannerisms.
- (j) *παρανιδῆν* (= *παριδεῖν*) + acc. (156).
- (k) *ποτόδδει* (= *προσόςζει*) absol. (206).
- (l) *πρεπτός* in the active sense (1297).
- (m) *ἀμπάλλοντι* intransitive (1309).
- (n) *πωτάομαι* (1013), epic and Aischylean (A. *Ag.* 978 with Fraenkel's note, *Eum.* 250, *PV* 645; v.l. at *Pax* 830), may have persisted in Lak.
- (o) *ὑπνῶν* with poetic prosody in colloquial context (143).
- (p) *κᾶλα* still current in Lak., see 1253 n.
- (q) *Harapax legomena*: *συναλιάζω* (= *συναλίζω*) (93), *πορπακίζω* (106), *ρύαχετος* (170), *πλαδδιῶ* (171), *κυρσάνιος* (983), *πελλάνα* (996), *ῥσσαξ* (*ῥσσακος?*) (1001), *ἀγέχορος* (1281), *ἀγκονίω* (= *ἀνακ-*) (1310), *χορωφελήτας* (1319), *παμμάχος* (1321).

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II. Accents

Information in the ancient grammarians about the accentual peculiarities of Doric dialects is insufficient for generalization about the system as a whole, nor do we know whether fifth-century Lakonian in particular had these peculiarities. I have therefore followed the MSS in accenting Lakonian words in the Attic manner and the usage of most editors of Doric texts in writing the adverbs listed in 6(a) as perispomena.

VI. THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT

A. *Ancient Texts*

Three fragments of ancient texts of *Lys.* survive. They are:

$\Pi_1 = PColon. 14, Kölner Papyri I, Papyrologia Coloniensia 7 (1976) 43 = Austin 43. IV AD.$ One leaf of a papyrus codex (palimpsest), with a format of *c.* 37 lines. Contains lines 145-53, 182-99 (in the order 182-7, 197, 199, 198, 188, with 189-96 omitted). Carefully written and orthographically correct, without accents and breathings. Iota adscript is omitted at 188. Elision is indicated in 146 and 184, diaeresis at 153 and 185 and quantity at 152 ($\bar{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$). Change of speaker is marked by double-point at 186 and 187. A second hand has made minor corrections in 150 and 186.

$\Pi_2 = PAnt. 75$ and 211, *Antinoopolis Papyri II* p. 64, III p. 180 = Austin 44. V-VI AD. Single leaves of a papyrus codex. Contains lines 307-13, 318-20, 342-6, 353-62. Carefully written, with accents but without breathings. Changes of speaker are marked by paragraphoi at 354, 356 and 358, and 358 is attributed to the semichorus of women by an abbreviation.

$\Pi_3 = PBodl.Gr. class. e 87(P), B. P. Grenfell, Mélanges Nicole (Geneva 1905) 217 = Austin 45. IV-V AD.$

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One leaf of a papyrus codex. Contains lines 433-47, 469-84. Carefully written without accents and breathings. Elision is marked throughout. Change of speaker is indicated by double-point at line-end at 434, 436 and 438, by paragraphoi at 439, 441, 443. A second hand has made an indecipherable correction in *προσοισεις* at 444.

Π1 contains a metrical emendation (153 n.) absent from the medieval tradition and at 188 shows that the false reading in R was already current in the fourth century. The lacunose and disordered sequence at 182-99 (the result of mechanical error: see note) was never rectified by comparison with a correct exemplar: an indication of the relatively closed transmission of the text in antiquity. *Π2* supplies a correct spelling absent from the medieval tradition (311). *Π3* preserves correct readings against the medieval tradition at 433 and 476, and at 478 contains a variant which helps to restore the correct reading (476-83 n.). The colometry of the song at 476 ff. is the same as the medieval one.

B. Medieval Texts

Eight MSS written before the end of the sixteenth century contain the whole (R and Mu2) or the greater part (the rest) of the text of *Lys.* I have collated all eight *in situ* and list them according to the nomenclature of J. W. White, *CP* 1 (1906) 9 ff.

R = Ravennas 429, in the Biblioteca Classense in Ravenna. Parchment, c. 950, cf. A. Diller, *Serta Turyniana* (Urbana 1974) 522-3. Contains *Pl.*, *Nub.*, *Ran.*, *Av.*, *Eq.*, *Pax.*, *Lys.*, *Ach.*, *Vesp.*, *Thesm.*, *Eccl.* Argumenta, scholia, glosses. *Lys.* is in foll. 111^r-127^v. Published in facsimile by J. van Leeuwen (Leiden 1904).

Γ = Leidensis Vossianus Gr. F. 52, in the Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden. Paper, c. 1325. Contains *Lys.* 1-61, 132-99, 268-819, 890-1034, *Av.* 1492-1765. Scholia and glosses by several hands.

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- Lys.* is in foll. 1^r-11^v, 1-3^v being written by one scribe and the remainder by another. Two verses are written on a line, the odd verses of each page in the left-hand column, the even in the right-hand column. Reproduction of fol. 14 in B. A. van Groningen, *A Short Manual of Greek Palaeography* (Leiden 1963), pl. IX. The greater part of this MS, which evidently suffered rough handling, is in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana in Florence (Laurentianus 31. 15).
- Mu2 = Monacensis Gr. 492, in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Western paper, XV. Contains *Thesm.* and *Lys. Argumenta*. *Lys.* is in foll. 20^r-40^r.
- Vp2 = Palatinus Gr. 67, in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Vatican City. Western paper, XV. Contains *Pl., Nub., Ran., Eq., Ach., Vesp., Av., Pax* 1-947, 1012-1354, 1357, *Lys.* 1-61, 132-99, 268-819, 890-1097, 1237-1321. Occasional glosses. *Lys.* is in foll. 211^r-234^v.
- H = Havniensis 1980, in the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen. Western paper, XV. Contents identical to Vp2. *Lys.* is in foll. 280^r-318^r.
- B = Parisinus Regius Gr. 2715, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Western paper, XV. Contains *Eq., Ach., Av., Vesp., Lys.* 1-61, 132-99, 268-819, 890-1097, 1237-1321, *Eccl.* 1-1135, *Pax* 1-947, 1012-1300. *Lys.* is in foll. 137^v-160^v.
- C = Parisinus Regius Gr. 2717, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Western paper, XV/XVI. Contains *Eq., Ach., Vesp., Pl., Nub., Ran., Av., Pax* 1-947, 1012-1354, 1357, *Lys.* as in Vp2. *Lys.* is in foll. 436^r-481^r.
- Δ = Laurentianus Gr. 31. 16, in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana in Florence. Western paper, XV, cf. C. Eberline, *Studies In The Manuscript Tradition of the Ranae of Ar.* (Meisenheim am Glan 1980) 9-10. Contains *Pl., Nub., Eq., Ran., Ach., Av., Vesp., Lys.* as in B. *Lys.* is in foll. 235^v-259^r.

THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT

Nothing that is said in this chapter about the relationship of the MSS of *Lys.* should be taken to imply anything about their relationship in other plays of Ar.

Elimination. Mu₂ is a copy of R, C is a copy of Vp₂, and Δ is a copy of B. The text of Mu₂ faithfully and accurately reproduces the text of R except where the scribe has made simple emendations and attributed lines to speakers (R has few original attributions, mostly using paragraphos and dicolon). When Mu₂ alone has a correct reading (29, 316, 350, 852, 1140, 1144, 1165, 1186, 1234) or attribution (76, 78) I have cited it in the apparatus. C, a remarkably sloppy and error-filled copy of the beautifully written Vp₂, is cited at 1304 where the scribe accidentally restores the correct reading. Δ was copied from B before correction (see below), as also in *Ach.*,¹ *Vesp.*² and *Av.*³ Δ contains no significant readings.

The Principal MSS. The remaining MSS are easily divided into two families, one represented by R (which alone contains the complete text) and the other by the rest. The ancestor of ΓVp₂HB had lost several pages before it was copied, since these MSS all omit the same 274 verses in sections of approximately 69 verses each. Γ, which ends at the bottom of a page at line 1034, undoubtedly once contained 1035–97 and 1237–1321. Its final pages were probably lost in the same accident that led to the removal of its greater part to Florence.

The text of *Thesm.* and the missing parts of *Lys.* resurfaced at the turn of the sixteenth century, when these plays were copied from R by Mu₂. Not long thereafter, Euphrosynus Boninus brought R from Urbino to Florence at the request of Bernardo Giunta, who intended to publish the first printed edition of *Lys.* and *Thesm.* (the other nine plays had been published by the Aldine Press in 1498). Boninus used R as printer's copy for Giunta's edition, published early in

¹ E. Cary, *HSCP* 18 (1907) 166–7, 177–8.

² D. MacDowell, *Ar. Wasps* (Oxford 1971) 35.

³ J. White and E. Cary, *HSCP* 29 (1918) 80.

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1516. His corrections, which include almost all attributions of speakers, are clearly discernible and are credited to him when they are cited in the apparatus. Shortly after the publication of the Juntine edition, R was removed by Boninus to Pisa and remained out of circulation until Ph. Invernizi rediscovered it in Ravenna and used it for his edition (Leipzig 1794).⁴

R is beautifully and painstakingly written, although it contains many elementary mistakes. On the whole the text of *IVp2HB* (where extant) is less corrupt than R's, but in numerous instances R alone preserves the correct text. R is fully reported in this edition.

R was not the only MS of its family circulating in the pre-Palaeologan period. The Suda (S), which quotes nearly one-fourth of the text of *Lys.* (including the sections missing in *IVp2HB*), clearly derived its text from an MS or MSS similar to R (note for example the errors at 44, 45-8, 360, 459). In addition, S preserves many variants which are absent from the MSS, some of them correct (e.g. 796, 809, 1129, 1153). I have therefore given S the status of an MS and report it fully.

I, the oldest MS of its family, was corrected by two hands not long after the original text was written (one of the correctors wrote the scholia). Where they are not simply orthographic, most of the corrections are simple emendations (291, 739) or the introduction of variants found in the scholia (636) or in a testimonial source (361, 761, cf. 549). Although *I* never has a correct reading which is not also found in R or in at least one of the other MSS or in a testimonial source, I have reported it fully because of its age and because it may have served as the basic text of the editions represented by *Vp2HB*.

Later MSS. *Vp2*, H, and B derive from editions made by late Byzantine scholars, who used more than one MS in

⁴ F. A. von Velsen, *Ueber den Codex Urbinas der Lys. und der Thesm. des Ar.* (Saarbrücken 1871), first demonstrated that the Juntine edition and Muz derive from R and not from a lost 'codex Urbinas.'

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preparing the text and who introduced their own (mostly metrical) emendations.

Vp₂ and H (first used for *Lys.* in this edition) descend from a common hyparchetype *p*: the order of plays is the same; both leave approximately the same number of blank pages for later inclusion of the missing parts of the text; both share more than seventy peculiar errors (e.g. the omission of line 673); and each has many peculiar errors of its own (Vp₂ omits 1011-12, H omits 442, 937-8, 1261).

B is clearly written but contains many elementary mistakes: thus B is not itself the work of an editor. The scribe included no attributions of speakers but left spaces for their later insertion. A rubricator (B₂) inserted speakers and made some corrections. Later a third hand, using very dark ink, made still more corrections. Except for a few attributions B₂ and B₃ contribute nothing to the text. Whereas *p* contained only a modest number of emendations (none correct), B contains over one hundred, many of which are correct.

The relationship of *ΓBp* can be deduced from the following facts: (a) B and *p* share no significant errors or emendations. (b) *p* contains several correct readings found also in R but not in *ΓB*, the most significant being 147 *τουτογί* (*τουτονί ΓB*), 568 *ἔπεν-* (*ἔπεν-*), 582 *ὀπόσαι* (*ὀπόσοι*), 594 *γηράσκουσι* (*γινώσκουσι*), 635 *ταῖς* (*τοῖς*), 678 *ἀπολίσθαι* (*ἀπολέσθαι*), 810 *περιεργμένος* (*περιεργασμένος*), 1031 *μέγ'* (*μ' Γ, μὴν B*). In one instance (478) *p* alone has the correct reading. B agrees with R against *Γp* in more than seventy instances, the most significant being in lines 20, 137, 146, 306, 374, 465, 475, 495, 510, 531, 788, 794, 969, 975, 1001. (c) *Γ*^{pc} contains very few peculiar errors, the most significant being 916 *μηδαμῆ* (*μηδαμῶς RBp*), 1023 *ὑπὸ γῆς* (*ὑπ' ὀργῆς*).

We may conclude that B and *p* represent two separate editions. Both editors used as a basic text an MS closely related to *Γ*^{pc} or *Γ*^{pc} itself: *Γ*'s peculiar errors could have been corrected by emendation (cf. 1031) or by comparison with a source containing the correct readings. Both editors made use of sources containing variants not found in *Γ*, but

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B made more extensive use of such sources than did *p*, whose text follows *Γ*^{PC} quite closely.

In this edition, readings of Vp₂HB are reported only when they seem to be of some importance in establishing the text. After line 1034, when *Γ* breaks off, Vp₂HB are fully reported. In this section of the play, *p* is in any case likelier than B to preserve the missing text of *Γ*.

It is unlikely that Triklinios had a hand in either *p* or B. *Lys.* does not appear in copies of Triklinian editions⁵ and the emendations found in *p* and B are virtually confined to passages of dialogue.

Colometry. Except for an occasional overrun the colometry of the lyric passages of *Lys.* is uniform in all witnesses and is presumably that of the ancient vulgate (the Alexandrian text as rearranged by Heliodoros). No metrical scholia accompany the text of *Lys.*

Testimonia. I have drawn the testimonial sources (for which see *PCG* III. 2, pp. xiii ff.) from W. Kraus, *Testimonia Aristophanea* (Vienna/Leipzig 1931), as corrected and updated by R. Cantarella, *Ar., Le Commedie* iv (Milan 1956) 239–393 and R. Kassel, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 82–3 and 32 (1978) 30.

Ancient Scholia. The scholia in R and those in *Γ* were derived from the same corpus. Each MS contains some scholia which are absent from the other, but those in *Γ* are on the whole fuller and more accurately preserved. In some cases the Suda contains a fuller version of a scholion than R*Γ*, but in general the Suda-scholia are closely akin to the R-scholia. One of the MSS containing only scholia, Baroccianus Bodl. 38B (XV), was copied directly from *Γ* but used another MS as well, for it contains fuller versions of some *Γ*-scholia and also scholia not derived from R or S in sections of the play missing from *Γ* (62–126, 200–67).⁶

⁵ For Triklinios' edition of *Ar.* see N. G. Wilson, *CQ* 12 (1962) 32 ff.; S. Benardete, *HSCP* 66 (1962) 241 ff.; Eberline (see above) 49–145.

⁶ Cf. D. Holwerda and J. Hangaard respectively in *ZPE* 41 (1981) 13–16, 53 (1983) 65–9.

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The most recent edition of the *Lys.*-scholia is G. Stein (Göttingen 1891), which must be used with the corrections supplied by K. Zacher in *BPhW* (1893) 1601 ff. and (1894) 354 ff., 379 ff.

The scholia of *Lys.* represent a corpus which scholars of the Byzantine renaissance inherited from antiquity and from which they drew more or less selectively in composing their marginal notes.⁷ On present evidence we cannot draw a very clear picture of the scholia before they were placed in the margins of our MSS, for editors and the compilers of such reference-works as the *Suda* chose selectively, rearranged the scholia and added material of their own. The substance and quality of the scholia therefore varies enormously from play to play. *Ekk.* has only wretched scraps; *Birds* and *Frogs* preserve much early scholarship, while *Knights*, *Clouds* and *Wealth* are even more partial to comments of a rhetorical and atticist character than is true of the corpus as a whole, of which this kind of material forms the great bulk. The other plays carry an uneven mixture: in *Lys.*, for example, there is a comparatively large amount of information about Attic cults and mythology. Metrical analyses attributed to Heliodoros and reflecting his colometry accompany the plays of the 420s but none thereafter. In general, early scholarship is less fully and accurately preserved than is the case with Homer, Pindar, Sophokles *OC*,

⁷ For a convenient summary of the evidence cf. *PCG* III. 2, pp. 28-30. The Ar.-scholia are being published in full critical editions by W. J. W. Koster and others (Groningen/Amsterdam 1960-). Much can be learned about the character of the Ar.-scholia from J. W. White's edition of the *Birds* scholia (Boston/London 1914), and Dover, *Clouds*, frequently discusses ancient interpretations. Still fundamental are P. Boudreaux, *Le texte d'Ar. et ses commentateurs* (Paris 1919), sloppily edited by G. Méautis; W. G. Rutherford, *A Chapter in the History of Annotation* (London 1905); G. Zuntz, 'Die Ar.-Scholien der Papyri', *Byzantion* 13 (1938) 631, 14 (1939) 545, repr. with additions in Berlin (1975); G. Zuntz's index to his *An Enquiry Into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965). On the history of scholia in general: A. Gudeman, *RE* IIA (1921) 672; N. G. Wilson, 'A Chapter in the History of Scholia', *CQ* 17 (1967) 244.

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Theokritos, and Apollonios. What does survive is given in the form of summary judgements devoid of supporting argument or indications of source, so that it is rarely possible to gauge the accuracy and quality of a learned note.

The editorial methods of the compilers present the following general difficulties. Care was not always taken to identify sources or to mark the transition from one source to another. Habits of quotation differ: *Frogs* and *Birds* are generous (earlier and later commentators respectively) while *Clouds* and *Wealth* rarely name names.⁸ Formulae designed to specify and discriminate various kinds of comment (textual variants, alternative notes, glosses, paraphrases); terminology designating sources (texts, marginalia, independent commentaries, lexica, monographs); critical terminology of all kinds (conventional as well as idiosyncratic)—these were neither consistently nor conscientiously employed. Misleading abridgement is pervasive and often difficult to detect, as is facile combination and specious erudition (promoted by the later scholar's *horror vacui*). Pervasive too is failure to distinguish inferences from the text from independent information, and a tendency to concoct facts from (often wrong) inferences.

These characteristics of the Ar.-scholia are not entirely the product of the Byzantine redaction but reflect the work of compilers active in the fourth and later centuries AD. This period saw the almost total disappearance of Old Comedy except for our eleven plays. Ar. was considered the best exponent of the genre, and our plays were the plays for which scholarly commentaries, and simpler reader's commentaries derived from them, had been transmitted.⁹ It is

⁸ Omission of names and sources in reworking a notice is not exclusively Byzantine: a comic glossary of I AD. (Austin 343) writes *ἔνιοι* where the medieval scholia (*Vesp.* 1530) preserve the name of Euphronios.

⁹ The theory that some late schoolmaster selected the plays is untenable: Zuntz (n. 7 above) 594, H. Erbse, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung I* (Zürich 1961) 207. Examples of simple reader's commentaries which circulated independently of the text are Austin 19, 56, 63.

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not in fact likely that the number of plays so equipped had ever been much larger than eleven: the scholia refer to commentaries on only three lost plays (*Danaids* at *Pl.* 210, *Merchantmen* at *Lys.* 722, *Storks* at *Pl.* 84, 665), and there is reason to believe that even in the time of Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchos there were already approved writers and works (cf. Quint. 1. 43, 10. 1. 54), the ancestors of the canons that later took shape.¹⁰ The commentaries still available for these classic plays dated from the first or second centuries AD at the latest (the scholarly one by Symmachos was the most influential) and derived primarily from Didymos, who in the time of Augustus compiled into a single variorum commentary what he chose to preserve of two and a half centuries of Alexandrian scholarship.¹¹ In our later period scholars such as Phaeinos (cf. Ar. testt. 124-7 K-A) compiled new commentaries that answered the interests of the day and in which our scholia acquired the content and assumed the wording which they now display, though sometimes in a slightly fuller and less corrupt form. Whether any of these commentaries survived into the ninth century as a separate entity or whether they had already devolved into marginal scholia in late antiquity cannot at this time be determined.

*The Alexandrian Text.*¹² Forty-four plays attributed to Ar. were collected in Alexandria in the early third century BC and quickly became the object of continuous and energetic

¹⁰ Historians of scholarship tend to over-estimate the number of critical editions and commentaries produced by Alexandrian scholars. Much of the surviving material, for Ar. at any rate, was drawn from lexical and grammatical reference works (including *Κωμωδοῦμενοι*).

¹¹ For a recent appraisal of Didymos, whose scholarship was less reliable than is often assumed, see S. West, *CQ* 20 (1970) 288.

¹² See in general R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship I* (Oxford 1968); H. Erbse (n. 9 above); P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1973); L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars* (Oxford 1974); F. Susseml, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit* (Leipzig 1891-2). Rutherford (n. 7 above) 417 collects the comments attributed to Alexandrian scholars in the Ar.-scholia.

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study. But they presented special problems for readers and scholars, problems that greatly influenced the kind of study devoted to them and that therefore must be borne in mind by students of their transmission. Ar. had himself outlived the genre of Attic comedy in which he had been a prolific and successful competitor. No play of his was performed after his lifetime,¹³ and even while he lived comedy was changing and developing. Each subsequent generation of theatregoers enjoyed comedies that were increasingly far removed in language, characters, plot, and theatrical style from Ar. In addition, each Aristophanic play was extremely topical, an *ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα* inextricably involved in the tangle of contemporary ideas and events, all of them based on comic material and many of them unlikely to have been recorded elsewhere. This topicality was an obstacle to intelligibility and appeal that grew more formidable with each passing year: 'All works which describe manners', said Dr. Johnson, 'require notes in sixty or seventy years, or less.' What is more, Ar.'s obscenity, fantasy, inconsequentiality of plot, and other Old Comic licences combined with his topicality not only to keep him off the stage but also to puzzle and sometimes alienate readers and critics. Even the antiquarians, who were very fond of Ar., had trouble (when they went to the trouble) imagining the kind of theatre that had accommodated his plays. After all, Ar.'s style and dramaturgy were not models imitated in Hellenistic or Roman times, nor were the characters, the sentiments and the arguments found in his plays good sources of moral edification and rhetorical instruction. For all these reasons,

¹³ For *PKöl n* 14, which has been explained as reflecting histrionic modification of the text of *Lys.*, see commentary at 188–99. Inscriptions (*IG ii*² 2323, *Hesp.* 7 (1938) 116–18) mention revivals of *παλαιά* comedies in the third and second centuries, but the adjective seems to mean 'previously performed' and not 'Old Comedy': the oldest such revival was that of Anaxandrides' *Thesaurus* in 311 BC (first produced in 376). Anaxandrides was noted especially for mythological burlesque and is frequently mentioned by Aristotle as a typical fourth-century poet.

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Ar.'s appeal to readers was primarily as a storehouse of information for historians, antiquarians and biographers, and as an important source of Attic Greek.

Thus it is unlikely that the texts Ar. left behind were numerous or of wide circulation even in the fourth century bc. Old Comedy was a source for Attidographers and historians like Theopompos,¹⁴ and educated men like Plato (who could have known Ar. personally) and Aristotle will have encountered Ar. in their reading. But nothing will have motivated the production of new texts that looked beyond the requirements of their original production.¹⁵ The verses continued to be copied as mere blocks of letters (as in the Timotheos papyrus) often, perhaps usually, in the old Attic script (e.g. Σ *Av.* 66), with few (if any) stage-directions¹⁶ or attributions of speaking parts.¹⁷ Further, nothing motivated the preservation of details about the performance and production of Old Comedy: the didaskalic records and the texts themselves were the only evidence remaining for future students of the genre.

Nevertheless, the Alexandrian poet-critics preceding Ar. Byz. took a lively interest in Ar. and (except for the production of critical texts and commentaries¹⁸) established

¹⁴ See W. R. Connor, *Theopompos and Fifth-century Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), index.

¹⁵ Somehow an incomplete and unperformed revision of *Clouds* got into circulation, but it cannot be shown (and must be thought unlikely) that Ar. intended it to circulate as a reader's text. 'Found among Ar.'s papers after his death' (Dover, *Clouds* xcvi, 270) is not an explanation to be rejected out of hand: one thinks of Thukydides.

¹⁶ See O. Taplin, *PCPS* 23 (1977) 121.

¹⁷ See *DFA* 149 n. 4. It is possible that the leaving of a small gap to indicate change of speaker or important pause within one speaker's utterance, well attested for the third century, may also have been customary in the fourth.

¹⁸ The primitive quality of the comments attributed to Lykophron in the scholia (e.g. at *Av.* 14 $\pi\nu\nu\alpha\kappa\omicron\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\eta\varsigma$ is a bird) does not encourage us to think of an edition or commentary. Pfeiffer (n. 12 above) 105-7 assumes that, since Lykophron's colleagues Zenodotos and Alexandros did this work for

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the varieties of research and criticism developed by their successors. Classification and description of the texts housed in the Library was begun by Lykophron and the first critical inventory completed by Kallimachos in his *Pinakes*. Lykophron also wrote a glossographic monograph *On Comedy*, which was superseded by Eratosthenes' *Old Comedy*. Eratosthenes expanded Lykophron's format by using information external to the plays in order to solve problems of chronology (Σ *Nub.* 552), topical (Σ^V *Pax* 48) and historical (Σ *Av.* 556) allusions, and production arrangements (Σ *Pl.* 797). There were also literary monographs: Dionysiades of Mallos distinguished and evaluated comic styles (*Suda* δ 1169; this work was the source of the extant *περὶ διαφορᾶς χαρακτήρων* attributed to Platonios), and Machon studied comic structures. In addition to such catalogues, word-lists, and special monographs, the early Alexandrians also used Ar. as a source for biographies¹⁹ and reference-works: a *Birds* commentator frequently cites Kallimachos *On Birds*, noting at 765, 883, and 1181 that some species were overlooked. Although the Alexandrians did not restage Old Comedy or imitate its dramaturgical style(s), Machon's comedies (modelled on the contemporary Athenian style) found a place for some Aristophanic *δρμιύτης* and thus earned the praise of Dioskourides (24 Page = *AP* 7. 708) as *τέχνης ἄξιον*

epic and tragedy, Lykophron must have done it for comedy. As evidence he cites Tzetzes, who uses *διορθοῦν* of the work of all three. But the assumption made by Tzetzes and followed by Pfeiffer is not very safe: epic and tragedy arrived at Alexandria with long and extensive critical and performance traditions, whereas comedy did not. Pfeiffer further assumes (p. 160) that the tragedian Euphronios edited and commented on Old Comedy. But the Euphronios who did so (cf. Ar. test. 113 K-A, Susemihl (n. 12 above) 281-2) is linked consistently with Kallistratos in the scholia and commented a text with critical signs (Σ *Vesp.* 696), both indications pointing to the generation following Aristophanes of Byzantium.

¹⁹ Ancient biographers often take literally comic references that are fantastic, exaggerated, or otherwise distorted. Connor (n. 14 above) discusses some examples in Theopompos, and no doubt many more could be found in other historians and biographers.

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ἀρχαίης λείψανον. Writers of satire, epigram, iambos, and mime also drew various items of language and poetic technique (in particular, obscenity and abuse) from Old Comedy.

Early in the second century BC a substantial amount of such material had accumulated, and Ar. Byz. satisfied a pressing need by preparing the first critical edition of his namesake's plays. As in his editions of other poetic texts, he adapted to the special requirements of Old Comedy the editorial techniques of Homeric criticism, to which he had made important contributions. His aim was to recover and present the paradosis by collating the available MSS. Apart from a coherent orthography based on analogical principles, the colometry of lyrical passages, and the correction of simple errors, he made no alterations. Serious corruptions, important variants, suspect lines, dislocations, and lacunae were indicated by a system of critical signs of which the scholia bear witness: at Σ^V *Ran.* 151–3 sigma and antisigma noted (authorial?) variants,²⁰ and χ marking passages of critical interest appeared frequently (e.g. Σ^R *Th.* 917). That stage-directions were added, changes of speaker marked, or speaking parts distributed is doubtful, to judge from the considerable amount of debate preserved in the scholia. To each play was prefaced an hypothesis containing a plot-outline, didaskalic information and a brief critical judgement (hypotheses could also circulate in independent collections, as in papyri of Euripides and Menander). Ar. Byz. may also have affixed a brief verse hypothesis containing only the plot-outline, since the extant ones of later date are traditionally ascribed to him.²¹ His text became the vulgate as well as the standard Alexandrian text.²² No

²⁰ See K. J. Dover, 'Ancient Interpolation in Ar.', *ICS* 2 (1977) 152.

²¹ See now A. W. A. M. Budé, *De Hypothesesis der griekse tragedies en komedies* (Diss. Nijmegen 1977).

²² Virtually nothing is known about the contribution of Pergamene scholars to the text of Ar. (Didymos apparently neglected it). Only four comments by Krates are preserved in the scholia and nothing much can be

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evidence suggests that any substantial number of old readings bypassed Ar. Byz. The transmission of the text in antiquity seems to have been relatively closed, with variants accumulating by error and emendation.²³ And from a very early date it was protected by learned annotation.

The place for annotation was in an accompanying commentary housed in rolls separate from the critical text itself. In the commentary, which was functionally distinct from monographs and reference works, textual exegesis went hand-in-hand with textual criticism. Here lemmata were quoted and elucidated in coordination with the critical signs. The commentator offered paraphrases, reconstructions of the staging, information and original views on obscure, difficult, corrupt, or controversial passages. References to other scholars were usually made to dispute or correct a rival viewpoint, but attractive or authoritative opinions might be quoted or works of reference cited. Here also was the place for evaluating alternative readings and proposing conjectures, while the text itself remained conservative.²⁴ Σ^R at *Th.* 162 is the only recorded example of a successful conjecture by Ar. Byz.,²⁵ just as the immense prestige of Aristarchos' Homeric scholarship could secure the universal adoption of only 80 of his 874 recorded conjectures in the texts of that poet. Ignorance, negligence, and inconsistency in the use of the critical signs and in the (non)employment of

concluded from the simple itacistic variant attributed to τὰ Ἀττάλεια by Σ *Av.* 1508. Krates was, however, able to refer to a *Peace* not included in the Alexandrian edition (*Pax* Hyp. III).

²³ In this period 'emendation' did not, of course, very often involve the procedures now associated with that word, but was largely a matter of correcting one text to make it conform with another text.

²⁴ It not infrequently happens that a scholion quotes from or discusses a text different from the one before him: an indication that copying and commenting were by and large separate activities.

²⁵ Aristophanes' recommendation was adopted by most later commentators but was rejected by Didymos. Similarly at *Av.* 1343 Aristophanes observed that 1343b appeared in only some MSS and left a decision on its inclusion to readers, cf. Dover (n. 20, above) 145.

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textual criticism and its terminology were later to become prime causes of scholiastic confusion. But, fortunately, the old habit of confining debate to the separate commentary, the extreme textual conservatism even of later editors, and the restricted circulation of learned commentaries acted as checks on any hazards to the text that confusion in the commentary might pose.

The first commentaries were written by men like Kallistratos and Euphronios (cf. n. 18, above), but these were soon eclipsed by Aristarchos, whose major interest was to explain the critical text and to supply lexical and orthographic evidence. Like his contemporaries, who did not follow the lead of Eratosthenes, Aristarchos was largely indifferent to history, antiquities, geography, and myth.²⁶ The reasons for the selection of plays for comment are obscure. Pedagogical motives can be safely ruled out,²⁷ as can suitability for restaging, reworking, or imitation. Ignorance of the total corpus of commented Old Comic plays requires us to restrain further speculation.²⁸ But there can be no doubt that Aristarchos had much to do with establishing Aristophanic scholarship and defining its emphases in the period before Didymos.

Didymos represented the culmination of scholarly trends characteristic of the period after Aristarchos, whose followers were prolific in many fields of research but who seem neither to have enlarged the number of commented plays of Ar. nor to have devoted much attention to their direct exegesis. If they wrote any commentaries (likely candidates are Tima-

²⁶ Susemihl (n. 12, above) 460-1. Didymos was fond of pointing out such mistakes as at *Ran.* 1422, where Aristarchos' note showed ignorance of either the date of the play or the date of Alkibiades' first exile. In this connection it is worth recalling that didaskalic records were in roll-form and treated like any other text. Kallimachos, for example, preferred his own (wrong) inferences from the text of *Clouds* to the evidence of the didaskalia, cf. Dover xcvi.

²⁷ See Erbse (n. 12, above) 238.

²⁸ See Fraser (n. 12, above) 618.

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chidas and Apollonios Chaeridis) they apparently contented themselves with establishing and correcting Aristarchos' work. The diaspora of scholars occasioned by the violent accession of Euergetes II certainly played a role in this change of direction, and it may also explain in part why Didymos quoted post-Alexandrian scholars so rarely. Other reasons may be that they wrote no commentaries; that their commentaries were of minimal interest to Didymos; or again that Didymos' pretensions to originality affected his habits of quotation. For it cannot be doubted that this indefatigable but unimaginative compiler owed as much to the scholars who took Alexandrian methods to other cities and new fields of research as he owed to Aristarchos himself.²⁹

Scholarship on Old Comedy in the period of the diaspora in any case showed the symptoms of change and decline observable in the exegesis of other poetic texts. Definitions of the art of the *grammaticus* (such as that of Dionysios Thrax) show how an Eratosthenes or an Aristarchos had acquired encyclopaedic knowledge and critical finesse, but at the same time they reveal the ossification of scholarship and diminution of real learning already underway. By systematizing the art of scholarship under procedural rubrics (Dionysios Thrax lists six) the *grammatici* exalted the least satisfactory habits of their great predecessors and discouraged the most promising. In place of wide and careful reading, scholars now turned to the collection of antiquarian matter, rare words, literary curiosities; the identification of figures and tropes; the fabrication of etymologies; the construction of grammatical and rhetorical handbooks; the excerption of literary works and the scholarship that had explained them. Among the factors contributing to this final victory of categories, systems, and rules over plain experience and

²⁹ Pfeiffer 276 overestimates Didymos' original contributions. His works on Homer and on Demosthenes (see now the edition by L. Pearson and S. Stephens (Teubner: Stuttgart 1983), demonstrate his largely derivative procedures, cf. West (n. 11, above).

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common sense were changes in the uses of literature itself, the inability of scholars to match their predecessors on their own ground, the sheer intimidating bulk of the accumulated learning, the demands of a larger reading public and the schools, and the growth of Rome as a mecca for Greeks willing or forced to put their learning at the disposal of barbarians. Witness the antics of Tyrannion and Apion, and the sad fate of Seleukos (Suet. *Tib.* 56).

The material of most interest to Didymos in his work on Old Comedy was collected by such scholars as Apollodoros (works on Epicharmos and Sophron, *Courtesans, Gods*,³⁰ *Etymologies* and the *Chronika* that superseded Eratosthenes' *Chronographiai*) and Ammonios (*Κωμωδοῦμενοι*³¹). There were also the grammars, lexica, and rhetorica. Didymos was also able to draw extensively from works by and about the Atthidographers,³² the classic orators, and the great historians. He took a great interest also in collections by mythographers and writers on cult, prosopographers, geographers, and other literary and linguistic antiquarians. In short, Didymos specialized in a variety of annotation that came into its own after Aristarchos: exegesis *παρ' ἱστορίαν*, being 'ready with an account of'³³ any person, place, thing, custom, religious rite or festival, historical incident referred

³⁰ Σ *Lys.* 447 was derived from this work. Only here among the plays whose scholia do not preserve the name of Aristarchos do we find the name of one of his followers.

³¹ This was a popular kind of reference work: J. Steinhausen (Bonn 1910) collects the material (which should be updated). In many cases, reliance upon lists of 'those ridiculed in comedy' produces confusion in the scholia between homonymous people (e.g. 63-4 n.) and notes of the type 'there was another X'.

³² The vast material collected by Jacoby has yet to be systematically mined.

³³ Strictly speaking, scholiasts do not 'account for' the items on which they comment (in the Alexandrian sense). They provide logical, descriptive, or authoritative definitions and facts which may or may not be relevant or true.

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to in the text, of anything indeed outside a boy's³⁴ knowledge or experience'.³⁵

Readers of the scholia must proceed with caution in this important area of ancient annotation. For although there are items of information not elsewhere preserved to be found in the scholia, Didymos and his successors were primarily interested in facts for their own sake, whether or not they were real facts and whether or not they really explained the text. In addition, facts remained discrete as a commentary went from line to line. There is no apparent³⁶ attempt to put them in their larger dramatic or topical context or to use them in conjunction with other texts in the construction of a play's political tendencies.

In forming an idea of Ar.'s theatre, in interpreting his dramaturgy, and in restaging (in our mind's eye) his plays, we do best by ignoring the commentators entirely until we first examine the archaeological remains (meagre as they may be) and pay close attention to the plays themselves. For although ancient commentators demanded accuracy in the preservation and citation of texts, they were in their interpretation of the texts free to apply whatever evidence and draw whatever conclusions struck their fancy.³⁷ Their exegetical procedures were unhistorical, arbitrary and narrowly practical: to provide forms, language, and matter for the composition of contemporary literature. Creative originality in an author's use of language and chosen medium; the development of language and literary styles over time and in response to changing performance contexts; the important relationship of early literature to its social, political and religious milieu: these were items of evidence that might have been both

³⁴ I would change 'boy's' to 'reader's' or 'scholar's'.

³⁵ Rutherford (n. 7, above) 382.

³⁶ We must keep open the possibility that Didymos' commentary was substantially distorted by later compilers.

³⁷ Readers of scholia are familiar with the annotators' habit of listing different explanations (that is to say, inferences or guesses) among which the reader is invited to choose.

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extracted from available texts and supplied from other sources but were not. In Aristophanic scholarship, the work of literary history and literary criticism is still largely unfinished.

The Apparatus Criticus. Readers should note the following exceptions to the description of the *apparatus criticus* given above:

(a) Variations of accents, breathings, punctuation, and iota subscript are generally ignored except where they may have some special significance, for example in the Lakonian passages of the text.

(b) Metrically indifferent divisions in the MSS between *-μεθα* and *-μεσθα*, *ἐς* and *εἰς* (I print *εἰς* throughout), *σύν* and *ξύν* (see 7-8 n.), the datives *-οις/-αις* and *-οισι/-αισι*, or between the inclusion and omission of *nu ephelkystikon* are not reported unless the correct form is not preserved in *Π* or *R* or *Γ*. For *ποιεῖ/ποιῆ* etc. see 120-3 n.

(c) Variations in the attribution of words to speakers are recorded because we cannot be sure that none of them at all derives from Ar. himself and because attribution of speakers was one of the tasks traditionally expected of editors and therefore relevant to the history of the text. But no distinction is made between different abbreviations of the same name: thus, for example, Lysistrata may be indicated in different MSS as *λ*, *λν* or *λνσ*, but all these are shown in the *apparatus* as *Λν*.

All conjectures in the text of *Lys.* proposed since the first printed edition (1516), together with the places of their first publication, are collected in my repertory in *HSCP* 82 (1978) 87-119. The sources of subsequently published conjectures adopted or discussed in this edition appear in the Commentary. Those by Alan H. Sommerstein were generously communicated to me by letter.

VII. NOTES ON LYRIC ANALYSES

Line-Numbering. Every fifth line retains the traditional numbering of R. Brunck's edition (Strasburg 1783), but within

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each group of five lines I have occasionally renumbered for clarity and internal consistency between text and analysis. '1-2' means 'the passage consisting of the line numbered 1 and the line numbered 2'; '1/2' means 'the line numbered 1/2'; '1a, 1b' means that in some past editions the two lines together have been numbered '1'.

Verses. Each verse begins at the left-hand margin. Inset is used (1) when the verse is too long to fit on the printed page; (2) when the verse consists of two or more familiar units (e.g. 260-1); (3) when the verse is a 'run' (e.g. 480-3).

Metrical Symbols

— long syllable

∪ short syllable

∧ syllable at verse-end which would be short if the next word in the song were part of the same verse (*syllaba brevis in elemento longo*).

|| verse-end whose presence is indicated by hiatus or ∧.

||| stanza-end (always preceded by a syllable marked —).

| word-end occurring in both strophe and antistrophe.

Where a symbol appears above another in the analysis of a responding pair (∩, ∞, etc.), the upper symbol designates the strophe and the lower the antistrophe.

In describing a metrical sequence in the abstract, × designates a position in which poets permitted either — or ∪.

SIGLA

- Π*₁ *PColon.* 14 (IV p.C.); vv. 145-53, 182-99 (om. 189-96)
*Π*₂ *PAnt.* 75 et 211 (V-VI p.C.); vv. 307-13, 318-20, 342-6, 353-62
*Π*₃ *PBodl. Gr. class. e 87(P)* (IV-V p.C.); vv. 433-47, 469-84
R Ravennas 429 (X)
Γ Leidensis Vossianus Gr. F 52 (XIV^{in.}); vv. 1-61, 132-99, 268-819, 890-1034
*Vp*₂ Vaticanus Palatinus 67 (XV); vv. 1-61, 132-99, 268-819, 890-1097, 1237-1321
H Havniensis 1980 (XV); vv. 1-61, 132-99, 268-819, 890-1097, 1237-1321
B Parisinus Regius 2715 (XV); vv. 1-61, 132-99, 268-819, 890-1097, 1237-1321
a consensus codicum *RI* (1-61, 132-99, 268-819, 890-1034) vel *RBp* (vel *RB* vel *Rp*) (1237-1321)
p consensus codicum *Vp*₂*H*
*Mu*₂ Monacensis Gr. 492 (XV), ex *R* exscriptus
C Parisinus Regius 2717 (XV-XVI), ex *Vp*₂ exscriptus
Δ Laurentianus 31.16 (XV), ex *B* exscriptus
Σ scholium
C colligi potest e glossemate vel scholio
dic. dicolon
par. paragraphus

Notae adscriptae (e.g. *R*^{ac}, ^λ*Σ*^R, *R*₂)

ac ante correctionem, dummodo correxerit ipse scriba vel non distingui possit corrector
mg in margine
pc post correctionem (cf. ad *ac*)
r reliqui codices
s supra lineam vel sub linea
γp varia lectio quam memorat scriba vel scholiastes
λ in lemmate scholii
1 ipsius scribae manus
2 una et altera e manibus recentioribus

Sigla quae ad testimonia tantum pertinent

S Suda (ex editione Adae Adler laudata)
Sch. scholium apud testem
v.l. varia lectio

SIGLA

- § fabulam non nominat testis
§§ nec fabulam nec poetam nominat testis
† verba fabulae adeo transposuit omisit corruptit testis ut nullius pretii
sit omnia memorare
‡ verba quae in *Lysistrata* legimus alii fabulae tribuit testis

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΙΣ

I

Λυσιστράτη τις Αθήνησιν τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτίων γυναικῶν σύλλογον ἐποίησατο, διαλλαγὰς μηχανωμένη τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ὁμόσαι δὲ ἀναπέεσσα μὴ πρότερον τοῖς ἀνδράσι συνουσιάζειν πρὶν ἂν πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλοις παύσωνται, τὰς μὲν ἑξωτικούς ἐν πύλαις ὁμήρους καταλιπούσας ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω, αὐτὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰς κατειληφύϊας τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀπαντᾷ. 5
συνδραμόντων δὲ πρεσβυτῶν πολιτῶν μετὰ λαμπάδων καὶ πυρὸς πρὸς τὰς πύλας, τὴν ἀναστολὴν ποιεῖται ἕξελθοῦσα, καὶ προβούλου τινὸς μετ' ὀλίγον παραβιάσασθαι μετὰ τοξο- 10
τῶν ὀρμήσαντος, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀποκρουσθέντος καὶ διαπυρρινομένου τί βουλόμεναι ταῦτα δεδράκασι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτόν φησιν ὅτι ἐγκρατεῖς γενόμεναι τοῦ ἀργυρίου μὴ ἐπιτρέψουσι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπὸ τούτου πολεμεῖν, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι πολὺ ἄμεινον ταμιεύσονται καὶ τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον τάχιστα καταπαύ- 15
σουσιν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν καταπλαγεὶς τὸ θράσος ὡς τοὺς συμπροβούλους οἴχεται, ταῦτα μὴ παύσας, οἱ δὲ γέροντες ὑπομένοντες ταῖς γυναιξὶ λοιδοροῦνται. μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῶν τινες αὐτομολοῦσαι μάλα γελοίως δι' ἀκρασίαν ὡς τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀλίσκονται, ἐγκαρτεροῦσι δὲ Λυσιστράτης ἰκετευ- 20
οῦσης. Κινησίας τις τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀκρατῶς ἔχων τῆς γυναικὸς παραγίνεται. ἡ δὲ κερτομοῦσα αὐτὸν ἐπεγγελά μὲν, τὰ περὶ διαλλαγῶν δὲ σπουδάζει. ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ καὶ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ σπονδῶν κήρυκες ἐμφανίζοντες ἅμα καὶ

Hyp. I deest in ΓΒρ 1-2 πελοπονη- R 5 ἀλλήλοις Brunck: -ων R
5-6 ἑξωτικούς ἐν πύλαις Bothe: ἑξωπίους ἐμπριλὰς R ὁμήρους add. G. Stein
καταλιπούσας ἀποπέμπει van Leeuwen: καταλείπουσα R 6-7 πρὸς τὰς
bis R 12 φησιν Wilamowitz: φασὶν R 13 -τρέψουσι Brunck:
-τρεπουσι R 15-6 -παύσουσιν Küster: -παύσωσιν R -πλαγ- Küster:
-πληγ- R τοῦ θράσους R, 22 κερτομοῦσα Brunck: χυτρομοῦσα R
ἐπεγγελά van Leeuwen: ἐπαγγέλλεται R

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΙΣ

τὰ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. συνταχθέντες δὲ σφίσιον πρέσβεις 25
 αὐτοκράτορας ἀποστέλλουσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν γέροντες εἰς ταῦτόν
 ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἀποκαταστάντες ἓνα χορὸν ἐκ τῆς διχορίας
 συστέλλουσι, καὶ Λυσιστράτη τοὺς παραγενομένους πρὸς
 αὐτὴν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος πρέσβεις καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὀργῶ-
 ντας διαλλάττεσθαι προσέλκει, καὶ ἑκατέρους ἀναμνήσασα 30
 παλαιᾶς εἰς ἀλλήλους γενομένης φιλίας διαλλάττει ἐν φανερωῖ,
 καὶ ξενίσασα κοινῇ παραδίδωσι τὰς γυναῖκας ἑκάστοις ἄγε-
 σθαι. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Κλεόκριτον
 [ἄρξαντος]. εἰσῆκται δὲ διὰ Καλλιστράτου. ἐκλήθη Λυσι-
 στράτη παρὰ τὸ λῦσαι τὸν στρατόν. 35

25 τὰ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας Dübner: τὰς προτέρας γυναῖκας R 26 οὖν
 add. Wilamowitz 28 συστέλλουσι Hall et Geldart cl. 1042: ἀποστέλ-
 λουσι R 29 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους add. Wilamowitz 31 γενομένης
 φιλίας Küster: γενομένης R 34-5 [ἄρξαντος] Wilamowitz ἐκλήθη ...
 στρατόν ^{mg}Γ₂, unde putares haec primum fuisse glossema ad titulum vel
 indicem.

II

Λυσιστράτη καλέσασα τὰς πολίτιδας
 ὑπέθετο φεύγειν μηδὲ μίγνυσθ' ἄρρεσιν,
 ὅπως, γενομένης νῦν στάσεως ἐμφυλίου,
 τὸν πρὸς Λάκωνας πόλεμον αἴρωσιν λόγῳ
 μένωσί τ' οἴκοι πάντες. ὡς δὲ συνέθετο, 5
 τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν διεκράτουσιν,
 τινὲς δ' ἀπεχώρουσιν. αἱ τ' ἀπὸ Σπάρτης πάλιν
 ταῦτόν διεβουλεύοντο. κῆρυξ ἔρχεται
 λέγων περὶ τούτων. τῆς δ' ὁμονοίας γενομένης,
 σπονδὰς τιθέμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐξήρασαν. 10

Hyp. II deest in ΓΒβ; versus distinxit Mu2 7 ἀπεχώρουσιν Stein:
 ἀπεκράτουσιν (κράτουσιν del.) R 10 τιθέμενοι Brunck: θέμενοι R ἐξήρασαν
 Montanari: ἐξέρρησαν R

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

Λυσιστράτη Μυρρίνη Στρατυλλίς Πρόβουλος Κινησίας Καλονική Λαμπέτη Δράκης Χορός γερόντων Κήρυξ Λακώνων Πρέσβυς Λακεδαιμονίων Βλέπυρος Χορός γυναικῶν Στρατηλάτης Υπηρέτης θεράπων

Index personarum deest in RB

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ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

ἀλλ' εἴ τις εἰς βακχεῖον αὐτὰς ἐκάλεσεν,
 ἢ 'ς Πανὸς ἢ 'πὶ Κωλιάδ' ἢ 'ς Γενετυλλίδος,
 οὐδ' ἂν διελθεῖν ἦν ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν τυμπάνων.
 νῦν δ' οὐδεμία πάρεστιν ἐνταυθοὶ γυνή·
 πλὴν ἢ γ' ἐμὴ κωμήτις ἧδ' ἐξέρχεται.
 χαῖρ', ὦ Καλονίκη.

5

ΚΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ

καὶ σύ γ', ὦ Λυσιστράτη.
 τί συντετάραξαι; μὴ σκυθρώπαζ', ὦ τέκνον.
 οὐ γὰρ πρέπει σοι τοξοποιεῖν τὰς ὀφρῦς.
 Λυ. ἀλλ', ὦ Καλονίκη, κάομαι τὴν καρδίαν,
 καὶ πόλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ἀχθομαι,
 ὅτι ἡ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσι νενομίσμεθα
 εἶναι πανοῦργοι—

10

Κα. καὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν νῆ Δία.
 Λυ. εἰρημένον δ' αὐταῖς ἀπαντᾶν ἐνθάδε
 βουλευσομέναισιν οὐ περὶ φαύλου πράγματος,
 εὐδουσι κοῦχ ἤκουσιν.

Κα. ἀλλ', ὦ φιλιτάτη,

15

Titulus: *Ἀδωνιάζουσαι* γρΣ ad 389; *Διαλλαγαί* γρΣ ad 1114 et Index
 Ambros. (= Ar. testt. 2.a19 K-A) 2 (ἐπὶ...) †Σ^V ad *Nub.* 52
 5 (... κωμήτις) S κ 2263 7-8 (... σκυθ-) §§ τ 772 8 (τοξ...) §§
 Phryn. *PS* 43. 10; §§ Hsch.; §§ Phot.; §§ Eust. *Od.* 1538.12, §§ Adv. implac.
 accus. 34 p. 106.26 Tafel; §§ *EM* 762. 8; §§ Man. Phil. carm. cod. Flor.
 131.42 (1 p. 325 Miller); cf. Alciphr. 2.16.2 Schep., Long. 4.20.1
 9 § Phryn. *PS* 113.16 13-5 (... ἤκουσιν) Greg. Cor. 39; § Anon. *Περὶ*
τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου, *Rhet. Gr.* iii. p. 586 Walz 13-4 §§
 S εἰ 188

2 Κωλιάδ' ἢ 'ς α: Κωλιάδος Σ^V
 ἀνδράσι ΡΓ 12 Κα. om. α
 14 βουλ- om. S

10 ἡμῶν Γ 11 ἀνδράσι Vp2:
 13 Λυ. om. α δ' om. S αὐτοῖς S

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- ἤξουσι· χαλεπή τοι γυναικῶν ἔξοδος.
 ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκύπτασεν,
 ἢ δ' οἰκέτην ἤγειρεν, ἢ δὲ παιδίον
 κατέκλινεν, ἢ δ' ἔλουσεν, ἢ δ' ἐψώμισεν.
- Λυ. ἀλλ' ἦν γὰρ ἕτερα τῶνδε προουργιαίτερα 20
 αὐταῖς.
- Κα. τί δ' ἐστίν, ὦ φίλη Λυσιστράτη,
 ἐφ' ὃ τι ποθ' ἡμᾶς τὰς γυναῖκας ξυγκαλεῖς;
 τί τὸ πράγμα; πηλίκον τι;
- Λυ. μέγα.
- Κα. μῶν καὶ παχύ;
- Λυ. νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ παχύ.
- Κα. κᾶτα πῶς οὐχ ἤκομεν;
- Λυ. οὐχ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος· ταχὺ γὰρ ἂν ξυνήλθομεν. 25
 ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πράγμ' ἀνεζητημένον
 πολλαῖσι τ' ἀγρυπνίαισιν ἐρριπτασμένον.
- Κα. ἦ πού τι λεπτόν ἐστι τοῦρριπτασμένον;
- Λυ. οὕτω γε λεπτόν ὥσθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐστιν ἡ σωτηρία. 30
- Κα. ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν; ἐπ' ὀλίγου γ' ἄρ' εἶχετο.
- Λυ. ὡς ἔστ' ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα,
 ἢ μηκέτ' εἶναι μήτε Πελοποννησίουσ—
- Κα. βέλτιστα τοίνυν μηκέτ' εἶναι νῆ Δία.
- Λυ. Βοιωτίους τε πάντας ἐξολωλέναι— 35
- Κα. μὴ δῆτα πάντας γ', ἀλλ' ἄφελε τὰς ἐγχέλεις.
- Λυ. περὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν δ' οὐκ ἐπιγλωττήσομαι
 τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὑπονόησον σύ μοι.
 ἦν δὲ ξυνέλθωσ' αἱ γυναῖκες ἐνθάδε

18-9 § Poll. 6.33 22 §§ S σ 1285 26-7 § S ε 3006 27 Zonar.
 874 37 (οὐκ ...) Zonar. 836; §§ S ε 2266; §§ Phot.; §§ Poll. 2.109

16 τϵ R 18 δὲ] μὲν Poll. 20 ἦν γὰρ ἕτερα Porson: ἕτερα γὰρ ἦν
 RΓ: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνων ἦν ^{γρ}Γ₂ -αἵτατα Γ 22 συγ- RS 24 νῆ τὸν
 Δία καὶ Blaydes: καὶ (⁸Γ) νῆ Δία RΓ: νῆ τὸν Δία B 27 πολλαῖσι τ' RS^f:
 πολλαῖσιν Γ: πολλαῖς τ' S^{MGIT} 29 ὥσθ' Mu2: ὥστ' R: ἔσθ' ὡς Γ
 31 γ' ἄρ' ΓΣ^{PC}: γὰρ RΣ^{ac}: τᾶρ' Mehler 33 μὴ δὲ R -πονησ- R
 36 γ' om. R 37 Ἀθηναίων ΓΣΣ Zonar. δ'] γὰρ S Zonar.

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- αἶ τ' ἐκ Βοιωτῶν αἶ τε Πελοποννησίων 40
 ἡμεῖς τε, κοινῇ σώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
- Κα. τί δ' ἂν γυναῖκες φρόνιμον ἐργασαίαιτο
 ἢ λαμπρόν, αἶ καθήμεθ' ἐξηθισμένα
 κροκωτοφοροῦσαι καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένα
 καὶ Κιμβερικ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδας; 45
- Λυ. ταῦτ' αὐτὰ γάρ τοι κάσθ' ἃ σώσειν προσδοκῶ,
 τὰ κροκωτίδια καὶ τὰ μύρα χαί περιβαρίδες
 χῆγχουσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ χιτώνια.
- Κα. τίνα δὴ τρόπον ποθ';
 Λυ. ὥστε τῶν νῦν μηδένα
 ἀνδρῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν αἵρεσθαι δόρυ— 50
- Κα. κροκωτὸν ἄρα νῆ τῶ θεῶ ἄ γὼ βάψομαι.
 Λυ. μηδ' ἀσπίδα λαβεῖν—
 Κα. Κιμβερικὸν ἐνδύσομαι.
 Λυ. μηδὲ ξιφίδιον.
 Κα. κτήσομαι περιβαρίδας.
 Λυ. ἄρ' οὐ παρεῖναι τὰς γυναῖκας δῆτ' ἐχρήν;
 Κα. οὐ γὰρ μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ πετομένας ἦκειν πάλαι. 55
 Λυ. ἀλλ', ὦ μέλ', ὄψει τοι σφόδρ' αὐτὰς Ἀττικάς,
 ἅπαντα δρώσας τοῦ δέοντος ὕστερον.
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Παράλων οὐδεμία γυνὴ πάρα,
 οὐδ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος.
- Κα. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖναί γ' οἶδ' ὅτι
 ἐπὶ τῶν κελήτων διαβεβήκασ' ὄρθραι. 60

42-4 Cl. Al. *Paed.* (1) 2.109.2 42-3 Cl. Al. (2) 2.10.235; § (3)
 3.2.254 43-8 (αἶ...) §§ S ε 1738 52 (κιμβερικόν) S κ 1614; §§
 Hsch.; § Phot.; §§ Poll. 7.49 56 § S α 4357 58 § S π 391
 59-60 (ἀλλ'...) § S κ 1301

42 φρόνιμον γυναῖκες Cl. Al. (1) -σαντο Cl. Al. (1) (2): -σαίμεθα Cl.
 Al. (3) 43 ἐξανθ- Cl. Al. (3) 44 κροκωτὰ RS 45 κιμβερικ'
 λΣΓ ΣΣ γρ ΣΓ: κιμβερικ- R: κιμμερικ- ΓΣΓ: vocabula κιμβερίνος et κιμμερινός
 (γρ ΣΓ) memorat Σ, cf. ad v. 52 46-7 post 48 R, om. S
 46 κάστ' R 47 χαί Reischig: καὶ α 49 ποθ' B: ποτ' α 52 μήτ'
 ἀσπίδας Γ κιμβερικόν R Hsch.: κιμμερικόν Γ Phot.: κιμβερινόν (κιμμ-^Α) S
 53 μήτε Γ 54 ἄρ' R 56 ὦ μέλε Γ: om. S τοι] γε R: om. S
 60 -κασιν S ὄρθραι Γ: ὄρθραί S

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

Λυ. οὐδ' ἄς προσεδόκων κάλογιζόμενη ἐγὼ
πρώτας παρέσεσθαι δεῦρο τὰς Ἀχαρνέων
γυναῖκας, οὐχ ἤκουσιν.

Κα. ἡ γοῦν Θεογένους
ὡς δεῦρ' ἰούσα τὰκάτειον ἤρετο.
ἀτὰρ αἶδε καὶ δὴ σοι προσέρχονται τινες. 65

Λυ. αἶδ' αἶθ' ἕτεραι χωροῦσί τινες.

Κα. ἰοὺ ἰού,
πόθεν εἰσίν;

Λυ. Ἀναγυρουντόθεν.

Κα. νῆ τὸν Δία·
ὁ γοῦν ἀνάγυρός μοι κεκινήσθαι δοκεῖ.

ΜΥΡΡΙΝΗ

μῶν ὕστερα πάρεσμεν, ὦ Λυσιστράτη;
τί φῆς; τί σιγᾶς;

Λυ. οὐκ ἐπαινῶ, Μυρρίνη,
ἤκουσαν ἄρτι περὶ τοιούτου πράγματος. 70

Μυ. μόλις γὰρ ἤδρον ἐν σκότῳ τὸ ζώνιον.
ἀλλ' εἶ τι πάνυ δεῖ, ταῖς παρούσαισιν λέγε.

Λυ. μὰ Δι' ἀλλ' ἐπαναμεινῶμεν ὀλίγου γ' οὔνεκα
τάς τ' ἐκ Βοιωτῶν τάς τε Πελοποννησίων
γυναῖκας ἔλθειν. 75

Μυ. πολὺ σὺ κάλλιον λέγεις.
ἤδὲ δὲ καὶ δὴ Λαμπιτῶ προσέρχεται.

Λυ. ὦ φιλότατη Λάκαινα, χαίρε, Λαμπιτοῖ.
οἶον τὸ κάλλος, ὦ γλυκυτάτη, φαίνεται.
ὡς δ' εὐχροεῖς, ὡς δὲ σφριγᾶ τὸ σῶμά σου. 80
κἂν ταῦρον ἄγχοις.

63-4 (ἡ ...) §§ S θ 80 68 Zenob. 2.55 72 § Harpocr. cod.
Marc. 444 (v. Keaney, *TAPA* 98 (1967) 216) 80-1 (... ἄγχοις) §§ S
σ 1758 81 cf. Eust. II. 631.43 σιού μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ Πελοποννησίοις
καλουμένου, ὡς καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς δηλοῖ

61 ἐγὼν R 62-131 desunt in ΓΒρ 63 Θεογ- Σ^R: Θεαγ- RS
64 τὰκάτειον van Leeuwen: τὰκάτιον R: θουκάτειον Daubuz cl. Σ^{RS} τὸ ἐκ τῆς
Ἑκάτης ξόανον ἤρετο Kuster: ἤρετο R 66 Λυ. et Κα. Dobree: om. R
70 Μυρρίνη Mu2: -η R 74 οὔνεκα Brunck: εἶ- R 76 Μυ. Mu2:
dic. R 78 Λυ. Mu2: par. R 79 φαίνεται Biset: σου φαίνεται R
81 γ' Reisig: γὰρ R τῶ Σ^R: om. R

ΛΑΜΠΙΤΩ

- μάλα γ', οἰῶ, ναὶ τὼ σιῶ.
 γυμνάδομαι γὰ καὶ ποτὶ πυχὰν ἄλλομαι.
 Κα. ὡς δὴ καλὸν τὸ χρῆμα τῶν τιθῶν ἔχεις.
 Λα. ἄπερ ἰαρεῖόν τοι μ' ὑποφάλασσετε.
 Λυ. ἦδὶ δὲ ποδαπή 'σθ' ἠ νεάνις ἠτέρα; 85
 Λα. πρέσβειρά τοι ναὶ τὼ σιῶ Βοιωτία
 ἴκει ποθ' ὑμέ.
 Μυ. νῆ Δί' ὡς Βοιωτία
 καλὸν γ' ἔχουσα τὸ πεδίον.
 Κα. καὶ νῆ Δία
 κομψότατα τὴν βληχῶ γε παρατετιλμένη.
 Λυ. τίς δ' ἠτέρα παῖς;
 Λα. χαῖα ναὶ τὼ σιῶ, 90
 Κορινθία δ' αὔ.
 Κα. χαῖα νῆ τὸν Δία
 δῆλη 'στιν οὔσα ταυταγὶ κἀντευθενί.
 Λα. τίς δ' αὔ συναλίαξε τόνδε τὸν στόλον
 τὸν τᾶν γυναικῶν;
 Λυ. ἦδ' ἐγώ.
 Λα. μύσιδδέ τοι
 ὄ τι λῆς ποθ' ἀμέ.
 Κα. νῆ Δί', ὦ φίλη γύναι, 95
 λέγε δῆτα τὸ σπουδαῖον ὄ τι τοῦτ' ἐστί σοι.
 Λυ. λέγοιμ' ἂν ἦδη. πρὶν <δέ> λέγειν, ὑμᾶς τοδί

82 § S π 3110 cf. §§ Hsch. a 288g 84 § S ψ 8 90-1 (χαῖα... δέ) § S χ 4

82 γυμνάδομαι S γὰ Brunck: γε RS πυχὴν S ἄλλομαι R 83 Κα.
 Bake: par. R τιθῶν Scaliger: -ίων R 84 ἄπερ Bergler: αἰπερ R:
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 88 Κα. Bentley: dic. R 89 κομψότατα τὴν Bentley: -ώτατα τᾶν R
 90 ναὶ τὼ σιῶ Bentley: μὲν ναὶ τὼ σιῶ R: μὲν ἐστι S 91 δ' αὔ R: δέ S
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 δέτω R 95 λῆ = Σ^R Κα. Wilamowitz: dic. R 96 par. R:
 continuat Wilamowitz 97 <δέ> Kuster

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

ἐπερήσομαί, τι μικρόν.

- Κα. ὅ τι βούλει γε σύ.
 Λυ. τοὺς πατέρας οὐ ποθεῖτε τοὺς τῶν παιδιῶν
 ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπόντας; εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι 100
 πάσαισιν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀποδημῶν ἀνὴρ.
 Κα. ὁ γοῦν ἐμὸς ἀνὴρ πέντε μῆνας, ὦ τάλαν,
 ἄπεστιν ἐπὶ Θράκης φυλάττων Εὐκράτη.
 Μυ. ὁ δ' ἐμὸς γε τελέους ἑπτὰ μῆνας ἐν Πύλῳ.
 Λα. ὁ δ' ἐμὸς γα, καὶ κ' ἐκ τὰς ταγὰς ἔλση ποκά, 105
 πορπακισάμενος φρούδος ἀμπτάμενος ἔβα.
 Λυ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μοιχοῦ καταλέλειπται φεψάλυξ.
 ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἡμᾶς προὔδοσαν Μιλήσιοι,
 οὐκ εἶδον οὐδ' ὄλισβον ὀκτωδάκτυλον,
 ὃς ἦν ἂν ἡμῖν σκυτίνη 'πικουρία· 110
 ἐθέλοιτ' ἂν οὖν, εἰ μηχανὴν εὖροιμ' ἐγώ,
 μετ' ἐμοῦ καταλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον;
 Κα. νῆ τῷ θεῷ,
 ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν, κἂν εἴ με χρεῖη τοῦγκυκλον
 τουτὶ καταθείσαν ἐκπιεῖν αὐθημερόν.
 Μυ. ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἂν, κἂν ὡσπερὶ ψῆγταν δοκῶ 115
 δοῦναι ἂν ἐμαντῆς παρατεμοῦσα θῆμισυ.
 Λα. ἐγὼν δὲ καὶ κα ποττὸ Ταῦγέτον γ' ἂνω
 ἔλσοιμ' ὅπᾳ μέλλοιμί γ' εἰράναν ἰδῆν.
 Λυ. λέγοιμ' ἂν· οὐ δεῖ γὰρ κεκρύφθαι τὸν λόγον.
 ἡμῖν γάρ, ὦ γυναῖκες, εἴπερ μέλλομεν 120
 ἀναγκάσειν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰρήνην ἄγειν,

103 § S α 3069 105-6 (... πορπ-) S †§§ (1) α 1118; †§ (2) π 2089
 107 §§ S*Ach.* 279; § S φ 239-40 109-10 § S ο 169 113-4 (...
 καταθ-) § S ε 135; (τοῦγκ-... καταθ-) Zonar. 603 115-6 § S ψ 78

98 Κα. Kruse: dic. R 102 Κα. Brunck: par. R 103 Εὐκράτη
 S^A: -την R: -της S^r 104 Μυ. Boninus: par. R 105 καὶ κ'
 Ahrens: κἂν RS (2): οὐκ ἂν S (1) 106 πορπακι- Σ^{RS}(2): πορπατι- R
 109 ὀκτα- S 112 Κα. Kruse: om. R 113 ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν Bentley:
 ἐγωγ' ἂν κἂν RS^r: ἐγὼ γ' ἂν S^{MGIT} μοι S^G χρεῖη Dawes: χρῆ. ἤ R: χρεῖ' ἤ S
 115 Μυ. Kruse: par. R γ' ἂν om. S ὡσπερ ἤ R 116 ἂν om. S
 παρατεμοῦσα Elmsley: παρταμ- RS 117 ἐγὼν Blaydes: ἐγὼ R
 118 ὅπᾳ Henderson: ὄπα R ἰδῆν Bergk: ἰδεῖν R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

ἀφεκτέ' ἐστι—

- Κα. τοῦ; φράσον.
 Λυ. ποιήσεται οὖν;
 Κα. ποιήσομεν, κἄν ἀποθανεῖν ἡμᾶς δέη.
 Λυ. ἀφεκτέα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τοῦ πέους.
 τί μοι μεταστρέφεσθε; ποῖ βαδίζετε; 125
 αὐται, τί μοιμνάτε κἄνανεύετε;
 τί χρῶς τέτραπται; τί δάκρυον κατεΐβεται;
 ποιήσεται ἢ οὐ ποιήσεται; ἢ τί μέλλετε;
 Κα. οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιμ', ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος ἐρπέτω.
 Μυ. μὰ Δί' οὐδ' ἐγὼ γάρ, ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος ἐρπέτω. 130
 Λυ. ταυτὶ σὺ λέγεις, ὦ ψήττα; καὶ μὴν ἄρτι γε
 ἔφησθα σαυτῆς κἄν παρατεμεῖν θῆμισυ.
 Κα. ἄλλ', ἄλλ' ὅ τι βούλει. κἄν με χρῆ, διὰ τοῦ πυρός
 ἐθέλω βαδίζειν. τοῦτο μᾶλλον τοῦ πέους.
 οὐδὲν γὰρ οἶον, ὦ φίλη Λυσιστράτη. 135
 Λυ. τί δαὶ σύ;

ΓΥΝΗ

- κἀγὼ βούλομαι διὰ τοῦ πυρός.
 Λυ. ὦ παγκατάπυγον θῆμέτερον ἅπαν γένος.
 οὐκ ἐπὸς ἀφ' ἡμῶν εἰσιν αἱ τραγωδίαί·
 οὐδὲν γάρ ἐσμεν πλὴν Ποσειδῶν καὶ σκάφη.
 ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη Λάκαινα, σὺ γὰρ ἐὰν γένη 140
 μόνη μετ' ἐμοῦ, τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἀνασωσαίμεσθ' ἔτ' ἂν.
 ξυμφήφισαί μοι.
 Λα. χαλεπὰ μὲν ναὶ τῶ σιῶ
 γυναίκας ὑπνῶν ἐστ' ἄνευ ψωλᾶς μόνας.

126-7 (τί...) § S μ 1367

135 §§ S ο 784

138-9 §§ S ο 890

122 Κα. Boninus: dic. R ποι- Brunck: πο- R 123 Κα. Boninus:
 par. R 124 ἐστὶν ἡμῖν Bentley: ἡμῖν ἐστὶν R μοιμνάτε L. Dindorf
 cl. Poll. 2.90 Hsch. s.v. μοιμνᾶν: μοι μνάτε RS, cf. Hsch. Phot. s.v. μνάτε
 127 κατεΐβετε S^{AG} 129 Κα. Kruse: par. R 130 Μυ. Kruse: par. R
132-199 adsunt in ΓBp 133 χρῆ Brunck: χρῆ a 136 Γυ.
 Henderson: dic. R: ἄλλη Γ 137 παγκατάπυγον Reiske: πᾶν κ- a
138 ἐτῶς S^{GSM} 139 εἰσι S 141 ἂν σωσαίμεσθ' R ἔτ' ἂν
 Brunck: ἔτι a

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- ὄμως γὰ μάν· δεῖ τὰς γὰρ εἰράνας μάλ' αὖ.
 Λυ. ᾧ φιλάτῃ σὺ καὶ μόνῃ τούτων γυνή. 145
 Κα. εἰ δ' ὡς μάλιστ' ἀπεχοίμεθ' οὐ σὺ δὴ λέγεις,
 ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, μᾶλλον ἂν διὰ τουτογι
 γένοιτ' ἂν εἰρήνη;
 Λυ. πολὺ γε νῆ τῷ θεῷ.
 εἰ γὰρ καθήμεθ' ἔνδον ἐντετριμμένοι,
 κὰν τοῖς χιτωνίοισι τοῖς Ἀμοργίνοις 150
 γυμναὶ παρίοιμεν δέλτα παρατετιλμένοι,
 στύουνο δ' ἄνδρες κἀπιθυμοῖεν σπλεκοῦν,
 ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ προσίοιμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπεχοίμεθα,
 σπονδὰς ποιήσαντ' ἂν ταχέως, εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι.
 Λα. ὁ γῶν Μενέλαος τὰς Ἑλένας τὰ μάλ' ἀπα 155
 γυμνὰς παραυιδῶν ἐξέβαλ', οἷῳ, τὸ ξίφος.
 Κα. τί δ', ἦν ἀφίῳσ' ἄνδρες ἡμᾶς, ὦ μέλε;
 Λυ. τὸ τοῦ Φερεκράτους, κῦνα δέρειν δεδαρμένην.
 Κα. φλυαρία ταυτ' ἐστὶ τὰ μεμιμημένα.
 ἔαν λαβόντες δ' εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον βία 160
 ἔλκωσιν ἡμᾶς;
 Λυ. ἀντέχου σὺ τῶν θυρῶν.
 Κα. ἔαν δὲ τύπτωσιν;
 Λυ. παρέχειν χρῆ κακὰ κακῶς.
 οὐ γὰρ ἐνὶ τούτοις ἦδονῆ τοῖς πρὸς βίαν.

150 τὰ ἀμόργια Harpocr. 26.15 Dind. 151 §§ S δ 201 152 §§ S π
 1722; § Harpocr. cod. Marc. 444 (v. TAPA 98 (1967) 217 n. 70)
 155-6 §§ S μ 917

144 γα Ellebodus: γε a μάν Casaubon: μάν (μ' ἂν R) a 145-53 ex-
 stant in Πι 146 Κα. Boninus: par. R: Μυ. Γ: [Π1] δὴ σὺ Γ
 147 τουτονὶ Γ 152 στύουνο δ' Bothe: στύουτ' ἂν aS: [Π1] σπλεκοῦν
 Dindorf cl. Hsch. Poll. 5. 93, cf. Plut. 1082: πλεκοῦν aS: [Π1]: σπλεκοῦν
 Harpocr. 153 προσίδο[Π1] ἀπεχόμεθα R [Π1] 155 τῆς
 ἐλένης S μῆλα S πα Bergk: πάι Γ: πο R: που S 156 γυμνῆς S
 παραυιδῶν Bergk: παρευιδῶν (παρεὺ ιδῶν R) a οἷῳ Γ 157 Κα.
 Boninus: par. R: Μυ. Γ ἀφίῳσ' Biset: ἀφίῳσ' a: ἔαν παρῖδωσιν Σ^{RΓ} ἄνδρες
 Σ^{RΓ}: ἄνδρες a 158 Λυ. Γ: par. R 159 Κα. Boninus: par. R: Μυ. Γ
 160 δ' om. Γ 162 Κα. Boninus: par. R: Μυ. Γ τύπτωσι Γ
 κακὰκῶς (κα del. R^{PC}) R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- κἄλλως ὀδυνᾶν χρή· κάμελει ταχέως πάνυ
ἀπερούσιν. οὐ γὰρ οὐδέποτ' εὐφρανθήσεται 165
ἀνὴρ, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ γυναικὶ ξυμφέρη.
- Κα. εἴ τοι δοκεῖ σφῶν ταῦτα, χῆμῖν ξυνδοκεῖ.
Λα. καὶ τὼς μὲν ἀμῶν ἄνδρας ἀμὲς πείσομες
παντᾶ δικαίως ἄδολον εἰράναν ἄγην·
τὸν τῶν Ἀσαναίων γὰρ μὰν ῥυάχετον 170
πᾶ κά τις ἀμπίσειεν αὐ μὴ πλαδδιῆν;
- Λυ. ἡμεῖς ἀμέλει σοι τά γε παρ' ἡμῖν πείσομεν.
Λα. οὐχ ἄς πόδας κ' ἔχωντι ταὶ τριήρεις
καὶ τῶργύριον τῶβυsson ἢ παρ τᾶ σιῶ.
Λυ. ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ τοῦτ' εὐ παρεσκευασμένον· 175
καταληψόμεθα γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τήμερον.
ταῖς πρεσβυτάταις γὰρ προστέτακται τοῦτο δρᾶν,
ἕως ἂν ἡμεῖς ταῦτα συντιθώμεθα,
θύειν δοκούσαις καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.
- Λα. παντᾶ κ' ἔχοι, καὶ τᾶδε γὰρ λέγεις καλῶς. 180
Λυ. τί δῆτα ταῦτ' οὐχ ὡς τάχιστα, Λαμπιτοῖ,
ξυνωμόσαμεν, ὅπως ἂν ἀρρήκτως ἔχη.
- Λα. πάρφαυε μὰν τὸν ὄρκον, ὡς ὁμιώμεθα.
Λυ. καλῶς λέγεις. ποῦ 'σθ' ἡ Σκύθαινα; ποῖ βλέπεις;
θὲς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ὑπτίαν τὴν ἀσπίδα, 185
καὶ μοι δότω τὰ τόμιά τις.
- Κα. Λυσιστράτη,

164-5 (ἀμέλει... ἀπερούσιν) §§ S a 3049
184 (ποῦ... Σκύθαινα) § S σ 702

170-1 § S ρ 323

167 Κα. Boninus: par. R: Λα. Γ τι Γ σφῶν ταῦτα B: ταῦτα σφῶν ταῦτα a
χῆμῖν R^{ac} 168 Λα. Boninus: om. a μεναμῶν Γ ἀμὲς Dindorf: ἀ- R
169 παντᾶ Bergk: πάντα a ἄγην Ahrens: ἄγειν a 170 Ἀθηναίων S
γε ΓS μῆν S ῥυάχετον Γ, S cf. Hsch. Phot.: ῥυάχετον ^{yp}Γ₂: ῥυγῆχετον R
171 πᾶ om. S κα Dobree: καὶ a: om. S ἀμπίσειεν Ahrens: ἀν π-aS -σειε
(-σοι^G) S αὐ om. S πλαδδιεῖν S 172 ἡμῶν Blaydes 173 ἄς
πόδας (ἄς iam Ellebodius) Valckenaer: ἀσποδάς R: ἄς σποδάς Γ κ'
Bergk: γ' Γ: om. R ἔχωντι Scaliger: ἔχοντι a 174 τῶργύριον Biset:
τάργ- a ἢ R παρ Koen: παρὰ a 176 -μεθα B: -μεσθα a
177 πρεσβυτέραις Lenting 180 παντᾶ Koen: πάντα a κ' R: γ' Γ:
δ' Σ^R ἔχει Σ^I τᾶδε Bentley: τᾶδε a 182-99 exstant in Π1
183 ὄμ- Γ 186 Κα. Boninus: dic. Π1R: Μυ. Γ

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- τίν' ὄρκον ὀρκώσεις ποθ' ἡμᾶς;
 Λυ. ὄντινα;
 εἰς ἀσπίδ', ὥσπερ, φασίν, Αἰσχύλος ποτέ,
 μηλοσφαγούσας.
- Κα. μὴ σύ γ', ὦ Λυσιστράτη,
 εἰς ἀσπίδ' ὀμόσῃς μηδὲν εἰρήνης πέρι. 190
- Λυ. τίς ἂν οὖν γένοιτ' ἂν ὄρκος;
 Κα. εἰ λευκὸν ποθεν
 ἵππον λαβοῦσαι τόμιον ἐντεμοίμεθα;
 Λυ. ποῖ λευκὸν ἵππον;
 Κα. ἀλλὰ πῶς ὀμούμεθα
 ἡμεῖς;
 Λυ. ἐγὼ σοι νῆ Δί', ἣν βούλη, φράσω.
 θείσαι μέλαιναν κύλικα μεγάλην ὑπτίαν, 195
 μηλοσφαγούσαι Θάσιον οἴνου σταμνίον
 ὀμόσωμεν εἰς τὴν κύλικα μὴ 'πιχεῖν ὕδωρ.
- Λα. φεῦ δᾶ, τὸν ὄρκον ἄφατον ὡς ἐπαινίω.
 Λυ. φερέτω κύλικά τις ἐνδοθεν καὶ σταμνίον.
 Μυ. ὦ φίλταται γυναικες, ὁ κεραμῶν ὄσος. 200
 Κα. ταύτην μὲν ἂν τις εὐθύς ἤσθειή λαβών.
 Λυ. καταθείσα ταύτην προσλαβοῦ μοι τοῦ κάπρου.
 δέσποινα Πειθοῖ καὶ κύλιξ φιλοτησία,
 τὰ σφάγια δέξαι ταῖς γυναιξίν εὐμενής.
- Κα. εὐχρων γε θαῖμα κάποπυτίζει καλῶς. 205
 Λα. καὶ μὰν ποτόδδαι γ' ἀδὺν ναὶ τὸν Κάστορα.
 Μυ. ἔατε πρώτην μ', ὦ γυναικες, ὀμνύναι.

201 S §§ (1) η 587; §§ (2) π 1717

203 § Athen. 11.502B

187 versuum ordinem 187, 197, 199, 198, 188 exhibet Π1 188 φάσ'
 ἐν R[Π1] αἰσχύλω (-ω Π) Π1R 189-96 om. Π1 189 -σαις R
 Κα. Boninus: dic. R: Μυ. Γ 191 Κα. Boninus: dic. R: Μυ. Γ
 192 ἐκτεμ- R 193 Κα. Boninus: Μυ. Γ: om. R 194 βούλει RΓ,
 197 ὀμόσωμεν Γ μη το χ[Π1 198 φεν δα R: φεῦδα Γ: [Π1] ἐπαινίω
 Elmsley: -ῶ a 199 Λυ. Γ: om. R 200-67 desunt in ΓBp
 200 Μυ. Reischig: par. R ὁ Tyrwhitt: om. R κεραμῶν Reiske: κεραμεῶν R
 201 Κα. Süs: om. R εὐθύς om. S (2)^{FV} 202 Λυ. Bentley: om. R
 μοι Brunck: μου R 205 Κα. Boninus: par. R -πυτ- Biset: -πυττ- R
 207 Μυ. Hamaker: par. R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- Κα. μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐκ ἔάν γε μὴ λάχῃς.
 Λυ. λάζυσθε πᾶσαι τῆς κύλικος, ὦ Λαμπιτοῦ
 λεγέτω δ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μί' ἄπερ ἂν κάγῳ λέγω· 210
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπομείσθε ταῦτα κάμπεδώσετε.
 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὔτε μοιχὸς οὔτ' ἀνήρ—
 Κα. οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὔτε μοιχὸς οὔτ' ἀνήρ—
 Λυ. ὅστις πρὸς ἐμὲ πρόσεισιν ἔστυκῶς. λέγε.
 Κα. ὅστις πρὸς ἐμὲ πρόσεισιν ἔστυκῶς. παπαῖ,
 ὑπολύεται μου τὰ γόνατ', ὦ Λυσιστράτη. 215
 Λυ. οἴκοι δ' ἀταυρώτη διάξω τὸν βίον—
 Κα. οἴκοι δ' ἀταυρώτη διάξω τὸν βίον—
 Λυ. κροκωτοφοροῦσα καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένη,—
 Κα. κροκωτοφοροῦσα καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένη,— 220
 Λυ. ὅπως ἂν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτυφῇ μάλιστά μου·
 Κα. ὅπως ἂν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτυφῇ μάλιστά μου·
 Λυ. κοῦδέποθ' ἐκούσα τάνδρι τῶμῳ πείσομαι.
 Κα. κοῦδέποθ' ἐκούσα τάνδρι τῶμῳ πείσομαι.
 Λυ. ἔάν δέ μ' ἄκουσαν βιάζηται βία,— 225
 Κα. ἔάν δέ μ' ἄκουσαν βιάζηται βία,—
 Λυ. κακῶς παρέξω κοῦχί προσκινήσομαι.
 Κα. κακῶς παρέξω κοῦχί προσκινήσομαι.
 Λυ. οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνατενῶ τῷ Περσικῷ.
 Κα. οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνατενῶ τῷ Περσικῷ. 230
 Λυ. οὐ στήσομαι λέαινα' ἐπὶ τυροκνήστιδος.

217 S §§ (1) α 4327; §§ (2) τ 167; §§ Eust. 1554.29 221 § S € 2737;
 Zonar. 848 223-35 S § (1) κ 2666 223-27 S § (2) η 426
 227 S § (3) π 2730 229 Σ^{RV} ad *Nub.* 173; S § (4) ο 628 231 S § (5)
 λ 226; §§ (6) τ 1197; (*τυρόκνηστις*) Schol. Plut. Vit. Dion. 158 Manfredini
 (*Jb. Ost. Byz.* 28 (1979) 104); (*λέαινα* ...) §§ Hsch.; § Phot.

208 Κα. Boninus: par. R 209 Λυ. Boninus: par. R 211 ταῦτα
 Hirschig: ταυτὰ R 212-3 οὔτε... οὔτ' Bekker: οὐδε... οὐδ' R
 213 Κα. Boninus: par. R 217 οἴκαδ' S 218 om. R₁; in calce
 add. R₂ 221 ἂν om. Zonar. 223-4 οὐδέποθ' S τοῦμῳ S(1)
 σπείσομαι S(1)^A 225-6 εἰ δέ S(1); οὐδέ S(2) βιάζεται S(1)^{GM};
 βιάσεται S(2) βίαν S(2) 227-8 προσκιν- S(2)^{AIV}(1)^{GVM}
 229-30 ἀντενῶ S(1) τῷ Dindorf: τὰ R testt. 231-2 λέαινα RS(1)
 Hsch. Phot. -κνήστιδι S(5)^{GFVM}

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- Κα. οὐ στήσομαι λείαν' ἐπὶ τυροκνήστιδος.
 Λυ. ταῦτ' ἐμπεδοῦσα μὲν πίοιμι' ἐντευθενί·
 Κα. ταῦτ' ἐμπεδοῦσα μὲν πίοιμι' ἐντευθενί·
 Λυ. εἰ δὲ παραβαίην, ὕδατος ἐμπλήθ' ἢ κύλιξ. 235
 Κα. εἰ δὲ παραβαίην, ὕδατος ἐμπλήθ' ἢ κύλιξ.
 Λυ. συνεπόμνυθ' ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάσαι;

ΠΑΣΑΙ

νῆ Δία.

- Λυ. φέρ' ἐγὼ καθαγίσω τήνδε.
 Κα. τὸ μέρος γ', ὦ φίλη,
 ὅπως ἂν ὤμεν εὐθύς ἀλλήλων φίλαι.
 Λα. τίς ὠλολυγά;
 Λυ. τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' οὐγὼ 'λεγον· 240
 αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς θεοῦ
 ἤδη καθειλήφασιν. ἀλλ', ὦ Λαμπιτοί,
 σὺ μὲν βάδιζε καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν εἶ τίθει,
 τασδί δ' ὀμήρους κατάλιφ' ἡμῖν ἐνθάδε·
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαισι ταῖσιν ἐν πόλει 245
 ξυνεμβάλωμεν εἰσιούσαι τοὺς μοχλοῦς.
 Κα. οὐκουν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ξυμβοηθήσειν οἶει
 τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθύς;
 Λυ. ὀλίγον αὐτῶν μοι μέλει.
 οὐ γὰρ τοσαύτας οὔτ' ἀπειλὰς οὔτε πῦρ
 ἤξουσ' ἔχοντες ὥστ' ἀνοιῖσαι τὰς πύλας 250
 ταύτας, ἐὰν μὴ 'φ' οἷσιν ἡμεῖς εἴπομεν.
 Κα. μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐδέποτε γ'· ἄλλως γὰρ ἂν
 ἄμαχοι γυναῖκες καὶ μιαιοὶ κεκλήμεθ' ἂν.

247 (ἐφ'...) §§ S € 3900

235-6 ἐμπλήθ' ἢ Dawes: ἐμπλησθῆ RS 237 -όμνυθ' Biset:
 -ομνυσθ' R ΠΑΣΑΙ Kruse: par. R 238 Κα. Boninus: dic. R γ'
 Zanetti: τ' R 240 ὠλ- Dindorf: ἀ ὀλ- R τοῦτ'... οὐγὼ Biset:
 ταῦτ'... οὐκ ἐγὼ R 242 καθ- Henderson cl. titulis: κατ- R
 243 ὑμῖν Reisig: ὑμῶν R 244 -λιφ' Biset: -λειφ' R 245 ἄλλαισι
 Biset: -σιν R 247 ξυμβ- RS 249 οὔτ'... οὔτε Bekker: οὐδ'...
 οὐδὲ R

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ

χώρει, Δράκης, ἡγοῦ βάδην, εἰ καὶ τὸν ὦμον ἀλγείς
 κορμοῦ τοσοῦτονί βάρος χλωρᾶς φέρων ἐλαίας. 255

ἦ πόλλ' ἄελπτ' ἔνεστιν ἐν
 τῷ μακρῷ βίῳ, φεῦ, στρ. 256/7
 ἐπεὶ τίς ἂν ποτ' ἤλπισ', ὦ Στρυμόδωρ', ἀκούσαι 258/9
 γυναικάς, ἃς ἐβόσκομεν 260
 κατ' οἶκον ἐμφανές κακόν,
 κατὰ μὲν ἄγιον ἔχειν βρέτας
 κατὰ τ' ἀκρόπολιν ἐμὰν λαβεῖν
 κλήθροισί τ' αὐ καὶ μοχλοῖσιν
 τὰ προπύλαια πακτοῦν; 265

ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα πρὸς πόλιν σπεύσωμεν, ὦ Φιλοῦργε,
 ὅπως ἂν αὐταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ θέντες τὰ πρέμνα ταυτί,
 ὅσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτ' ἐνεστήσαντο καὶ μετήλθον,
 μίαν πυρὰν νήσαντες ἐμπρήσωμεν αὐτόχειρες
 πάσας, ἀπὸ ψήφου μιάς, πρώτην δὲ τὴν Λύκωνος. 270

οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ' ἐμοῦ
 ζώντος ἐγχανοῦνται ἀντ. 271/2
 ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Κλεομένης, ὃς αὐτὴν κατέσχε πρῶτος, 273/4
 ἀπήλθεν ἀψάλακτος, ἀλλ' 275
 ὁμως Λακωνικὸν πνέων
 ᾗχετο θῶπλα παραδοῦς ἐμοί,
 σμικρὸν ἔχων πάνυ τριβώνιον,

256 § S α 351 264 (κλήθροισί), cf. *An. Oxon.* 1 p. 224.24 (κλήθρον),
 scd 226.9 (κλειῖθρον) 264-5 S π 31 265 (προπ-...) Poll. 10.27
 268 (ἐνεστ-...) §§ S € 1264 270 (ἀπὸ...μιάς) §§ S υ 646
 274-6 (πρῶτος...) § S ψ 3

254 Χορ. γερ. γρ^Σ^R: om. R₁; Χορ. ἀνδρ. γερ. R₂; Στρυμόδωρος γρ^Σ^R
 255 βάρος χλωρᾶς φέρων Bentley: φέρων βάρος χλωρᾶς R 256 ἐνεστιν
 Reisig: ἐστὶν RS φεῦ om. S 259 Στρυμόδωρ' Brunck: Στυμμόδωρ' R
 264 κλ-...μο- Hermann et Reisig: μο-...κλ- R κλήθροισί τ' αὐ καὶ
 μοχλοῖσιν Henderson et Sommerstein: μοχλοῖσιν δὲ καὶ κλήθροισιν R: μοχλοῖ-
 σι S 268-819 adsunt in ΓBp 269 ἐμπρήσομεν R 270 ἀπὸ
 c Σ^R Σ^S: ὑπὸ a 275 ἀπήλθον S 277 ᾗχετ' ὅπλα R

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

πεινῶν ῥυπῶν ἀπαράτιλος
 ἐξ ἑτῶν ἄλουτος. 280

οὕτως ἐπολιόρησ' ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκείνον ὠμῶς
 ἐφ' ἑπτακαίδεκ' ἀσπίδων πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις καθεύδων.
 τασδί δὲ τὰς Εὐριπίδῃ θεοῖς τε πᾶσιν ἐχθρὰς
 ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄρα σχήσω παρῶν τολμῆματος τοσοῦτου;
 μῆ νυν ἔτ' ἐν <τῇ> τετραπόλει τοῦμὸν τροπαῖον εἶη. 285

ἀλλ' αὐτὸ γάρ μοι τῆς ὁδοῦ στρ.
 λοιπὸν ἐστι χωρίον
 τὸ πρὸς πόλιν τὸ σιμόν, οἱ σπουδῆν ἔχω.
 πῶς δῆ ποτ' ἐξαμπρεύσομεν
 τοῦτ' ἄνευ κανθηλίου; 290
 ὡς ἐμοῦ γε τῷ ξύλῳ τὸν ὦμον ἐξιπώκατον.
 ἀλλ' ὅμως βαδιστέον,
 καὶ τὸ πῦρ φυσητέον,
 μή μ' ἀποσβεσθὲν λάθη πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ.
 φύ φύ. 295a
 ἰοὺ ἰοὺ τοῦ καπνοῦ. 295b

ὡς δεινόν, ὦναξ Ἡράκλεις, ἀντ.
 προσπεσόν μ' ἐκ τῆς χύτρας
 ὡσπερ κύων λυττώσα τῷφθαλμῷ δάκνει.
 κᾶστιν γε Λήμνιον τὸ πῦρ
 τοῦτο πάσῃ μηχανῇ· 300
 οὐ γὰρ <ἄν> ποθ' ὠδ' ὀδᾶξ ἔβρυκε τὰς λήμας ἐμοῦ.
 σπεῦδε πρόσθεν εἰς πόλιν
 καὶ βοήθει τῇ θεῶ.

279-80 (ἀπαρ-...) §§ S α 1361 280 S §§ (1) α 2920; §§ (2) ε 1670
 286-90 Phot. α 1249 289-90 (ἐξ-...) §§ S α 1657 291 S ε 1633
 295a §§ S ε 2807

279 πινῶν R 281 οὕτω δ' R ὠμῶς Faber: ὅμως a 282 ἀσπίδας
 λσΓ' 283 εὐριπίδι Γ 285 <τῇ> Meineke τροπαῖον Dindorf:
 τρόπαιον a 289 πῶς δῆ Fraenkel: χῶπως a: πως Phot. 290 τοῦτ'
 om. S 291 τῶι R ἐξιπώκατον Γ₂: ἐξεπώκατον ⁸Γ₂: ἐξεπιώκατον
 RΓ₁S 299 κᾶστι Γ γε om. R 301 οὐδὲ R <ἄν> Brunck

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

ἢ πότ' αὐτῇ μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν, ὦ Λάχης, ἀρήξομεν;
 φύ φύ. 305a
 ἰοῦ ἰοῦ τοῦ καπνοῦ. 305b

τοῦτι τὸ πῦρ ἐγρήγορεν θεῶν ἕκατι καὶ ζῆ.
 οὐκοῦν ἄν, εἰ τῶ μὲν ξύλω θείμεσθα πρῶτον αὐτοῦ,
 τῆς ἀμπέλου δ' εἰς τὴν χύτραν τὸν φανὸν ἐγκαθέντες
 ἄφαντες εἴτ' εἰς τὴν θύραν κρηδὸν ἐμπέσοιμεν,
 κἂν μὴ καλούντων τοὺς μοχλοὺς χαλῶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, 310
 ἐμπιμπράναι χρῆ τὰς θύρας καὶ τῷ καπνῷ πιέξιν.
 θώμεσθα δὴ τὸ φορτίον, φεῦ τοῦ καπνοῦ, βαβαιάξ.
 τίς ξυλλάβοιτ' ἂν τοῦ ξύλου τῶν ἐν Σάμῳ στρατηγῶν;
 ταυτὶ μὲν ἦδη τὴν ῥάχιν θλίβοντά μου πέπαιται.
 σὸν δ' ἔργον ἐστίν, ὦ χύτρα, τὸν ἄνθρακ' ἐξεγείρειν, 315
 τὴν λαμπάδ' ἡμμένην ὅπως πρῶτιστ' ἐμοὶ προσοίσεις.
 δέσποινα Νίκη, ξυγγενοῦ τῶν τ' ἐν πόλει γυναικῶν
 τοῦ νῦν παρεστῶτος θράσους θέσθαι τροπαῖον ἡμᾶς.

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ

λιγνὴν δοκῶ μοι καθορᾶν καὶ καπνόν, ὦ γυναῖκες,
 ὥσπερ πυρὸς καομένου· σπενυστέον ἐστὶ θάττον. 320

πέτου πέτου, Νικοδίκη,
 πρὶν ἐμπεπρήσθαι Καλύκην στρ. 321/2
 τε καὶ Κρίτυλλαν περιφυσήτω
 ὑπὸ τ' ἀνέμων ἀργαλέων
 ὑπὸ τε γερόντων ὀλέθρων. 325
 ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι τόδε· μῶν ὑστερόπους βοθηῶ;

317 (... ξυγγενοῦ) §§ S ξ 84 326 (μῶν...) § S μ 1333

304 ἢ πότ' Ellebodus: εἰ ποτ' a ἀρήξομεν B: ἀρήξομην R: ἀρήξομεν Γ
 306 ἐγρήγορε Γ ἕκητι Γ 307 εἰ] οὖν R θώμεσθα R αὐτόν R
307-13 exstant in Π2 308 ἐγκαταθέντες Γ [Π2] 311 -πιμπ- Π2:
 -πιπ- a 312 θώμεσθα Π2 315 ἐστὶν ἔργον R 316 λαμπάδ'
 Mu2: λαμπάθ' a ὅπως πρῶτιστ' Blaydes: ὅπως πρῶτον R: πρῶτος ὅπως Γ
 συνοίσεις Γ 317 ὦ δέσποινα S **318-20 exstant in Π2**
 318 τροπαῖον Dindorf: τρόπαιον a 320 ὡς R [Π2] 321 ἡμιχόριον
 γυν. a del. Bentley 323 κριτύλλαν R -ῆται R 324 τ' ἀνέμων
 Oeri: τε νόμων a 326 ἡμιχόριον γυν. a del. Bentley

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

νῦν δὴ γὰρ ἐμπλησαμένη τὴν ὑδρίαν κνεφαία
 μόλις ἀπὸ κρήνης ὑπ' ὄχλου καὶ θορύβου καὶ πατάγου
 χυτρείου, 328/9
 δούλαισιν ὠστιζομένη <.....> 330/1
 στιγματαίαις θ', ἀρπαλέως
 ἀραμένη ταῖσιν ἐμαῖς
 δημότισιν καομέναις
 φέρουσ' ὕδωρ βοηθῶ. 335

ἤκουσα γὰρ τυφογέροντας ἄνδρας ἔρρειν στελέχη ἀντ.
 φέροντας ὥσπερ βαλανεύσοντας
 εἰς πόλιν ὡς τριτάλαντα βάρος,
 δεινότατ' ἀπειλοῦντας ἐπῶν
 ὡς πυρὶ χρῆ τὰς μυσαρὰς γυναῖκας ἀνθρακεύειν. 340
 ἄς, ὦ θεά, μή ποτ' ἐγὼ πιμπραμένας ἴδοιμι,
 ἀλλὰ πολέμου καὶ μανιῶν ῥυσαμένας Ἑλλάδα καὶ
 πολίτας· 342/3
 ἐφ' οἷσπερ, ὦ χρυσολόφα
 πολιοῦχε, σὰς ἔσχον ἔδρας. 344/5
 καὶ σε καλῶ ξύμμαχον, ὦ
 Τριτογένει', ἣν τις ἐκεί-
 νας ὑποπιμπρήσιν ἀνήρ,
 φέρειν ὕδωρ μεθ' ἡμῶν.

ἔασον, ὦ, τουτὶ τί ἦν; ἄνδρες πονωπνηροί· 350
 οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἂν χρηστοί γ' ἔδρων οὐδ' εὐσεβεῖς τάδ' ἄνδρες.
 X.^γ τουτὶ τὸ πράγμ' ἡμῖν ἰδεῖν ἀπροσδόκητον ἦκει·

335 cf. Eust. II. 1431. 39 336-7 (ἔρρειν... φέροντας) §§ S € 2794
 338-9 (τριτ-...) §§ S τ 1013

327 οἰκίαν R₁ corr. ^{mg}R₂ 328 μόγισ R 330 δούλαισιν
 Dindorf: -ῆσιν a lacunam posuit Hermann 331 στιγματαίαις RΣΓ:
 μαστιγίαις Γ 333 δημότισι Γ καουμ- Γ 338 τριτάλαντα
 Herkenrath: -τον a 340 ἀνθρακίζειν Blaydes 341 ἴμπιμπραμέ-
 νας Bergk 342-6 exstant in Πz 346 σέ R 348 -πιμπρήσιν
 Curtius: -πίμπρησιν a 350 Στρατυλλίς a del. Dindorf ὦ Boissonade:
 ὦ a ἄνδρες B: ὠνδρες a πονωπ- B: πόνω (πόνω Γ) π- a -πνηροί Mu2:
 -πόνηροι a 352 πράγμα R ἰδεῖν om. R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- ἑσμός γυναικῶν οὔτοσι θύρασιν αὖ βοηθεῖ.
 X.^γ τί βδύλλεθ' ἡμᾶς; οὐ τί που πολλὰ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι;
 καὶ μὴν μέρος γ' ἡμῶν ὄρατ' οὐπω τὸ μυριοστόν. 355
 X.^γ ὦ Φαιδρία, ταύτας λαλεῖν ἑάσομεν τοςαντί;
 οὐ περικατᾶξαι τὸ ξύλον τύπτοντ' ἐχρήν τιν' αὐταῖς;
 X.^γ θάμμεσθα δὴ τὰς κάλπιδας χήμεις χαμᾶζ', ὅπως ἂν,
 ἦν προσφέρῃ τὴν χεῖρά τις, μὴ τοῦτό μ' ἐμποδίξῃ.
 X.^γ εἰ νῆ Δί' ἤδη τὰς γνάθους τούτων τις ἦ δις ἢ τρίς 360
 ἔκοιφεν ὥσπερ Βουπάλου, φωνὴν ἂν οὐκ ἂν εἶχον.
 X.^γ καὶ μὴν ἰδοῦ· παταξάτω τις. στᾶσ' ἐγὼ παρέξω,
 κοῦ μὴ ποτ' ἄλλη σου κύων τῶν ὄρχεων λάβηται.
 X.^γ εἰ μὴ σιωπήσει, θενῶν σου ἴκκοκκῶ τὸ γῆρας.
 X.^γ ἄψαι μόνον Στρατυλλίδος τῷ δακτύλῳ προσελθῶν. 365
 X.^γ τί δ', ἦν σποδῶ τοῖς κονδύλοις; τί μ' ἐργάσει τὸ δεινόν;
 X.^γ βρύκουσά σου τοὺς πλεύμονας καὶ τάντερ' ἐξαμήσω.
 X.^γ οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνὴρ Εὐριπίδου σοφώτερος ποιητῆς·
 οὐδὲν γὰρ ὦδε θρέμμ' ἀναιδὲς ἐστὶν ὡς γυναικες.
 X.^γ αἰρώμεθ' ἡμεῖς θοῦδατος τὴν κάλπιν, ὦ Ῥοδίππη. 370
 X.^γ τί δ', ὦ θεοὶς ἐχθρά, σὺ δεῦρ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσ' ἀφίκου;
 X.^γ τί δαὶ σὺ πῦρ, ὦ τύμβ', ἔχων; ὡς σαυτὸν ἐμπυρεύσω;
 X.^γ ἐγὼ μὲν ἵνα νήσας πυρὰν τὰς σὰς φίλας ὑφάψω.

353 §§ S β 358 354 POxy. 1801.16 = 343.16 Austin 354-5 §
 β 208 360-1 S § (1) β 452; §§ (2) κ 2062 367 S § (1) β 573; §§
 (2) (τοὺς ...) ε 1534

353-62 exstant in Π2 353 ἑσμός Dindorf: ἐ- a θύρασι(ν) S:
 θυράσιν R: θύραισι Γ: [Π2] αὐ om. S βοηθῆ Γ [Π2] 354 βδύλλεθ'
 ΓΠ2: βδύλλεσθ' RS: [POxy.] 356 bis scriptus in Γ (fol. 3^v et. fol. 4^r)
 ἑάσομεν λαλεῖν Γ in fol. 4^r [Π2] τοςαῦτα R 357 -ἄξαι Dindorf: -άξαι
 a τύπτοντ' ἐχρήν Biset: τύπτοντ' ἐχρήν R: τύπτοντα χρήν Γ αὐταῖς Σ^R:
 αὐτὰς a 358 χαμᾶζ' om. R 359 τοῦτ' ἐμποδίξῃ Γ 360 δία τὰς
 RΣS(2): δία τις τὰς S(1) αὐτῶν S(2) pr. ἦ om. S 361 alt. ἂν. om. S
 εἶχον RΓ₂S: εἶρε Γ₁ 362 στᾶσ' B: καὶ στᾶσ' a 364 θενῶν
 Dindorf: θένων a σου ἴκκοκκῶ τὸ γῆρας Reisig: ἔκκοκκῶ τὸ γῆρας σου a
 365 ἄπτου R στατυλλίδος R 366 δακτύλοις R ἐργάσῃ R
 367 πλεύμ- (πλέμ- Γ) ΓS(1)^r: πνεύμ- RS(1)^{GITF}(2) 369 ὦδε Dindorf:
 ὠδι R: οὔτω Γ 370 ὕδατος R 371 Χορ. γερ. Boninus: par. R:
 Βλέπυρος Γ θεοῖς B: θεοῖσιν a 372 Χορ. γυν. Boninus: par. R:
 Στρυμοδώρα Γ δὲ Γ σαυτὸν B: σεαυτὸν a

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- X.^{γυ} ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἴνα τὴν σὴν πυρὰν τούτῳ κατασβέσαιμι.
 X.^{γε} τοῦμόν σὺ πῦρ κατασβέσεις;
 X.^{γυ} τοῦργον τάχ' αὐτὸ δείξεις. 375
 X.^{γε} οὐκ οἶδά σ' εἰ τῆδ' ὡς ἔχω τῇ λαμπάδι σταθεύσω.
 X.^{γυ} εἰ ῥύμμα τυγχάνεις ἔχων, λουτρόν <γέ σοι> παρέξω.
 X.^{γε} ἔμοι σὺ λουτρόν, ὦ σαπρά;
 X.^{γυ} καὶ ταῦτα νυμφικόν γε.
 X.^{γε} ἤκουσας αὐτῆς τοῦ θράσους;
 X.^{γυ} ἐλευθέρα γάρ εἰμι.
 X.^{γε} σχήσω σ' ἐγὼ τῆς νῦν βοῆς.
 X.^{γυ} ἀλλ' οὐκέτ' ἠλιάζει. 380
 X.^{γε} ἔμπρησον αὐτῆς τὰς κόμας.
 X.^{γυ} σὸν ἔργον, ὦ χελῶε.
 X.^{γε} οἴμοι τάλας.
 X.^{γυ} μῶν θερμόν ἦν;
 X.^{γε} ποῖ θερμόν; οὐ παύσει; τί δράς;
 X.^{γυ} ἄρδω σ' ὅπως ἀναβλαστανεῖς.
 X.^{γε} ἀλλ' αὐδὸς εἰμ' ἤδη τρέμων. 385
 X.^{γυ} οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴ πῦρ ἔχεις, σὺ χλιανεῖς σεαυτόν.

ΠΡΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ

- ἄρ' ἐξέλαμψε τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ τρυφή
 χῶ τυμπανισμὸς χοῖ πυκνοὶ Σαβάζιοι,
 ὃ τ' Ἄδωνιασμός οὗτος οὐπὶ τῶν τεγῶν,
 οὐ γὼ ποτ' ὦν ἤκουον ἐν τῆκκλησίᾳ; 390
 ἔλεγεν ὁ μὴ ὦρασι μὲν Δημόστρατος
 πλείν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἡ γυνὴ δ' ὀρχουμένη
 'αἰαὶ Ἄδωνιν' φησίν. ὁ δὲ Δημόστρατος
 ἔλεγεν ὀπλίτας καταλέγειν Ζακυνθίων,

388 §§ Lex. Mess. fol. 283^r 3 ed. Rabe, *RhM* 47 (1892) 411, cf. 50 (1895)

150

374 δέ κ' Γ 376 σταθεύσω Γ 377 λουτρόν <γέ σοι> Reisig:
 λουτρόν ἐγὼ a 379 ἐλευθεγάρ R 380 οὐκέθ' ἠλ- R -άζει
 Cobet: -άξεις a 384 -στανεῖς Dobree: -σάνης a 386 σὺ
 χλιανεῖς] συγχλιανεῖς Γ 387 ἄρ' Γ 388 χῶ τυμπανισμοὶ Lex.
 Mess. πυκνοὶ B: ποικνοὶ R: πυκνοὶ Γ 389 ἄδωνιασμός B: ἄδωνισμός a
 391 ἔλεγεν Palmerius: ἔλεγεν δ' a ὦρας ἴμεν Γ 393 et 396 ἄδωνιν R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

	ἡ δ' ὑποπεπωκυ' ἡ γυνή 'πὶ τοῦ τέγου 'κόπτεισθ' Ἄδωνιν' φησίν. ὁ δ' ἐβιάζετο, ὁ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς καὶ μιαρὸς Χολοζύγης. τοιαῦτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἀκολαστήματα.	395
X. ^γ	τί δῆτ' ἄν, εἰ πύθοιο καὶ τὴν τῶνδ' ὕβριν; αἱ τᾶλλα θ' ὑβρίκασι κακ τῶν καλπίδων ἔλουσαν ἡμᾶς, ὥστε θαῖματίδια σεῖειν πάρεστιν ὥσπερ ἐνεουρηκότας.	400
Πρ.	νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ τὸν ἀλυκὸν δίκαιά γε. ὅταν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ξυμπονηρευόμεθα ταῖσιν γυναξὶ καὶ διδάσκωμεν τρυφᾶν, τοιαῦτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν βλαστάνει βουλεύματα. οἱ λέγομεν ἐν τῶν δημιουργῶν τοιαδί' ὦ χρυσοχόε, τὸν ὄρμον ὃν ἐπεσκεύασας, ὄρχουμένης μου τῆς γυναικὸς ἐσπέρας ἡ βάλανος ἐκπέπτωκεν ἐκ τοῦ τρήματος. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔστ' εἰς Σαλαμίνα πλευστέα· σὺ δ' ἦν σχολάσης, πάση τέχνῃ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐλθὼν ἐκείνῃ τὴν βάλανον ἐνάρμοσον. ἕτερος δέ τις πρὸς σκυτοτόμον ταδί λέγει νεανίαν καὶ πέος ἔχοντ' οὐ παιδικόν· ὦ σκυτοτόμε, τῆς μου γυναικὸς τοῦ ποδὸς τὸ δακτυλίδιον πιέζει τὸ ζυγόν, ἄθ' ἀπαλὸν ὄν· τοῦτ' οὖν σὺ τῆς μεσημβρίας ἐλθὼν χάλασον, ὅπως ἂν εὐρύτερως ἔχη.'	405 410 415

398 (ἀκολ-) § Phot. α 780; *AnBachm.* 57.8 (= *AB* 367.20) 403 Phot. α
1019; *AnBachm.* 75.13 (= *AB* 383.22); Moer. 189.1 408-10 ‡ Philop.
in Arist. *GC*, *CAG* xiv 2 p. 22.6 Vitelli 412-3 S π 753; Phot. s.v. *πάση*
τέχνῃ 417 § S σ 187

395 -πεπτωκ- Γ 398 ὑπ' R -αστήματα Phot. (coniecerat Bentley):
-αστ' ἄσματα α: -αστάματα *AnBachm.* 399 Χορ. γερ. B: ἄγγ. (χορ.
superscr.) γερ. R: Χορ. γερ. ἢ ἄγγ. Γ 403 ἀλυκὸν BVp2 Phot.
AnBachm.: ἀλυκὸν Γ^λΣ^τ, cf. Pfeiffer ad Call. fr. 705; ἀλυκὸν H Hsch. α 3009;
ἀλυκῶ R Moer. 405 ταῖσι Γ 408 ἐσκεύασας R Philop.
410 τρήματος Γ 411 ἐς α 412 σὺ δ'] οὐδ' S Phot. ἦν RS
Phot.: ἂν Γ 413 ἐκείνην Γ 416 μου τῆς Meineke τοὺς πόδας R
417 πιέζοι S^V τὸν S^{IF}

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- τοιαῦτ' ἀπήνητ' εἰς τοιαυτὶ πράγματα, 420
 ὅτε γ' ὦν ἐγὼ πρόβουλος, ἔκπορίσας ὅπως
 κωπῆς ἔσονται, τὰργυρίου νυνὶ δέου,
 ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποκέκλειμαι τῶν πυλῶν.
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔργον ἐστάναι. φέρε τοὺς μοχλοὺς,
 ὅπως ἂν αὐτὰς τῆς ὕβρεως ἐγὼ σχέθω. 425
 τί κέχηνας, ὦ δύστηνε; ποῖ δ' αὖ σὺ βλέπεις,
 οὐδὲν ποιῶν ἀλλ' ἢ καπηλείον σκοπῶν;
 οὐχ ὑποβαλόντες τοὺς μοχλοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς πύλας
 ἐντεῦθεν ἐκμοχλεύεσ' ; ἐνθενδὶ δ' ἐγὼ
 συνεκμοχλεύσω.
- Λυ. μηδὲν ἐκμοχλεύετε· 430
 ἐξέρχομαι γὰρ αὐτομάτη. τί δεῖ μοχλῶν;
 οὐ γὰρ μοχλῶν δεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ νοῦ καὶ φρενῶν.
- Πρ. ἄληθες, ὦ μιὰρὰ σύ; ποῦ 'στι τοξότης;
 ξυλλάμβαν' αὐτὴν κώπισω τῶ χεῖρε δεῖ.
- Λυ. εἰ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν χεῖρά μοι 435
 ἄκραν προσοίσει δημόσιος ὦν, κλαύσεται.
- Πρ. ἔδεισας, οὗτος; οὐ ξυναρπάσει μέσση
 καὶ σὺ μετὰ τούτου χάνύσαντε δήσετε;

ΓΡΑΥΣ Α

- εἰ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Πάνδροσον ταύτη μόνον
 τὴν χεῖρ' ἐπιβαλεῖς, ἐπιχεσεῖ πατούμενος. 440
- Πρ. ἰδοὺ γ' ἐπιχεσεῖ. ποῦ 'στιν ἕτερος τοξότης;
 ταύτην προτέραν ξύνδησον, ὅτι καὶ λαλεῖ.

ΓΡΑΥΣ Β

εἰ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Φωσφόρον τὴν χεῖρ' ἄκραν
 ταύτη προσοίσεις, κύαθον αἰτήσεις τάχα.

444 (κύαθον...) § S κ 2574; § Phryn. PS 175.8

423 -κλισμαι R 426 τί] ποῖ R δ' αἶ] δὲ Γ 429 ἐνθενδὶ B:
 ἐνθένδε a γ' ἐγὼ R 430 -εὔσετε R 433-47 exstant in Π3
 433 ποῦ 'στ [ι Π3: ποῦ 'σθ' ὁ a 434 ξυλλ- Π3 435 χεῖρ' ἐμοί Γ [Π3]
 436 προσοίσεις Π3 437 -πάση Γ: -παζει [ς Π3 438 χάνύσαντε
 Boissonade: κἀν- a: καταν-Π3 439 Γραῦς α' van Leeuwen: Στρ. R:
 Λυ. Γ: par. Π3 μόνην Γ 441 ποῦ σθ' Π3 443 Γραῦς β' van
 Leeuwen: par. R: Λυ. Γ 444 ταύτην Γ

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

Πρ. τουτί τί ἦν; ποῦ τοξότης; ταύτης ἔχου. 445
παύσω τιν' ὑμῶν τῆσδ' ἐγὼ τῆς ἐξόδου.

ΓΡΑΥΣ Γ

εἰ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Ταυροπόλον ταύτη πρόσει,
ἐγὼ ἴκκοκίῳ σου τὰς στενοκωκῦτους τρίχας.

Πρ. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων· ἐπιλέλοιφ' ὁ τοξότης. 450
ἀτὰρ οὐ γυναικῶν οὐδέποτε' ἔσθ' ἤττητέα
ἡμῖν· ὁμόσε χωρῶμεν αὐταῖς, ὦ Σκύθαι,
ξυνταξάμενοι.

Λυ. νῆ τὼ θεῶ γνῶσεσθ' ἄρα
ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσι τέτταρες λόχοι
μαχίμων γυναικῶν ἔνδον ἐξωπλισμένων.

Πρ. ἀποστρέφετε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν, ὦ Σκύθαι. 455

Λυ. ὦ ξύμμαχοι γυναικες, ἐκθεῖτ' ἔνδοθεν,
ὦ σπερμαγοραιολεκιθολαχανοπώλιδες,
ὦ σκοροδοπανδοκευτριαρτοπώλιδες,
οὐχ ἔλξετ', οὐ παύησετ', οὐκ ἀράξετε,
οὐ λοιδορήσετ', οὐκ ἀναισχυνηήσετε; 460
παύσασθ', ἐπαναχωρεῖτε, μὴ σκυλεύετε.

Πρ. οἴμ' ὡς κακῶς πέπραγέ μου τὸ τοξικόν.

Λυ. ἀλλὰ τί γὰρ ᾧου; πότερον ἐπὶ δούλας τινὰς
ἤκειν ἐνόμισας, ἢ γυναιξὶν οὐκ οἶει
χολῆν ἐνεῖναι;

Πρ. νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ μάλα 465
πολλὴν γ', ἐάνπερ πλησίον κάπηλος ἦ.

X.⁷⁶ ὦ πόλλ' ἀναλώσας ἔπη πρόβουλε τῆσδε <τῆς> γῆς,
τί τοῖσδε σαυτὸν εἰς λόγον τοῖς θηρίοις συνάπτεις;

448 § S σ 1037 452-4 S λ 718 453 § Hsch., § Phot. s.v. λόχοι
457-61 §§ S ω 240

447 Γραῦς γ' van Leeuwen: par. R: Λυ. Γ 448 ἐγὼ ἴκκοκίῳ Blydes:
ἐκκοκίῳ (-οκκ- ΓS) a σου aS⁷: δὲ S^{GM} 449 -λοιπ' R 450 -ποθ' R
452 ἄρα om. S 453 τέτταρες λόχοι a: λόχοι δ' testt. 454 γυναι-
κῶν] ἀνδρῶν S 458 σκοροπαν- RS^A 459 οὐκ ἐξέλκετ' RS οὐ
λοιδ- post παύησετ' S^A ἀράξετε Wakefield: ἀρήξ- a 461 παύσεσθ' R:
παύεσθ' S 462 οἴμοι κακῶς R 465 εἶναι Γ νῆ]μὰ R
466 πολλή Γ ἐάν R εἰ R 467 <τῆς> Bentley 468 λόγους Γ

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

οὐκ οἶσθα λουτρὸν οἶον αἰδ' ἡμᾶς ἔλουσαν ἄρτι
 ἐν τοῖσιν ἱματιδίοις, καὶ ταῦτ' ἄνευ κοινίας; 470
 X.^{γυ} ἀλλ', ὦ μέλ', οὐ χρὴ προσφέρειν τοῖς πλησίοισιν εἰκῆ
 τὴν χεῖρ'. ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο δρᾶς, κυλοιδιᾶν ἀνάγκη.
 ἐπεὶ θέλω ἄν' ὡς σωφρόνως ὥσπερ κόρη καθῆσθαι
 λυπούσα μηδέν' ἐνθαδί, κινούσα μηδὲ κάρφος,
 ἦν μὴ τις ὥσπερ σφηκιὰν βλίττη με κἀρεθίζῃ. 475

X.^{γε} ὦ Ζεῦ, τί ποτε χρησόμεθα
 τοῖσδε τοῖς κνωδάλοισι; στρ. 476/7
 οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀνεκτὰ τάδε γ', ἀλλὰ βασανιστέον
 τόδε σοὶ τὸ πάθος μετ' ἐμοῦ,
 ὃ τι βουλόμεναί ποτε τὴν 480
 Κραναᾶν κατέλαβον, ἐφ' ὃ τι τε
 μεγαλόπετρον, ἄβατον ἀκρόπολιν
 ἱερὸν τέμενος.

ἀλλ' ἀνερῶτα καὶ μὴ πείθου καὶ πρόσφερε πάντας ἐλέγχους·
 ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἀκωδώνιστον ἐὰν τὸ τοιοῦτον πράγμα
 μεθέντας. 485

Πρ. καὶ μὴν αὐτῶν τοῦτ' ἐπιθυμῶ νῆ τὸν Δία πρῶτα πυθέσθαι,
 ὃ τι βουλόμεναι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀπεκλείσατε τοῖσι
 μοχλοῖσιν.

Λυ. ἴνα τὰργύριον σῶν παρέχοιμεν καὶ μὴ πολεμοῖτε δι' αὐτό.

469-70 § S κ 2031 470 § Poll. 10.135 474 §§ S μ 872;
 Diogen. 6.67 475 § S σ 1732 485 S κ 1257; Phot. s.v.
 κευδωνισμένος; Zonar. 1194; Phryn. PS 175.1. (ἀκωδώνιστον) §§ Phryn.
 PS 51.5; §§ Hsch. α 2708; Phot. α 883; AnBachm. 64.16

469-84 exstant in Π3 470 τοῖς Π3 ἱμαντι- R 471 τοῖσι Π3
 472 δὲ om. Π3 κολιδιᾶν R: κυλιδ[ι]αν Π3 473 ἄν[γ] ὡς Π3
 σωφρωνως Π3 474 μηδέν R: μηδέν ἐν Γ 475 σφηκίαι Π3
 βλήττη Γ -ἴζει R,S 476/7 -μεθα RΠ3: -μεσθα Γ τοῖς Π3: τοῖσιν
 R: τοῖσι Γ 478 ἔτ' ἀνεκτὰ τάδε γ' ρ: α[ν]εκτα ταδ[ε]τ Π3: ἔτ' (ἔσθ' R)
 ἀνεκτὰ τὰδ' RΓB 481 -ἄαν] -αην Π3 482 -πετερον Γ
 484 πιθοῦ R[Π3] 485 τὸ om. Γ τοιοῦτο R 486 ἐπι-
 θυμῶν Γ 487 τοῖσι μοχλοῖσιν Fl. Chrestien: τοῖς μοχλοῖς RBp: μοχλοῖς Γ
 488 -έχωμεν Γ^{ac}

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- Πρ. διὰ τὰργύριον πολεμοῦμεν γάρ;
 Λυ. καὶ τὰλλα γε πάντ' ἐκυκήθη.
 ἵνα γὰρ Πείσανδρος ἔχοι κλέπτειν χοῖ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς
 ἐπέχοντες 490
 ἀεὶ τινα κορκορυγὴν ἐκύκων. οἱ δ' οὖν τοῦδ' οὐνεκα
 δρώντων
 ὅ τι βούλονται· τὸ γὰρ ἀργύριον τοῦτ' οὐκέτι μὴ
 καθέλωσιν.
 Πρ. ἀλλὰ τί δράσεις;
 Λυ. τοῦτό μ' ἐρωτᾷς; ἡμεῖς ταμιεύσομεν αὐτό.
 Πρ. ὑμεῖς ταμιεύσετε τὰργύριον;
 Λυ. τί <δὲ> δεινὸν τοῦτο νομίζεις;
 οὐ καὶ τᾶνδον χρήματα πάντως ἡμεῖς ταμιεύομεν
 ὑμῖν; 495
 Πρ. ἀλλ' οὐ ταῦτόν.
 Λυ. πῶς οὐ ταῦτόν;
 Πρ. πολεμητέον ἔστ' ἀπὸ τούτου.
 Λυ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν δεῖ πρῶτον πολεμεῖν.
 Πρ. πῶς γὰρ σωθησόμεθ' ἄλλως;
 Λυ. ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς σώσομεν.
 Πρ. ὑμεῖς;
 Λυ. ἡμεῖς μέντοι.
 Πρ. σχέτλιόν γε.
 Λυ. ὡς σωθήσει, κἂν μὴ βούλη.
 Πρ. δεινὸν <γε> λέγεις.
 Λυ. ἀγανακτεῖς,
 ἀλλὰ ποιητέα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὅμως.
 Πρ. νῆ τὴν Δήμητρ' ἄδικόν γε. 500
 Λυ. σωστέον, ὦ τᾶν.
 Πρ. κεῖ μὴ δέομαι;
 Λυ. τοῦδ' οὐνεκα καὶ πολὺ μάλλον.

490-1 § S κ 2095

491 cf. Σ^M A. Sept. 345 (κορκορυγαί)

- 489 τε R 491 ἀεὶ om. S ἔνεκα R 493 αὐτόν Γ: ὑμῖν γ^ρ Σ^R
 (cf. 495) 494 <δὲ> Bentley 495 -εὔσομεν Γ 497 -σόμεθ'
 B: -σόμεσθ' a 499 om. R, add. ^mgR₂ <γε> Ellebodius 500 in.
 Πρ. Γ 501 Λυ., Πρ., Λυ. Bp: Πρ., Λυ., Πρ. Γ: om. R οὐνεκα Brunck:
 εἰ- a καὶ om. R

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

Πρ. ὑμῖν δὲ πόθεν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῆς τ' εἰρήνης ἐμέλησεν;
 Λυ. ἡμεῖς φράσομεν.

Πρ. λέγε δὴ ταχέως, ἵνα μὴ κλάῃς.

Λυ. ἀκροῶ δὴ,
 καὶ τὰς χεῖρας πειρῶ κατέχειν.

Πρ. ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ
 ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτὰς ἴσχειν.

ΓΡΑΥΣ

κλαύσει τοῖνυν πολλὸ μάλλον. 505

Πρ. τοῦτο μὲν, ὦ γραῦ, σαυτῇ κρώξαις. σὺ δέ μοι λέγε.

Λυ. ταῦτα ποιήσω.

ἡμεῖς τὸν μὲν πρότερόν γε χρόνον <σιγῇ γ'> ἠνεχόμεθ'
 <ὑμῶν>

ὑπὸ σωφροσύνης τῆς ἡμετέρας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄττ' ἐποιεῖτε·
 —οὐ γὰρ γρύζειν εἰᾶθ' ἡμᾶς,—καί τοῦκ ἠρέσκετε γ'
 ἡμᾶς.

ἀλλ' ἤσθανόμεσθα καλῶς ὑμῶν, καὶ πολλάκις ἔνδον ἄν
 οὔσαι 510

ἠκούσαμεν ἄν τι κακῶς ὑμᾶς βουλευσαμένους μέγα
 πράγμα·

εἴτ' ἀλγοῦσαι τᾶνδοθεν ὑμᾶς ἐπανηρόμεθ' ἄν γελάσασαι
 'τί βεβούλευται περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ
 παραγράψαι

ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ τήμερον ὑμῖν;' 'τί δέ σοι τοῦτ';' ἦ δ' ὅς ἄν
 ἀνήρ·

506 §§ S κ 2492

502 Πρ. Βρ: Λυ. Γ: om. R ἡμῖν Γ₂ 503 Λυ., Πρ., Λυ. Βρ: Πρ.,
 Λυ., Πρ. Γ: om. R 504 Πρ. Βρ: Λυ. Γ: om. R 505 Γραῦς
 Bentley, cf. ad 439: Πρ. Γ: om. R 506 Πρ. Βρ: Λυ. Γ: om. R μὲν οὖν
 ὦ Γ γραῦς αὐτῇ R Λυ. Βρ: Πρ. Γ: om. R 507 τὸ R^{ac} γε χρόνον
 van Leeuwen: πόλεμον καὶ τὸν χρόνον a <σιγῇ γ'> van Herwerden
 ἠνεχόμεθ' Lenting: ἠνεσχόμεθα R: ἠνεχόμεσθα Γρ: ἠνεχόμεσθα B <ὑμῶν>
 Porson 508 ἐποιεῖτε B: ἄν ποιεῖτε R: ἄν ποῖτε Γ 509 καί τοῦκ
 Reiske: κατ' οὐκ a ἠρέσκετ' ἡμᾶς R 510 ἄν om. Γ 512 -ερόμεθ' Γ
 513 βουλεύεται R^{ac} 514 δέ σοι Vp₂: δέ σοι a τοῦτ' B: ταῦτ' R: τοῦτο Γ
 ἦ δ' Βρ: ἦδ' RΓΣ ὅς (ὄσ' R) ἄν ἀνήρ RΣ^R: ὡς ἀνήρ Γ

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- Γρ. οὐ σιγήσει; κἀγὼ 'σίγων.
 Γρ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ ποτ' ἐσίγων. 515
 Πρ. κἂν ὤμωζές γ', εἰ μὴ 'σίγας.
 Λυ. τοιγὰρ <ἐγὼ> μὲν τότ' ἐσίγων.
 <αὐθις δ'> ἕτερόν τι πονηρότερον βούλευμ' ἐπεπύσμεθ'
 ἂν ὑμῶν
 εἴτ' ἠρόμεθ' ἂν. 'πῶς ταῦτ', ὦνερ, διαπράττεσθ' ὡδ'
 ἀνοήτως;
 ὁ δέ μ' εὐθὺς ὑποβλέψας ἂν ἔφασκ', εἰ μὴ τὸν στήμονα
 νήσω,
 ὁτοτύξεσθαι μακρὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν. 'πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι
 μελήσει.' 520
 Πρ. ὀρθῶς γε λέγων νῆ Δί' ἐκεῖνος.
 Λυ. πῶς ὀρθῶς, ὦ κακόδαμιον,
 εἰ μὴδὲ κακῶς βουλευομένοις ξέῃν ὑμῖν ὑποθέσθαι;
 ὅτε δὴ δ' ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς φανερώς ἠκούομεν ἤδη·
 'οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.' 'μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆτ' <ἔσθ'>'
 ἕτερός τις.
 μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἔδοξεν σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 κοινῇ 525
 ταῖσι γυναιξὶν συλληχθείσαις. ποῖ γὰρ καὶ χρῆν
 ἀναμεῖναι;
 ἦν οὖν ἡμῶν χρηστὰ λεγουσῶν ἐβελήσῃτ' ἀντακροᾶσθαι
 κἀντισιωπᾶν ὥσπερ χῆμείς, ἐπανορθώσαιμεν ἂν ὑμᾶς.
 Πρ. ὑμεῖς ἡμᾶς; δεινόν γε λέγεις κοῦ τλητὸν ἔμοιγε.
 Λυ. σιώπα.
 Πρ. σοί γ', ὦ κατάρατε, σιωπῶ 'γώ, καὶ ταῦτα κάλυμμα
 φορούση 530

526 § S π 3068

528 §§ Phryn. PS 31.5

515 Γρ. Bentley: μία γυνή Γ: om. R
 <ἐγὼ> μὲν τότ' Wilamowitz: ἔνδον a
 R^{ac} 518 -μεθ' ἀν] -μεσθα Γ
 517 <αὐθις δ'> Dobree ἡμῶν
 519 ἂν ἔφασκ', εἰ Daubuz: ἔφασκε:
 κεί R: κεί Γ
 520 -εσθε Γ ἄνδρεσι Γ
 524 ἀνὴρ om. Γ;
 post χώρα ^sΓ₂ δῆθ' Γ <ἔσθ'> Brunck, cf. λείπει ἔφη Σ^RΓ: ἔφη ^sΓ ^{mg}R
 525 ἔδοξεν εὐθὺς Γ
 526 ταῖς R γυναιξί Γ ποῖ] ποτε ^{mg}RΣ
 527 ἔτελ- Γ ἂν ἀκροᾶσθαι R
 528 κἀντισιωπᾶν Kuster: κἀντισιωπᾶθ'
 R: καὶ σιωπᾶθ' Γ ἂν om. R

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν; μὴ νυν ζώην.

Λυ. ἄλλ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἐμποδῖόν σοι,
παρ' ἐμοῦ τουτὶ τὸ κάλυμμα λαβὼν
ἔχε καὶ περίθου περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
κῆτα σιώπα.

Γρ. καὶ τουτογι τὸν καλαθίσκον. 535

Λυ. κῆτα ξαίνειν ξυζωσάμενος
κυάμους τρώγων.
πόλεμος δὲ γυναιξὶ μελήσει.

X.^{νν} αἴρεσθ' ἄνω, γυναῖκες, ἀπὸ τῶν καλπιδῶν, ὅπως ἂν
ἐν τῷ μέρει χῆμεις τι ταῖς φίλαισι συλλάβωμεν. 540

ἔγωγε γὰρ ἂν οὔποτε κάμοιμ' ἂν ὄρχουμένη, ἀντ. 541/2
οὐδὲ καματηρὸς ἂν ἔλοι γόνάτα μου κόπος.

ἔθελω δ' ἐπὶ πᾶν ἰέναι
μετὰ τῶνδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεχ', αἷς 545

ἐνὶ φύσις, ἐνὶ χάρις, ἐνὶ θράσος,
ἐνὶ <δὲ> σοφόν, ἐνὶ δὲ φιλόπολις
ἀρετὴ φρόνιμος.

ἄλλ', ὦ τηθῶν ἀνδρειοτάτη καὶ μητριδίων ἀκαληφῶν,
χωρεῖτ' ὄργῃ καὶ μὴ τέγγεσθ'. ἔτι γὰρ νῦν οὖρια
θεῖτε. 550

Λυ. ἄλλ' ἦνπερ ὁ <τε> γλυκύθυμος Ἔρωσ χῆ Κυπρογένει'
Ἀφροδίτη

ἤμερον ἡμῶν κατὰ τῶν κόλπων καὶ τῶν μηρῶν
καταπνεύση,

543-7 § S ε 1326 549-50 § S τ 472 549 Athen. 3.90B; Eust. 1485.40

531 μὴ νυν B: μὴ νῦν a ἐμποδῖόν σοι R: ἐμποδίσοι Γ 532 τοῦτο Γ
535 Γρ. Bentley: om. a τουτογι Elmsley: τουτοῖ R: τοῦτον Γ 536 Λυ.
Enger: om. a 539 ἄνω Porson: ὦ a 540 τι]τε R 541 ἔγωγε
γὰρ ἂν Enger: ἐγὼ γὰρ a 543 οὔτε Γ καματηρὸς ἂν ἔλοι γόνάτα
μου κόπος Jackson: τὰ γόνατα κόπος ἔλοι (ἐλεῖ RΓ: ἔλαβε Σ) μου καματηρὸς a
544 ἰέναι Γ λσΓ 545 οἷς S 546 ἐνὶ δὲ θράσος R: om. S
547 <δὲ> Reisig 549 -τάτη Γ, S Athen. Eust.: -τάτων RΓ₂ -ηφῶν a
Athen. Eust.: -ῆφων S 550 καὶ om. S 551 <τε> Daubuz
552 πνεύση Γ

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

κᾶτ' ἐντέξῃ τέτανον τερπνὸν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ
 ῥοπαλισμούς,
 οἰμαὶ ποτε Λυσιμάχας ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλῆσι καλεῖσθαι.

Πρ. τί ποιησάσας;

Λυ. ἦν παύσωμεν πρώτιστον μὲν ξὺν
 ὀπλοισιν 555
 ἀγοράζοντας καὶ μαινομένους.

Γρ. νῆ τὴν Παφίαν Ἀφροδίτην.

Λυ. νῦν μὲν γὰρ δὴ κἂν ταῖσι χύτραις καὶ τοῖς λαχάνοισιν
 ὁμοίως
 περιέρχονται κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ξὺν ὀπλοῖς ὥσπερ
 Κορύβαντες.

Πρ. νῆ Δία· χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνδρείους.

Λυ. καὶ μὴν τό γε πρᾶγμα γέλοιοι,
 ὅταν ἀσπίδ' ἔχων καὶ Γοργόνα τις κᾶτ' ὠνήται
 κορακίνους. 560

Γρ. νῆ Δί' ἐγὼ γοῦν ἄνδρα κομήτην φυλαρχοῦντ' εἶδον ἐφ'
 ἵππου
 εἰς τὸν χαλκοῦν ἐμβαλλόμενον πῖλον λέκιθον παρὰ γραός·
 ἕτερος δ' αὖ Θράξ πέλτην σείων κᾶκόντιον ὥσπερ ὁ
 Τηρεύς

ἐδεδίσκετο τὴν ἰσχαδόπωλιν καὶ τὰς δρυπεπεῖς κατέπινε.

Πρ. πῶς οὖν ὑμεῖς δυναταὶ παῦσαι τεταραγμένα πρᾶγματα
 πολλὰ 565

ἐν ταῖς χώραις καὶ διαλύσαι;

Λυ. φαύλως πάνυ.

Πρ. πῶς; ἀπόδειξον.

553 § S τ 367

561-2 *SPlut.* 427; S λ 236

553 τερπνὸν om. S ῥοπαλισμούς R 555 Πρ. Boninus: Χορ. γερ. Γ
 556 Γρ. Bentley: Πρ. ΓΣ: παρ. R: Λυ. ^{γρ}Σ 557 Λυ. Γ: om. R κἂν
 Brunck: καὶ a λαχάνοισιν B: -οις a 559 γε om. Γ γελοῖον Γ
 560 ὠνείται R 561 Γρ. Bentley: Πρ. Γ: om. R νῆ τὸν Δί' S ἴδον
 R ἵππον R: ἵππῳ *SPlut.* 562 εἰς S: ἐς a 563 δ' αὖ Brunck:
 δέ a 564 δρυπεπεῖς (-πέπ) RΓΣ^R: δρυπέτεις ΣΓ, cf. Poll. 7.45, Hsch. δ
 2435, Moer. 118 565 δυναταὶ Ellebodius: δύνασθε R: δύνασθαι Γ
 566 καὶ om. Γ

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

Λυ. ὡσπερ κλωστήρ', ὅταν ἡμῖν ἦ τεταραγμένος, ὦδε
λαβοῦσαι,
ὑπενεγκούσαι τοῖσιν ἀτράκτοις τὸ μὲν ἐνταυθοί, τὸ δ'
ἐκείσε,

οὕτως καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον διαλύσομεν, ἣν τις ἔαση,
διενεγκούσαι διὰ πρεσβειῶν, τὸ μὲν ἐνταυθοί, τὸ δ'
ἐκείσε. 570

Πρ. ἐξ ἐρίων δὴ καὶ κλωστήρων καὶ ἀτράκτων πράγματα δεινὰ
παύσειν οἴεσθ'; ὡς ἀνόητοι.

Λυ. κὰν ὑμῖν γ' εἴ τις ἐνήν νοῦς,
ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπολιτεύεσθ' ἂν ἅπαντα.

Πρ. πῶς δὴ; φέρ' ἴδω.

Λυ. πρῶτον μὲν ἐχρῆν, ὡσπερ πόκον, ἐν
βαλανεῖω

ἐκπλύναντας τὴν οἰσπώτην ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ κλίνης 575
ἐκραβδίξειν τοὺς μοχθηροὺς καὶ τοὺς τριβόλους ἀπολέξαι,
καὶ τοὺς γε συνισταμένους τούτους καὶ τοὺς πιλοῦντας
ἑαυτοὺς

ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖσι διαξῆναι καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτίλαι·
εἶτα ξαίνειν εἰς καλαθίσκον κοινὴν εὐνοίαν ἅπαντας

καταμεινύνοντας· τοὺς τε μετοίκους κεῖ τις ξένος ἢ φίλος
ὑμῖν, 580

κεῖ τις ὀφείλη τῷ δημοσίῳ, καὶ τούτους ἐγκαταμείξαι·

καὶ νῆ Δία τὰς γε πόλεις, ὅπόσαι τῆς γῆς τῆσδ' εἰσὶν
ἄποικοι,

διαγιγνώσκειν ὅτι ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ὡσπερ τὰ κατάγματα κείται
χωρὶς ἕκαστον· κἄτ' ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων τὸ κάταγμα
λαβόντας

574-6 (πρῶτον...) *El. Gen.* s.v. οἰσπυρά

578 § S δ 680; § Zonar. 532

567 κλωστήρ' Bentley: κλωστήρ **a** 568 ἐπεν- Γ ἐνταυθὶ R
569 οὕτω Γ (lect. diff. praetuli) διαλύσαιμεν R 572 ὡς ἀνόητοι
Dobrec: ὡ ἀνόητοι (ὡ ἴο- Γ) **a** τις γ' R 575 -ώτην R, cf. Phot. *EM*
619.13: -ωτήν Γ, cf. Hdn. 1.343 ἐπικλίνεις R 576 ἀπολέξαι R:
ἀπολύσαι *El. Gen.* 577 τοὺς om. Γ πιλοῦντας] θλίβοντας R, cf. Σ^R
διαξῆνε Γ 580 κἄτα μ- Γ -μειγ- van Leeuwen: -μγ- (μγ- Γ) **a** τε
om. R ἢ Boissonade: ἦ **a** 581 ὀφείλη Bergk: -ει **a** -μείξαι van Leeuwen:
-μίξαι **a** 582 γε] τε R ὅπόσοι Γ 583 -γιγν- Brunck: -γν- **a** ὑμῖν B:
ἡμῖν **a** τὰ om. R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- δεῦρο ξυνάγειν καὶ συναθροίζειν εἰς ἓν, κάπειτα
ποιῆσαι 585
τολύπην μεγάλην, κᾶτ' ἐκ ταύτης τῷ δήμῳ χλαῖναν
ὑφῆναι.
- Πρ. οὐκουν δεινὸν ταυτὶ ταύτας ῥαβδίξειν καὶ τολυπέειν
αἷς οὐδὲ μετῆν πάνυ τοῦ πολέμου;
- Λυ. καὶ μῆν, ὦ παγκατάρατε,
πλεῖν ἢ διπλοῦν γ' αὐτὸν φέρομεν. πρῶτιστον μὲν γε
τεκοῦσαι
κακπέμφασαι παῖδας ὀπλίτας—
- Πρ. σίγα, μὴ μνησικακήσης. 590
- Λυ. εἰθ', ἡνίκα χρῆν εὐφρανθῆναι καὶ τῆς ἡβης ἀπολαῦσαι,
μονοκοιτούμεν διὰ τὰς στρατιάς. καὶ θῆμέτερον μὲν ἔασω,
περὶ τῶν δὲ κορῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις γηρασκουσῶν ἀνιῶμαι.
- Πρ. οὐκουν κᾶνδρες γηράσκουσι;
- Λυ. μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶπας ὅμοιον.
ὁ μὲν ἦκων γάρ, κᾶν ἦ πολιός, ταχὺ παῖδα κόρην
γεγάμηκεν. 595
τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς μικρὸς ὁ καιρός, κᾶν τούτου μὴ
'πιλάβηται,
οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει γῆμαι ταύτην, ὅττευομένη δὲ κᾶθηται.
- Πρ. ἀλλ' ὅστις ἔτι στυσαι δυνατὸς—
- Λυ. σὺ δὲ δὴ τί μαθῶν οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις;
χωρίον ἐστίν· σορὸν ὠνήσει· 600
μελιτοῦτταν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μάζω.
λαβὲ ταυτὶ καὶ στεφάνωσαι.
- Γρ. καὶ ταυτασι δέξαι παρ' ἐμοῦ.
- Γρ. ἀ' καὶ τουτογι λαβὲ τὸν στέφανον.

589 ἢ διπλοῦν γ' Blaydes: ἢ γε διπλοῦν a αὐτοῦ Abresch γε om. Γ
592 στρατιάς B: στρατείας a καὶ θῆ- Ellebodius: κᾶτ' ἢ- a ἔασω Bergk:
ἔατε a 594 οὐκουν Γ γ' ἄνδρες R γηράσκουσι R: γινώσκουσι Γ
595 γάρ ἦκων R 596 τοῦτο R 597 θέλει R 598 ἔτι Fl.
Chrestien: ἐστὶ a 599 δὴ R: τοι Γρ: om. B 600 ἐστίν Bentley:
ἐστὶ a 601 μελιτοῦτταν Brunck: -ττοῦταν a δὴ μάζω B⁷⁹ Σ⁷: δημάξω
Γ^Λ Σ⁷: δημάξω R 603 Γρ. Bentley: ἄλλη Γ: om. R 604 Γρ. ἀ'
Wilamowitz: ἐτέρα Γ: om. R τουτογι Elmsley: τουτονὶ a

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- Λυ. τοῦ δεῖ; τί ποθεῖς; χώρει ᾿ς τὴν ναῦν· 605
 ὁ Χάρων σε καλεῖ,
 σὺ δὲ κωλύεις ἀνάγεσθαι.
- Πρ. εἴτ' οὐχὶ δευνὰ ταῦτα πάσχειν ἔστ' ἐμέ;
 νῆ τὸν Δί' ἀλλὰ τοῖς προβούλοις ἄντικρυς 610
 ἔμαυτὸν ἐπιδείξω βαδίζων ὡς ἔχω.
- Λυ. μῶν ἐγκαλεῖς ὅτι οὐχὶ προϋθέμεσθά σε;
 ἀλλ' εἰς τρίτην γοῦν ἡμέραν σοι πρῶ πάνυ
 ἦξει παρ' ἡμῶν τὰ τρίτ' ἐπεσκευασμένα.
- X.^{yc} οὐκέτ' ἔργον ἐγκαθεύδειν ὅστις ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος.
 ἀλλ' ἐπαποδύμεθ', ἄνδρες, τουτωῖ τῷ πράγματι. 615
- ἦδη γὰρ ὄζειν ταδὶ πλειόνων στρ.
 καὶ μειζόνων πραγμάτων μοι δοκεῖ,
 καὶ μάλιστ' ὀσφραίνομαι τῆς Ἰππίου τυραννίδος· 618/9
 καὶ πάνυ δέδοικα μὴ τῶν Λακώνων τινὲς 620
 δεῦρο συνεληλυθότες ἄνδρες εἰς Κλεισθένους
 τὰς θεοῖς ἐχθρὰς γυναῖκας ἐξεπαίρουσιν δόλω 622/3
 καταλαβεῖν τὰ χρήμαθ' ἡμῶν τόν τε μισθόν,
 ἔνθεν ἔζων ἐγώ. 625
- δεινὰ γάρ τοι τάσδε γ' ἦδη τοὺς πολίτας νουθετεῖν,
 καὶ λαλεῖν γυναῖκας οὔσας ἀσπίδος χαλκῆς πέρι,
 καὶ διαλλάττειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνδράσιν Λακωνικοῖς,
 οἵσι πιστὸν οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ περ λύκῳ κεχηνότι.
 ἀλλὰ ταῦθ' ὕφηναν ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι. 630
 ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὲν οὐ τυραννεύσουσ', ἐπεὶ φυλάζομαι

615 § S ε 1974 616-9 § S ο 67 619 ΣVesp. 602 628-9 §§ S δ 619

605 Λυ. Γ: ἑτέρα Γ₂: om. R τοῦ] τίνος ^SΓ δεῖ Bentley: δέει RΓ^{ac}: δέη
 Γ^{pc} ᾿ς Bentley: εἰς **a** 608 δευνὰ ταῦτα Blaydes: ταῦτα δευνὰ **a**
 609 ἄντικρυς] ἄπασι Γ^{ac} 611 ὄτ' Γ 612 σοι om. R 613 ἔσκεν- R
 615 ἄνδρες] ἄνθρωποι R: om. S 616 πλειόνων καὶ μεγίστων S: μειζόνων
 καὶ πλειόνων Γ 621 ἐς Γ: ἐκ R ^ΛΣ^Γ 623 ἐξεπαίρουσιν Sommer-
 stein: -ωσιν **a** 628 καὶ om. S ἀνδράσι Γ 629 οἵσι S: οἷαν **a**
 οὐδὲν πιστὸν Γ 630 ὑμῖν R₁ 631 τυραννεύσουσ' ἐπὶ R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

καὶ ῥορήσω τὸ ξίφος τὸ λοιπὸν ἔν μύρτου κλαδί,
 ἀγοράσω τ' ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐξῆς Ἀριστογείτονι,
 ὧδέ θ' ἐστήξω παρ' αὐτόν· αὐτὸ γάρ μοι γίνεται
 τῆς θεοῖς ἐχθρᾶς πατάξαι τῆσδε γραῶς τὴν γνάθον. 635

X.^γ οὐκ ἄρ' εἰσιόντα σ' οἴκαδ' ἢ τεκοῦσα γνώσεται.
 ἀλλὰ θώμεσθ', ὦ φίλοι γραῆς, ταδί πρῶτον χαμαί.

ἡμεῖς γάρ, ὦ πάντες ἄστοί, λόγων ἀντ.
 κατάρχομεν τῇ πόλει χρησίμων·
 εἰκότως, ἐπεὶ χλιδῶσαν ἀγλαῶς ἔθρεψέ με· 640/1
 ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθύς ἡρρηφόρου·
 εἶτ' ἄλετρις ἢ δεκέτις οὔσα τάρχηγέτι,
 καὶ χέουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους· 644/5
 κἀκανηφόρου ποτ' οὔσα παῖς καλὴ ῥουσ'
 ἰσχάδων ὄρμαθόν.

ἄρα προὔφειλω τι χρηστὸν τῇ πόλει παρανέσαι;
 εἰ δ' ἐγὼ γυνὴ πέφυκα, τοῦτο μὴ φθονεῖτέ μοι,
 ἣν ἀμείνω γ' εἰσενέγκω τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων. 650
 τοῦράνου γάρ μοι μέτεστι· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρας εἰσφέρω.
 τοῖς δὲ δυστήνοισι γέρουσιν οὐ μέτεσθ' ὑμῖν, ἐπεὶ
 τὸν ἔρανον τὸν λεγόμενον παππῶον ἐκ τῶν Μηδικῶν
 εἶτ' ἀναλώσαντες οὐκ ἀντεισφέρετε τὰς εἰσφοράς,
 ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν διαλυθῆναι προσέτι κινδυνεύομεν. 655
 ἄρα γρυκτόν ἐστιν ὑμῖν; εἰ δὲ λυπήσεις τί με,
 τῷδε σ' ἀψήκτω πατάξω τῷ κοθόρνῳ τὴν γνάθον.

632 §§ S φ 592 633 § S α 305 643 S η 4 653 S §§ (1)
 μ 883; §§ (2) π 266 656 §§ S α 3731 657 §§ S α 4727

632 καὶ om. S pr. τὸ om. Γ 634 αὐτὸ Scaliger: αὐτὸς α γιγ-
 Scaliger: γιν- α 635 τοῖς θ- Γ θεοῖς B: θεοῖον α 636 οὐκ ἄρ'
 Dobrec: οὐ γὰρ α -ιόντα σ' Γ₂Σ^R: -ιόντας Γ₁ λΣ^Γ 637 θώμεσθ' Γ
 γραίεις Γ 644/5 καὶ χέουσα Stinton: καταχέουσα R: κατέχουσα Γ:
 κᾶτ' ἔχουσα Ellebodius 648 ἄρα R τῇ πόλει τι χρηστὸν Γ
 649 φθονήτέ με Γ 650 ἣν ἀναμείνω R 653 γενόμενον Geel
 654 ἀντισφ- R 656 ἄρα ΓΣ^F: ἄρά R: ἄρά γε S^{GTM} 657 σ' Dobrec:
 γ' α

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

X.^γ ταῦτ' οὖν οὐχ ὕβρις τὰ πράγματ' ἐστί στρ.
πολλή; κάπιδώσει μοι δοκεῖ τὸ χρῆμα μάλλον. 659/60
ἀλλ' ἀμυντέον τὸ πρᾶγμ' ὅστις γ' ἐνόρχης ἔστ'
ἀνὴρ. 661/2
ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξωμιδ' ἐκδυνώμεθ', ὡς τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖ 663/4
ἀνδρὸς ὄζειν εὐθύς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐντεθριώσθαι πρέπει. 665/6
ἀλλ' ἄγετε λευκόποδες,
οἷπερ ἐπὶ Λευφύδριον
ἦλθομεν ὄτ' ἦμεν ἔτι,
νῦν δεῖ, νῦν ἀνηβῆσαι πάλιν κἀναπτερώσαι 670
πᾶν τὸ σῶμα κάποσεῖσασθαι τὸ γῆρας τόδε.

εἰ γὰρ ἐνδώσει τις ἡμῶν ταῖσδε κἄν σμικρὰν λαβὴν,
οὐδὲν ἐλλείψουσιν αὐταὶ λιπαροῦς χειρουργίας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ναῦς τεκτανοῦνται, κάπιχειρήσουσ' ἔτι
ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πλεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ Ἄρτεμισία. 675
ἦν δ' ἐφ' ἵππικὴν τράπωνται, διαγράφω τοὺς ἵππέας·
ἵππικώτατον γάρ ἐστι χρῆμα κάποχον γυνή,
κοῦκ ἂν ἀπολίσθαι τρέχοντος. τὰς Ἀμαζόνας σκόπει,
ἃς Μίκων ἔγραψ' ἐφ' ἵππων μαχομένας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.
ἀλλὰ τούτων χρῆν' ἀπασῶν εἰς τετρημένον ξύλον 680
ἐγκαθαρμόσαι λαβόντας τουτονὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

X.^γ εἰ νῆ τῶ θεῷ με ζωπυρήσεις, ἀντ.
λύσω τὴν ἐμαυτῆς ὕν ἐγὼ δῆ, καὶ ποιήσω 683/4

659-60 §§ S κ 339 667 (λευκόποδες) S λ 812; §§ Hsch.; §§ Phot.
672-3 S § (1) λ 578 673 S § (2) χ 266 682-5 S §§ (1) ζ 155;
(… βωστρεῖν) Zonar. 968 684-5 (ποιήσω…) S §§ (2) β 503; (καὶ…)
S §§ (3) π 922

658 τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐστὶν Γ 660 δοκῶ S 661 γ' om. Γ 667 λευκ- Her-
mann cl. Sch. Hsch.: λυκ- **a** Σ^{RS} testt. 670 ἀναβ- R 673 λιπαροῦς
⊂ Σ^{RFS}: λιπαρᾶς **a** λ Σ^{RFS} S(1)(2) 674 τεκταν- B: τεκταν- **a** 675
Ἄτρεμ- Γ 676 -γράφω Σ^{RΓ}: -γράψαι R: -γράψαι Γ 678 -λέσθαι Γ
τὰς Dindorf: τὰς δ' **a** 679 Μήκων Γ ἔγραψ' Fl. Chrestien: ἔγραψεν
(-ε Γ) **a** ἐφ' ἵππων] φιλίππων Γ ταῖς Γ 682 νῆ] μῆ S Zonar. τῷ
θεῷ Zonar. με omm. S Zonar. 683 δν] υἰόν S(1) ἐγὼ om. S(1)
δῆ omm. S(1) Zonar.

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

τήμερον τοὺς δημότας βωστρεῖν σ' ἐγὼ
 πεκτούμενον. 685/6
 ἀλλὰ χῆμεῖς, ὦ γυναῖκες, θάττον ἐκδυώμεθα, 687/8
 ὡς ἂν ὄζωμεν γυναικῶν αὐτοδαξ ὠργισμένων. 689/90
 νῦν πρὸς ἔμ' ἴτω τις, ἵνα
 μήποτε φάγη σκόροδα,
 μηδὲ κυάμους μέλανας,
 ὡς εἰ καὶ μόνον κακῶς ἐρεῖς—ὑπερχολῶ γάρ—
 αἰετόν τίκτοντα κάνθαρός σε μαιεύσομαι. 695

οὐ γὰρ ὑμῶν φροντίσαιμ' ἂν, ἦν ἐμοὶ ζῆ Λαμπιτῶ
 ἦ τε Θηβαία φίλη παῖς εὐγενῆς Ἴσμηνία.
 οὐ γὰρ ἔσται δύναμις, οὐδ' ἦν ἐπτάκις σὺ ψηφίσῃ,
 ὅστις, ὦ δύστην', ἀπήχθου πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν.
 ὥστε κάχθες θῆκάτῃ ποιούσα παιγνίαν ἐγὼ 700
 ταῖσι παισὶ τὴν ἐταίραν ἐκάλεσ' ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων,
 παῖδα χρηστὴν ἀγαπητὴν ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἔγχελυν,
 οἱ δὲ πέμψειν οὐκ ἔφασκον διὰ τὰ σὰ ψηφίσματα.
 κοῦχί μὴ παύσησθε τῶν ψηφισμάτων τούτων, πρὶν ἂν
 τοῦ σκέλους ὑμᾶς λαβῶν τις ἐκτραχηλίσῃ φέρων. 705

ἄνασσα πράγους τοῦδε καὶ βουλευμάτος,
 τί μοι σκυθρωπὸς ἐξελλήλυθας δόμων;
 Λυ. κακῶν γυναικῶν ἔργα καὶ θήλεια φρῆν
 ποιεῖ μ' ἄθυμείν περιπατεῖν τ' ἄνω κάτω.
 X.^{γν} τί φῆς; τί φῆς; 710
 Λυ. ἀληθῆ, ἀληθῆ.

689 § S a 4489 694-5 §§ S a 574 700-1 §§ S π 843 704-5 S §§
 (1) a 3069; § (2) ψ 86

684 ποιήσω B: ποιήσω a 689 ὡς ἂν] ἴν' S -μένους S 695 ἀετόν S
 696 Ἄλλη Γ ἡμῶν R 700 κάχθες om. S θῆκάτῃ Dindorf: τῆ κατάη
 R: τῆκάτῃ S: τῆ ἐκάτῃ Γ m^gS^M 701 ταῖσι Γ: τοῖσι (τοῖς S^{GM}) RS
 702 καμνητῆν R 703 οἷδ' ἐκπέμψειν Γ 704 κοῦχί a S(2): οὐ μὴ S(1)
 τούτων omm. S(1)(2) 705 τοῦ (τοῦς R) σκέλους λαβῶν ὑμᾶς τις RS(2):
 ὑμᾶς τοῦ σκέλους λαβῶν τις S(1) -ίσαι (-ῆ^G) S(2) θέλων S(2): om. S(1)
 706 Χορ. γυν. Γ: γυνή Σ^R: par. R: del. Boninus 708 Λυ. φ: par. R: omm. ΓB
 709 ποιεῖν R ἄθυμείν Porson: ἄθυμον a 710 par. R 711 Λυ. om. R

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- X.^{vo} τί δ' ἐστὶ δεινόν; φράζε ταῖς σαυτῆς φίλαις.
 Λυ. ἀλλ' αἰσχρὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ σιωπῆσαι βαρύ.
 X.^{vo} μὴ νῦν με κρύψῃς ὅ τι πεπόνθαμεν κακόν.
 Λυ. βινητιώμεν, ἢ βράχιστον τοῦ λόγου. 715
 X.^{vo} ἰὼ Ζεῦ.
 Λυ. τί Ζῆν' αὐτεῖς; ταῦτα δ' οὖν οὕτως ἔχει.
 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτὰς ἀποσχεῖν οὐκέτι
 οἷα τ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· διαδιδράσκουσι γάρ.
 τὴν μὲν γε πρώτην διαλέγουσαν τὴν ὀπῆν 720
 κατέλαβον ἢ τοῦ Πανός ἐστι ταυλίον,
 τὴν δ' ἐκ τροχιλείας αὖ κατειλυσπωμένην
 κάπαυτομολούσαν· τὴν δ' ἐπὶ στρούθου μίαν
 ἤδη πέτεσθαι διανοουμένην κάτω
 εἰς Ὀρσιλόχου χθὲς τῶν τριχῶν κατέσπασα. 725
 πάσας τε προφάσεις ὥστ' ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε
 ἔλκουσιν. ἠδὲ γοῦν τις αὐτῶν ἔρχεται.
 αὕτη σύ, ποῖ θεῖς;

ΓΥΝΗ Α

- οἴκαδ' ἐλθεῖν βούλομαι.
 οἴκοι γάρ ἐστιν ἔριά μοι Μιλήσια
 ὑπὸ τῶν σέων κατακοπτόμενα.
 Λυ. ποίων σέων; 730
 οὐκ εἰ πάλιν;
 Γυ.^a ἀλλ' ἤξω ταχέως νῆ τῷ θεῷ
 ὅσον διαπετάσασ' ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης μόνον.
 Λυ. μὴ διαπετάννυ, μηδ' ἀπέλθῃς μηδαμῆ.

730 § Choerob. 1.406.16; § Zonar. 1362; § *AnBachm.* 362.23; § Phot. s.v. σέες; §§ *EM* 709.53

712, 713 par. R 714 X.^{vo} om. R ὅ τι | τί R 715 Λυ. om. R
 ἢ B: ἦ Γ: ἦ R 716 par. R 717 Λυ. om. R 719 ἀποδιδρ- R
 721 ταύλιον Γ 722 τροχιλείας Hall/Geldart: τροχειλίας R: τροχιλίας
 Γ κατιλ- Γ 723 κάπαυ- (ἀπαυ- iam Jackson) Sommerstein: τὴν δ'
 αὖ- a: τῆδ' αὖ-Schneider 727 ἠδὲ Elmsley: ἠδη a 728, 731, 734 Γυ.
 α' Brunck: γυνή Γ: dic. R 730 κατακοπτόμενα Γ: κατακαμπτόμενος
 (-καπτ- *EM*) *EM* Zonar.: καταπονούμενον Choerob. ποῖ Γ 732 -άσασ'
 B: -άσασα a 733 -άννε R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

Γυ.^α ἀλλ' ἐὼ 'πολέσθαι τᾶρι';

Λυ. ἦν τούτου δέη.

ΓΥΝΗ Β

τάλαιν' ἐγώ, τάλαινα τῆς ἀμόργιδος, 735
ἦν ἄλοπον οἴκοι καταλέλοιφ'.

Λυ. αὕτη 'τέρα
ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμοργιν τὴν ἄλοπον ἐξέρχεται.
χώρει πάλιν δεῦρ'.

Γυ.^β ἀλλὰ νῆ τὴν Φωσφόρον
ἔγωγ' ἀποδείρασ' αὐτίκα μάλ' ἀνέρχομαι.

Λυ. μὴ μὴ 'ποδείρης· ἦν γὰρ ἄρξης τουτουί,
ἑτέρα γυνὴ ταῦτὸν ποιεῖν βουλήσεται. 740

ΓΥΝΗ Γ

ὦ πότνι· Εἰλείθυ', ἐπίσχεσ τοῦ τόκου
ἕως ἂν εἰς ὄσιον μόλω 'γὼ χωρίον.

Λυ. τί ταῦτα ληρεῖς;

Γυ.^γ αὐτίκα μάλα τέξομαι.

Λυ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκύεις σύ γ' ἐχθές.

Γυ.^γ ἀλλὰ τήμερον. 745
ἀλλ' οἴκαδέ μ' ὡς τὴν μαίαν, ὦ Λυσιστράτη,
ἀπόπεμψον ὡς τάχιστα.

Λυ. τίνα λόγον λέγεις;

Γυ.^γ τί τοῦτ' ἔχεις τὸ σκληρόν;

Λυ. ἄρρεν παιδίον.

737 §§ S a 1332 742-3 S o 688; Σ Pl. R. 344a, Lg. 857b; Phot. s.v. ὄσιον

734 τᾶρι Maire (ed. 1624): τᾶρια a Λυ. om. R τούτο Γ 735 Γυ.
β' Brunck: ἡ γυνή Γ: par. R -γίδος R 736 -λέλοιφ' Enger: -λέλοιπ'
R: -λέλοιπα Σ αὕτη 'τέρα Dindorf: αὐθ' ἡτέρα a 737 ἀμόργην S:
ἄμοργι Γ ἀμοργίδα B 738 δεῦρο Γ Γυ. β' Brunck: ἄλλη Γ: dic. R
739 ἔγωγ' Γ: ἐγὼ δ' R μάλα Γ ἀν- Brunck: ἀπ- RΓ₁: ἐπ- Γ₂ 740
μὴ 'πο- Brunck: μὴ ἀπο- a ἄρξης Cobet: ἄρξη a τουτουί Bentley: τούτο
(τούτου R) σύ a 741 ἡτέρα Γ 742 Γυ. γ' Brunck: ἑτέρα Γ:
par. R εἰλείθυ(α) Phot.: εἰλείθνια ΓS: εἰλήθυ' (-θνα Sch.^APl. R.) R: εἰλήθνια
Sch.^{TW}Pl. R, Sch. Pl. Lg. 743 μόλω 'γὼ] ἀπέλω S 744, 748,
752, 753 Γυ. γ' Brunck: ἡ γυνή Γ: dic. R 745 Γυ. γ' Brunck: dic. R:
om. Γ γ' ἐχθές Brunck: γε χθές a 746 οἴκαδ' ἐμ' Γ

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

Λυ. μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐ σύ γ' ἄλλ' ἢ χαλκίον
ἔχειν τι φαίνει κοῖλον· εἶσομαι δ' ἐγώ.
ὦ καταγέλαστ', ἔχουσα τὴν ἱεράν κυνὴν
κυεῖν ἔφασκες; 750

Γυ.^γ καὶ κυῶ γε νῆ Δία.

Λυ. τί δῆτα ταύτην εἶχες;

Γυ.^γ ἵνα μ' εἰ καταλάβοι
ὁ τόκος ἔτ' ἐν πόλει, τέκοιμ' εἰς τὴν κυνὴν
εἰσβάσα ταύτην, ὥσπερ αἱ περιστεραί. 755

Λυ. τί λέγεις; προφασίζει· περιφανῆ τὰ πράγματα.
οὐ τὰμφιδρόμια τῆς κυνῆς αὐτοῦ μενεῖς;

Γυ.^γ ἄλλ' οὐ δύναμαι 'γωγ' οὐδὲ κοιμᾶσθ' ἐν πόλει,
ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον τὸν οἰκουρόν ποτε.

ΓΥΝΗ Δ

ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν γλαυκῶν γε τάλαιν' ἀπόλλυμαι 760
ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαισι κικκαβαζουσῶν αἰεί.

Λυ. ὦ δαιμόνιοι, παύσασθε τῶν τερατευμάτων.
ποθεῖτ' ἴσως τοὺς ἀνδρας· ὑμᾶς δ' οὐκ οἶε
ποθεῖν ἐκείνους; ἀργαλέας γ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι 765
ἄγουσι νύκτας. ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθ', ὦγαθαί,
καὶ προσταλαιπωρήσατ' ἔτ' ὀλίγον χρόνον·
ὡς χρησμός ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἐπικρατεῖν, ἐὰν
μὴ στασιάζωμεν. ἔστι δ' ὁ χρησμός οὐτοσί.

Γυ.^γ λέγ' αὐτὸν ἡμῖν ὅ τι λέγει.

Λυ. σιγάτε δῆ.
ἀλλ' ὅποταν πτήξωσι χελιδόνες εἰς ἓνα χώρον, 770
τοὺς ἔποπας φεύγουσαι, ἀπόσχωνται τε φαλήτων,

749 ἀλλὰ χάλκιον R -κειον R^{PC} 753 ἔχεις R 754 ἔτ' ἐν B: ἔτ'
ἐν τῇ Γ: ἐν R 756 τί πρ- Γ 757 οὐ τὰμ- Bentley: οὐτ' ἀμ- R: οὐδ'
ἀμ- Γ -ία Γ 758 Γυ. γ' Dobree: ἄλλη α' δύναμαι 'γωγ' Bentley:
δύναμαι ἔγωγ' R: δύναμ' ἔγωγ' R₂: δύναμαι γ' ἔγωγ' Γ 759 ἴδον R
760 Γυ. δ' Enger: ἑτέρα Γ: par. R 761 -ίαις Γ κικκαβαζ- Dobree:
κακκαβιζ- RΓ₂: κακκαβαζ- Γ₁: κικκαβίζειν ap. Phot. laudatur 763 ὑμᾶς
Sommerstein: ἡμᾶς α' 764 ἀργαλέας γ' Dobree: γ' ἀργαλέας τ' R: ἀργαλέας Γ
εὖ δ' R 765 -εσθ' Bp: -εσθε R: -ησθ' Γ 766 -ἦσατ' ἔτ'] -ἦσατέ γε R
767 ἡμῶν Γ 768 στασιάζωμεν R 769 Γυ. γ' Beer: dic. R: om. Γ

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

παῦλα κακῶν ἔσται, τὰ δ' ὑπέρτερα νέρτερα θήσει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης—

- Γυ.^γ ἐπάνω κατακεισόμεθ' ἡμεῖς;
 Λυ. ἦν δὲ διαστώσιν καὶ ἀνάπτωνται πτερύγεσιν
 ἐξ ἱεροῦ ναοῖο χελιδόνες, οὐκέτι δόξει 775
 ὄρνεον οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν καταπυγυνέστερον εἶναι.
 Γυ.^γ σαφῆς γ' ὁ χρησμὸς νῆ Δί'. ὦ πάντες θεοί.
 Λυ. μὴ νυν ἀπείπωμεν ταλαίπωροῦμεναι,
 ἀλλ' εἰσίσωμεν. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν τουτογί,
 ὦ φίλταται, τὸν χρησμὸν εἰ προδώσομεν. 780
- X.^γ μῦθον βούλομαι λέξαι τιν' ὑμῖν, ὃν ποτ' ἤκουσ' στρ. 781/2
 αὐτὸς ἔτι παῖς ὢν.
 οὕτως ἦν νεανίσκος Μελανίων τις, ὃς φεύ- 784/5
 γων γάμον ἀφίκετ' ἐς ἐρημίαν, 786/7
 κὰν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ᾤκει·
 κᾶτ' ἐλαγοθήρει
 πλεξάμενος ἄρκυς 790
 καὶ κύνα τιν' εἶχεν
 κοῦκέτι κατῆλθε πάλιν οἴκαδ' ὑπὸ μίσους.
 οὕτω τὰς γυναικας ἐβδελύχθη 'κεῖνος, ἡμεῖς δ' 793/4
 οὐδὲν ἤττον τοῦ Μελανίωνος, οἱ σῶφρονες. 795/6
- Γε. βούλομαί σε, γραῦ, κύσαι—
 Γυ. κρομμύων γ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἔδει.

775-6 §§ S κ 739

784-96 S μ 453

798 § S κ 2464

772 νέντερα Γ 773 Γυ. γ' Coulon: Χορ. γυν. Γ: dic. R 774 δ'
 ἀποστώσω R ἀνάπτωνται Cobet: -τώνται a 775 δόξειε S 776 ὄρνεον...
 ὀτιοῦν] τι ἄλλο τι S οὔθ' R -νίστερον Γ 777 Γυ. γ' Coulon: Χορ.
 γυν. Γ: om. R γ' om. R 778 Λυ. Dobree: om. a 782-3 ἤκου
 σαυτὸν Γ 784/5 οὕτως S ἦν... ὃς om. S Μειλ-a (v. 795, 807)
 786/7 ἐς S: εἰς a 788 κὰν a S^{AF}: καὶ S^{GM} ἐνέκει Γ 789 -θήρα
 Bp ^λΣ^Γ 790 om. S 791 post 788 S 792 κοῦκέτ' S
 κατῆλθεν R: ἦλθεν S πάλιν om. S 793/4 ἐβδελλ- Γ 'κεῖνος B: κείνος
 a: ἐκεῖνος S δ' GS: τ' R 795/6 Μελ- S: Μειλ- a σωφρονέστεροι S
 797 Γε. Brunck: ἐκ (v. 799) τῶν γερόντων Γ: om. R 798, 800 Γυ. Γ:
 om. R 798 κρομμύων Σ^{RS}: κρόμμυον ΓS^Γ: κρόμμυον RS^{AV} γ' ἄρ'
 Bergler: γὰρ RS^G: τ' ἄρ' ΓS^Γ ἔδη S

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

Γε. κἀνατείνας λακτίσαι.	
Γυ. τὴν λόγχμην πολλὴν φορεῖς.	800
Γε. καὶ Μυρωνίδης γὰρ ἦν τραχὺς ἐντεῦθεν μελάμπυ- γός τε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἄπασιν· ὡς δὲ καὶ Φορμίων.	
X. ^{γυ} κἀγὼ βούλομαι μῦθόν τιν' ὑμῖν ἀντιλέξαι τῷ Μελανίωνι.	ἀντ. 805/6
Τίμων ἦν αἰδρυτός τις, ἀβάτοισιν ἐν σκώ- λοισι τὰ πρόσωπα περιειργμένος, Ἐρινύων ἀπορρώξ. οὔτος οὖν ὁ Τίμων ᾤχεθ' ὑπὸ μίσους <.....> πολλὰ καταρασάμενος ἀνδράσι πονηροῖς. οὔτω 'κείνος ἡμῖν ἀντεμίσει τοὺς πονηροὺς ἄνδρας αἰεὶ, ταῖσι δὲ γυναιξὶν ἦν φίλτατος.	808/9 810/1 815 816/8 819/0
Γυ. τὴν γνάθον βούλει θένω;	
Γε. μηδαμῶς· εἰδισά γε.	
Γυ. ἀλλὰ κρούσω τῷ σκέλει;	
Γε. τὸν σάκανδρον ἐκφανεῖς.	
Γυ. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἂν οὐκ ἴδοις καίπερ οὔσης γράδος ὄντ' αὐ-	825

800 §§ S λ 715 808-11 S §§ (1) α 3508; §§ (2) τ 632 824 §§ S σ 32

799 Γε. B: εἰς τῶν γερόντων Γ: om. R κἀτ' ἀνατείνας Γ τὸ σκέλος post κἀνατείνας a del. Bentley 800 τὴν. om. S λόγχμην R 801 Γε. Γ: om. R 807 Μειλ- Γ 808 ἦν αἰδρυτός τις Bentley: ἦν τις αἰδρυτός ΓS(1): τις ἦν αἰδρυτός (ἀνιδρ- S) RS(2) 809-10 ἀβάτοις S(2) ἐν σκώλοισι Hermann: ἐνὶ (ἐν S(1)) σκώλοισι (σκόλοισι S(2)^{AG}) S(1)^M S(2): ἐδσκώλοισι a S(1)^F: εὐκώλοισι S(1)^F: δυσκόλοισι S(1)^S 811 τὰ πρόσωπα Hermann: τὸ πρόσωπον a S(1): om. S(2) περιειργμένος RS(1)(2): περιειργασμένος Γ 812 Ἐρινύων S(1)(2) 814 ᾤχετ' Γ lacunam posuit Biset, suppl. e.g. Coulon <κἀν ὄρεσιν ᾤκει> 815 κατηγο- R 817 ἡμῖν Bergk cl. Σ^R: ὑμῶν a 820-89 desunt in ΓBp 821, 823, 825 Γυ. Brunck: om. R 822, 824 Γε. Brunck: om. R 824 σάκανδρον Σ^RS: σάκανδρ' R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

τὸν κομήτην, ἀλλ' ἀπεψι-
λωμένον τῷ λύχνῳ.

- Λυ. ἰοὺ ἰοῦ, γυναῖκες, ἴτε δεῦρ' ὡς ἐμέ.
ταχέως.
- Γυ. τί δ' ἐστίν; εἰπέ μοι, τίς ἢ βοή; 830
- Λυ. <ἄνδρ', > ἄνδρ' ὁρῶ προσιόντα παραπεπληγμένον
τοῖς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὀργίοις εἰλημμένον.
ὦ πότνια, Κύπρου καὶ Κυθῆρων καὶ Πάφου
μεδέουσ', ἴθ' ὀρθὴν ἦνπερ ἔρχει τὴν ὁδόν.
- Γυ. ποῦ δ' ἐστίν, ὅστις ἐστί; 835
- Λυ. παρὰ τὸ τῆς Χλόης.
- Γυ. ὦ νῆ Δί' ἐστὶ δῆτα. τίς κάστιν ποτε;
- Λυ. ὁρᾶτε. γινώσκει τις ὑμῶν;
- Μυ. νῆ Δία
ἔγωγε· κάστιν οὐμὸς ἀνὴρ Κινησίας.
- Λυ. σὸν ἔργον ἦδη τοῦτον ὀπτᾶν καὶ στρέφειν
κάξηπεροπεύειν καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ μὴ φιλεῖν, 840
καὶ πάνθ' ὑπέχειν πλὴν ὧν σύννοιδεν ἡ κύλιξ.
- Μυ. ἀμέλει, ποιήσω ταῦτ' ἐγώ.
- Λυ. καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ
συνηπεροπεύσω <σοὶ> παραμένουσ' ἐνθαδί,
καὶ ξυσταθεύσω τοῦτον. ἀλλ' ἀπέλθετε.

ΚΙΝΗΣΙΑΣ

- οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, οἷος ὁ σπασμὸς μ' ἔχει 845
χῶ τέτανος ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τροχοῦ στρεβλούμενον.
- Λυ. τίς οὗτος οὐντὸς τῶν φυλάκων ἐστώς;
- Κι. ἐγώ.
- Λυ. ἀνὴρ;
- Κι. ἀνὴρ δῆτ'.
- Λυ. οὐκ ἄπει δῆτ' ἐκποδῶν;

839-41 S § (1) η 426

841 S § (2) υ 405

844 §§ S § 165

831 <ἄνδρ' > Fl. Chrestien 832 εἰλημμένον Gelenius (ed. Basil. II
[1547]): εἰλυμμ- R 834 ἔρχη R 837 Λυ. Reiske: om. R γιγν-
Brunck: γιν- R 839 ἦδη Dobree: εἶη R: ἐστὶ S τοῦτ' S τρέφειν S
840 καὶ... φιλεῖν om. S 841 πλὴν omm. S(1)(2) 843 <σοὶ> Porson
848 δῆτα utrobique R -ποδῶν R

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- Κι. σὺ δ' εἰ τίς ἠκβάλλουσά μ';
 Λυ. ἡμεροσκόπος.
 Κι. πρὸς τῶν θεῶν νυν ἐκκάλεσόν μοι Μυρρίνην. 850
 Λυ. ἰδοὺ καλέσω 'γὰ Μυρρίνην σοι; σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ;
 Κι. ἀνὴρ ἐκείνης, Παιονίδης Κινησίας.
 Λυ. ὦ χαίρε φίλτατ'· οὐ γὰρ ἀκλεῆς τοῦνομα
 τὸ σὸν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀνώνυμον.
 ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡ γυνή σ' ἔχει διὰ στόμα. 855
 κἂν ὦν ἡ μῆλον λάβη, 'Κινησία
 τουτὶ γένοιτο' φησί.
 Κι. ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν—
 Λυ. νῆ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην· κἂν περὶ ἀνδρῶν γ' ἐμπέση
 λόγος τις, εἶρηκ' εὐθέως ἡ σὴ γυνή
 ὅτι λήρὸς ἐστι τᾶλλα πρὸς Κινησίαν. 860
 Κι. ἴθι νυν κάλεσον αὐτήν.
 Λυ. τί οὖν; δώσεις τί μοι;
 Κι. ἔγωγέ <σοι> νῆ τὸν Δί', ἣν βούλη γε σύ.
 ἔχω δὲ τοῦθ'· ὅπερ οὖν ἔχω, δίδωμί σοι.
 Λυ. φέρε νυν καλέσω καταβάσά σοι.
 Κι. ταχύ νυν πάνυ·
 ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἔχω γε τῷ βίῳ χάριν,
 ἐξ οὐπερ αὕτη 'ξήλθεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας,
 ἀλλ' ἄχθομαι μὲν εἰσιῶν, ἔρημα δὲ
 εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι πάντα, τοῖς δὲ σιτίοις
 χάριν οὐδεμίαν οἶδ' ἐσθίω· ἔστυκα γάρ.
 Μυ. φιλῶ φιλῶ 'γὰ τοῦτον· ἀλλ' οὐ βούλεται 870
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φιλεῖσθαι. σὺ δέ με τούτῳ μὴ κάλει.
 Κι. ὦ γλυκύτατον Μυρρινίδιον, τί ταῦτα δρᾷς;
 κατάβηθι δεῦρο.
 Μυ. μὰ Δί' ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτόσ' οὔ.
 Κι. ἐμοῦ καλοῦντος οὐ καταβήσεις, Μυρρίνη;

855-7 (... φησί) §§ S αἰ 101; Zonar. 96

851 'γὰ Daubuz: γὰ τὴν R 852 Παιονίδης Muz: Παιονειδης R ἀνὴρ
 Meineke: ἀνὴρ R 855 ἀεὶ RS^M: αἰεὶ S^r Zonar. 856 λάβοι S
 857 φησί R Zonar.: φησί S 862 <σοι> Bentley 866 'ξήλθεν
 Brubach: ξυνηλθεν R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- Mv.* οὐ γὰρ δεόμενος οὐδὲν ἐκκαλείς ἐμέ. 875
Ki. ἐγὼ οὐ δεόμενος; ἐπιτετριμμένος μὲν οὖν.
Mv. ἄπειμι.
Ki. μὴ δῆτ', ἀλλὰ τῷ γούν παιδίῳ
 ὑπάκουσον. οὗτος, οὐ καλείς τὴν μαμμίαν;

ΠΑΙΔΙΟΝ

- μαμμία, μαμμία, μαμμία.
Ki. αὕτη, τί πάσχεις; οὐδ' ἔλεεις τὸ παιδίον 880
 ἄλουτον ὃν κᾶθλον ἔκτην ἡμέραν;
Mv. ἔγωγ' ἐλεῶ δῆτ'· ἀλλ' ἀμελῆς αὐτῷ πατήρ
 ἔστιν.
Ki. κατάβηθ', ὦ δαιμονία, τῷ παιδίῳ.
Mv. οἶον τὸ τεκεῖν. καταβατέον. τί γὰρ πάθω;
Ki. ἐμοὶ μὲν αὕτη καὶ νεωτέρα δοκεῖ 885
 πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι κἀγανώτερον βλέπειν·
 χᾶ δυσκολαίνει πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ βρενθύεται,
 ταῦτ' αὐτὰ δὴ 'σθ' ᾧ καὶ μ' ἐπιτρίβει τῷ πόθῳ.
Mv. ὦ γλυκύτατον σὺ τεκνίδιον κακοῦ πατρὸς,
 φέρε σε φιλήσω, γλυκύτατον τῇ μαμμίᾳ. 890
Ki. τί, ὦ πονήρα, ταῦτα ποιεῖς χᾶτέραις
 πείθει γυναιξί; κάμ' τ' ἄχθεσθαι ποιεῖς
 αὐτῇ τε λυπεῖ.
Mv. μὴ πρόσαγε τὴν χεῖρά μοι.
Ki. τὰ δ' ἔνδον ὄντα τὰμὰ καὶ σὰ χρήματα
 χεῖρον διατίθης.
Mv. ὀλίγον αὐτῶν μοι μέλει. 895
Ki. ὀλίγον μέλει σοι τῆς κρόκης φορουμένης

885-6 Phot. a 109; *AnBachm.* 20.6 (= *AB* 335.12) 896-7 §§ S δ 834;
 Zonar. 535

879 *Παιδίον* van Leeuwen: ὁ παῖς R 885 μὲν Brunck: γὰρ R testt.
 (lacunam ante h.v. suspicatus est van Leeuwen) αὐτῇ *AnBachm.*
 886 πολλῶν γ. καὶ ἀγανώτερον βλέπει Phot. 888 δὴ 'σθ' ᾧ Biset cl.
 Σ^R: δ' ἦσθ' ᾧ R καὶ μ' Meineke: κάμ' R 890-1034 in Γ, -1097 in
Bp adsunt 891 πόνηρα Γ 892 -ξίν R 893 τε] με R
 895 -τίθης Maire: -τιθεῖς a 896 διαφορουμένης S Zonar.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων;
- Mv.* ἔμοιγε νῆ Δία.
- Ki.* τὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἰέρ' ἀνοργιάστά σοι
χρόνον τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν. οὐ βραδιεὶ πάλιν;
- Mv.* μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἦν μὴ διαλλαχθῆτέ γε 900
καὶ τοῦ πολέμου παύσησθε.
- Ki.* τοιγάρ, ἂν δοκῆ,
ποιήσομεν καὶ ταῦτα.
- Mv.* τοιγάρ, ἂν δοκῆ,
κἄγωγ' ἄπειμ' ἐκεῖσε· νῦν δ' ἀπομώμοκα.
- Ki.* σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ κατακλίνηθι μετ' ἐμοῦ διὰ χρόνου.
- Mv.* οὐ δῆτα. καίτοι σ' οὐκ ἐρῶ γ' ὡς οὐ φιλω. 905
- Ki.* φιλεῖς; τί οὖν οὐ κατεκλίνης, ὦ Μυρρίον;
- Mv.* ὦ καταγέλαστ', ἐναντίον τοῦ παιδίου;
- Ki.* μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γ' οἴκαδ', ὦ μανῆ, φέρε.
ἴδου τὸ μέν σοι παιδίον καὶ δὴ 'κποδών.
σὺ δ' οὐ κατακλινεῖ;
- Mv.* ποῦ γὰρ ἂν τις καί, τάλαν, 910
δράσειε τοῦθ';
- Ki.* ὅπου; τὸ τοῦ Πανὸς καλόν.
- Mv.* καὶ πῶς ἔτ' ἂν ἀγνῆ δῆτ' ἀνέλθοιμ' εἰς πόλιν;
- Ki.* κάλλιστα δῆπου, λουσαμένη τῇ Κλεψύδρα.
- Mv.* ἔπειτ' ὁμόσασα δῆτ' ἐπιορκήσω, τάλαν;
- Ki.* εἰς ἐμέ τράποιτο· μηδὲν ὄρκου φροντίσης. 915
- Mv.* φέρε νυν ἐνέγκω κλινίδιον νῶν.
- Ki.* μηδαμῶς.
ἀρκεῖ χαμαὶ νῶν.
- Mv.* μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, μὴ σ' ἐγὼ
καίπερ τοιοῦτον ὄντα κατακλινῶ χαμαί.
- Ki.* ἦ τοι γυνὴ φιλεῖ με, δῆλη 'στὶν καλῶς.

898-9 (τὰ... σοι, ἐστίν) §§ S a 2562 905 §§ S κ 1210

898 ἰέρ' om. S 902 om. R₁ add. ^{m5}R₂ 903 ἄπειμ R
904 -κλίνηθι Elmsley: -κλίθητι a 906 -ακλινεῖ Γ μυρρίον R
908 γ' Γ: δ' R 910 -κλίνει R 911 τοῦθ' B: τοῦτο a τὸ τοῦ]
τοῦτο R 912 ἔτ' ἂν Meineke: ἔθ' a, cf. 739 916 μῆ Γ₁: μῆδαμῆ Γ₂
919 ἠ δὴ R φιλεῖν Γ 'στὶν B: 'στὶ a

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- Mv.* ἰδοῦ, κατάκεισ' ἀνύσας τι, κἀγὼ 'κδύομαι. 920
καίτοι, τὸ δεῖνα, ψίαθός ἐστ' ἔξοιστέα.
- Ki.* ποία ψίαθος; μή μοί γε.
- Mv.* νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν,
αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τόνου γε.
- Ki.* δός μοί νυν κύσαι.
- Mv.* ἰδοῦ.
- Ki.* παπαιάξ. ἤκέ νυν ταχέως πάνυ.
- Mv.* ἰδοῦ ψίαθος. κατάκεισο, καὶ δὴ 'κδύομαι. 925
καίτοι, τὸ δεῖνα, προσκεφάλαιον οὐκ ἔχεις.
- Ki.* ἀλλ' οὐ δέομ' οὐδὲν ἔγωγε.
- Mv.* νῆ Δί' ἀλλ' ἐγώ.
- Ki.* ἀλλ' ἦ τὸ πέος τόδ' Ἡρακλῆς ξενίζεται;
- Mv.* ἀνίστασ', ἀναπήδησον. ἤδη πάντ' ἔχω.
- Ki.* ἅπαντα δῆτα. δεῦρό νυν, ᾧ χρυσίον. 930
- Mv.* τὸ στρόφιον ἤδη λύομαι. μέμνησό νυν
μή μ' ἔξαπατήσης τὰ περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν.
- Ki.* νῆ Δί' ἀπολοίμην ἄρα.
- Mv.* σισύραν οὐκ ἔχεις.
- Ki.* μὰ Δί' οὐδὲ δέομαί γ', ἀλλὰ βινεῖν βούλομαι.
- Mv.* ἀμέλει, ποιήσεις τοῦτο· ταχὺ γὰρ ἔρχομαι. 935
- Ki.* ἄνθρωπος ἐπιτρίψει με διὰ τὰ στρώματα.
- Mv.* ἔπαιρε σαυτόν.
- Ki.* ἀλλ' ἀπῆρται τουτογί.
- Mv.* βούλει μυρίσω σε;
- Ki.* μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω μή μέ γε.
- Mv.* νῆ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἣν τε βούλη γ' ἦν τε μή.

926 § S π 2726 928 §§ S η 477; (' Ηρακλῆς . . .) §§ Σ *Ran.* 63, 107; §§
EM 435.17; §§ *Eust.* 561.42 931 § S σ 1221; § *Phot.* s.v. στρόφιον; §
EM 730.58; § *AnBachm.* 372.10; § *Zonar.* 1768

920 τί Γ 'γδύομαι R 921, 922, 925 ψίαθος R 923 ἐπὶ τόνου
p: ἐπιτόνου **a** κύσαι *p:* κύσαι **a** 926 προσ- Γ: πρὸς R 927 οὐ]
οὐδὲ Γ δέομαι Γ ἔγωγ' Γ 928 ἦ ed. *Amst.* (1670): ἦ Γ: ἦτοι R
929 *Ki.* ἤδη Γ 930 *Ki.* *Boninus:* *Mv.* Γ: *par.* R δῆτα. *Hamaker:* δῆτα;
a Σ^{RΓ} χρυσίον R *Ki.* δεῦρο Γ: *par.* Σ^R partim *erasus* 931 λυόμενον S
ἄρα Brunck: ἄρα **a** 934 οὐ R γ' om. Γ 936 ἄν- Σ^{RΓ}; ἄν- **a**
937 τουτογί *van Herwerden:* τοῦτό γε **a** 938 'μέ Γ 939 βούλει R
γ' om. Γ

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

Κι.	εἴθ' ἐκχυθείη τὸ μύρον, ὦ Ζεῦ δέσποτα.	940
Μυ.	πρότεινε δὴ τὴν χεῖρα κἀλείφου λαβῶν.	
Κι.	οὐχ ἤδὺ τὸ μύρον μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτογί, εἰ μὴ διατριπτικόν γε κοῦκ ὄζον γάμων.	
Μυ.	τάλαιν' ἐγώ, τὸ Ῥόδιον ἤνεγκον μύρον.	
Κι.	ἀγαθόν. ἔα αὐτ', ὦ δαιμονία.	
Μυ.	ληρεῖς ἔχων.	945
Κι.	κάκιστ' ἀπόλοιθ' ὁ πρῶτος ἐψήσας μύρον.	
Μυ.	λαβὲ τόνδε τὸν ἀλάβαστον.	
Κι.	ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἔχω. ἀλλ' ὦζυρά, κατὰκεισο καὶ μὴ μοι φέρε μηδέν.	
Μυ.	ποιήσω ταῦτα νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν. ὑπολύομαι γοῦν. ἀλλ' ὅπως, ὦ φίλτατε, σπονδὰς ποιείσθαι ψηφιεῖ.	950
Κι.	βουλεύσομαι. ἀπολώλεκέν με κἀπιτέτριφεν ἡ γυνή τά τ' ἄλλα πάντα κἀποδείρασ' οἴχεται. οἴμοι τί πάθω; τίνα βινήσω, τῆς καλλίστης πασῶν ψευσθεῖς; πῶς ταυτηνὶ παιδοτροφήσω; ποῦ Κυναλώπηξ; μίσθωσόν μοι τὴν τίτθην.	955
Χ. ^γ	ἐν δεινῷ γ', ὦ δύστηνε, κακῶ τεῖρει ψυχὴν ἐξαπατηθεῖς. κᾶγωγ' οἰκτίρω σ'. αἰαί. ποῖος γὰρ νέφρος ἂν ἀντίσχοι, ποία ψυχὴ, ποῖοι δ' ὄρχεις, ποία δ' ὀσφύς, ποῖος δ' ὄρρος κατατεινόμενος	960
		965

943 §§ S μ 1449

964 Σ^V Ran. 223

941 δῆ] νυν Γ	942 τόν γ' Γ	943 γε] τε R	946 πρῶτον R
947 -στρον Γ	950 ἀπολ- Γ ₁	953 τὰ δ' ⁵ Γ	956 ταυτηνὶ
Reisig: ταύτην a	957 Κυν- ΓΣ ^R :	χην- R	958 κύστην R
961 αἰαί Dindorf: αἰ αἰ R: αἰ αἰ Γ	962 νέφρος ἂν Bergk: ἂν ἡ νέφρος R: ἡ νέφρος Γ		
	964 alt. δ' Sch. ^V Ran.: δ' ἂν R: ἂν Γ		

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- καὶ μὴ βινῶν τοὺς ὄρθρους;
- Κι. ὦ Ζεῦ, δεινῶν ἀντισπασμῶν.
 Χ.^γ ταυτὶ μέντοι νυνὶ σ' ἐποίησ'
 ἢ παμβδελύρα καὶ παμμυσάρα.
- Κι. μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ φίλη καὶ παγγλυκέρα. 970
 Χ.^γ ποία γλυκερά; μιὰρὰ μιὰρὰ.
 <Κι. μιὰρὰ μιὰρὰ> δῆτ', ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ.
 εἶθ' αὐτὴν ὥσπερ τοὺς θωμοὺς
 μεγάλῳ τυφῶ καὶ πρηστήρι
 ξυστρέφας καὶ ξυγγογγύλας 975
 οἴχοιο φέρων, εἶτα μεθείης,
 ἢ δὲ φέροισ' αὐτὸ πάλιν εἰς τὴν γῆν,
 κᾶτ' ἑξαίφνης
 περὶ τὴν ψωλὴν περιβαίη.

ΚΗΡΥΞ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ

- πᾶ τῶν Ἰσσανῶν ἔστιν ἡ γερωχία 980
 ἢ τοὶ πρυτάνεις; λῶ τι μυσίξαι νέον.
 Κι. οὐδ' εἶ τί; πότερ' ἄνθρωπος ἢ κονίσαλος;
 Κη. κᾶρυξ ἐγών, ὦ κυρσάνιε, ναὶ τῶ σιῶ,
 ἔμολον ἀπὸ Σπάρτας περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν.
 Κι. κᾶπειτα δόρου δῆθ' ὑπὸ μάλης ἤκεις ἔχων; 985
 Κη. οὐ τὸν Δί' οὐκ ἐγών γα.
 Κι. ποῖ μεταστρέφει;
 τί δὴ προβάλλει τὴν χλαμύδ'; ἢ βουβωνιάς

973-6 § S θ 429 982 cf. Synes. *Ep.* 22 p. 178 A (= 653 Hercher)
 983 §§ S κ 2780

966 κινῶν R ὄρθρους R 969 πανβδ- R -βδελλ- Γ -λύρα et -σάρα
 Blaydes: -λυρὰ et -σαρά a πανμ- R 970 Κι. Boninus: Χο. γυν. a
 -κέρα Blaydes: -κερά a 971 Χο. γερ. Boninus: Κι. Γ: par. R 972 <Κι.
 μιὰρὰ μιὰρὰ> Beer ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ Brunck: ὦ Ζεῦ ὦ Ζεῦ a 973 θωμῶν Γ
 974 τύφη S 975 ξυστρ- R ξυγγογγύλας Cobet: ξυγγογγυλίσας
 (-ογυ- Γ) a 980 κᾶρυξ λακῶνων Γ ἄ Γ 981 ἦτοι Γ -ἀνῆς Γ
 λῶ Γ μυσίξαι B: μυθίξαι R: μυσύξαι Γ 982-1007 Κι. Bentley et Beer,
 cf. Σ^{RT} ad v. 1014 ἐν ἄλλῳ Κινησίας ἣν ὁ λέγων: Ππο. a: Ἀθηναῖος Σ^R ad. v.
 992 et 1007 982 τί; πότερ' Bentley: τίς πότερον R: πότερον Γ
 983 κᾶρυξ R -σάνιε R 986 γε R 987 δὲ Γ ἦ ρ: ἦ a

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- ὑπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ;
- Κη. ἀλέος γὰ ναῑ τὸν Κάστορα
ἄνθρωπος.
- Κι. ἀλλ' ἔστukas, ὦ μιαρῶτατε.
- Κη. οὐ τὸν Δί' οὐκ ἐγών γα' μηδ' αὐ̄ πλαδδίη. 990
- Κι. τί δ' ἐστί σοι τοδί;
- Κη. σκυτάλα Λακωνικά.
- Κι. εἴπερ γε, χαῦτη 'στί σκυτάλη Λακωνική.
ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς εἶδότη' ἐμέ σὺ τάλθηθῆ λέγε.
τί τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑμῖν ἐστί τὰν Λακεδαίμονι;
- Κη. ὄρσά Λακεδαίμωνι πᾶά καὶ τοὶ σύμμαχοι 995
ἅπαντες ἐστύκαντι πελλάνας δὲ δεῖ.
- Κι. ἀπὸ τοῦ δὲ τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν ὑμῖν ἐνέπεσεν;
ἀπὸ Πανός;
- Κη. οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἄρχε μὲν, οἶῶ, Λαμπιτώ,
ἔπειτα τᾶλλαι ταὶ κατὰ Σπάρταν ἀμᾶ
γυναῖκες ἄπερ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὑσπλαγίδος 1000
ἀπήλαάν τῶς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑσσάκων.
- Κι. πῶς οὖν ἔχετε;
- Κη. μογίομες· ἂν γὰρ τὰν πόλιν
ἄπερ λυχνοφορίοντες ὑποκεκῦφames.

995 §§ Eust. *Pind. Proem.* 21 998 S §§ (1) λ 92; §§ (2) οι 58
1000-1 § S υ 683 1003 § S α 3344

988 ἀλέος van Leeuwen, cf. Hsch. α 2737, Hdn. Gr. 2.909, *EM* 59.45:
παλέος Γ, cf. S π 74 = Thgn. *ApOxon.* 2.50.3, Σ^Γ πλεονάζει τὸ π· ἡλέος ἀλέος
παλέος: πάλαι ὄρ R, cf. παλαίωρ ap. Hsch. laudatum: παλεόρ (ρ supra os) ⁵Γ₂
⁵Σ^Γ νῆ Γ 989 ἄνθρωπος Τουρ 990 ἐγών γα B: ἔγωνγα R:
ἐγώνγα Γ πλαδδείη Γ 992 σκυτάλα R 993 εἶδότη' ἐμέ Porson:
εἶδότη με **a** 994 πράγματ' Γ 995 πᾶά R Eust.: πᾶά Γ
996 πελλάνας an nomen proprium sit incertum est 997 ἔπεσεν R 998 ἀρχε
Hermann: ἀρχά **a** S οἶῶ Γ: οἶῶ S(i) Λαμπιτοί Γ 999 ἔπειτα
τᾶλλαι Elmsley: ἔπειτα δ' ἄλλαι R: ἔπειτ' ἄλλαι Γ κατὰ τὰν Γ ἀμᾶ Bergk:
ἀμᾶ **a** 1000 ἄπερ Brunck: αἴπερ RS: ἄπερ Γ: ὤσπερ ⁵Γ₂ ὑσπλαγίδος
RS 1001 ἀπήλαάν Elmsley: ἀπήλαον (-λαττων S^F) RS^λΣ^{RΓ}: ἀπήλασαν
Σ^{RΓ}: ἀπήλων Γ τοὺς Γ ἀσσάκων Γ^α: ὑσσάκων S 1003 ἄπερ
Brunck: αἴπερ R: ἄπερ Γ: ὤσπερ S λαμπροφόροι ὄντες S ὑπο- Hamaker:
ἀπο- **a** -μεν S

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- ταὶ γὰρ γυναῖκες οὐδὲ τῷ μύρτῳ σιγῆν
 ἐὼντι, πρὶν χ' ἅπαντες ἐξ ἑνὸς λόγῳ 1005
 σπονδὰς ποιηῶμεσθα ποττὰν Ἑλλάδα.
- Κι. τοῦτι τὸ πρᾶγμα πανταχόθεν ξυνομώμοται
 ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρτι νυνὶ μανθάνω.
 ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα φράζε περὶ διαλλαγῶν
 πρέσβεις ἀποπέμπειν αὐτοκράτορας ἐνθαδί. 1010
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐτέρους ἐνθένδε τῇ βούλῃ φράσω
 πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι τὸ πέος ἐπιδείξας τοδί.
- Κη. πωτάόμαι· κράτιστα γὰρ παντᾶ λέγεις.
- Χ.^γ οὐδέν ἐστι θηρίον γυναικὸς ἀμαχώτερον,
 οὐδὲ πῦρ, οὐδ' ὠδ' ἀναιδῆς οὐδεμία πόρδαλις. 1015
- Χ.^γ ταῦτα μέντοι <σὺ> ξυνιείς εἶτα πολεμείς ἐμοί,
 ἐξόν, ὦ πόνηρέ, σοι βέβαιον ἔμ' ἔχειν φίλην;
- Χ.^γ ὡς ἐγὼ μισῶν γυναικας οὐδέποτε παύσομαι.
- Χ.^γ ἀλλ' ὅταν βούλῃ σύ. νῦν δ' οὖν οὐ σε περιόψομαι
 γυμνὸν ὄνθ' οὕτως. ὄρα γὰρ ὡς καταγέλαστος εἶ. 1020
 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξωμίδ' ἐνδύσω σε προσιοῦσ' ἐγώ.
- Χ.^γ τοῦτο μὲν μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ πονηρόν ἐποιήσατε·
 ἀλλ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς γὰρ πονηρᾶς καὶ τότ' ἀπέδυν ἐγώ.
- Χ.^γ πρῶτα μὲν φαίνει γ' ἀνὴρ, εἶτ' οὐ καταγέλαστος εἶ.
 κεῖ με μὴ λῦπεις, ἐγὼ σου κἂν τόδε τὸ θηρίον 1025
 τοῦπὶ τῷφθαλμῷ λαβοῦσ' ἐξείλον ἄν, ὃ νῦν ἔνι.
- Χ.^γ τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν με τοῦπιτριβον. δακτύλιος οὐτοσί.
 ἐκσκάλευσον αὐτό, κᾶτα δεῖξον ἀφελουσά μοι·

1004-6 § S μ 1461 1014-5 S §§ (1) ο 791; § (2) π 496 1028 §§ S ε 618

1004 οὔτε Γ τῷ μύρτῳ R σιγῆν Invernizi: θιγῆν R: θιγῆν S: σίγειν Γ
 1005 χ' Elmsley: γ' Γ: om. R λόγῳ Br: λόγῳ RΓ: λόγου S 1006 -ῶμεσθα
 Blaydes: -σόμεσθα (-εθα S) a S 1009 περὶ τῶν Γ 1010 sic
 Bachmann: ἀ. π. ἀπο- (πέμπειν R) a 1013 πο- Γ παντᾶ Biset: πάντα a
 1015 πορ- RS(1)(2): παρ- S(1)^{GM} 1016 <σὺ> Bentley -εἰς H: -εἰς a
 ἐμοί Hermann: εἰπέ μοι a 1017 σοι Fl. Chrestien: σοί B: σὺ a
 βέβαιον Hermann: βεβαίαν (-αίαν R) a ἐμ' Brubach: μ' a ἔχων R
 1019 οὖν om. R 1020 ὄρα Dobrec: ὄρῳ a 1023 ὑπὸ γῆς Γ τόδ' Γ
 1025 κεῖ Dobrec: κἂν a με μὴ Brubach: μὴ με a λῦπεις Fl. Chrestien:
 λυπεῖς a σοῦ γ' ἄν R 1027 ὁ δακ- R 1028 ἐκσά- RS

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- ὡς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν γέ μου νῆ τὸν Δία πάλαι δάκνει.
 X.^{γυ} ἀλλὰ δράσω ταῦτα· καίτοι δύσκολος ἔφυς ἀνῆρ. 1030
 ἦ μέγ', ὦ Ζεῦ, χρεῖμ' ἰδεῖν τῆς ἐμπίδος ἔνεστί σοι.
 οὐχ ὄρας; οὐκ ἐμπίς ἐστιν ἦδε Τρικορυσία;
 X.^{γε} νῆ Δί' ὠνησάς γέ μ', ὡς πάλαι γέ μ' ἔφρεωρύχει,
 ὥστ', ἐπειδὴ 'ξηρέθη, ρεῖ μου τὸ δάκρυον πολύ.
 X.^{γυ} ἀλλ' ἀποψήσω σ' ἐγώ, καίτοι πάνυ πονηρὸς εἶ, 1035
 καὶ φιλήσω.
 X.^{γε} μὴ φιλήσης.
 X.^{γυ} ἦν τε βούλη γ' ἦν τε μή.
 X.^{γε} ἀλλὰ μὴ ὤρασ' ἴκοισθ'. ὡς ἐστὲ θωπικαὶ φύσει,
 κᾶστ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦπος ὀρθῶς κοῦ κακῶς εἰρημένον,
 οὔτε σὺν πανωλέθροισιν οὔτ' ἄνευ πανωλέθρων.
 ἀλλὰ νυνὶ σπένδομαί σοι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκέτι 1040
 οὔτε δράσω φλαῦρον οὐδὲν οὔθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν πείσομαι.
 ἀλλὰ κοινῇ συσταλέντες τοῦ μέλους ἀρξώμεθα.

Xo. οὐ παρασκευαζόμεσθα

- τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδέν', ὦνδρες, στρ. α' 1043/4
 φλαῦρον εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ ἔν· 1045
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ τοῦμπαλιν πάντ' ἀγαθὰ καὶ λέγειν καὶ 1046/7
 δρᾶν, ἱκανὰ γὰρ τὰ κακὰ καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα. 1048/9
 ἀλλ' ἐπαγγελλέτω πᾶς ἀνῆρ καὶ γυνή, 1050
 εἴ τις ἀργυρίδιον δεῖται λαβεῖν, μνᾶς ἢ δύο ἢ τρεῖς· 1051/2
 ὡς ἔσω 'στὶν κᾶχομεν βαλλάντια. 1053/4
 κᾶν ποτ' εἰρήνη φανῆ, 1055
 ὅστις ἂν νυνὶ δανείσῃται παρ' ἡμῶν,
 ἂν λάβῃ μηκέτ' ἀποδῶ.

1032 St. Byz. 635.8 1037 §§ S θ 435; Jo. Alex. 35.33 1038-9 S §
 (1) ο 969; § (2) τ 829 1048/9 (ἱκανὰ ...) §§ S π 362

1030 ἔφυς Fl. Chrestien: γ' ἔφυς a 1031 μέγ'] μ' Γ 1033 με Γ
1035-1321 desunt in Γ 1035 πάνυ Fl. Chrestien: γε πάνυ a
 1036 οὐ φιλήσεις B κῆν B 1037 ὤρασ' Bothe: ὤρας a S: ὤρασιν Jo.
 Alex. οἴκοιο Jo. Alex. ὡς] καὶ S 1039 πανο- utrobique R οὐδ' RS
 1041 οὔθ' B: οὐδ' a 1043 Xo. Enger cl. Hyp. I: Χορ. γυν. RB: Χορ. γερ. ρ
 1048/9 τὰ γὰρ ρ 1053/4 ἔσω Coulon: πόλλ' ἔσω a βαλλάντια BH
 1057 ἂν Sophianus: ἂν a ἀποδιδῶ R ⊂ Σ

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

έστιαν δὲ μέλλομεν ξέ-
 νους τινὰς Καραστίους, ἀν- στρ. β' 1058/9
 δρας καλοῦς τε κάγαθούς. 1060
 κᾶστιν ἔτνος τι· καὶ δελφάκιον ἦν τί μοι, καὶ 1061/2
 τοῦτο τέθυχ', ὥστε γεύσεσθ' ἀπαλὰ καὶ καλά. 1063/4
 ἦκετ' οὖν εἰς ἐμοῦ τήμερον· πρῶ δὲ χρῆ 1065
 τοῦτο δρᾶν λελουμένους αὐτούς τε καὶ
 τὰ παιδί', εἴτ' εἶ- 1066/7
 σω βαδίζειν, μηδ' ἐρέσθαι μηδένα,
 ἀλλὰ χωρεῖν ἄντικρυς
 ὥσπερ οἴκαδ' εἰς ἑαυτῶν γεννικῶς, ὡς 1070
 ἡ θύρα κεκλείσεται.

καὶ μὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης οἰδὶ πρέσβεις ἔλκοντες ὑπήγας
 χωροῦσ', ὥσπερ χοιροκομείον περὶ τοῖς μηροῖσιν ἔχοντες.
 ἄνδρες Λάκωνες, πρῶτα μὲν μοι χαίρετε,
 εἴτ' εὔπαθ' ἡμῖν πῶς ἔχοντες ἦκατε. 1075

ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ

τί δεῖ ποθ' ὑμέ πολλά μυσίδδην ἔπη;
 ὀρῆν γὰρ ἔξεσθ' ὡς ἔχοντες ἴκομες.
 Χο. βαβαί· νενεύρωται μὲν ἦδε συμφορὰ
 δεινῶς τεθερμῶσθαί τε χεῖρον φαίνεται.
 Πρ.^λ ἄφατα· τί κα λέγοι τις; ἀλλ' ὅπα σέλει 1080

1072-3 §§ S χ 600; §§ Ael. Arist. Or. 46.11 p. 280 Dind., unde Sopater
 (Aphth. prog. p. 69.133 Rabe; Jo. Sard. In Aphth. prog. 252.4 Rabe; Proleg. in
 Ael. Arist. iii p. 751.29 Dind.) 1073 Poll. 10.159; Σ Vesp. 844; Eust.
 1752.28; §§ Hsch. s.v. χοιροκομείον

1063 τέθυκ' R ὥστε Palmer: ὥστε (ὡς Bp) τὰ κρέα a 1064 γεύσεσθ'
 Palmer: γενέσθ' ^{ms}Rp: ἔξεσθ' R: ἔξεσθ' B 1067 εἶτα ἔσω R
 1070 ἑαυτὸν Bp 1071 ὡς B: ἴσως δ' a 1072 Χορ. γερ. a del. Enger
 καὶ μὴν om. S οἶδε BpS 1073 χωροῦσιν (ante ἔλκοντες S) RS
 ἔχοντας R 1074 μέντοι Bp 1076-1321 Πρεσβευτῆς Λακεδαιμονίων
 Henderson: Πρέσβεις Λακωνίων p: Λάκων RB 1076 δὴ R ποτ' B^{pc}
 ὑμέ Enger: ὕμε Vp2: ὕμμε RB H^{ac}: ὕμμε B^{pc} 1077 ἴκομες Elmsley:
 ἦκομεσθ' (θ del.) R: ἦκομες p: ἦκομεν B 1078-97 Χο. Enger: Χορ. γερ.
 Bp: om. R 1079 τε B: γε a, cf. AnOxon. 2.448 θερμῶσθαι 1080 κα
 Ahrens: κᾶν R: καὶ Bp ὅπα R: ὅπα Bp σέλει BpΣ: θέλει R

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

παντὰ τις ἐλσὼν ἀμὶν εἰράναν σέτω.

- Χο. καὶ μὴν ὀρώ καὶ τούσδε τοὺς αὐτόχθονας
ὥσπερ παλαιστὰς ἄνδρας, ἀπὸ τῶν γαστέρων
θαϊμάτι' ἀποστέλλοντας· ὥστε φαίνεται
ἀσκητικὸν τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ νοσήματος. 1085

ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ

τίς ἂν φράσειε πού'στιν ἡ Λυσιστράτη;
ὡς ἄνδρες ἡμεῖς οὐτοῦ τοιοῦτοῦ.

- Χο. χαῦτη συνάδει θητέρα ταύτη νόσος.
ἦ που πρὸς ὄρθρον σπασμὸς ὑμᾶς λαμβάνει;
Πρ.^α μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ δρῶντες ἐπιτετρίμμεθα. 1090
ὥστ' εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ διαλλάξει ταχύ,
οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ Κλεισθένη βινήσομεν.
Χο. εἰ σωφρονεῖτε, θαϊμάτια λήψεσθ', ὅπως
τῶν ἐρμκοκοπιδῶν μὴ τις ὑμᾶς ὄψεται.

Πρ.^α νῆ τὸν Δί' εὐ μέντοι λέγεις.

- Πρ.^λ ναὶ τὸ σιῶ 1095
παντὰ γα. φέρε τὸ ἔσθος ἀμβραλώμεθα.

Πρ.^α ὦ χαίρετ', ὦ Λάκωνες· αἰσχρά γ' ἐπάθομεν.

Πρ.^λ ὦ πολυχареῖδα, δεινά γ' αὐ πέπόνθαμες,
αἶκ εἶδον ἀμὲ τῶνδρες ἀμπεφλασμένως.

1082-5 § S α 4171

1091-2 § S β 288

1093-4 § S θ 523

1081 παντὰ Biset: παντὰ R: πάντα Bp ἐλθὼν R ἀμὶν Brunck: ἄμιν p:
ἀμὶν R: ἄμμιν B 1082 Χορ. γερ. Rp alt. καὶ R: γε Bp: om. S τούσδε om.
S αὐτ-] Αθηναίους S 1083 ἄνδρας] παιδᾶς Bp, cf. Σ 1084 θαϊμάτι'
Bp: τὰ ἱμάτια R 1085 ἀστικὸν p: ἀστυκὸν B₂ τι S 1086-1295
Πρεσβευτῆς Αθηναίων Henderson: Αθηναῖος a 1087 ἄνδρες Cobet:
ἄνδρες a 1088 θητέρα Henderson (θάτέρα iam Dobree): χητέρα Bp:
χάτερα R νόσος Reisig: νόσω a 1093 θαϊμάτια Dawes: θοϊμάτια a:
θοϊμάτιον S 1094 -ιδων S 1095 νῆ Bp 1096 παντὰ Biset:
πάντα a γα Reisig: γε a ἀμ- Ellebodius: ἐμ-a -εσθα R 1098-1236
desunt in Bp 1098-1188 Πρ.^λ, cf. ad vv. 1076-1321: om. R: οἱ
Βοιωτοὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λάκωνας Σ, cf. ad v. 1242 1098 πολυχареῖδα
Meineke: -ίδα R 1099 αἶκ εἶδον Brunck: αἴ κ' ἴδον R τῶνδρες
Elmsley: ἄνδρες R ἀμὲ Brunck: ἄμῆς R ἀμ- Meineke: ἀνα- R -φλασ- Σ:
-φασ- R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- Πρ.^α ἄγε δὴ, Λάκωνες, αὐθ' ἕκαστα χρὴ λέγειν. 1100
 ἐπὶ τί πάρεστε δεῦρο;
- Πρ.^λ περὶ διαλλαγᾶν
 πρέσβης.
- Πρ.^α καλῶς δὴ λέγετε· χῆμεις τουτογί.
 τί οὐ καλοῦμεν δῆτα τὴν Λυσιστράτην,
 ἣπερ διαλλάξειεν ἡμᾶς ἂν μόνη;
- Πρ.^λ ναὶ τῷ σιῷ, καὶ λῆτε, τὸν Λυῖστρατον. 1105
- Πρ.^α ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔοικε, δεῖ καλεῖν·
 αὐτὴ γάρ, ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἦδ' ἐξέρχεται.
- Χο. χαῖρ', ὦ πασῶν ἀνδρειοτάτη· δεῖ δὴ νυνὶ σε γενέσθαι
 δευῖνην <μαλακῆν,> ἀγαθὴν φαύλην, σεμνὴν ἀγανῆν, πολύ-
 πειρον·
 ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῇ σῇ ληφθέντες ἔγγι 1110
 συνεχώρησάν σοι καὶ κοινῇ τὰγκλήματα πάντ' ἐπέτρεψαν.
- Λυ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ χαλεπὸν τοῦργον, εἰ λάβοι γέ τις
 ὀργῶντας ἀλλήλων τε μὴ 'κπειρωμένους.
 τάχα δ' εἴσομαι 'γῷ. ποῦ 'στιν ἡ Διαλλαγή;
 πρόσαγε λαβοῦσα πρῶτα τοὺς Λακωνικούς, 1115
 καὶ μὴ χαλεπῇ τῇ χειρὶ μηδ' αὐθαδικῇ,
 μηδ' ὡσπερ ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμαθῶς τοῦτ' ἔδρων,
 ἀλλ' ὡς γυναῖκας εἰκός, οἰκείως πάνυ.
 ἦν μὴ διδώ τὴν χεῖρα, τῆς σάθης ἄγε·
 ἴθι καὶ σὺ τούτους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἄγε· 1120
 οὐ δ' ἂν διδώσι, πρόσαγε τούτου λαβομένη.
 ἄνδρες Λάκωνες, στήτε παρ' ἐμὲ πλησίον,
 ἐνθένδε δ' ὑμεῖς, καὶ λόγων ἀκούσατε.
 ἐγὼ γυνὴ μὲν εἰμι, νοῦς δ' ἔνεστί μοι.
 αὐτὴ δ' ἑμαυτῆς οὐ κακῶς γνώμης ἔχω, 1125

1108-11 §§ S ι 761

1124-7 S μ 1304

- 1100-88 Πρ.^α, cf. ad vv. 1086-1295: om. R 1102 πρέσβης Blaydes:
 πρέσβεις R 1105 καὶ λῆτε Ahrens, cf. Σ κἂν βούλησθε: καλεῖτε R
 Λυῖ- Meister: Λυσι- R 1108 σὲ νυνὶ S 1109 <μαλακῆν>
 Wilamowitz 1111 συν-... καὶ om. S κοινῇ R τὰγκλήματα om. S
 1117 μηδ' Brunck: μῆθ' R ἄνδρες Brunck: ἄνδρες R 1121 διδώσι
 Ellebodius: δίδωσι R τούτου Dobree: τούτους R 1123 δ' Bergk: θ'
 Mu2: τ' R 1124 νοῦς] μούσα S

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- τοὺς δ' ἐκ πατρός τε καὶ γεραιτέρων λόγους
πολλοὺς ἀκούσασ' οὐ μεμούσωμαι κακῶς.
λαβοῦσα δ' ὑμᾶς λοιδορῆσαι βούλομαι
κοινῇ δικαίως, οἳ μίας γε χέρνιβος
βωμοὺς περιρραίνοντες ὥσπερ ξυγγενεῖς 1130
Ἵλυμπίαισιν, ἐν Πύλαις, Πυθοῖ—πόσους
εἴπομι' ἂν ἄλλους, εἴ με μηκύνειν δέοι;—
ἐχθρῶν παρόντων βαρβάρῳ στρατεύματι
Ἑλληνας ἄνδρας καὶ πόλεις ἀπόλλυτε.
εἰς μὲν λόγος μοι δεῦρ' αἰεὶ περαίνεται. 1135
- Πρ.^α ἐγὼ δ' ἀπόλλυμαι γ' ἀπεψωλημένος.
Λυ. εἴτ', ὦ Λάκωνες, πρὸς γὰρ ὑμᾶς τρέφομαι,
οὐκ ἴσθ' ὅτ' ἐλθὼν δεῦρο Περικλείδας ποτὲ
ὁ Λάκων Ἀθηναίων ἰκέτης καθέζετο
ἐπὶ τοῖσι βωμοῖς ὠχρὸς ἐν φοινικίδι 1140
στρατιὰν προσαιτῶν; ἡ δὲ Μεσσήνη τότε
ὑμῖν ἐπέκειτο χῶ θεὸς σείων ἅμα.
ἐλθὼν δὲ σὺν ὀπλίταισι τετρακισχιλίους
Κίμων ὄλην ἔσωσε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα.
ταυτὶ παθόντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπο 1145
δηοῦτε χῶραν, ἧς ὑπ' εὐδ' πεπόνθατε;
Πρ.^α ἀδικοῦσιν οὗτοι νῆ Δί', ὦ Λυσιστράτη.
Πρ.^λ ἀδικίωμας· ἀλλ' ὁ πρωκτὸς ἄφατον ὡς καλός.
Λυ. ὑμᾶς δ' ἀφήσειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους <μ'> οἶει;
οὐκ ἴσθ' ὅθ' ὑμᾶς οἱ Λάκωνες αἰθῆτις αὐ 1150
κατωνάκας φοροῦντας ἐλθόντες δορὶ
πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας Θετταλῶν ἀπώλεσαν,

1128-32 S §§ (1) χ 211 1131 S § (2) π 3128 1139-41 † Plu.
Cim. 16 1150-3 § S κ 1114

1127 -σας S: -σας R 1128 -εἶσθαι S 1129 γε Bothe: τε RS: ἐκ
Bentley χέρνιβος S: χερνίβος R 1131 -ιάσων RS(2) 1133 βαρβάρῳ
Blaydes: βαρβάρων R 1138 -δης R^{ac} 1140 τοῖσι Mu2: τοῖς R
1141 ἐπαιτεῖν Plu. 1142 ἅμα R: μέγα ^λΣ 1143 -χιλίου R₁
1144 -σε Mu2: -σεν R 1146 -θότες R^{ac} 1148 ἀδικίωμας
Elmsley: ἀδικιόμας R ἄφατον ὡς Bentley: ἄφατος καὶ R 1149 <μ'>
Dobrec 1150 ἴσθ' RS^v: οἴσθ' S^{AGM} 1151 -όντες S: -όντας R

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

- πολλοὺς δ' ἑταίρους Ἴππιου καὶ ξυμμαχούς,
 ξυνεκβαλόντες τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρα μόνου,
 κῆλευθέρωσαν κἀντὶ τῆς κατωνάκης 1155
 τὸν δῆμον ὑμῶν χλαῖναν ἡμπέσχον πάλιν;
 Πρ.^λ οὔπα γυναικ' ὄπωπα χαϊώτεραν.
 Πρ.^α ἐγὼ δὲ κύσθον γ' οὐδέπω καλλίονα.
 Λυ. τί δῆθ' ὑπηργμένων γε πολλῶν κάγαθῶν
 μάχεσθε κοὐ παύεσθε τῆς μοχθηρίας; 1160
 τί δ' οὐ διηλλάγητε; φέρε, τί τοῦμποδῶν;
 Πρ.^λ ἀμές γα λῶμες, αἴ τις ἀμὴν τῶγκυκλον
 λῆ τοῦτ' ἀποδόμην.
 Λυ. ποῖον, ὦ τᾶν;
 Πρ.^λ τὰν Πύλον,
 τᾶσπερ πάλαι δεόμεθα καὶ βλιμάδδομες.
 Πρ.^α μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ τοῦτο μὲν γ' οὐ δράσετε. 1165
 Λυ. ἄφετ', ὦγάθ', αὐτοῖς.
 Πρ.^α κᾶτα τίνα κινήσομεν;
 Λυ. ἕτερόν γ' ἀπαιτεῖτ' ἀντὶ τοῦτου χωρίον.
 Πρ.^α τὸ δεῖνα τοῖνυν, παράδοθ' ἡμῖν τουτονὶ
 πρῶτιστα τὸν Ἐχινούντα καὶ τὸν Μηλιά
 κόλπον τὸν ὄπισθεν καὶ τὰ Μεγαρικὰ σκέλη. 1170
 Πρ.^λ οὐ τῶ σιῶ, οὐχὶ πάντα γ', ὦ λισσάνιε.
 Λυ. ἔατε, μηδὲν διαφέρου περι σκελοῖν.
 Πρ.^α ἤδη γεωργεῖν γυμνὸς ἀποδὺς βούλομαι.
 Πρ.^λ ἐγὼν δὲ κοπραγωγῆν γα †πρῶτα†, ναὶ τῶ σιῶ.

1153 ἑταίρους S: ἐτέρους R Ἴππιου Ellebodius: -ίου R: -ία S^A: -ίαν S^{GM}:
 -εἴαν S^V: -ικούς Σ 1154 ξυνεκβαλόντες van Herwerden: ξυνεκμαχοῦντες
 R: καὶ ξυμμαχοῦντες van Leeuwen 1155 κῆλευθέρωσαν Elmsley:
 κάλευ- R: ἤλευ- Dindorf 1156 ἡμπέσχον Blaydes: ἡμπισχον R
 1159 γε Bothe: τε R 1162 ἀμές γα Koehn: ἀμές γε R λῶμες Bentley:
 λῶμεσθ' R τις Iuntina (1516): τῆς R ἀμὴν Brunck: ἀμὴν R τῶγκυκλον
 Meineke: τοῦγκ- R 1163 -δόμην Brunck: -δῶμην R 1164 τᾶσπερ
 Elmsley: ὤσπερ R -μεθα Elmsley: -μεσθα R -ἀδδ-Brunck: -άττ- R
 1165 Ποσει- Mu2: Ποσι- R 1167 τοῦτου Fl. Chrestien: τοῦτου τοῦ R
 χωρίον Bentley: χωρίον R 1171 οὐκὶ Pökel γ' Brunck: γε R λισσά-
 νιε I. Voss cl. Hsch. et Phot. s.v.: λισσάνιε R 1174 ἐγὼν Blaydes: ἐγῶ R
 πρῶτα glossema esse videtur quod veram lectionem eiecit, e.g. *πρῶ
 Wilamowitz, πρὸ τευ Henderson

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

<i>Λυ.</i>	ἐπὴν διαλλαγῆτε, ταῦτα δράσετε. ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ δρᾶν ταῦτα, βουλεύσασθε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἐλθόντες ἀνακοινώσατε.	1175	
<i>Πρ.^α</i>	ποίοισιν, ὦ τᾶν, ξυμμάχοις; ἐστύκαμεν. οὐ ταῦτὰ δόξει τοῖσι συμμάχοισι νῶν, βινεῖν, ἅπασιν;		
<i>Πρ.^λ</i>	τοῖσι γῶν ναὶ τὼ σιῶ ἀμοῖσι.	1180	
<i>Πρ.^α</i>	καὶ γὰρ ναὶ μὰ Δία Καρυστίοις.		
<i>Λυ.</i>	καλῶς λέγετε. νῦν οὖν ὅπως ἀγνεύσετε, ὅπως ἂν αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμᾶς ἐν πόλει ξενίσωμεν ὧν ἐν ταῖσι κίσταις εἴχομεν. ὄρκους δ' ἐκεῖ καὶ πίστιν ἀλλήλοισι δότε. κᾶπειτα τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖχ' ὑμῶν λαβὼν ἅπεισ' ἕκαστος.	1185	
<i>Πρ.^α</i>	ἀλλ' ἴωμεν ὡς τάχος.		
<i>Πρ.^λ</i>	ἄγ' ὅπᾳ τυ λῆς.		
<i>Πρ.^α</i>	νῆ τὸν Δί' ὡς τάχιστ' ἄγε.		
<i>Χο.</i>	στρωμάτων δὲ ποικίλων καὶ χλανιδίων καὶ ξυστίδων καὶ χρυσίων, ὅσ' ἐστὶ μοι, οὐ φθόνος ἔνεστί μοι πᾶσι παρέχειν φέρειν τοῖς παισίν, ὅποταν τε θυγάτηρ τινὶ κανηφορῆ. πᾶσιν ὑμῖν λέγω λαμβάνειν τῶν ἐμῶν χρημάτων νῦν ἔνδοθεν, καὶ μηδὲν οὕτως εἶ σεσημάν- θαι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τοὺς ρύπους ἀνασπάσαι, χᾶττ' <ἂν> ἔνδον ἦ φορεῖν.	ἀντ. α' 1190 1191/2 1193/4 1195/6 1197/8 1200	
1198-9	Poll. 10.59	1199 (ρύπους) § Phot.	
1178	-μεν Zanetti: -μες R	1180 γῶν Ahrens: γοῦν R	1181 ἀμοῖσι
Brunck:	ἀμοῖσι R	1186 αὐτοῦ Mu2: αὐ- R	1188 ὅπᾳ Henderson:
son:	ὅπαι R ^{ac} : ὅπα R ^{pc}	τάχιστ' ἄγε Beer: τάχιστά γε R	1189 Χο.
Enger:	Χο. ἀνδρ. R	1190 ἐστὶ μοι Daubuz: ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ R	1191 εστ
ante	ἔνεστι del. R ₁	1193 παισίν Bentley: πᾶσιν R	1194 -φορῆ
Bergler:	-φορεῖ R	1200 χᾶττ' Reisig: χ' ᾄτ' R	<ἂν> Bothe

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

ᾄσεται δ' οὐδὲν σκοπῶν, εἰ μή τις ὑμῶν
ὀξύτερον ἐμοῦ βλέπει.

εἰ δέ τω μὴ σίτος ὑμῶν ἐστι, βόσκει δ'
οἰκέτας καὶ ἀντ. β'
σμικρὰ πολλὰ παιδιά,
ἔστι παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν πυρίδια λεπτὰ μὲν, ὁ δ' 1205/6
ἄρτος ἀπὸ χοίνικος ἰδεῖν μάλα νεανίας. 1207/8
ὅστις οὖν βούλεται τῶν πενήτων ἴτω 1209/0
εἰς ἐμοῦ σάκους ἔχων καὶ κωρύκους· ὡς λήψεται πυ-
ρούς. ὁ μανῆς δ' οὐμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλεῖ.
πρὸς γε μέντοι τὴν θύραν
προαγορεύω μὴ βαδίζειν τὴν ἐμήν, ἀλλ'
εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὴν κύνα. 1215

Πρ.^α ἄνοιγε τὴν θύραν σύ. παραχωρεῖν ἔδει.
ὑμεῖς, τί κάθησθε; μὴν ἐγὼ τῇ λαμπάδι
ὑμᾶς κατακαύσω; φορτικὸν τὸ χωρίον.
οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιμ'. εἰ δὲ πάνυ δεῖ τοῦτο δρᾶν,
ὑμῖν χαρίζεσθαι ταλαιπωρήσομεν. 1220

ἈΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

χῆμεῖς δὲ μετὰ σοῦ ξυνταλαιπωρήσομεν.
οὐκ ἄπιτε; κωκύσεσθε τὰς τρίχας μακρά.
Πρ.^α οὐκ ἄπιθ', ὅπως ἂν οἱ Λάκωνες ἐνδοθεν
καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀπίωσιν εὐωχημένοι;
Ἀθ. οὐπω τοιοῦτον συμπόσιον ὅπωπ' ἐγώ. 1225
ἦ καὶ χαρίεντες ἦσαν οἱ Λακωνικοί·
ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν οἴνῳ ξυμπόται σοφώτατοι.
Πρ.^α ὀρθῶς γ', ὅτι νήφοντες οὐχ ὑγιαίνομεν.

1211 (σάκους... κωρύκους) §§ S σ 40

1212 οὐμὸς αὐτοῖς Bentley: αὐτοῖς οὐμὸς R 1214 προ- Biset: προσ- R
1216-95 Πρ.^α Henderson, cf. ad 1086-1295: θερα(πων) R Σ 1239 σύ
Bentley: οὐ R ἔδει Dindorf: θέλεις R 1220 ταλαι- Fl. Chrestien:
προσταλαι- R 1221 Ἀθ. Wilamowitz: Χο. R δέ Wilamowitz: γε R
1222 ἀμακρά R 1223 Πρ.^α Henderson: om. R 1228 Πρ.^α
Henderson: Χο. R ὅτι Bentley: ὅτι R

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- ἦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐγὼ πείσω λέγων,
 μεθύοντες ἀεὶ πανταχοῦ πρεσβεύσομεν. 1230
 νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ἔλθωμεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
 νήφοντες, εὐθύς βλέπομεν ὅ τι ταράξομεν·
 ὥστ' ὅ τι μὲν ἂν λέγωσιν οὐκ ἀκούομεν,
 ἃ δ' οὐ λέγουσι, ταῦθ' ὑπονεοηκάμεν,
 ἀγγέλλομεν δ' οὐ ταῦτ' αὐτῶν πέρι. 1235
 νυνὶ δ' ἅπαντ' ἤρεσκεν ὥστ' εἰ μὲν γέ τις
 ἄδοι Τελαμώνος, Κλειταγόρας ἄδειν δέον,
 ἐπηνέσαμεν ἂν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιωρκήσαμεν.
 ἀλλ' οὐτοὶ γὰρ αὖθις ἔρχονται πάλιν
 εἰς ταῦτόν. οὐκ ἐρρήσεται, ὦ μαστιγία; 1240
 Ἀθ. νῆ τὸν Δί'. ὡς ἤδη γε χωροῦσ' ἔνδοθεν.
 Πρ.^λ ὦ πολυχαρείδα, λαβέ τὰ φυάτῆρια,
 ἵν' ἐγὼν διποδιάξω τε καίειώ καλὸν
 ἐς τὼς Ἀσαναίως τε χᾶμ' ἄεισμ' ἀμᾶ.
 Πρ.^α λαβέ δῆτα τὰς φυσαλλίδας πρὸς τῶν θεῶν· 1245
 ὡς ἦδομαί γ' ὑμᾶς ὄρων ὄρχουμένους.
 Πρ.^λ ὄρμαόν τῷ κυρσανίῳ,
 Μναμόνα, τὰν τεᾶν
 Μῶάν, ἅτις οἶδεν ἀμέ τὼς τ' Ἀσαναί-
 ως ὅκα τοὶ μὲν ἐπ' Ἄρταμιτίῳ 1250/1

1243-4 § S δ 1263

1243 (ἵν'...διπ-) § Zonar. 521

- 1230 πανταχοῖ Brunck 1234 -σι Brunck: -σιν R ταῦθ' Mu2: ταῦτ' R
1237-1321 adsunt in Bp 1238 πρὸς ἐπι- Bothe: προσεπι- a 1240 εἰς
 B: ἐς a 1241 Ἀθ. Wilamowitz: par. R: omm. Bp 1242 Πρ.^λ
 Henderson: Ἀθ. R: Λαμπιτώ B: Σ^R πιθανώτερόν ἐστιν Βουωτὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι
 πολυχαρείδα Meineke: πολυχαρίδα R: πολυχαριίδα Bp φυά-van Leeuwen:
 φυσα- R: φυση- Bp 1243 ἐγὼν Blaydes: ἐγὼ a S Zonar. διπόδι' ἄξω
 Bp: δισποδιάξω ^{acS} S^{VM} γε S καίειώ van Leeuwen: καίειω S: καίω R:
 καὶ κινήσω Bp 1244 τὼς Ἀσαναίως Portus cl. Σ^R: τοὺς Ἀσαναίους
 (Ἄναν- R) a S χᾶμ' ἄεισμ' Meineke: καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Bp: καὶ ἡμᾶς RS ἀμᾶ
 Bergk: ἄμα a 1245 Πρ.^α Henderson: Ἀθ. a δῆ σὺ B: δῆ p
 1246 ὑμᾶς ὄρων Daubuz: v (del.) ὄρων ὑμᾶς R: ὑμᾶς Bp 1247 Πρ.^λ
 Henderson: Λακ. a: Λαμπιτώ B τῷ κυρσανίῳ Bergler cl. Σ^R τῷ ἐφήβῳ: τὼς
 κυρσανίως a 1248 Μναμόνα Wilamowitz: ὦ μναμόνα R: ὦ μναμοσύνα
 Bp τεᾶν R (Σ^R σῆν): τ' ἐμᾶν Bp 1249 ἀμέ Ahrens: ἀμέ a: ἄμμε B
 τὼς...-ως Biset: τοὺς...-ους a 1250/1 Ἄρτεμισίῳ B

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

πρώκροον σιείκελοι ποττὰ κάλα τὼς Μήδως τ' ἐνίκων· ἀμέ δ' αὖ Λεωνίδας ἄγεν ἄπερ τὼς κάπρωσ σά- γοντας, οἰῶ, τὸν ὀδόντα· πολὺς δ' ἀμφὶ τὰς γέννας ἀφρὸς ἄνσεεν, πολὺς δ' ἀμὰ καττῶν σκελῶν ἴετο. ἦν γὰρ τῶνδρες οὐκ ἐλάσσωσ τὰς ψάμμασ τοὶ Πέρσαι. ἀγροτέρα σηροκτόνε, μόλε δεῦρο, παρσένε σιά, ποττὰσ σπονδάσ, ὡσ συνέχης πολὺν ἀμέ χρόνον. νῦν δ' αὖ φιλία τ' ἀέσ εὔποροσ εἴη ταῖσι συνθήκαισι, καὶ τᾶν αἰμυλᾶν ἄλωπέκων παυαῖμεθα. ὦ δεῦρ' ἴθι, δεῦρο, ὦ κυναγέ παρσένε.	1255 1258/9 1260 1265 1266/7 1268/9 1270
Πρ. ^α ἄγε νυν ἐπειδὴ τᾶλλα πεποιήται καλῶσ, ἀπάγεσθε ταύτασ, ὦ Λάκωνεσ, τασδεδὶ ὑμείσ· ἀνήρ δὲ παρὰ γυναῖκα καὶ γυνή στήτω παρ' ἀνδρα, κἄτ' ἐπ' ἀγαθαῖσ συμφοραῖσ ὀρχησάμενοι θεοῖσιν εὐλαβῶμεθα τὸ λοιπὸν αὐθισ μὴ ἔξαμαρτάνειν ἔτι.	1275

1252 πρώκροον Ahrens: πρόκροον **a** σιείκελοι Blaydes cl. Σ^R θεοείκελοι:
θείκελοι **a** 1253 κάλα R τὼς Μήδωσ Biset: τοὺσ Μήδουσ **a**
1254 ἀμέ Ahrens: ἀμέ **a**: ἄμμε B 1255 αγεν R: ἄγεν Bρ ἄπερ Koen:
αἴπερ R: ἄπερ Bρ σά- Blaydes: θά- **a** 1257 ἄνσεεν Wilamowitz: ἦνσει **a**
1258/9 τ' R ἀμὰ Bergk: ἄμα **a** καττῶν Reisig: καὶ κατῶν B: καὶ κατὰ τῶν **a**
ἴετο Brunck: ἀφροσ ἴετο (ἴετο Bρ) **a** 1260 ἐλασσωσ R 1262 ἀγροτέρα
Dindorf: ἀγρότερ' ἄρτεμι **a** 1263 σιά ρ Σ^R: σιά R: σεά B 1265 συνέχεισ
ρ ἄμε ρ: ἄμμε B 1266/7 τ' Schaefer: δ' **a** ἀέσ Burges: αἰέσ **a** εἴησ
Bρ 1268 ταῖσι -καισι Hermann: ταῖσιν (ταῖσ Bρ) -καισ **a** αἰμ-
1270 παυσαῖμεθα (-αῖ- van Leeuwen) Thiersch: παυσαῖμεθ' **a** 1271 δεῦρο
Bergk: δεῦρ' **a** 1272 παρσένωσ B 1273-94 post 1321 trans-
ponere mavult van Leeuwen 1273 Πρ.^α Henderson: Λυσ. **a** -πόη-
Bρ 1274 τασδεδὶ Dindorf: τασδεῖ Bρ: τὰσ δέ τε R 1276 στήσω ρ
1278 αὐθισ R

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

- πρόσαγε χορόν, ἔπαγε Χάριτας,
 ἐπὶ δὲ κάλεσον Ἄρτεμιν, 1280
 ἐπὶ δὲ δίδυμον ἀγέχορον Ἴ-
 ἦιον εὐφρον', ἐπὶ δὲ Νύσιον,
 ὃς μετὰ μαινάσι βάκχιος ὄμματα δαίεται, 1283/4
 Δία τε πυρὶ φλεγόμενον, ἐπὶ δὲ 1285
 πότνιαν ἄλοχον ὀλβίαν·
 εἶτα δὲ δαίμονας, οἷς ἐπιμάρτυσι
 χρησόμεθ' οὐκ ἐπιλήσμοσι
 Ἑσυχίας πέρι τῆς ἀγανόφρονος,
 ἣν ἐποίησε θεὰ Κύπρις. 1290
 Χο. ἀλαλαί, ἡ παιών.
 αἴρεσθ' ἄνω, ἰαί,
 ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη, ἰαί.
 εὐοὶ εὐοὶ, εὐαί εὐαί.
 Πρ.^α πρόφαινε δὴ σὺ μοῦσαν ἐπὶ νέα νέαν. 1295
 Πρ.^λ Ταῦτεγον αὐτ' ἔραννὸν ἐκλιπῶά
 Μῶά μόλε, <μόλε> Λάκαινα, πρεπτὸν ἀμὶν
 κλέωά τὸν Ἀμύκλαις σιὸν
 καὶ Χαλκίοικον Ἀσάναν
 Τυνδαρίδας τ' ἀγασῶς, 1300

1291 §§ S a 1060

1298 et 1305 vide ad 81

- 1279 Χο. B β 1280 ἔπιδε B β 1281 ἔπιδε (ἐπ- R) **a** ἀγέχορον
 Hermann: ἄγε (ἄγετε B β) χορόν **a**: ἡγέχορον Wilamowitz 1282 ἔπιδε
 (ἐπ- R) **a** 1283/4 βάκχιος Burges: βάκχειος R: βακχείοις B β ὄμματα
 Sommerstein cl. Hom. Il. 12.466: ὄμμασιν **a** 1285 διὰ τε B β ἔπιδε β :
 ἐπὶ τε R: ἔπιδε ἔπιδε B 1288 χρώμεθ' B 1289 ἀγανόφρονος
 Reischig cl. Av. 1321: μεγαλόφρονος **a** 1290 -πόη- R 1291 Χο.
 Händel: om. **a** ἀλαλαί S: ἀλαλαί β παιῶν R 1294 εὐοὶ εὐοὶ β :
 εὐοὶ εὐοὶ R εὐαί εὐαί β : εὐαί εὐαί R 1295 Πρ.^α Henderson
 πρόφαινε Hermann: Λάκων (quod ad vv. 1296 ff. pertinet) πρόφαινε **a**
 μοῦσα β ἐπὶ νέα (νέα) νέαν RV β 2 Σ ^R: ἐπὶ νεανίαν B: om. H Hoc
 mandatum, quod paulo abruptius dici videtur, lacunosum putares
 1296 Πρ.^λ Henderson: Χο. Λακ. **a** ἔραννὸν β : ἔρανον B 1297 <μόλε>
 Hermann ἀμὶν Brunck: ἀμὶν R: ἀμὶν β : ἀμὶν B 1298 κλέωα β : κλέωα
 RB σιὸν Valckenaer: Ἀπόλλω σιὸν (σεὸν B) **a** 1299 ἀνάσσαν γ ^R Σ ^R
 1300 ἀγασῶς B β

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

τοὶ δὴ παρ Εὐρώταν ψιάδδοντι.
 εἶα μάλ' ἔμβη,
 ὦ εἶα κούφα πάλον, ὡς Σπάρταν ὑμνίωμες, 1303/4
 τᾶ σιῶν χοροὶ μέλοντι 1305
 καὶ ποδῶν κτύπος,
 χᾶ τε πῶλοι ταὶ κόραι
 παρ τὸν Εὐρώταν
 ἀμπάλλοντι, πυκνὰ ποδοῖν
 ἀγκονίωαί, 1310
 ταὶ δὲ κόμαι σείονται
 ᾗπερ βακχᾶν θυρσαδδῶν καὶ παιδδῶν. 1312/3
 ἀγήται δ' ἅ Λήδας παῖς
 ἀγνὰ χοραγὸς εὐπρεπῆς. 1315

ἀλλ' ἄγε, κόμαν παραμπύκιδδε χερὶ ποδοῖν τε πάδη 1316/7
 ᾗ τις ἔλαφος, κρότον δ' ἀμᾶ ποίη χορωφελήταν, 1318/9
 τὰν δ' αὖ σιὰν τὰν παμμάχον, τὰν Χαλκίοικον ὕμνη. 1320/1

1301 παρ Reisig: παρ' **a** 1302 εἶα Scaliger: εἶα **a** μάλ' Brunck:
 μάλα **a** ἔμβη Bp 1303/4 ὦ εἶα Biset: ὦα R: εἶα ὦ εἶα Bp πάλον
 Bergk: πάλλον **a** ὦ R -ίωμες C: -είωμες **a** 1305 τᾶ Bp μέλλοντι R
 1307 χᾶ τε Henderson: αἶτε R: ἄτε Bp δ' αὶ Bp 1309 πυκρα p
 1310 ἀγκονίωαί Dindorf: ἀγκονέουσαι p: ἀγκονεύουσαι RB: ἀνακινούσαι Σ^R
 1311 σείονται Richter: σείοντ' R: σείονθ' Bp ᾗπερ Koen: αἶπερ R: ἄπερ Bp
 1312/3 θυρσαδδῶν καὶ παδδῶν R 1314 ἀγήται Rp 1315 ἀγνα p
 1316/17 -ιδδε C Σ^R: -ιδδετε **a** χερὶ RH δὲ Bp πάδδη πάδδη Bp
 1318/19 ᾗ τις Burges: αὶ τις R: ἄτις Bp ἀμᾶ Hermann: ἄμα **a** πόη
 p: ποῆ R χορωφελήταν Hermann: χορωφελέταν Bp: χωροφελέταν R
 1320/1 τὰν δ' αὖ σιὰν τὰν Henderson: καὶ τὰν σιὰν δ' αὖ τὰν (δ' αὐτὰν
 BH) **a**, cf. Σ^R καὶ τὴν θεὸν Ἀθηνᾶν παμμάχον, τὰν Χαλκίοικον ὕμνη (ὕμνη
 iam Burges) van Leeuwen: κρατίσταν Χαλκίοικον ὕμνει τὰν παμμάχον
 (πρόμαχον B) **a**

COMMENTARY

I-253. PROLOGUE

The scene-building has at least two doors. The central door, where Lys. has summoned the wives (1 ff.), is identified as the Propylaia at 245-51. A side door serves as Kalonike's house (5) and in a later scene (829-979) as Pan's Grotto (911), from which Myrrhine (who has left the Propylaia) fetches paraphernalia. The roof, which must communicate easily with the stage (884), serves as the Akropolis battlements, upon which women appear (829). The time is after dawn (15). A group of old women perhaps enters the Propylaia in silence (cf. 176-9). Then a woman emerges from, or entering through the parodos assumes a position before the Propylaia. After glancing about impatiently, she⁴ addresses the audience.

I-64. *Lysistrata and Kalonike*

Lys. (named at 6) complains about the non-arrival of other women. Almost immediately she is joined by a neighbour, Kalonike (6). Lys. has summoned the others on urgent business and is angry about their apparent lack of enthusiasm. After Kal. assures her that the others are on their way, Lys. reveals that she has thought of a scheme whereby the citizen wives of the chief combatant cities can save all the Greeks from mutual ruin. Kal. doubts that wives, who are skilled only at domestic intrigue, could accomplish anything so important. But when Lys. tells her that precisely that skill underlies the scheme, Kal. declares her eagerness to participate.

The chief function of the opening dialogue is to introduce the main character and to arouse the spectators' curiosity. We do not know who the women are, where they are meeting or what they intend to do: the details are revealed by Lys. only gradually in her conversations with Kal. (6 ff.), Myrrhine (69 ff.) and Lampito (81 ff.). Lys. knows from the start that persuasion will be difficult. Her various persuasive strategies and the wives' various forms of reluctance are central to the humour of the prologue. Ar. therefore abandons the expository monologue used in earlier plays (an initial soliloquy in *Ach.* and *Nu.*; a speech following opening dialogue in the others) in favour of continuous dialogue. In *Ek.* (c. 392) Ar. again used several of the same devices: the time, the emergence of a solitary woman, complaints about the non-arrival of other women, the belated arrival of the others, the gradual revelation of a clandestine plot.

The dialogue exploits the negative male stereotypes of wives which were then current (compare *Th.*) and at the same time highlights Lys.'s unique

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and superior character. Kal., forerunner of the other wives, is naive about realities outside the home and self-indulgently preoccupied with sex, fancy clothes, and wine. Lys. by contrast displays statesmanlike concern about the welfare of all Greeks and bold initiative in formulating a plan to extricate the combatants from the impasse of a stalemated war: admirable qualities conventionally associated with the male world. Kal.'s function, apart from making jokes, is to draw Lys. out, to elicit information and to express scepticism. Thus we are acquainted with Lys.'s character, intentions, and situation before the arrival of the other wives brings about a fuller revelation of her plans. We wonder with Kal. how Lys. plans to elevate the wives' thinking and to employ them in the salvation of Greece (a task which has proved impossible even for men), and we are perhaps reminded of the prologue of *S. Ant.*, where an extraordinary and strong-willed woman proposes a bold plan to the timid and conventional Ismene.

1-2 At the very outset Lys. contrasts herself with the other wives, who take any opportunity to indulge in dancing, drinking, and ecstatic behaviour, activities associated with the gods she mentions. Male suspicion that women's religious activities were an excuse for licentious, even immoral, behaviour appears in tragedy (*E. Ba.*) and in comedy, e.g. Eup. *Baptai*, Lysippos and Diokles *Bakchai*, Autokr. *Tympanistai*, Pherekr. *Ipnos* or *Panmychis*, and it was directed not only at privately organized celebrations (*ἐκάλεσεν*, cf. the picnic for Hekate mentioned at 700 ff.) but also at such venerable city cults as the Thesmophoria (where the wives hatch their plot to punish Euripides in *Th.*) and the Skira (where the women plot their takeover of the Assembly in *Ek.*). Lys.'s point is that when women are free to conduct their own business (for this aspect of women's festivals see Burkert *GR* 230, 242 ff.) they prefer frivolous to socially beneficial activities. Thus she anticipates, and dissociates herself from, the stereotype which fits the wives soon to appear and which informs the later tirade of the Proboulos (387 ff.), who resembles Euripides' Pentheus.

ἀλλ': As the comedy begins *in mediis rebus* (for such openings in New Comedy see Fraenkel, *Beob.* 103-4), so Lys. begins in mid-thought. Only in the subsequent dialogue do we discover the thought with which ἀλλά is contrasted (women do not hurry to serious meetings). Initial adversative ἀλλά appears frequently in oracles (cf. 770); it is used by Xenophon in dialogues (*Smp.*, *Resp. Lak.*) and speeches (Denn. 20-1) and by Menander to open scenes (e.g. *Aspis* 97-8, *Georg.* 22-3). The tone is conversational, cf. *Ek.* 19. For a similar use of δέ (Hdt., Plato, Xen.) see Denn. 173-4.

βακχείον: 'a place of Bakchic revelry,' referring to privately organized celebrations (so Σ) like the one described at 700-5. The word derives from *βάκχοι/-αι* and in inscriptions designates both thiasos and meeting-place: O. Kern, *RE* ii. 2783, F. Poland, *Gesch. der gr. Vereinswesens* (Leipzig 1909) 67-8, cf. Lat. *bacanal*, Ed. Fraenkel, *Hermes* 67 (1932) 369 f. There is no unambiguous evidence for 'official' maenadism at Athens (A. Henrichs, *HSCP* 82 (1978) 121 ff.), nor was there an official shrine of

Dionysos. The temple 'in the marshes' was open only one day a year. A select college of Athenian women did, however, participate in a maenadic procession to Delphi, where they joined Delphic maenads for rites on Mt. Parnassos (Paus. 10. 4. 2-3), and the well-known 'Lenaia vases' may derive their motifs from some official festival such as the Anthesteria: B. Philippaki, *The Attic Stamnos* (Oxf. 1967) xix ff., Henrichs 153-4.

ἦ 'ς Πανός: Cf. 1065, *Ve.* 123 εἰς Ἀσκληπιού; for the variation of prepositions *Eq.* 1312, *Ra.* 186-7. Prodelision of ἔς is relatively rare in poetry (M. Platnauer, *CQ* 54 (1960) 143) and inscriptions (*GAI* i. 426-7). Grottoes of Pan (worshipped in Attika since the time of Marathon: Hdt. 6. 105) were popular with women for picnics and merrymaking (*Th.* 978, *Men. Dysk.* 261-3, 407-34); the one on the Akropolis slopes (Judeich 70, 301 ff.), where Apollo raped Kreousa (*E. Ion* 10-13), serves as a trysting place for Kinesias and Myrrhine later in the play (911 ff.). In fifth-century art Pan is frequently associated with Dionysos and Aphrodite (*Paus.* 5. 15. 6, cf. R. Herbig, *Pan der gr. Bocksgott* (Frankf./M. 1949)). For recent literature see Burkert *GR* 417 n. 37.

Κωλιάδ': The site of a major sanctuary of Aphrodite; the priestess had a theatre-seat (*IG* ii² 5119). *Lys.* envisages the sort of private party we hear of in *D.* 59. 33, where one Chabrias of Aixone holds a wild celebration at Kolias after his Pythian victory. The site of this promontory is uncertain. *Hdt.* 8. 96 puts it 20 stades from Phaleron (cf. Honigman, *RE* 11 (1921) 1077): likely modern sites are Hagios Kosmas or Hagios Georgios. *Paus.* 1. 1. 5 agrees with *Hdt.* Thus it probably was in the deme Halimous, but *Str.* 398 puts it in Anaphlystos.

Γενετυλλίδος: A woman's goddess associated with childbirth and perhaps of foreign origin (*Hsch.* γ 343): for Aphrodite's connection with childbirth see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *JHS* 94 (1974) 134-5. At *Nu.* 52 Aphrodite Kolias and Genetyllis are favourites of Strepsiades' sensual and extravagant wife, and *Paus.* 1. 1. 5 locates 'goddesses called Genetyllides,' whom he associates with the Phokaian Gennaides, with Aphrodite Kolias (the names of many minor deities occur in both sg. and pl., *Th.* 130 ὁ πότνια Γενετυλλίδες). Thus the shrine was probably part of Aphrodite's enclosure at Kolias, but this is not a sufficient reason to emend ἦ 'ς to εἰς (Wilamowitz).

- 3 **ὑπό:** Of attendant circumstances, cf. 328, 987-8, *Th.* 7. 78 οὐκ ἔτι ἀποχωρεῖν οἶόν τ' ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων.

The kettle-drum or tambourine was used (along with flutes) especially in Dionysiac celebrations. The ty(m)panon was a wooden hoop covered on one side (or both: *Nonn.* 13. 509) with hide (*E. Ba.* 124), sometimes with cymbals fastened round the rim (*DFA* Pl. 22). In *D.* 18. 284 a priestess of Sabazios (388 n.) is called tympanistria (cf. *Luc. Somn.* 12, *Kannicht* at *E. Hel.* 1301-68), cf. Autokrates' play *Tympanistai*.

- 4 Cf. *Ek.* 19 ἀλλ' οὐδεμία πάρεστω ἄς ἤκειν ἐχρήν. **ένταυθοί** indicates both position (as here) and direction (568) and is thus synonymous with

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ἐνταῦθα (Hdn. 1. 502. 6-7). The audience is not told where 'here' is supposed to be (see 5 n.).

- 5** *κωμηῆτις*: Kal. is from the same 'quarter' of the city (Isokr. 7. 46, cf. *Nu.* 965) and thus her neighbour (Ion trag. 37 *θυρέτρων τῶνδε κωμηῆται θεοί*). *ἐξέρχεται*: Kal. enters through a door representing her house. Ar. does not indicate whether Lys. has called the meeting at the door later (245 ff.) identified as the Propylaea or at a third door representing her own house: in the latter case the wives will not move toward the Propylaea until 245.
- 6** In Attic the name would be Kallinike (*Eq.* 1254 *ὦ χαίρε καλλίνικε*) or Kleonike (Wilamowitz's emendation), but personal names often preserve foreign or archaic features and Kalonike appears over the head of a woman on a cup by the painter Makron (c. 480) found on the Akropolis (*ARV*² 470 no. 179). Since Ar. could easily have chosen the typical Attic form of this auspicious name, it is possible that he had a special reason for choosing Kalonike (assimilation to an actual person or an old-fashioned, even aristocratic sound?). For Lys.'s name and its possible associations see *Introd.* III. *καὶ σύ γ'*: Denn. 121-2, 158-9.
- 7-8** For the routine cf. *Men. Georg.* 84 ff., F. Stoessl, *Men. Dysk.*, pp. 116-17. *συν-* and *ξυν-*: The early Attic form *ξυν* was gradually replaced by *συν* during the fifth century; in inscriptions *ξυν* becomes increasingly rarer in the last quarter of the century and does not appear after 378 (*GAI* i. 553 ff.). Ar. uses both forms. When the two are metrically indifferent (as here) I adopt the older form when both are variants but the younger when the MSS transmit it alone. *σκυθρώπαζ'*: To assume a countenance expressing anger or sullenness (*Pl.* 756 *ὄφρ'ὺς συνήγον ἐσκυθρώπαζόν θ' ἄμα*), as again at 707 where Lys. is *σκυθρωπός* because the wives are attempting to desert. At D. 54. 34 the word is opposed to loose sympotic behaviour. Since there is no reason to suppose that Lys.'s mask bore an angry expression, Kal. is telling the spectators to imagine one. In addition, Lys. might be pacing, as at 709. For similar comments cf. 127, *Eq.* 398-9. *τοξοποιεῖν*: 'knitted brows do not become you' is a compliment intended to put Lys. in a more jolly mood. Similar metaphors are *Krat.* 348 *ἀνελκταῖς ὄφρ'ὺσι σεμνόν*, *Amphis* 13 *ὥσπερ κοχλίας σεμνῶς ἐπηρεκῶς τὰς ὄφρ'ὺς*. *τέκνον*: Elsewhere paratragic, but apparently colloquial here. It is possible that Kal. is older than Lys., though she is grouped with (and associates herself with: 17 ff., 102-3) young wives. Her role as bawdy buffoon may well have required that she be older (and thus more experienced) than the other wives: see the discussion of Süs (*Introd.* II n. 1), who is however wrong to imagine her as a crone. On the other hand, *τέκνον* might be simply colloquial for 'friend' or 'dear': cf. *Machon* 215, where *παῖ* is used by one woman to another without implying discrepancy of age, as are *παῖδες* (*Eq.* 419, *Theokr.* 10. 52, 13-52) and *μεῖράκια* (*Machon* 241) by men.
- 9** Indicating anger, A. *Ag.* 481 *πυρωθέντα καρδίαν*, *Luc.* 24. 32 *ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν*

LINES 4-16

καιομένη ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν. For the frequent association of fire and anger cf. Taillardat 186 ff., and for the heart as the physical seat of emotion E. Handley, *RhM* 99 (1956) 208, 222.

- 12** πανούργοι: Generally 'wicked', 'prepared to do any act' however shameless; here less pejorative, 'cunning' or 'clever', cf. D. 1. 3 πανούργος καὶ δεινός, Pl. *R.* 409C πανούργός τε καὶ σοφός. At *Ra.* 80 ff. Euripides is clever enough to contrive an escape from Hades, whereas Sophokles is too easygoing (εὐκόλος), and at *Eq.* 56 Kleon is said to have 'snatched' his triumph at Pylos πανουργότατα.

That women are more devious than men and are constantly plotting mischief and intrigue is a poetic motif as old as the Homeric Hera and a common assumption in Attic drama. Despite Aischylos' Klytimestra and Sophokles' Deianeira, this characterization of women was in Ar.'s time particularly associated with the heroines of Euripides, who are presented as either the equals or the superiors of men in nobility and self-sacrifice (Helen, Iphigeneia) or more ruthless, cunning, and unscrupulous (Medeia, Hekabe, Phaidra, Kreousa, Elektra). Because Euripides' plays seemed to be closer to everyday experience than was usual in tragedy (cf. *Ra.* 959 οἰκεία πράγματ' εἰσάγων, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν), such sentiments as Andromache's πολλὰς ἂν εὐροῖς μηχανάς· γυνὴ γὰρ εἶ and Hermione's description of the troubles caused by wives when they meet together (*Andr.* 85, 943 ff.) could be thought relevant to the spectators' own wives. Thus in *Th.* Ar. portrays Euripides as attempting to evade a death sentence passed on him by the wives for revealing their intrigues in his plays: their husbands would otherwise have been none the wiser. For this reason the misogynistic old men of our play consider Euripides the wisest of poets (368-9, cf. 283).

Whatever the case may have been in actual life, it is easy to imagine that Attic women, confined mostly to the sphere of the oikos and to the company of other women, were thought of as having (and therefore taking) more opportunities to be up to no good than the men. Here Lys. wants her wives to be proud of, and live up to, their reputation, cf. 145, 252-3.

καὶ γάρ: 'Yes, and so we are', cf. 1181-2, Denn. 109-10. This is perhaps an aside to the audience, cf. *Ach.* 136 ff., *Pl.* 1021. On asides in general see D. Bain, *Actors and Audience* (Oxford 1977).

- 14** The concepts 'difficult' and 'important' are often expressed as 'not φάυλος', cf. *Pax* 388.

- 16** Kal. defends the wives; Lys. thinks them simply lazy. τοι: Pointing out the applicability of a general truth to the matter at hand (Denn. 542-3). Kal.'s description of young wives is generic and need not imply that Kal. is herself young (7-8 n.). Similar excuses for delay are offered by Praxagora's friends, *Ek.* 54 ff., cf. 72 below. ἔξοδος: Of women departing from the house on an errand, cf. *S. Ant.* 1183-4 τῶν λόγων ἐπισηθόμηνη πρὸς ἔξοδον στείχουσα, *Pl. Lg.* 784D, *D.* 48. 55.

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- 17** Aorists of general occurrence, as often in imagined scenes (*Ve.* 1257 ff.) and in descriptions of manners and customs. **ἐκύπτασεν**: 'keeps bending down over', 'is busy about', sometimes with the connotation of being up to no good (*Nu.* 509, *Pax* 730-1). **Σ** detected a *double entendre* on fellatio. **κύπτειν** is so used in Sophron (39 and perhaps 41) and in the iambographers (Archil. 42, Hipponax 17), but in Attic comedy refers to anal or rear-entry vaginal intercourse (Henderson 178 ff.). Much depends on Kal.'s gestures as she mimics the busy wife.
- 18** Slaves are typically lazy and inattentive, cf. 184, 426.
- 20** Lys., unimpressed by Kal.'s defence of the wives, resumes her complaint of 13 ff.: 'But the point is that there were other things more important for them than these' (which you mention), cf. *Men. Dis Ex.* 63 **ἐμοὶ δὲ πάντων τοῦτο προυργαίτερον**, and for the sentiment *D.* 19. 227-8 **ὅμων δ' ἕκαστος πρῶτων μὲν οὔτε τὸν εὖ ποιοῦντα τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸν εὖ ποιεῖν ἠγείται, οὔτε τὸν κακῶς <κακῶς>, ἀλλ' ἕτερα ἔστιν ἐκάστω προυργαίτερα, ὅφ' ὄν παράγεσθε πολλάκις· ἔλεος, φθόνος, ὀργή, κτλ. ἀλλὰ ... γάρ**: Introducing an objection and contrasting what is primary with what is secondary, as *Pl.* 423 ff. (*Bl*) **ἴσως Ἐρινύς ἐστιν ... (Χρ) ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ δᾶδας. τῶνδε** is deictic, referring to the actions described and mimicked by Kal., cf. 351, 1030, *Ach.* 578, *Eq.* 133, *Av.* 864.
Hermann's emendation **ἀλλ' ἕτερα τᾶρ' ἦν** yields the less satisfactory sense, 'But then other things are more important to them than these (i.e. my plans) after all', (*τοι*) **ἄρα** with **ἦν** denoting the sudden realization of a truth (cf. 1027), see J. C. B. Lowe, *Glotta* 51 (1973) 34 ff. But Lys. already supposes that the wives prefer 'other things' (revelry and domestic business). Wilamowitz defends Hermann's reading by taking it as sarcasm, but this is hard to reconcile with **ἀλλά**.
- 23 μέγα**: Lys. means 'important' but Kal., like the other wives preoccupied with sex, takes it in the physical meaning. **μῶν καὶ παχύ**; 'Not thick, too, I suppose?' She is surprised and delighted that Lys. might have something sexual in mind; for the question cf. *E. Hp.* 1164-5. These adjectives are often combined in references to the penis, e.g. *Ach.* 787, *Pax* 1351, *Ek.* 1047-8.
- 24** Lys.'s response is a feed for Kal.'s joke, which makes the *double entendre* explicit. MSS **καὶ νῆ Δία** cannot be right because **καὶ** is so used only when the answer provides a new fact or argument not mentioned in the question (1105, *Ra.* 294-5, *Ek.* 438 ff., cf. *Werres* 24-5, *Fraenkel, Kl. Beitr.* i. 442-3). **καί**, which goes before **παχύ**, has been misplaced or deliberately moved to conform to the common expression **καὶ νῆ Δία** (a similar dislocation occurs at *Eq.* 417). **κᾶτα** indicates surprise (**καί**) and a conclusion (**εἴτα**) drawn from what precedes, *Denn.* 309 ff.
- 25** 'That's not what I meant!', cf. 49, *Nu.* 478, *Pl. Soph.* 216B. **ταχύ** ...: Lys. is not being sarcastic (as *Nu.* 647, cf. *D.* 21. 209) but merely restates her suspicions of 1 ff. in a different way. The first person pl. is generic (cf. 404), (if that *were* my idea) this meeting would have assembled quickly enough.

- 26** ὕπ' ἔμοῦ emphatically contrasts her own activities. ἀνεζητημένον: 'investigated', of things whose existence is already known or suspected (Hdt. 1. 137. 2, Th. 2. 8. 3). For the construction cf. W. J. Aerts, *Periphrastica* (Amsterdam 1967) 36 ff.
- 27** Implicitly contrasting her own effort with the wives' laziness and indifference (15). The language is quasi-tragic, general reflection and anxiety being frequently associated with sleeplessness (A. *Ag.* 891 ff., E. *Hp.* 375–6); Ar. parodies this topos at *Eq.* 1290 ff., *Ra.* 930 ff. Sleeplessness is also associated with erotic anxieties (almost exclusively in later comedy: R. F. Thomas, *HSCP* 83 (1979) 195 ff.), with which Kal. identifies herself. ἔρριπτασμένον: ῥιπτάζεσθαι means 'to toss oneself about' in bed (*Hp. Morb.* 2. 69, *Plu. Cic.* 37 τῇ γνώμῃ πολλά ῥιπτασθεὶς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα). Here the πρᾶγμα (which can refer to the penis: Henderson 116) is personified to set up Kal.'s joke (Lys. meant that she had done the tossing about).
- 28** Virtually a statement, που imposing a slight check on the certainty implied by ἦ (Denn. 286), cf. 1089, A. *PV* 521 ἦ ποῦ τι σεμνόν ἐστιν ὁ ξυναμπέχεις. Kal.'s image of a penis that needs tossing (to achieve an erection) applies either to old men (cf. Philokleon, *Ve.* 1343–4) or to men worn out by excessive sexual demands.
- 29–30** When γε (frequent in affirmative answers) emphasizes an adverb, the ellipsis of the verb is not infrequent and the tone (as here) is often ironic. This idiom, particularly in repetition of the previous speaker, seems to be characteristic of Euripides. λεπτόν: The earliest use of this metaphor is E. *Med.* 529, cf. *Hp.* 923, and it may have been associated especially with him: *Ach.* 445 (*Eὐρ.*) δώσω πικρὴ γὰρ λεπτὰ μηχανὰ φρενί. Ar. uses it in several plays, Dover at *Nu.* 153, J. D. Denniston, *CQ* 21 (1927) 119.
- σωτηρία: Depending on the context this word may have strong emotional power ('salvation': 497 ff., *Ek.* 202, 396–7, Th. 8. 53. 3) or a milder tone ('escape from danger': *Pax* 301, 595). Here Lys. underlines the gravity of the situation.
- 31** γ' ἄρα (exclamatory) is more forceful than Mehler's τᾶρα (belated recognition of a truth): cf. 20 n. with Lowe, art. cit. Kal. could not have surmised such an astonishing idea. For the idiom cf. Hdt. 6. 11 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πράγματα ... ἢ εἶναι ἐλευθέριοι ἢ δούλοισι, S. *Ant.* 1140 καὶ νῦν, ὡς βιαίας ἔχεται πάνδαμος πόλις ἐπὶ νόσου, μολεῖν καθαρσίῳ ποδὶ Παρνασσίαν ὑπὲρ κλιτύν, ἢ στονόεντα πορθμόν, without ἐπὶ Alkaios 141. 4 ἄ (sc. πόλις) δ' ἔχεται βόσας. The similar metaphor ἐπί τινος ὀχεῖσθαι is very common (examples in Blaydes's edition) and some scholars have suggested putting it here, e.g. γ' ὠχεῖτ' ἄρα Dobree.
- 32** Compare Praxagora at *Ek.* 169 ff. (the men have made a mess of things) and 104 ff. (we women must put things right). ὡς: 'be sure that' (sc. ἴσθι), cf. 499, 1018.
- 34** Kal.'s opinion of the Spartans is as conventional as her opinion of the proper role of wives. Lys. does not acknowledge the remark.

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- 35 Boiotians are often bracketed with Spartans as Athens' chief enemies (*Ach.* 623 ff., 720 ff.); those found in Athens after the affair of Plataia in 431 were arrested (Th. 2. 6), and Boiotia did not join in the peace of 421.
- 36 Eels from Lake Kopais were Boiotia's prime delicacy (702, *Ach.* 881 ff., *Ve.* 510-11, *Pax* 1105). Although Kal.'s naive and frivolous outlook is the main point, Ar. reminds the spectators of the benefits of peace by alluding to such wartime deprivations.
- 37-8 Lys. does not finish the sentence begun at 32 (for dislocation of syntax following interruption cf. *Ek.* 565-7). Lys. wants to avoid ill-omened speech, cf. *A. Ag.* 498-9, *D.* 22. 12. **ἐπιγλωττήσομαι** 'utter words of ill omen' (see LSJ Suppl.), perhaps hieratic (*A. Ch.* 1045, *PV* 928). **ὑπονόσόν σύ μοι:** 'But you may infer what I might have said', cf. 1234, *Pl.* 361.
- 40 For triple **τε** cf. *Ra.* 818-19. **ἐκ** must be supplied in the second clause, cf. 75.
- 42 Kal. adopts a quasi-tragic style to underscore the earnestness of her objection (for which compare Ismene at *S. Ant.* 61 ff.), cf. *Ach.* 136, 513 ff., *Eq.* 40 ff. **γυναῖκες:** 'mere women', cf. *Av.* 173 *ποιάν δ' ἂν οἰκίσαιμεν ὄρνιθες πόλιν;* **φρόνιμον:** 'sensible', opp. *ἄφρων* (*Gorg.* fr. 6), *ἀνόητος* (*Isokr.* 2. 14); cf. 432 n., 548, 708. **ἐργασαίαιτο:** This archaic 3 pl. opt. appears also at *Pax* 209, *Av.* 1147.
- 43 **καθήμεθ':** 'sit idle', cf. 149, 473, *Hdt.* 3. 134, *D.* 2. 23-4. **ἐξηνθισμένοι:** 'decked out' as with flowers or finery (Σ) of the sort about to be listed. *ἐξανθισμένοι*, the variant in Clement, would refer to dyeing the hair, a practice that for women (men also dyed their hair: *Ek.* 735-6, *Nikol.* 1. 33) could be a sign of shamelessness, *E.* fr. 324 *ἔρωσ ... φιλεῖ κάτοπτρα καὶ κόμης ξανθίσματα*. But the following catalogue envisages items of apparel.
- 44 The yellow-dyed chiton called *krokotos* (*Stone*, 174-5) was a woman's finest, to be worn on special occasions such as festivals (645). Because of its costliness it was in tragedy associated with royal houses (*A. Ag.* 239, *E. Ph.* 1491) and in comedy with extravagance and sensuality (*Nu.* 51). **κεκαλλωπισμένοι:** Cosmetic colouring (cf. 48) or ornamentation generally (*Pl. Smp.* 174A).
- 45 **Κυμβερικ':** Apparently designating an area in Asia Minor that exported costly clothing (Σ *ἀπὸ τόπου*, testt. here and at 52), compare 'cambric' from Kameryk, the Flemish area where it was first made. Although the spelling and etymology are unclear, there may be a connection with the Crimean nomads called Kimmerioi (*Od.* 11. 14, *Hdt.* 4. 12, *A. PV* 730), cf. P. von der Mühlh, *MH* 16 (1959) 145 ff., A. Heubeck, *Hermes* 91 (1963) 490 ff. who suggests Hittite analogues. **ὀρθοστάδια:** Loose, ungirdled tunics hanging down in straight folds from neck to feet (*Poll.* 7. 49), cf. *Kall.* fr. 293 *στάδιος χιτών*. **περιβαρίδας:** An exotic shoe (*Theopomp.* 52, *Kephisod.* 4) whose name is perhaps connected with Egyptian *βάρης* (flat-bottomed boat: *Hdt.* 2. 41, 96); later associated with slaves and the poor (*AP* 6. 21, *Poll.* 7. 87, 92).

- 46** Lys. surprises Kal. by agreeing (cf. 49). For repetition of a previous speaker's words as a rebuttal cf. 571-3. Following a demonstrative pronoun **γάρ τοι καὶ** conveys assent while adding a new qualification or interpretation (Denn. 88-9, 307-8), cf. 888, *Th.* 81. **σώσειν**: Absol. (i.e. *σωτηρία ἔσεσθαι*), unless we are to supply an object (e.g. *τὴν Ἑλλάδα*).
- 47** **κροκωτίδια**: Lys.'s diminutives contrast with Kal.'s grandiloquence. This word has a contemptuous tone also at *Ek.* 332 (Blepyros is annoyed at having to wear his wife's dress in public). **μύρα**: Perfumes are frequently associated with sex: 938 ff., *Ek.* 525 *οὐχὶ βινεῖται γυνὴ κἄνευ μύρων*; Wives covering up an assignation eat garlic to mask the scent (*Th.* 494), and Strepsiades condemns perfume as an extravagant and sensuous refinement (*Nu.* 51), while Kinesias (below, 946) has different grounds for his condemnation!
- 48** The Attic form was *ἔγχουσα* (*EM* 313. 30), *ἄγχουσα* at *Nik. Ther.* 838. Alkanet/bugloss was a red dye (*Hp. Mul.* 32, *Plin. Nat.* 22. 33) used as a rouge and highlighted with white lead (*Ek.* 929). Its use was inconsistent with religious ceremonial (*IG* 5. 1. 1390. 22) and periods of mourning (*Lys.* 1. 14) and could be taken as a sign of questionable chastity (*Lys. l.c.*, *Eub.* 98. 1). **διαφανή χιτώνια**: This kind of lingerie (*Ek.* 275, 374, *Ra.* 411) was worn beneath an outer garment (*Ra.* 1067), but the inscription cited above mentions chitonias alone as improper in religious contexts. The diminutive may imply that they were short (*Pl.* 984-5) but at *Ek.* 268 they seem to be full-length. For the intended effect cf. 150-1.
- 49** Kal. asks for the meaning of *σώσειν* in such a context. **ποθ'**: MSS and papyri often show non-aspiration of a consonant before a change of speaker, cf. also 736, 738, 911; further examples in Radermacher 312-13 (add *Av.* 90). **μηδένα** refers to each individual, **ἀλλήλοισιν** to the aggregate of individuals, cf. *Pl. Phaedo* 97A, *Aischin.* 1. 137. **τῶν νῦν**: Implying that many have perished.
- 50** **αἴρεσθαι δόρυ**: Grandiloquent, e.g. *S. OK* 424.
- 51** Kal. is delighted that wearing fancy clothes turns out to be a patriotic act; a similar exchange at *Av.* 596 ff. **νῆ τῷ θεῷ**: Demeter and Kore, a woman's oath (*Ek.* 155-8).
- 52** **ἀσπίδα λαβεῖν**: 'serve as a soldier', *Ach.* 279, *Pax* 438. Parallels for the unusual rhythm $\infty|^{2\cup}$ - are 102, *Nu.* 884.
- 54** 'Oughtn't the wives to be here then?' *Ve.* 463, *Denn.* 269. **ἐχρῆν** when used of a present obligation regrets that it is not fulfilled (Barrett at *E. Hp.* 361-2). The augmented form is well established in *Ar.* and *Eur.*, while *A.* and *S.* prefer the older unaugmented form.
- 55** 'More than that, they ought to have flown in on wings long ago!' **οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά** virtually = *μὲν οὖν*, cf. *Pax* 1046, *S. El.* 1452-3. **πετομένας**: Of speedy movement, 106, 321, 724, 1013; similar idioms collected by E. Whittle, *CQ* 53 (1959) 57.
- 56** **ὦ μέλ'**: Addressed without distinction to either sex (*Pax* 137), but *Σ Pl. Th.* 178E says that originally it was used only by women. There is

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perhaps a tone of reproach or dubiety here, cf. 157, *Ek.* 120, 133. For Athenian tardiness cf. *Ach.* 19 ff., 630-2, *Ek.* 797-8, Pl. Com. 220.

59-60 Salamis, whose inhabitants were good oarsmen (*Ra.* 203-5), is mentioned as a feed for Kal.'s joke; but mention of Salamis alone can suggest sexual intercourse (411, *Ek.* 33-8). **κελήτων:** A small fast yacht driven by a single bank of oars (*Hdt.* 8. 94, *Th.* 4. 9. 8) and (metaph.) a fast horse. Here it refers to the coital posture in which the woman bestrides the man (**διαβεβήκασ'**, cf. *Eq.* 77, X. *Eq.* 7. 5). This posture, very frequently mentioned in comedy (*Henderson* 164 ff.), was a favour which a prostitute could charge extra for or withhold entirely (*Ve.* 500-1, *Machon* 360 ff.). **ἄρθρια:** Night is usually mentioned as the time for sex, but the period before dawn was favoured as well (966, 1089): it may be common in hot climates and in economies where people are tired when they retire. Sex at midday was apparently associated with trysts (418 of wives, *Ve.* 500-1 of prostitutes).

61-3 It is quite common for a main speaker to ignore the interpolated jokes of the clown. *Lys.* expects the Acharnian women first because their deme had, since 431, suffered heavily in the war and was once again bearing the brunt of Spartan incursions from Dekeleia. The Acharnians were as a result considered especially warlike and anti-Spartan (Σ^R , cf. *Ach.* 200 ff., 303 ff.). **οὐδ' ... οὐχ:** The negative is repeated because the subject of ἤκουσον is acc. by attraction to the relative pronoun (*KG* ii. 413-14), though repetition also occurs without attraction (*Th.* 491 ff., 498 ff.).

63-4 The MSS of *Ar.* are almost evenly divided between the spellings Theo- and Thea- and there is obvious confusion: the papyrus of *Eup. Demes* 92. 5-10 Austin has Theo- while *Σ Av.* 822 cites the passage with Thea-. But Theo- is frequent in inscriptions of all centuries while Thea- becomes frequent only from the fourth century onward and especially in the Roman period. For the synizesis -ou- cf. 273 and the casualty-list *IG* i² 951. 13, 55 where Theotimides and Thoutimides are different men.

Mention of the Acharnians motivates a joke about Theogenes' wife; whatever his wife is said to be doing must refer to some foible or incident which the spectators would connect with him (cf. 266-70 n.). Unfortunately, Theogenes was not an uncommon name in fifth-century Athens and more than one man by this name is ridiculed in comedy (see D. M. MacDowell, *RhM* 104 (1961) 229 ff.). In addition, the scholia do not keep the various candidates distinct enough for confident identification of our Theogenes.

As a sign that she is on her way to the meeting Theogenes' wife did one of two things:

(a) 'Consulted the image of Hekate' (with Daubuz's emendation). Hekate was popular with women (700 n.) and, like Apollo Agyieus and Hermes, her image stood in the street before houses (*Ve.* 804), since she protected homes and travellers (cf. T. Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg 1960)

84 ff.). In this interpretation (in Σ) the humour refers to superstitiousness (nowhere associated with a Theogenes) or to some incident to which our passage is the only extant allusion. Preferable is—

(b) 'Hoisted the/her *akateion*' (requiring only a minor correction of the MS). This was a small sail (X. H. 6. 2. 27); *akatos* was a small boat and also a drinking cup (Theopomp. Com. 3, Antiph. 4). There is thus a pun 'set sail'/'lifted her wine-cup', a joke which also occurs at Epikr. 10 *καταβάλλειν τὰκάτεια* (-ια MSS); a joke on bibulousness plays upon one of the chief stereotypes about wives and one which is thematic in this prologue (114 n.). As to why such a joke would apply especially to Theogenes' wife, Σ explains that Theogenes was a boaster, so that his *akateion* looks puny by comparison with the *keletes* mentioned in 60. We might add that in Eup. *Demes*, produced in 412, Theogenes was teased about the loss of a merchant ship (92. 5–10 Austin): perhaps the implication here is that nowadays he is sailing about in much less grand a fashion than before.

65–180. *Lysistrata reveals her plan*

The Attic wives, Myrrhine among them (named at 70), arrive in groups. They are soon joined by wives from Sparta, Thebes, and Korinth, led by the Spartan Lampito (named at 78), whose introduction of her colleagues is interrupted by jests from the Attic wives. When Lys. asks the wives whether they would participate in a plan whereby the husbands, who are constantly away on campaigns, could be compelled to stop fighting and return to their homes, all swear that they would. But when Lys. reveals that the plan is to withhold sex, all but Lampito refuse. Lys.'s praise of Lampito elicits tentative interest in the plan from Kal., whose sceptical questions prompt details from Lys. When finally the wives agree, Lampito objects that the Athenians will never negotiate as long as they possess their fleet and their treasure. But Lys. now reveals that she has already instructed the old women to seize and occupy the Akropolis and its treasury, and Lampito declares her complete satisfaction.

Lys.'s sleight-of-hand arguments in this section are a good example of 'comic logic'. Having secured the wives' agreement about the complaint (the war has made sexual partners scarce), Lys. proceeds to offer a plan based on the opposite assumption (husbands are at home). The spectators will not have troubled about this because the absence of men is the logic of the complaint only and is 'cancelled' in the subsequent description of the proposed plan. Once decided on a plan showing how the women force the men to stop fighting, Ar. must give the young wives something to do and that can only be their abdication from domestic duties, the sexual ones possessing the greatest comic potential (though others are mentioned too: 164 n., 880 ff.). Henceforth we are to imagine the husbands to be at home, and we have the impression that wives being unavailable to husbands are

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turning the tables on husbands who have been unavailable to their wives (cf. 149 ff., 211 ff., 865 ff.). Comic poets could have their cake and eat it too, cf. further 149 n., 240–53 n.

65 **καὶ δὴ** often marks the entrance of a new character (or an exit: 909); here an additional nuance is the fulfilment of something anticipated or required by the circumstances (Denn. 251), cf. 601, *Pax* 942.

66 **αὐθ'**: An old-fashioned form used elsewhere in lyrics (1296, *Nu.* 595, *Pax* 1270) and tetrameters (*Ve.* 1015, *Krat.* 182); frequent in Aischylos, once in Sophokles (*Tr.* 1010), never in Euripides or Attic prose (an Ionic prose example is Demokritos 172 D–K). **ἔτεραι**: 'a second group', cf. *Ra.* 515, *Pherekr.* 210.

67–8 Anagyrous was a swampy region named for its characteristic plant, the malodorous anagyros (Kal.'s reaction *οὐδ' οὐδ'* refers to the smell, cf. *Ra.* 653). *μὴ κίσει τὸν ἀνάγυρον* was thus proverbial for 'don't stir up trouble' (*Σ*, *Suda* α 1843, *Paroem. Gr.* 1. 219. 10 Leutsch). Anagyros, the deme's eponymous hero (and subject of a play by Ar.), was said to destroy violators of his grove, so that a home visited by a series of misfortunes was thought to be victimized by *Ἀναγυρᾶσιος δαίμων*. **νῆ τὸν Δία**: Introducing a joke, as *Av.* 479. **γούν**: Assentient, often with an ironical or sarcastic tone (Denn. 455), cf. 102, 155.

69 'We're not too late, I hope' (KG ii. 305); she suspects that they are (cf. Barrett on *E. Hp.* 794). Contrast the old women at 326 ff. The text does not explicitly indicate whether Myrrhine enters with the group from Anagyrous.

70–1 **τί φῆς; τί σιγᾶς;**: Quasi-tragic, cf. 710, *Th.* 144, *S. Ph.* 805. **οὐκ ἐπαίνῳ**: 'I do not approve of a woman who comes only now ...', cf. *Ve.* 52–3, *Th.* 1213, J. H. Quincey, *JHS* 86 (1966) 154–5. There is no need for Halbertsma's *οὐ σ'*. For Myrrhine's name and its possible associations see *Introd.* III.

72 **γάρ**: Denn. 73–7. **ζώνιον**: Only here before IV BC, but said by Harpokr. to be common in Ar. and used only of women. The *zone* was a girdle worn just above the hips by either sex. For the excuse that dressing in the dark has caused delay cf. *Ek.* 314–15.

73 For the ellipse of an infinitive (cf. 1219) see LSJ *δεῖ* I. 3.

74–6 'No (I won't speak), but (instead of that) let us wait at least a little longer ...' **δλίγου γ' οὔνεκα**: This phrase only here, cf. *Nu.* 843 *ἀλλ' ἐπανάμεινόν μ' δλίγον ἐνταυθοῖ χρόνον*. MS *εὔνεκα* appears in the text of Ar. seven times alone and nine times as a variant, and never appears in the Laurentian Sophokles; *οὔνεκα* appears 28 times. Inscriptional evidence is inconclusive in the question of distribution in V BC, but *οὔνεκα* is entirely displaced by *εὔνεκα* after IV BC and is thus always the presumptive *lectio difficilior*. In a case such as ours Ar. might have preferred *εὔ-* (to avoid *-γού γ' οὔ-*, cf. Dover, *Theocr.* xxxv), but in most cases (e.g. 491, 501) there is no apparent reason for alternative forms. I have accordingly eliminated *εὔνεκα* wherever it occurs (cf. Barrett on *E. Hp.* 456).

77 Just as Myr. is agreeing that Lys.'s counsel is wiser, the sudden appearance of Lampito and the other foreign wives provides both confirmation of Lys.'s foresight and the expectation that our curiosity will be satisfied. For a similar routine cf. *Ach.* 174 ff. The spectators will not have marvelled at Myr.'s knowing Lam.'s name: it is a dramatic given for which Ar. does not think an explanation is necessary.

Lam.'s name (like the Theban's, 86. n.) connotes high social class: one of the women by this name (*RE* xviii (1916) 2136) was the mother of King Agis II, now in charge of the garrison at Dekeleia, and the suffix is common in names indicating sacerdotal prerogatives (Schwyzer i. 478–9). An Attic epitaph (c. 500) records the death of a Samian Lampito (*CEG* 66 = *IG* i³ 1380).

In the introduction of the foreigners Ar. plays upon stereotypes held by the Athenians, particularly focusing on Lys.'s Spartan counterpart. Spartan wives, in the opinion of Athenians, were allowed freedoms of behaviour that bordered on the shocking (*Arist. Pol.* 2. 9, 1269^a29–71^b19, *X. Resp. Lak.* passim). Her costume, the Doric peplos (Studniczka 6–13), was more revealing than would be proper for an Athenian (cf. *E. Andr.* 595 ff.), and public exercise has produced in her a robust physique at which the Attic wives marvel. For a recent summary of what is known about Spartan women in the classical period see P. Cartledge, *CQ* 31 (1981) 84 ff.

79 The beauty of Spartan women was legendary, *Od.* 13. 412 *Σπάρτην καλλυγύναικα*.

80 *εὐχροεῖς*: Of a healthy appearance generally (*Hp. Morb.* 2. 1) but especially associated with exercise (*X. Resp. Lak.* 5. 8) *σφριγῆ*: Robust firmness was desirable in either sex (*Nu.* 799, *E. Andr.* 196), but Attic wives (unlike Spartan) had no opportunity to exercise in the open air (*Ek.* 63–4, 386–7, *Luc. Anach.* 25).

81 For Lam.'s Lakonian see Introd. V. *τῷ σιῷ*: Kastor and Polydeukes (1300–1 n.).

82 The Spartan dance in which the buttocks were kicked by the dancer (Lawler 76–7) is called *βίβασσις* by Poll. 4. 102, who connects it with a competitive exercise for girls (cf. *Σ*, *Suda* π 3110); competitions in pygal beauty among Spartan girls are mentioned in Athen. 12. 554C. *Υ'* (i.e. *γα*) is quasi-connective, 'I exercise a lot, anyhow' (Denn. 144–5). Lam. perhaps executes a kick for her audience.

83 Kal.'s reaction is, as befits the clown, less decorous than Lys.'s: the following line shows that she feels Lam.'s breasts which (after suckling, presumably) have not lost their shapeliness. Spartan wet-nurses were famous (e.g. *Epigr. Gr.* 47), and the (conventionally) small-breasted Attic wives express admiration of their buxom colleague: see further D. Gerber, *Areth.* 11 (1978) 203 ff. *τὸ χρῆμα*: Indicating an emotional reaction to something strange, extraordinary, sizeable or numerous of its kind, with (1031, 1085) or without (*Ach.* 150) the article: L. Bergson, *Eranos* 65

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- (1967) 79 ff., P. T. Stevens, *Colloquial Expressions in Euripides, Hermes Einzelschrift* 38 (1978) 20–2. **τιτθῶν**: Elsewhere in Ar. only at *Th.* 640, *τιτθῶν* being the usual comic word (hence its intrusion here).
- 84 ἰαρείον**: Used of any kind of victim (*Hdt.* 5. 8, X. *Kyr.* 1. 4. 17, Casabona 35), for whose plumpness cf. *Eq.* 1135–40, *Philem.* 155. **τοι**: Indignant, as often (*Av.* 1642, *Ek.* 972). **ὕποψαλάσσετε**: Only here, cf. 275. Σ glosses *ψηλαφᾶν*, cf. *βλιμάζειν* 1164, *Av.* 530.
- 85 νεάνις**: A young wife (*E. Andr.* 192), only here and (paratragic) *Th.* 1030. *Lys.*'s formal speech accentuates the coarseness of her colleagues. **ἡτέρα**: In crasis Attic uses the older form *ἄτερος* except after $-\eta(\iota)$, cf. 90, 1088, *Av.* 1365, *S. OK* 497, *Paus. att.* θ 2 Erbse.
- 86 πρέσβειρά**: Perhaps a Boiotian word (*Ach.* 883) referring here to status, not age. The Boiotian's name appears at 697. For the interruptive oath cf. 194, 983, *Av.* 23–4.
- 87–9** For the flat, fertile plains of Boiotia cf. *Ach.* 861–74, *Pax* 1003 ff. **πεδίον**: Slang for the female pubis, Henderson 136. **βληχῶ**: Pennyroyal (indicating pubic hair, Henderson 135) was an important plant in Boiotia. Depilation of body-hair was regularly practised by women (for men's practice see 279 n.) by plucking (*ἀπο-* or *παρατίλλειν*, 151, *Ra.* 516, *Krat.* 276), singeing with a lamp (827, *Th.* 238, *Ek.* 13, cf. the *kylix* by Panaitios, *JÖAI* 12 (1909) 86) or both (*Th.* 590, *Pl. Com.* 174. 14). Failure to do so could be considered slovenly (824). Here and at 151 shaping, not total removal, is indicated. For various styles of depilation see M. Kilmer, *JHS* 102 (1982) 104 ff., D. Bain, *LCM* 7 (1982) 7 ff. **κομψότατα**: 'in a very chic fashion', cf. *Aischin.* 1. 131 where *κομψὰ χλανίσκια* ('chic woollen clothes') are ridiculed as effeminate. This word is found in tragedy only in Euripides and may have been a mannerism of his (*Eq.* 18 *κομψευρικῶς*), cf. P. Chantraine, *REG* 58 (1945) 90.
- 90 χαῖτα**: 'fine', cf. 1157, *Hsch.* *χάσιος* (cf. *Introd.* V. 3 (c)). **ἀγαθός, χρηστός**, *Theokr.* 7. 5 (with Gow's note), *A. Suppl.* 858 *βαθυχάσιος* (Σ^M *ἡ μεγάλως εὐγενής*). *Lam.* introduces the Korinthian in as high a style as she had the Boiotian. For the oaths cf. *Ve.* 184, *Ach.* 767, *Werres* 26.
- 91–2 δ' αὖ**: Simply connective in *Lak.*, 'and likewise'/'and further' (like *Att.* ρ' *αὖ*, 264 n. and sometimes *αὖ*, *Ra.* 1018). *R.*'s unmetrical *μὲν* (the scribe perhaps thought that *χαῖτα* was disyllabic and overlooked the need to have a short syllable in the third metron) was inserted in the belief that *δ' αὖ* should be adversative (cf. Σ and *Suda*, who remark that the Korinthian is a *πόρνη*, but that Korinthian stereotype is inappropriate to this passage). **χαῖτα**: *Kal.* takes the word in the physical sense, referring to the wife's opulent appearance (characteristic of Korinthians, *Str.* 8. 6. 20): she was well-padded **ταυταγὶ κἀντευθενί**, 'here in front and here behind' (cf. 802 *ἐντεῦθεν* = 'hindquarters' and 1157), thus 'well-endowed'. Σ notices the physical action *ἀπτομένη τῶν δύο φύσεων ταῦτά φησι*, but is wrong to suspect a play on *χάσκειν* ('gaping', 'slack'), which is used in a sexual meaning by comic poets to describe male prostitutes (refs. in Henderson, 209–10).

93 συναλιάξει: Only here (*συναλλάζειν* is usual). An *ἀλία* was an assembly generally (Hdt. 5. 29) or the Spartan ekklesia specifically (Hdt. 7. 164). **στόλον:** 'troop' (A. *Eum.* 1026-7, Hdt. 1. 4), in this sense only here in Ar. Like Lys. (and unlike the Attic wives), Lam. is acquainted with the world of male politics. Because they allowed their women comparatively greater social freedoms (77 n.) the Spartans could be criticized as a state in which 'women rule the rulers' (Arist. *Pol.* 1. 1269^b12). Thus Lam.'s masculine qualities were perhaps less extraordinary in the eyes of the spectators than Lys.'s.

96 δῆτα: Endorsing and restating Lam.'s request (Denn. 276-7, Werres 38). **σπουδαῖον:** 'important', opp. *γελοία* Pl. *Lg.* 816D, cf. *Ra.* 389 f.

97-8 Once again (cf. 74) Lys. postpones revelation until she thinks the wives are ready to endorse her plan: she anticipates their recalcitrance (125 ff.) and here seeks to gain provisional endorsement before the wives realize what they are endorsing. For a similar strategy compare Elektra and Chrysothemis, S. *El.* 938 ff. **λέγοιμ' ἄν ἤδη:** 'I shall tell you, now that the time has come' (i.e., now that we are all here and the meeting has come to order), cf. *Eq.* 40. The phrase is urbane and polite (KG i. 233, Fraenkel at A. *Ag.* 838), in tragedy often introducing a formal speech. 'But before I tell you', (she does not do so until 119) 'I shall ask you the following question of my own (*ἔπι-*, cf. X. *Kyr.* 6. 3. 10), something small', referring to 110-11, which is the climax of a series of subordinate questions (99-109). **τι μικρόν:** Understatement (*Ve.* 797, 1290, *Pl.* 240), cf. *Nu.* 429 f. **γε** emphasizes the affirmative answer, Denn. 130-1.

99-101 ἐπὶ στρατιᾷς: 'on active service', *Ve.* 354; Th. 8. 69. 1 tells us that at this time *ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες ἀεὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τεύχει οἱ δ' ἐν τάξει τῶν ἐν Δεκελείᾳ πολεμίων ἔνεκα ἐφ' ὄπλοις*. **ἀποδημῶν** may refer either to travel abroad or to being absent from home (Pl. *Lg.* 954B), e.g. for guard-duty (cf. 555-6).

102-3 For the rhythm of 102 see 52 n. **γούν:** 155 n. **τάλαν:** 'dear' (910, 914, *Ek.* 124), in the classical period used only by women (C. Dedoussi, *Hell.* 18 (1964) 1-6), in Hellenistic times also by men (Theokr. 6. 8).

The Thraceward area, strategically important throughout the war (*Ach.* 602, *Ve.* 288-9, *Pax* 283, *Av.* 1369), was in 411 crucial in Athenian efforts to stem allied defections (Th. 8. 2). For Thracian mercenaries in Athens see 563-4. **Εὐκράτη:** A surprise for a place-name (Eukrates himself must be guarded!). A common name borne, for example, by Nikias' brother (*PA* 5757) and by a popular leader ridiculed at *Eq.* 129, 254, Eukrates is no easier to identify than Theogenes (63). Σ's note ('a general, a bribe-taker, traitor and alien, died at the hands of the Thirty') appears to be a conflation of more than one *κατωφδοῦμενος* (cf. *Suda a* 3069). Eukrates will not do for the name of the commander defeated by Timolaos near Amphipolis in summer 411 (*HCT v.* 157-8) and partially preserved by *Hell. Oxy.* 7(2). 4. Our Eukrates may have been the commander succeeded in the summer by Dicitrephes (Th. 8. 64. 2), but

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- all we can say is that a man by this name had been in Thrace for five months in some capacity at the time of *Lys.*'s performance (see *Intro.* I).
- 104** 'And my husband' (capping Kal.) 'has been away seven whole months.' Athens still held Pylos (cf. 1163), which was captured by the Spartans in 410.
- 105-6** 'And my husband, even if he occasionally comes home from his post, is immediately gone again.' For the condition cf. 1098-9, KG i. 158, ii. 475. **ταγᾶς**: Apparently a verbal noun from *τάσσω*, cf. Att. *τάξις*. For this word, which is not Attic-Ionic, see Fraenkel at *A. Ag.* 110 (where the stem-syllable is long, perhaps (if this is the same noun) under the influence of *ταγός* 'commander'). **πορπακισάμενος**: *Harax*, with *σ* for Lak. *ξ metri gratia*. The porpax was a detachable bronze strip through which the left forearm was thrust to hold the shield (by the handle on the right rim), cf. A. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (London 1967) 53 Pl. 18. The distinction from *δχάνη* is unclear (Björck 296-7). There was a tradition (Kritias 37 D-K) that when at home Spartiatai removed the porpaxes from their shields in fear of Helot revolt. **φρούδος**: Probably an Attic word (thus not *φρώδος*). **ἀμπτάμενος**: In addition to speed (55 n.) the metaphor connotes what is lost and gone, E. *Andr.* 1219 *ἀμπτάμενα τὰμὰ φρούδα πάντα κείται*, other exx. in Taillardat 115.
- 107** The readiness of Attic wives to contrive liaisons is a commonplace in comedy (cf. 212, 404 ff.), as it was in popular fiction generally (S. Trenkner, *Novella* 86-7). How common adultery was in actual life cannot be determined, but its prominence as a theme is in large part attributable to male anxiety: a central concern of Attic family law was to ensure the unquestionable paternity of a man's offspring, and punishments for adultery were severe (Dover, *GPM* 209-13). Since the plot of *Lys.* emphasizes the desirability of the conjugal bond, Ar. downplays the theme (so central in *Th.* and *Ek.*) that extramarital sex is more desirable than marital: when *Lys.* says 'not even an adulterer ...' she implies that husbands are preferable. Thus the wives do not mention the possibility that they might resort to slaves (cf. *Th.* 491-2), nor do the husbands think of availing themselves of slave-girls when the conjugal strike has had its terrible effect (Kleisthenes is the only resort, 1092!). In spite of this implausibility, however, *Lys.* must be regarded as a rare testimony to the existence of sexually satisfying marriages in fifth-century Athens (cf. Dover, l.c. 211-12). **φεψάλυξ**: This metaphor, otherwise unattested, apparently denoted smallness or rarity (cf. 474 n.).
- 108-9 γάρ** must be proleptic and not explanatory, since the unavailability of dildoes is unconnected with the absence of adulterers except as a further example of the sexual deprivation occasioned by the war (there is no likelihood that *μοιχοῦ φεψάλυξ* referred to dildoes, as Wilamowitz thought). For proleptic *γάρ* cf. *Ach.* 1020-1 *ὦ φίλτατε, σπονδαὶ γὰρ εἰσι σοὶ μόνω, μέτρησον εἰρήνης τί μοι*, KG ii. 332-3, Taillardat 126-7. Thus translate, 'Whereas, since the Milesians betrayed us, I haven't seen even a dildo ..., would you accordingly (*οὖν* 111) ...'.

Miletos had been persuaded to defect in the previous summer (Th. 8. 17). As Kopaic eels were scarce before (36), so now were dildoes, of which Miletos was the chief producer (Fr. 62. 1-31 Austin, Herod. 6. 19, 58). Dildoes (see G. Giangrande, *CQ* 12 (1962) 220 ff.) are associated in comedy with both wives and prostitutes (Fr. 62 Austin, 332. 13, Krat. 354) and are shown by vase-painters being used in a variety of ways (for a selection see E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus* (New York 1985), Plates 72-80). The word is usually connected with *ὀλισθεῖν* (cf. *ὀλισθος*), but note Hsch. *ἀλίσβη· ἀπάτη*, Chantraine, *Noms* 362. **ὀκτωδάκτυλον**: That is, five inches or so, which seems rather small for a model penis and is considerably smaller than the dildoes pictured on vases. Perhaps Lys. means that even *tiny* dildoes are unavailable!

110 A play on the proverbial expression *σικίνη ἐπικουρία*, used of inadequate or unreliable help (so Σ): fig-wood was cheap and fragile, cf. Theokr. 10. 45 *σύκωνοι ἄνδρες*, and compare Hdt. 6. 108 (of military aid) *ἐπικουρίη ψυχρή*, 'cold comfort'. The context of Strattis 54 *Σαννυρίωνος σικνίτην ἐπικουρίαν* is unclear. The joke alludes to the fact that dildoes were normally made of leather (158 n.).

111 οὖν resumes the question begun at 97-8 and answers γὰρ (108 with n.); expects an affirmative reply, cf. *Pl.* 94-6.

112-16 I assign the speakers thus because (a) the pattern of response seems to be Kal., Myr.; (b) Kal. should have the joke on bibulousness; (c) the speaker of 130 must speak 115-16. At 123 Kal. swears to do whatever Lys. wants; it would be less amusing were Myr. and not Kal. to say, 'I won't do it—let the war roll on' (129), verbally reversing 123. After Lys.'s contemptuous reply (131-2) Kal. breaks in to defend her refusal. Süß (Introd. II n. 1) 248-9 defends the assignment in R (112b-14 Myr., 115-16 Kal.).

113-14 ἐγὼ μὲν ἄν: *Sc.* ἐθέλωμι from 111, 'I for one would (be willing)'. Bentley's emendation is appropriate for the first speaker in a parallel series of statements (cf. 373-4) and has exclamatory force (cf. *Ra.* 585, Dale at *E. Hel.* 91): thus it is preferable to Lenting's ἐγωγε τᾶν (cf. Denn. 545), which is in any case too timid for Kal. Corruption was caused by confusion with 115. **ἐγκυκλον**: A woman's himation (1162, *Th.* 250, 261, Stone 165), perhaps luxurious (*IG* ii² 1514. 48). Kal. can think of no greater sacrifice. **καταθείσαν**: 'pledge' to the cause (cf. *Ek.* 602-3), with a play on the sense 'put down as payment' (*Nu.* 246, *Ra.* 176). **ἐκπιεῖν**: A surprise, 'to drink down (the profits) the very same day'. This verb (absol. only here) is used of squandering generally, e.g. *Pl. Com.* 9 (*χρήματα*), *E. Hp.* 626 (*ὄλβον*).

Bibulousness was a comic stereotype of wives (395, 465-6 with n., *Th.* 347, 630 ff., *Ek.* 14-15, 43-5, 146, etc.) upon which our prologue draws heavily for its humour. We may surmise the origin of this stereotype from these facts: men were expected to control the effects of intoxication on their behaviour (e.g. Sokrates in *Pl. Smp.*), but women

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were not (Dionysiac plastic art conventionally displays female celebrants in a state of ecstasy); symposia were a routine aspect of men's lives but were off-limits for female citizens, whose only opportunity for communal drinking (as opposed to filching wine at home: *Th.* 414 ff.) was at festivals or other (1-2 n.) religious activities. Thus, women's access to wine was strictly controlled, and their behaviour when drinking it was less disciplined than the men's.

115-16 'And I think I would actually cut off half of myself and contribute that half as (I would) a flatfish', with threefold *ἄν* (KG i. 247-8, Bruhn *Anhang* 65); *καί* is adverbial. The syntax conflates two ideas: *δοκῶ* (μοι) *δοῦναι*, 'I am resolved to contribute' (cf. *Ve.* 177) and *δοίην ἄν*, 'I shall contribute'. Compare *Ach.* 994 *ἀλλά σε λαβὼν τρία δοκῶ γ' ἄν ἔτι προσβαλεῖν*, *Eg.* 620 *ἐγὼ μοι δοκῶ κἄν μικρὰν δόδον διελθεῖν ὥστ' ἀκοῦσαι*, *Pax* 306 *οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἀπειπεῖν ἄν δοκῶ μοι τήμερον*. **δέ γ'**: In lively rejoinders, cf. 374, *Ra.* 574-5, Denn. 153. **δοῦναι ἄν**: In crasis only here, compare *Pax* 532 *κλαύσῃρα*. In Hellenistic literature elision of final -αι (Phoen. 2. 20 with Powell's note) seems to have produced the inf. *δοῦν* (cf. Hsch. *ἀποδοῦν*); alternatively, *δοῦν* may have been formed from *διδοῦν* in Ionic (modelled on thematic verbs in -οῦν, cf. *τιθεῖν*). **παρὰτεμοῦσα**: RS *παρταμοῦσα* is not Attic and apocope (absent in Attic inscriptions, *GAI* i. 410-11) is not motivated by the context (Lys. uses the expected form in 132). Corruption was perhaps the result of confusion with semantically related *ἀρταμειν*, or an intrusive Epic or Doric form.

The flatfish or turbot resembles only half a fish (Ger. *Halbfische*), having eyes and mouth on only one side (Luc. *Pisc.* 49 *ἡμιτόμος ἰχθύς, ψῆττά τις*). Plato *Smp.* 191D, 205E perhaps recalled this passage in composing Aristophanes' speech. Myr.'s idea seems to refer to the practice of cutting sacrificial victims in two in order to provide special solemnity for important undertakings (Casabona 216 ff.). Thus Xerxes' army marches between the two halves of Pythios' son (Hdt. 7. 39), and Plato recommends that solemn votes be cast between the halves of a victim (*Lg.* 753D). Although this practice is Eastern in origin (J. Henninger, *Biblica* 34 (1953) 344 ff.), perfectly bisected human figurines have been discovered in the peak-sanctuaries of Minoan-Mykenaian Greece (M. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*² (Lund 1950) 66-7, 75) and old mythological attestation appears in the story of Peleus and Astydameia (Apoll. 3. 13. 7). Thus the humour in Myr.'s idea lies not so much in the notion of bisection as in the choice of victim: among the Greeks, fish-sacrifice was very rare (cf. Burkert, *HN* 204-12), fish being considered everyday, profane fare.

117-18 Taygetos (south-west of Sparta) was the highest mountain in Lakonia. Were peace concealed somewhere (for this idea cf. *Pax*), one might see her from the summit (compare Trygaios' flight on the dung-beetle). **ὅπῃ**: 'where' = 'if there', M. Lejeune, *Les adverbies grecs en -θεν*, Publ. Univ. Bordeaux 3 (1939) 262-3. For this type of relative clause cf.

- S. *Ant.* 666 ἀλλ' ὄν πόλις στήσειε, τοῦδε χρῆ κλύειν (= εἶ τινα πόλις), KG ii. 429, contrast 1080, 1188. **ἰδῆν**: Instead of the future, 'to catch a glimpse of', cf. *Av.* 366–8, KG i. 178–9.
- 119** Resuming from 97. **οὐ δεῖ** is a semantic unit, hence the postponement of **γάρ**. **κεκρύφθαι**: 'be kept hidden'.
- 120–3** **ἤμῖν**: Here and in 124 the pronoun looks emphatic, but personal pronouns are not infrequently used (especially in formal speech) without special emphasis or contrast: KG i. 556. **ἀφεκτέ'**: With gen 124, 146, 771; with ἀπό 719; absol. D. 21. 61. **ποιήσεται**: Att. inscriptions after 450 show πο- as well as ποι- before ε and η, though ποι- is always preferred, *GA* i. 326 ff. After 200 BC the iota is usually retained. MSS often show πο- (wrongly) before ο and ω as well. Since it is impossible to determine whether or not Ar. used πο-, I have followed the manuscript B in writing ποι- everywhere. **ποιήσομεν**: For the attribution see 112–16 n., and for the promise *Pl.* 216–17.
- 124** The metrical pattern ∪|– seems to occur in the second or fourth foot of a trimeter and when the two shorts are the last two syllables of an unelided word of three or more syllables (cf. 746, *Av.* 1228). **ἔστιν**: cf. 656, *Pl.* 286. **πέους**: An obscene word employed for climactic effect.
- 125–8** Lys.'s reaction to the wives' response is expressed in quasi-tragic language and is more humorous than anything the wives could say. **μοι**: 707, S. *OT* 2 τίνας ποθ' ἔδρας τάσδε μοι θαάζετε; **μεταστρέψεθε**: Indicating a change of mind as well as position, *Ach.* 537, *Ra.* 538. **μοιμυάτε**: Pursing the lips (disgustedly), cf. *Ve.* 1315 διεμύλλαιεν. This and similar words (μυεῖν, μοιμύλλειν) are based on onomatopoeic μῦ, cf. Renehan, *Studies* 99. **ἀνανεύετε**: Tossing back the head indicates refusal, as nodding indicates assent, *Ek.* 72. **χρῶς**: This epic word only here in Ar. **τί μέλλετε**: Mixed emotions and aporia are features of tragedy (cf. LSJ μέλλω III for instances), parodied elsewhere e.g. at *Ra.* 1425.
- 129** 'Let the war drag on' was probably a wartime slogan: *Eq.* 673.
- 130 οὐδ' ἐγὼ γάρ**: The negative counterpart of καὶ ... γάρ when οὐδέ is connective (Denn. 111). The phrase always occurs in answers, commonly with ἐγὼ and an echo of the previous speaker, cf. *Ek.* 343–4.
- 131–2** For the rare rhythm ∪|∪–² without pause at the caesura cf. *Ve.* 815, *Av.* 20, 847. **ἔφησθα**: Only here in Ar., cf. *Men. Pk.* 331 ἀρτίως ἔφησθα.
- 133–4** For the idea of walking through fire cf. S. *Ant.* 265, *E. El.* 1183, *Andr.* 488, D. 54. 40.
- 135** *Sic. ἐστι τοῦτο* (τὸ πέος), cf. *Av.* 966, KG ii. 404.
- 136** 'And what about you?' (cf. *Av.* 136), addressed to one of the wives who entered with Myr. Like this actor's other four lines (760–1, 447–8), this one could easily be omitted: it looks as if Ar. inserted the fifth actor's part to accommodate an extra or to break in a novice (see *Introd.* IV). The dramatic point here seems to be that all the wives, not only the ringleaders, are refusing.
- 137 ὦ**: Exclamatory, *Eq.* 1329, S. *Ph.* 927. **παγκατάπυγον**: The prefix is

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- intensifying, cf. 588, 969. *καταπύγων* literally refers to a man anally penetrated by another man (Dover, *GH* 143) but is frequently used of weak or shameless behaviour generally: 776, *Ach.* 664, *Nu.* 529, etc.; at Eup. 351. 4 *λακκοπρωκτία* refers to drinking wine in the morning.
- 138** 'No wonder tragedies are (made) from us (as subjects)', cf. 398 n., 406. Lys.'s point is that the wives are, as their husbands say, preoccupied with sex and childbirth and domestic intrigue, cf. fr. 9 *οὐκ ἔτος, ὦ γυναῖκες, πᾶσι κακοῖσιν ἡμᾶς φλώσιν ἐκάστοθ' ἄνδρες· δεινὰ γὰρ ἔργα δρῶσαι λαμβανόμεσθ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν.*
- 139** An allusion to Sophokles' (second?) *Tyros*, produced after 420 (Radt, pp. 463–4), which told the story of Tyro's seduction by Poseidon (disguised as her lover Enipeus), the birth of Pelias and Neleus, their exposure in a skiff, rearing by shepherds, and eventual reunion with Tyro in a famous recognition-scene (Arist. *Poet.* 1454^b25, *Men. Epir.* 325 ff.). As *Σ* remarks, 'Poseidon and a skiff' = *σνονουιάζειν καὶ τίκτειν.*
- 140–1** For the argument 'if you do as I advise all will be well' cf. 527–8, 650, D. 8. 71, Burckhardt 38–9. **γὰρ:** Lam. has yet to respond. **ἀνασσοαίμεσθ':** Rescue from a perilous situation (the wives' refusal).
- 142–3 ξυμψήφισαί:** Only here in comedy, cf. Poll. 8. 15. **μέν:** Concessive, cf. 144. **ὑπνῶν:** The prosody *ὑπνῶν* may be a Lakonian characteristic. **ψωλάς:** An obscene word (Henderson 110–11) for the erect penis, cf. 979. **μόνας:** with **γυναῖκας**, cf. 592 *μονοκοιτούμεν.*
- 144 ὄμως γα μάν** answers *μέν* (142) and is strongly adversative (Denn. 348–9); *sc.* *συμψηφιώ σοι*, cf. 170. For a similar ellipse cf. *Ach.* 402 (and Denn. 6, Kannicht on E. *Hel.*, p. 190). **γὰρ:** This peculiar postponement occurs also in Alexis 146. 6 *ἢ τῶν γὰρ.* For this and other abnormalities of word-order as distinctive artificial features of comedy see K. J. Dover, *CQ* 35 (1985) 324 ff. **τάς ... εἰράνας:** The article is usual (as in Th.), 502, cf. 931–2 n.
- 145 γυνή:** A surprise substitution for *ἀνήρ* in the ordinary form of compliment, e.g. X. *HG* 7. 1. 24 (the Arkadians) *ὑπερφέλιουν τὸν Λυκομήδην καὶ μόνον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦντο.* For *ἀνήρ* in the sense 'real man'/'fighting man' cf. 524 n. and for the stylized form of address cf. Rau 144 ff.
- 146–8** 'But if we really did abstain ...', cf. *Th.* 493, Th. 1. 141. 7. **οὐ:** Kal. avoids the actual word, and **δή** expresses indignation or distaste, as often with **σύ** in questions (Denn. 207–8), cf. *Ra.* 841. **ὀ μὴ γένοιτο:** *absit omen*, *Ve.* 536, *A. Sept.* 4–5. **πολύ γε:** 'Yes indeed', answering *μᾶλλον* ('more surely'), 501, *Nu.* 1335, *Wertes* 22.
- 149 ἔνδον:** Here and in the oath (217) the conjugal strike is to be enacted 'at home': the original complaint (the husbands are seldom at home), having served its purpose, has been unobtrusively forgotten (65–180 n.). At the end of the prologue, however, Ar. plans to shift the action permanently to the Akropolis (240–53 n.), so that the home-based strike envisaged here cannot be staged. Ar. nevertheless wants to exploit its humour fully, and

his solution is to provide so detailed a description (150-239) that the spectators imagine what they do not actually see. **ἐντετριμμένοι:** Wearing powder (cf. 48 n.).

150 Ἀμοργίνοι: Apparently associated with the island Amorgos (compare *Kimberika*, 45 n.) and applied to several kinds of garment (χιτώνια also at Pl. *Ep.* 13. 363A), although we find τὰ Ἀμοργίνα alone (Eur. 241). These were costly (Pl. l.c., Aischin. 1. 97, *IG* ii. 754. 10, 22) and had a characteristic colour, probably purple (Suda a 1626, *EM* 86. 16, 129. 15). There may have been a connection with ἀμοργίς, a kind of mallow (735-7). For a review of the evidence see G. Richter, *AJA* 33 (1929) 27.

151 γυμναί: 'scantly clothed', cf. 1020, Stone 144 ff. Presumably they will wear the kind of *Amorgina* that are diaphanous (cf. 48), cf. fr. 8 καὶ διαστίλβονθ' ὁράμεν ὡσπερ ἐν καινῷ λυχνούχῳ πάντα τῆς ἐξωμίδος. **δέλτα παρατετριμμένοι:** 'trimmed in the shape of a delta', cf. 87-9 n. The wives' pubic hair must be carefully trimmed since it will be visible through their clothing. It will not do to understand δέλτα as referring to the pubis itself (as Henderson 146) because then we should expect the def. art.

152 στύοντο: 598 n. **σπλεκοῦν:** Pl. 1082 διασπλεκωμένη. Origin unclear: Σ connects it with πλέκεσθαι (Σ Theokr. 7. 117 πλεκοῦν and πλέκωμα, Σ Pl. 1082 σπλεκοῦν and σπλέκωμα), i.e. 'embrace' (fr. 63. 95-6 Austin, A. *Eum.* 259); for this variation compare (σ)μικρός, (σ)πέλεθος, (σ)πύραθος, KB i. 76. Schwyzer i. 413 suggests hypostasis ἐς πλέκος)σπλεκοῦν, on the analogy of ἐς κόρακος)σκορακίζειν.

153 προσίομεν: προσίδο[μεν Π1. It is difficult to choose between the papyrus and the medieval tradition (see *ZPE* 31 (1978) 77-8). προσίδομεν is certainly possible ('if we didn't even cast them a glance') cf. Hdt. 1. 129. 2 ὁ δέ μιν προσιδῶν ἀντίερετο, Theokr. 3. 18 ὦ τὸ καλὸν ποθορεῦσα (νύμφα). An aor. opt. in a series of present optatives is permissible in a separate kolon of the subordinate clause, and in any case the action of this particular verb would not ordinarily be imperfective. The medieval variant also makes excellent sense: the seductively attired wives will parade by (παρίομεν 151) their husbands but not go to them (so Rogers). The verb is so used at 1021, where the old women approach the men with conciliatory intentions, cf. Th. 1. 130. 2 δυσπρόσοδόν τε ἑαυτὸν παρείχε καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρήτο ἐς πάντας ὁμοίως ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι προσιέναι. In sexual contexts the verb is ordinarily used of men approaching women (as 214-15), but here the roles are comically reversed, the initiative lying with the wives. The medieval variant is preferable because it allows a masked performer more scope for comic business. The papyrus variant is probably a correction made by someone who anticipated modern editorial feeling that Ar. could have chosen a livelier verb (*HSCP* 82 (1978) 97; art. cit. 77). For a similar example see 157 n.

154 εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι: This and similar phrases, when used parenthetically, are comparatively infrequent in tragedy and may have a colloquial tone, A. C. Moorhouse, *CQ* 12 (1962) 239 ff. Other 'fixed phrases' with internal

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hiatus are οὐδὲ εἶς (1044) and μὴ ὄρασι (391, 1037); the εἶδ is probably long, *Ve.* 425.

- 155-6** Apparently (with Σ) an allusion to E. *Andr.* 629 ff. (Peleus to Menelaos) οὐκ ἔκτανες γυναῖκα χειρίαν λαβών, ἀλλ', ὡς ἐσειδες μαστόν, ἐκβαλὼν ξίφος φίλημ' ἐδέξω, πρόδοτον αἰκάλλων κύνα, ἧσσαν πεφυκῶς Κύπριδος, ὃ κάκιστε σύ. Menelaos' reaction to the sight of Helen had long been famous in poetry (*Little Iliad* 17 Allen = 14 Bethe, *Stes.* 201, *Ibyk.* 296) and in art, cf. B. Ashmole, *JHS* 87 (1967) 13-14, but the detail about her breasts appears first in Euripides. Apart from its intrinsic humour (intended by Peleus to enhance the ridicule), Ar. liked the idea of having a Spartan allude to Euripides. In view of the Spartans' fabled hardness the precedent is well chosen. Later in the play (889-953 n.) Ar. makes use of another famous example of love triumphant over war, Zeus and Hera. **γῶν:** A concrete example supporting Lys.'s assertion ('part proof': Denn. 451 ff.), cf. 102, *Nu.* 1063. **μᾶλά:** Frequently used for small, firm ones (cf. *Ach.* 1199, *Th.* 1185, fr. 664, Krates. 43, Hermipp. 36, vase-paintings): Lam.'s own breasts, however, seem to be more ample (83 n.). **παραιδῶν:** *Introd.* V 3. (a). Elsewhere *παριδεῖν* in this meaning takes dat. and acc. (*Av.* 454 ὃ τι μοι παρορᾶς, cf. *Hdt.* 1. 37) or a preposition; the possible parallels (*Ra.* 815 and X. *Kyr.* 7. 1. 5) are questioned by editors. But *Ra.* 409 ff. is similar, καὶ γὰρ παραβλέψας τι μειρακίσκης νῦν δὴ κατεῖδον καὶ μάλ' εὐπροσώπου συμπαιστρίας χιτωνίου παραρραγέντος τιτθῶν προκύψαν.
- 157** For challenges to a plan already tentatively accepted cf. *Ek.* 241-84, 799 ff., 862 ff. Kal., who began the cross-examination, is the natural interlocutor (cf. 146). **τί δ' ἦν:** With subj. to question another's action or plan, cf. 366, P. T. Stevens, (83 n.) 30. **ἀφίωσ':** i.e. 'divorce' (LSJ II d), cf. W. Erdman, *Münchener Beitr. zu Papyrusf. u. ant. Rechtsgesch.* 20 (1934) 386. The scholiast's paraphrase ἐὰν παριδῶσω indicates the presence of a lost variant ἀφιδῶσω (late Greek: *Ep. Phil.* 2. 23) resulting from someone's attempt to correct the metre (thinking the iota to be short) or from failure to notice the play on words (158 n.). A similar variant at 153.
- 158** Lys. deflects Kal.'s plausible objection by understanding ἀφίωσ' to mean 'ignore' (LSJ III. 1) and making a joke: 'As Pherekrates said, Flay the flayed dog', referring (as the following line shows) to the use of dildoes, despite the earlier complaint that these are hard to find (108-10). Dildoes were usually made of leather (110), and perhaps dog-leather (notoriously tough: *Ve.* 231) is meant here. But κύων itself can be used of the penis (*Pl. Com.* 174. 16, *Hsch.*). The identity of Pherekrates (this phrase was not located by Hellenistic scholars in the comic poet's work: Σ) and the context of his saying are obscure. Σ^Γ and *Diogen.* 5. 85 say that the phrase was used of one engaged in a hopeless task (cf. 'beat a dead horse?'). **δέρειν:** (*δέρειν Av.* 365, *Nu.* 442) can be used of male sexual excitation, cf. 739 (with n.), 953.

- 159** **φλυαρία:** Cf. *Nu.* 365. For a more detailed complaint about the insufficiency of dildoes see fr. 62. 18 ff. Austin.
- 160** For the metre cf. 419. **δ':** For the unusual position cf. Denn. 188 ff., K. J. Dover, *CQ* 35 (1985) 337-8. **δωμάτιον:** (*δώματα* in tragedy) 'bedroom', *Ek.* 8, *Lys.* 1. 17, 24, usually upstairs (*Th.* 479 ff., *Lys.* 1. 9).
- 162** **κακά κακῶς:** The n. acc. adds force to the adverb. There are no exact parallels, but similar are *Eg.* 188-9 'I have no education except in letters, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι κακά κακῶς' (where κακά is predicative with ταῦτα), and Hegemon 9 Brandt *ἀνδρῶν, οἳ νῦν κείθι κακῶς κακά ραψοδοῦσιν* (where κακά is a direct object). Such emendations as Radt's *κακαὶ κακῶς* (for the idiom cf. Renchan, *Studies* 114) will not do because the wives could not be called *κακαί* for acting as recommended.
- 163** **τούτοις:** Pl. demonstrative referring to a single thought or action (here sexual intercourse), cf. 658, KG i. 67-8. For the thought cf. *Ek.* 471 (*Blepyros*) τὸ πρὸς βίαν δεινότατον (referring to forced sex).
- 164** 'and in other ways besides we must cause them pain', i.e. they must carry out neither sexual nor any other domestic duties (cf. *Kinesias*' list of complaints, 865 ff.).
- 165** **εὐφρανθήσεται:** Referring to sexual fulfilment, cf. 591.
- 167** This expression is common in situations where 'after an argument one party realized that further resistance was useless' (Fraenkel at *A. Ag.* 944), cf. 1176, *Av.* 665. **σφῶν:** *Lys.* and *Lam.*
- 168-80** *Lam.*, who like *Lys.* is politically knowledgeable (93 n.), now introduces an objection that has nothing to do with the domestic sphere; thus, *Lys.* has an opportunity to announce the existence of the occupation-plot that will be the dominant action of the play in its epirrhematic sections (254-705) and that does not involve the wives. Only the two leaders participate in this part of the deliberations.
- Lam.*'s condescending view of the Athenian citizens as a rabble incapable of behaving reasonably is one that is shared by *Lys.* and that appears frequently in comedy, as does the view that all political leaders are corrupt. But *Ar.* is careful not to imply that the Spartans are in any way superior to the Athenians: *Lam.*'s analysis assumes that the Spartans are more eager for peace than the Athenians (as they indeed turn out to be: 980 ff., 1162-72), and no doubt the spectators felt that even unreasonable stubbornness was the manlier attitude.
- 168** **ἄμῶν:** For this rare placement of the pronoun cf. 416, *Av.* 1110 τὰς γὰρ ὑμῶν οἰκίας, KG i. 619-20.
- 169** In view of the prevalent Athenian opinion of Spartan trustworthiness (628-9), *Lam.*'s remark must have raised a derisive laugh.
- 170-1** **ῥυάχeton:** This word (only here) seems to mean 'common flow', 'rabble' (*Σ*, test.), cf. *Ve.* 666 τὸν Ἀθηναίων κολοσυρτόν, and for similar metaphors *Ach.* 26 ἀθροοὶ καταρρέοντες, *Ve.* 673 σύρφαξ (cf. *συρφετός*), *Hdt.* 3. 81 χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ ἵκελος (of a mob). The word derives from ῥύαξ (~ ῥέω, cf. Dor. *ξέερρα*) with a suffix in -ετος. The aspiration of the

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root may be expressive (J. Vendryes, *Mél. Glotz* 851 ff.) or related to such Doric aspirations as ὄρνιχες, ψυχός, πέλιχνα (πέλιξ). αὖ: Emphasizing the contrast begun with μέν 168, cf. *Ek.* 166. πλαδδιήν: 'talk nonsense', 'wander (mentally)'. The suffix -ιάν often designates chronic maladies or pathological tendencies (987 n.). This word may be connected with Att. πλάζω, cf. E. *HF* 1189 and the collocation at *Il.* 17. 750-1 (πρῶν) ῥόον πεδίον δὲ τίθησι πλάζων.

- 172** 'We shall by all means effect the persuasion as regards our situation.' ἀμέλει σοι: This collocation illustrates the adverbial use of ἀμέλει, which originally was parenthetical ('don't worry'). Compare the addition of the second person pronoun to ἰδοῦ (*Ach.* 470, *Pl. R.* 440A). τὰ γε παρ' ἡμῖν: Locative dative, cf. *Lys.* 1. 43 σκέψασθε δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς ('in your own minds') περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος. Contrast the use of (ablative) genitive, as in *Th.* 1170 τὰ μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν ἴσθι σοι πεπεισμένα, 'we are won over to you as regards what is in our power to grant (lit., what comes from us)', i.e. the return of your relative (1166-7). It is often difficult to choose between the gen. and the dat., e.g. *Pl. Smph.* 219A τὰ μὲν παρ' ἐμοί (v.l. ἐμοῦ) ... ταῦτ' ἐστίν. Cf. also 243.

- 173-4** The Spartans are ready to consider peace, but the Athenians have in their treasury and their fleet a military advantage that enables them to be stubborn. Here Ar. caters to Athenian pride (168-80 n.) and puts a rosier complexion on Athenian capabilities than was at that time justified in reality. The Peloponnesian fleet was now a match for the Athenian, and the Peloponnesians could now get money from the Persians, as Peisandros points out to the Athenians in assembly (*Th.* 8. 52-3). Nevertheless, at the time of the performance of *Lys.* many (perhaps most) spectators preferred to look on the bright side of their situation, and Thukydides' informants clearly exaggerated the ease with which Peisandros silenced those who spoke against his proffered plan (8. 53. 2). See further *Introd.* I.

ἄς ... κ' ἔχωντι: = ἕως ἂν ἔχωσι, 'as long as they possess'. πόδας: Used of the sheets of a ship, *LSJ* II. 2. τριήρεις: The fleet at Samos (313 n.), whose central importance is stressed by the Proboulos' mission, 421-3. The calculations of Tissaphernes and Peisandros (*Th.* 8. 52-3), which credit the Peloponnesians with a fleet at least the numerical equal of the Athenian, seem to be corroborated by the evidence (*HCT* v. 27 ff.), even though the estimate made by the Spartan sailors at *Th.* 8. 78 is overconfident. τῶβυσσον: 'boundless', cf. A. *Th.* 950. Since the start of the war Athens had prided herself on her superior wealth (*Th.* 1. 141), whereas the poor Spartans had to rely on martial prowess alone (*Th.* 1. 80. 4, 121. 3). The Sicilian disaster, together with Persian aid to the Peloponnesians, had changed that equation, but the spectators, buoyed by the Athenian recovery and recent successes, were apparently receptive to Ar.'s flattering estimate of their financial reserves. τῆ σιῶ: Athena, whose treasuries on the Akropolis were kept distinct from other state

funds and were at this time Athens' principal financial reserve (for the remains of the stele recording accounts for 412/11 see ML 81). In the spring of 412 (in the archonship of Kallias, i.e. after 1 Hekatombaion: Σ quotes Philochoros = *FGrH* 328 F 138), after the revolt of Chios, the Athenians voted to use an emergency fund of 1000 T which Perikles had set aside with Athena in 431 and which had until then been untouched (Th. 2. 41. 1, 8. 15. 1). The connected decree (2. 24. 2) calling for a reserve of 100 triremes with their trierarchs seems not to have been as strictly observed (8. 1. 2). Lys.'s seizure of the Akropolis is expected effectively to halt the war-effort (421-3, 488). Since Ar. nowhere alludes to the possibility that Athens might get money from the Persians (contrast *Ach.* 100 ff.), it is unlikely that Peisandros had yet revealed the plan involving Alkibiades and Tissaphernes: see *Introd.* I.

176 καταληψόμεθα: 'seize and occupy', cf. Th. 1. 126. 5 (of Kylon), Ar.'s play *Skenas Katalambanousai*. The implicit assumption of the occupation-plot is that it will end when the women have forced a negotiated peace. **ἀκρόπολιν:** In simultaneous use with the older πόλις (245, 266, etc.) at least since 434/3 (*IG* i³ 52 B5, B11).

177 πρεσβυτάταις: These old women later aid Lys. in her defence of the Akropolis (439-607). They are friends of the old women of the chorus (321 ff.), who refer to two of them by name (Kalyke and Kritylla, 322-3), and at least some are market-women (456 ff.). The superlative probably designates the oldest living generation (to match the oldsters of the chorus, 254-386 n.), but it is possible that a corporate group is indicated (179 n.): *πρεσβύτερος* (conjectured by Lenting) designated older members of priestly colleges, or the older of two or more colleges in the same locale (Poland (1-2 n.) 98 ff., 171 ff., 290-1), and the superlative might thus have designated the 'oldest'. Such colleges included both active priestesses and priestly personnel and those who had retired, that is, those whose positions were not hereditary (and therefore life-long) but acquired through election, allotment, or purchase (see Turner, *Chs.* 2-5). The old women of the chorus, for example, boast of having held important sub-sacerdotal offices (640 ff.).

178 'while we are agreeing upon (E. *Ba.* 807) *our* business', i.e. the strike. The placement of this line seems a bit illogical: *Nu.* 1458 ff. and *Pax* 69 ff. have the εως-clause in the expected position, but cf. the variant at *Nu.* 1488 f.

179 'looking as if they are sacrificing', *Ra.* 564 τὸ ξίφος γ' ἐσπᾶτο μαινέσθαι δοκῶν, for the construction cf. 13-14. Since the Akropolis was dominated by the cults of goddesses (for a list see Jordan (*Introd.* III n. 8) 28 ff.), the appearance of the old women would have seemed routine religious business, requiring no challenge from the guards (for which see *IG* i³ 45). The occupation-plot assumes that there were no men on the Akropolis, and there is no reason to think that, at the dawn of an ordinary day, there would have been any.

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180 Unless we adopt one of the many conjectures, we must with Σ take **καλῶς** brachylogically with both **ἔχοι** and **λέγεις**, 'It will turn out well in all ways, for in this way too you argue well', cf. 1013, 1096, *Ek.* 272. Lam.'s endorsement of the two plans (occupation and strike) ends the debate. We are now ready for an oath cementing the conspiracy—and more squabbling!

181–239. *The conspirators take an oath*

A disagreement develops over the form of the oath. Kal. objects to Lys.'s suggestion (a blood-sacrifice into a shield) as being too warlike, but her own suggestion (sacrificing a white horse) proves equally unacceptable. Finally Lys. suggests sacrificing a large jar of wine, thus breaking the deadlock to universal applause. Lys. performs the sacrifice and (after some squabbling among the wives over who gets to drink first) administers an oath detailing the sexual acts to be withheld from the husbands.

This scene is entirely farcical—the serious purpose behind the strike being temporarily forgotten—and derives its humour from a good-natured travesty of the official language and protocol of a solemn oath-ceremony. The ludicrous nature of the conspiracy itself is made even more comical by the extreme importance attached by the wives to drinking and sex, so that the formal gravity of their actions is undercut at every point by its comic content. In a similar way Ar. exploits the humour of incongruity in the prologue of *Ek.*, where women rehearse their takeover of the Athenian assembly.

181–2 τί δῆτα ... οὐχ: In impatient questions with aor. indic. (without δῆτα 906, 1161), virtually an imperative: P. T. Stevens, *CQ* 31 (1937) 185. Contrast (with pres. indic.) 1103, 1159 f., KG i. 165–6. **ξυνωμόσαμεν:** 'join in league together' (as conspirators, cf. 1007). **ἀρρήκτως ἔχη:** This phrase only here in classical Greek, but cited by Phryn. *PS* 42. 15.

184 Σκύθαινα: A female version of a Skythian archer (J. Oehler, *RE* 5 A (1927) 692), outlandishly dressed and carrying a shield, appears from the skene or through the parodos at Lys.'s summons. Her function, apart from fetching and carrying (and supplying a shield), is to lend the proceedings an official air, like Praxagora's κηρύκαινα (*Ek.* 711 ff.). Similar comic coinages are μαγείραινα and ἰχθυοσπόλαινα (Pherekr. 64. 4–5, cf. *Nu.* 660 ff.). Later a squadron of Skythian archers accompanies the Proboulos on his official errand (433 ff.). At Athens the police force was manned mainly by slave-archers from foreign lands (to be distinguished from the corps composed of free-born men mentioned at *Aθ.* π. 24. 3), who kept order at assemblies (*Pl. Prt.* 319C) and guarded Prytaneis and other officials (*Ach.* 54 ff., *Eq.* 665). Sometime after 450 a body of 300 Skythians was purchased because of their special skill at archery (*IG* i³ 45, Andok. 3. 5, Aischin. 2. 173). In comedy and in vase-paintings they are portrayed as low slave-types (435–6 n., H. Hommel,

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RE vi A (1937) 1855, Ehrenberg 175) wearing baggy trousers, long-sleeved jackets and an exotic hat with flaps, cf. M. Vos, *Skythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting* (Groningen 1963). **ποῖ βλέπεις;** Like all slaves, this one is inattentive (18, 426).

185 εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν: Echoing an official formula, *Ach.* 43, *Ek.* 129, Aischin. 1. 23. **τὴν ἄσπίδα:** The Archeress's shield. That Lys. suggests using a shield, and later uses a drinking-bowl (199 ff.), does not indicate that the altar usually present was not there: C.W. Dearden, *The Stage of Ar.* (London 1976) 46 ff.

186 Any solemn undertaking or covenant must of course be sealed by an oath; for the special forms of sacrifice that accompany oath-taking see Burkert *GR* 250-4, Nilsson 139 ff. The antiquity of the oath-sacrifice is indicated by such epic descriptions as *Il.* 3. 103-7, 268-313 (cf. 19. 249-55) and by even older Near Eastern parallels (Burkert *HN* 35 n. 3). The essential elements are the dismemberment of the victim and the touching of its blood and severed parts, which emphasize the participation of divine and human witnesses and symbolize the self-curse made by the swearer (destruction and the extirpation of one's family were the consequences of perjury). Although Lys.'s ceremony is a humorous version of a conspiratorial oath, the fact that women are making an oath-sacrifice is not in itself fantastic, since women did occasionally do so, for example the *γεραραί* ('venerable ones') during the Anthesteria, [D.] 59. 73-8, cf. Burkert *HN* 232-3, Parke 110-12. **τόμια:** Used only of oath-sacrifices and usually indicating the testicles of a male victim (Stengel 78-85, Burkert *HN* 36, 68-9), upon which the swearer stood (D. 23. 68 *σὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τομίων*).

188-99 *Π1* preserves 182-99 in a lacunose and disordered fashion: 182-7 are followed by 197, 199, 198, 188, after which the text breaks off. This sequence of lines has been explained as indicating (a) two authorial versions of the scene (K.J. Dover, *ICS* 2 (1977) 154); (b) an abbreviated version of the scene made by an actor or producer (A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 117 ff.). Against (a) it can be argued that Ar.'s hypothetical versions (188-99 and 197-9) make no sense: if 188-96 are omitted, *τὴν κύλικα* (note definite article) in 197 refers to an object not yet mentioned; it cannot refer to the shield mentioned in 185 because someone immediately calls for a kylix (199). Furthermore, it is hard to imagine why Ar. would think of dispensing with the mock Aischylean oath (188 ff.) when the mention of shield and victim (185-6) and the parody of the blood-covenant (202 ff.) were obviously written with this in mind. Against (b) an additional objection can be made: there is no evidence, and little likelihood, that any Aristophanic play was ever staged after the author's lifetime (Dover, l.c. 137-8, cf. *Introd.* VI). This general objection outweighs the possibility (suggested by Henrichs/Koenen) that 198-9 were inverted to avoid the pause which in the normal order of lines follows Lys.'s call for a bottle and kylix (199). Fortunately,

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a simple mechanical explanation is available. The scribe inadvertently omitted 197-9 (homoioteleuton in 196 and 199), which in a subsequent transcription were wrongly placed after 187 (*ZPE* 31 (1978) 79). A subsequent, unrelated slip caused the inversion of 198-9: the scribe omitted 198 (homoiarcton in 198 ΦΕΥ, 199 ΦΕΡ), then noticed his mistake and wrote 198 after 199; his marginal indication of the correct order was missed in a subsequent transcription: M. W. Haslam, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 31-2. The resulting confusion was never cleared up by comparison with a correct exemplar.

188-9a Ar. recalls a scene from A. *Sept.* 42 ff. (perhaps indicating that in his own day such a ceremony was old-fashioned). The Seven are described as *ταυροσφαγούντες εἰς μελάνδετον σάκος* (cf. 195) *καὶ θυγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου ... ὠρκωμότησαν*. The victim's blood was poured into a shield or other vessel so that participants could dip hands or swords into it. **ὥσπερ, φασίν, Αἰσχύλος**: Comic poets frequently depict an author as himself doing something that in his work a character had done, e.g. *Th.* 149 ff., *Ra.* 13 ff., 924, D. Bain, *LCM* 2 (1977) 87. Compare Pl. *Th.* 181A, where holders of the doctrine that all things are in flux are dubbed *οἱ βέοντες*. Parenthetical *φασίν* designates traditional sayings or customs, R. Renehan, *HSCP* 75 (1971) 88, 104, *Studies* 146. **μηλοσφαγούσας**: Of animal sacrifice generally, *Av.* 1232, *S. El.* 280.

189b-90 Kal. enters the first demurrer of the scene: how can they think of using a shield in an oath concerning peace? Lys. appears to be more warlike than the wives.

191a Lys. admits that Kal. is right and asks for an alternative suggestion, cf. the similar deliberations in the prologue of *Ek.* (82-284).

191b-2 'What if we get a white horse somewhere and cut it as a victim?' *Sc.* *τί δ' or τί δ' ἄν εἴη*, cf. 399, *Nu.* 749 ff., P. T. Stevens, *CQ* 31 (1937) 184.

Lys.'s reaction (193a) shows that Kal.'s suggestion is absurd, but it is hard to determine exactly why. The two suggestions in *Σ* seem far-fetched: that 'white horse' is a double entendre for penis (cf. Hsch. ι 845) or the kind of sacrifice practised by Amazons (cf. A. R. 2. 1175-6, Ps.-Kallisth. 3. 25). Horse-sacrifice is rarely attested for the Greeks, and the examples are restricted either to extraordinary incidents or to legendary times: *Il.* 23. 171-2 (Achilleus immolates horses on Patroklos' pyre); *Plu. Pel.* 21 ff. (at Leuktra a mare is sacrificed in lieu of a maiden); *Paus.* 3. 20. 9 (on the road from Sparta to Arkadia the Tomb of the Horse commemorates a horse-sacrifice made by Tyndareus when he administered an oath to Helen's suitors); see further G. Keller, *Ant. Tierwelt* i. 252 ff. On the other hand, horse-sacrifice is frequently mentioned as a Skythian custom: X. *Kyr.* 8. 3. 12 records a Skythian sacrifice of white horses to Helios (cf. Hdt. 1. 216. 4), and Luc. *Skyth.* 2 mentions horse-sacrifice to the healing hero Toxaris, a Skythian whose sanctuary in Athens he locates 'not far from the Dipylon, on the left as you go towards the Academy'. At E. *Hel.* 1258 Theoklymenos, when asked by Menelaos

to suggest a costly sacrifice to the dead, replies ἐν βαρβάροις μὲν ἵππον ἢ ταῦρον νόμος. Thus the likeliest explanation for Kal.'s suggestion is that it was inspired, like Lys.'s, by the presence of the Archeress. That Kal. specifies a white horse in the context of an oath-sacrifice (where only dark-coloured victims were used: Nilsson 237) is not in itself humorous, since all horse-sacrifices apparently involved white victims (Stengel, *KA*³ 152).

193-4 ποί: Adverbial, 'What do you mean ...?', cf. 383 and compare ποῖος (729-30 n.). Now it is Kal.'s turn to ask for a suggestion, and this time Lys.'s idea is acceptable to everyone: not only does it eliminate those features of a solemn oath-sacrifice which the wives had found repugnant, but it also affords an opportunity for drinking (113-14 n.). Instead of a victim there will be a jar of wine, and instead of blood there will be wine. We do not want to attribute this inspiration to anyone but the leader. ἐγὼ ... φράσω always occurs in the pattern A comment, B question, A reply, e.g. *Ra.* 1155 ff. ἦν βούλη need not require a speaker subordinate to Lys. but means simply 'since you ask', cf. 862.

195-7 Oath-sacrifice demanded blood but ceremonies involving peace were bloodless and accompanied by the drinking of wine (Burkert *GR* 71), cf. *Pax* 1017 ff., where Trygaeos' suggestion of a sheep-sacrifice is vetoed because (1019-20) οὐχ ἦδεται δῆπουθεν Εἰρήνη σφαγαίς, οὐδ' αἵματοῦται βωμός. Lys.'s idea eliminates this polarity in a comic fashion. μέλαιναν: Contrasting with λευκόν (191, 193) and perhaps glancing at A. *Sept.* 43 (188 n.). κύλικα: Cf. Hdt. 4. 70 ἐς κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμῖνῃν οἶνον ἐγγέαντες. Lys.'s choice of vessel (the kylix was *par excellence* the drinking bowl) signals her departure from tradition: in oath ceremonies libation was traditional, but the wine was poured on the ground, not drunk (cf. *Il.* 3. 295-301, K. Kirchner, *RVV* 9. 2 (1910) 1 ff., Stengel 186). Lys. combines sacrifice and libation. μηλοσφαγοῦσαι: Throughout the ceremony Lys. preserves the language and procedure of a blood-sacrifice. Θάσιον οἴνου σταμνίον: cf. *Ve.* 838 προφαλίδα τυροῦ Σικελίαν. For the earthen jar as 'victim' compare the coal-scuttle at *Ach.* 331 ff. and the wineskin at *Th.* 686 ff. (both in parody of E. *Telephos*); at *Ra.* 22 Dionysos is called νιδὸς Σταμνίου. Thasian wine was among the choicest varieties (Athen. 1. 28E ff.): it was especially dark in colour (Athen. 11. 478D, Plaut. *Poen.* 700) and its characteristic aroma (202, *Ek.* 1118-19, *Pl.* 1021) resembled apples (Hermipp. 82. 3), hence possibly a pun here on μηλοσφαγοῦσαι. This aroma was produced by putting flavoured dough in the jar (Thphr. *Od.* 51). The sale of Thasian wine was strictly regulated (cf. the roughly contemporary decree in *BCH* 50. 214), the amphorae being stamped with the names of merchant and magistrate and sealed (A. Bon, *Ét. Thas.* 4, V. Grace, *Hesp. Suppl.* 8 (1949) 180-1). σταμνίον: There may be a pun on the Homeric hapax ἀμνίον (*Od.* 3. 444), a bowl for catching a victim's blood. The stamnion was especially associated with the Lenaia (*DFA*² 28 ff.); when used in private

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contexts it was considered an extravagance (Men. *Dysk.* 448–9). In general see Philippaki (1–2 n.), D. Amyx, *Hesp.* 27 (1958) 190. **μη̄ πικεῖν ὕδωρ**: Lys. rounds off the oath with this same joke (235). Women like their wine neat (*Ek.* 227, 1123) because it quickly intoxicates (*Krat.* 299).

198 φεῦ δᾶ: Tragic (only here in comedy), expressing astonishment; origin obscure (see Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1072). **ἄφατον ὥς**: '(it) cannot be told how (much)'. This expression occurs also at *Av.* 428 (the Hoopoe sings), and *Ve.* 1279 ἀργαλέον ὡς σοφόν is similar, but since Spartans use it again at 1080 and 1148 it may be specially Lakonian.

199 Unless a slave has been waiting for his cue and appears with comical promptness, there is a pause which creates suspense before the appearance of what must be a very large jar (200). At *Eq.* 113–14 a similar pause is bridged by a slave's remark. In the papyrus 198–9 are inverted (188–9 n.).

200 'What a deal of pottery!' **κεραμῶν**: A comic collective noun, this suffix indicating where more than one of something is found (cf. οἰνῶν, παρθενῶν), *Hdn. Gr.* 1. 32. 40. MS *κεραμεῶν* is the kind of corruption associated with Ionic/Koine, cf. *Eq.* 374, *Av.* 1113.

201–2 'This (μὲν: Denn. 381–2) is a bowl that a person would be glad to hold!' Kal. begins to lift the bowl but is ordered to put it down. **κάπρου**: i.e. the jar of Thasian. Boars, along with goats and bulls, are common victims in blood-oaths into a shield (*Il.* 19. 251, *X. An.* 2. 2. 9). For laying hands on the victim before the slaughter cf. A. *Sept.* 44 (quoted above, 188–9a n.), Stengel *KA*³ 136.

203–4 Lys.'s prayer for help in the undertaking formally resembles actual prayers (Kleinknecht 49 ff.), as do the prayers at 317–18, 341 ff., 551 ff., *Nu.* 263–74. Such prayers, especially when they invoke abstractions, are particularly frequent in Euripides' later plays (Langhoff 49–60). From earliest times, of course, the invocation of abstract powers and objects was normal in prayers accompanying an oath: *Il.* 3. 267–80, Burkert *GR* 250–1. **δέσποινα**: Signifying the supplicant's humility 'as that of a slave to his master' (Barrett at E. *Hp.* 88–9). **Πειθοί**: By 'persuasion' Lys. has in mind not verbal argument (which has plainly failed, cf. 507 ff.) but the coercive power of the (non-verbal) strike (recall the use of (ἀμ)πεῖθειν at 168, 171). Peitho is connected with Aphrodite from early times (*Hes. Op.* 73 with West's n., Sappho 200, Ibyk. 288. 3, Kerkidas 2D, Pi. fr. 123), and Athenians were familiar with the shrine of Peitho and Aphrodite Pandemos on the SW slope of the Akropolis not far from the Nike bastion, Paus. 1. 22. 3, L. Beschi, *ASAtene* 45/6 (1967/8) 520 ff. These goddesses had a state cult with both sexual and political significance, cf. A. *Suppl.* 1034 ff., *Eum.* 885 ff., 970 ff. Sokolowski no. 39 records a procession to the Klepsydra (913 n.) to wash Peitho's image. See further Hamdorf 63–4, Gomme/Sandbach at Men. *Epit.* 555–6. **κύλιξ φιλοτησία**: Symbolizing the solidarity so necessary to the success of the conspiracy (cf. 238–9),

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- H. Schmitz, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 292 ff. Compare *Ach.* 985, Theopomp. Com. 32. 9 f. φιλοτησίαν δὲ τήνδε σοι προπίομαι· δέξαι, πούσα δ' ὅποσον ἄν σοι θυμὸς ᾗ. τὰ σφέαγια δέξαι: The usual formula for divine acceptance of offerings of which nothing is eaten or drunk (in the cult of the dead, purifications, oaths, ceremonies preceding dangerous undertakings like combat or travel), Casabona 155 ff., Stengel 92 ff.
- 205** That the 'blood' is of good colour and spurts out freely is a sign of divine goodwill (Casabona 317 ff.). ἀποπυτίζει: Intransitive only here, properly of spitting fluids from the mouth. Ar. wants a pun on πυτίνη 'wine-flask'. Flowing wine is compared with blood also in the 'killing' of the wineskin-baby at *Th.* 730 ff.
- 206** καὶ μὲν ... γ(α)': *Ve.* 521, Denn. 351-2. The oath strengthens the exclamatory force, *Pl.* 380, 1006. ποτόδδει: Absolute only here (usually with gen., as 616). ἀδύ: 'good'.
- 207** Lam. bends down to smell the wine and Myr., suspecting her of sneaking a drink, demands to be first: ὀμνύναι of course = πίνειν. Myr. should have this line because Kal. has already been admonished (203). A squabble already threatens solidarity!
- 208** Kal. insists that proper symposiac etiquette be followed by the drawing of lots to determine the order of drinking, cf. *Pl.* 972 ἀλλ' οὐ λαχοῦσ' ἔπινες ἐν τῷ γράμμασι, which suggests that the lots were inscribed with letters of the alphabet, like those used in the allotment of dicasts (*Μθ.* π. 63-6). The drinking-order could also be assigned by an elected symposiarch (*X. An.* 6. 1. 30), the role that Lys. here assumes *de facto*.
- 209-10** As they had touched the victim for the prayer (201-2), so now they touch the conspiratorial bowl for the oath. Lam. is singled out as co-leader and representative of the non-Attic wives: for sg. vocative with pl. verb cf. 356, 518, 549, *Ra.* 1479, *KG* i. 85. λάξυσθε: Epic/Ionic but used by Euripides.
- 212** Adulterers (107 n.) are comically mentioned before husbands. The formal solemnity of the oath-taking and the faint-hearted responses of Kal. (214-15) are undercut by the ludicrous provisions of the conspiracy. For actual loyalty-oaths see *Il.* 3. 268 ff., Alkaios 129 L-P, *E. IT* 743 ff., *D.* 59. 73-8 (the Iobakchic *gerarai*, 186 n.), the oath of Attic ephebes (*R. Merkelbach, ZPE* 9 (1972) 277-83).
- 214-16** λέγε: Kal. hesitates. παπαί: Expressing alarm, as often in tragedy. τὰ γόνατ': Shaky limbs are a sign of weakness (541-2) and cowardice (*Il.* 21. 425).
- 217** ἀταυρώτη: This adj.-type is normally two-termination (at *A. Ag.* 245 Iphigeneia is ἀταύρωτος), but Attic poets often ignore the norm (*KB* i. 539). In view of the Aeschylean precedent, there may be a point in Lys.'s use of the feminine ending: perhaps she affects sophistication in grammar, as recommended by sophists like Protagoras (*W. K. C. Guthrie, The Sophists* (Cambridge 1971) 219 ff.), cf. 1127 where she boasts of her education. In *Clouds* Ar. ridicules sophistic overprecision in grammar

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(627-99). The representation of man by bull (A. *Ag.* 1126 with Fraenkel's note) and woman by cow (Pi. *P.* 4. 142) was traditional and is reflected in such myths as Zeus and Europa, cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* vol. III (Cambridge 1940) 615-28.

- 221** ἐπιτυφῆ: 'be inflamed' (aor. pass.), of sexual 'heat' (cf. 1079); for the gen. cf. ἐπιθυμῆν, ἐρᾶν, κιστᾶν (*Pax* 479), πρύχασθαι (*Pax* 989): KG i. 351-2.
- 225** βιάζηται: Of rape (cf. *Pl.* 1092), opp. πείθειν at *Lys.* 1. 32.
- 227** προσκινήσομαι: 'move against/with', of sexual cooperation, *Ek.* 256-7.
- 229** ἀνατενώ: Suda's ἀντενώ may be justifiable in this mock-solemn context, but it is probably an intrusive epicism (cf. 115-16 n.). **Περσικά:** A surprise for σκέλει (*Ek.* 265). Raising the legs during intercourse is an example of the woman's enthusiastic cooperation (cf. 227); Thphr. *Ch.* 28. 3 calls a brothel οἰκία ... τὰ σκέλη ἠρκυῖα, cf. Lat. 'pedem tollere'. Persian slippers (shoes were not worn indoors, *Ek.* 269 ff.) were female apparel (*Ek.* 319); men wore Λακωνικά (*Th.* 142). Poll. 7. 92 says that *persikai* were white, and from *Ek.* 344-6 it appears that, like κόθορνοι (656-7 n.), they fit either foot. The designation 'Persian' suggests that they were luxurious (cf. *περσικαὶ στολαί* at *Mén.* fr. 24. 2), and this would intensify the humour of *Nu.* 151, where an insect's wax-covered feet are compared to human feet in *persikai*. See further Stone 227 ff., ill. in Bieber *GK* Pl. lxiv.
- 231** Like a lioness ready to pounce, with head and forepaws down, hindquarters aloft. For this sexual posture cf. *Pax* 894-9 and numerous paintings (mostly on drinking-bowls, e.g. *ARV* 318. 19). Household utensils were often adorned with such animal motifs (B. Sparkes, *JHS* 82 (1962) 132), and a crouched posture would perhaps lessen the chance of breakage (so *Σ*). The lioness, like the panther (1014-15 n.), was one of the animals that yielded female sobriquets and was popular with hetairai (Bechtel, *Frauennamen*, Headlam/Knox at *Herod.* 2. 73), cf. *Anaxil.* 22. 5, *S. Inach.* 2. 42 Carden, *Machon* 168 (cf. Gow's n. and *Gnom.* 38 (1966) 553). The spectators may have been reminded of the bronze lioness by Amphikrates, which stood near Aphrodite Pandemos (203-4 n.), *Paus.* 1. 23. 2.
- 235-6** The punishment for perjury amounts to baths, but for the wives it is a grave matter (113-14 n.). ἐμπλήθ': *Ach.* 236 ἐμπλήθημην, *Lautensach Aor.* 18.
- 238-9** καθαγίσω: 'make entirely ἄγιος' (aor. subj.), properly by holocaust (so *Σ*), here by drinking the bowl dry: a similar joke at *Pl.* 681. For the concept of ἄγιος cf. E. Williger, *RVV* 19. 1 (1922), Burkert *GR* 270-1. τὸ μέρος γ': 'only your share', cf. *Av.* 624. Kal. fears that *Lys.* might drink all the wine herself.

240-53. *The wives enter the citadel*

A cry is heard: the old women have secured the Akropolis. *Lys.* sends *Lam.* back to Sparta to enact the strike there; the other foreigners remain as hostages. *Lys.*, the Attic wives and the hostages enter the door now

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identified as the Propylaia and vow to bar access to the Akropolis until the men capitulate. All express confidence that the men will be unable to evict them by siege.

In this section Ar. quickly shifts the action from the wives' conspiracy to the defence of the Akropolis, from the domestic sphere to the public. Although the strike was envisaged as taking place in individual homes (149 n.), Ar. cannot stage it that way, since he wants the Akropolis to be the scene of action for the rest of the play. Thus the wives enter the Akropolis and are hereafter assumed to have abandoned their homes (715 ff., 829 ff.). Nevertheless, the scene illustrating the strike (889 ff.) preserves elements of the domestic scenario described in the prologue, and we are periodically reminded that the strike is being carried out at Sparta (995-1006), Thebes (696-7), and in the allied cities (525-6, 554, 995-6). After their exit at 254 we shall not see the wives again until 706, when the strike-plot is resumed. In the interval Ar. concentrates entirely on the defence of the Akropolis and the confrontation with the Proboulos. In these scenes Lys.'s onstage helpers are old women (439-40 n.), friends of the chorus of women (321 ff.).

240 ὄλολυγά: This cry accompanies the successful completion of any venture (e.g. *Eq.* 1327), but here it designates the cries of women following a sacrifice (cf. 179). In general see L. Deubner, *Ololyge u. Verwandtes SB* (Berlin) 1941. 1. τούτ' ... λέγον: Probably colloquial, cf. Dover 'Stil' 142.

241-2 τὴν ... θεοῦ: Everyday usage does not require τὴν τῆς θεοῦ, KG i. 618-19, cf. *Av.* 1538 τὸν κεραυνὸν τοῦ Διὸς. καθειλήφασιν: Inscriptions before 403 invariably show εἰληφα, and no inscription of any period has κατεἰληφα (*GAI* i. 463).

243 τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν: 'your part of the business', locative dat. (172 n.).

244 Apparently everyone except Lam. enters the 'Propylaia', even though strict logic requires that representatives from Thebes, Korinth, and the other cities leave Athens.

245 Inscriptions in the first quarter of the fourth century regularly show πόλῃ (*GAI* i. 381-2), but even if this means that πόλει was a fourth-century innovation, the weight of custom inhibits me from introducing πόλῃ into a text of Ar. ταῖς ἄλλαισι: The old women (177).

246 The Akropolis could in actuality be secured from within (Th. 2. 17. 1).

247 οὐκουν: Inferential, cf. 307. ξυμβοηθήσειν: 'come to the rescue', cf. Th. 2. 80. 1.

249-51 Lys. forecasts the action to come and explicitly identifies the central door as the Propylaia. The wives' meeting possibly took place at a side door (176-9 implies that the seizure of the Akropolis was going on elsewhere), but Ar. would probably have wanted the prologue enacted centre-stage. Thus the central door has no specific identity until now. Compare the arrangement in *Knights*, where the central door represents Demos' house until 1326, when its identity is changed to the Propylaia.

252-3 'That, by Aphrodite, they shall never do, for (if we let them) it would

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be for nothing that we women have a reputation for being resistless (cf. 1014) and devilish (433, 972, 989)', cf. 12 n., 145. As often in Eur. (e.g. *Hp.* 120), the episode closes with a sententious comment, cf. also 779 f.

254-386. PARODOS

The chorus enters the orchestra by way of what Ar. called the *eisodos* (*Nu.* 326, *Av.* 296, fr. 403) but which later (at least by the early third century BC) could be called the *parodos* (*JG* xii (9). 207. 55, Eretria). Aristotle was the first to use *parodos* to designate the section of a play (*Poet.* 52^b17, 22, *EN* 1123^a23). Here begins a series of epirrhematic scenes (254-705) in which the chorus plays a prominent role. Hellenistic scholars inferred that there were 24 choreutai in a comedy from *Birds*, in which individual choreutai were numbered off because each had a special costume (cf. *Σ Av.* 297); Ar. *Islands* (403) and Eup. *Cities* (232-3) may also have numbered off the choreutai. In *Lys.* the chorus is divided into equal semichoruses until 1043; if the chorus always numbered 24, the spectators will have known that another twelve choreutai would soon arrive in addition to those who enter at 254. Although elsewhere in Ar. a chorus may temporarily divide into semichoruses (*Ach.* 556 ff.), there are no other certain examples of an arrangement like ours in comedy: Kratinos' *Archilochoi* may have had semichoruses of partisans of Homer and Hesiod on the one side and Archilochos on the other (fr. 2, 6, 7), and Eupolis' *Marikas* may also have had a divided chorus (95. 29 Austin). But such an arrangement occurred in tragedy and choral lyric: J. Lammers, *Die Doppel- u. Halbchöre in der antiken Tragödie* (Münster 1931), Schmid i. 634, ii. 179, 528. Confrontations between groups of men and women, including the exchange of insults, were a feature of certain festivals, e.g. the Stenia at Athens (Deubner 53, 57 f.) and the sacrifice for Apollo Aigletes on Anaphe (M. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Berlin 1906) 175-6); cf. Attic vase-paintings depicting choruses of men and women, *DTC* 302-3 ## 10, 18.

The men enter first (254-318). They are very old (336, 372, 671) and recall events of their youth which would (if we cared to calculate) make them well over 100 years old (271 ff., 285, 318, 664 ff.). They are poorly dressed in himatia (401, 470), under which they wear the exomis (615, 662, 1021); if they wore the phallos (cf. Stone 72 ff.), it would be visible after they remove the himation and exomis (800 n.). As in satyr-drama (but not in tragedy) several choreutai are named (cf. D. F. Sutton, *AJP* 106 (1985) 107 ff.): Drakes (254), Strymodoros (259), Philourgos (266), Laches (304), and Phaidrias (356). Each carries a pair (291) of olivewood logs (255) and a vine-torch (308), and a pitcher (297) of live coals (293) which he blows into along the way to the Propylaea. These burdens, in combination with the steepness of the path (286 ff.), make the old men's progress slow, and the

smoke that pours from the pitchers stings their eyes. But they are determined to build a great pyre and smoke the women out (269 f., 306 ff.). The pitchers probably did not actually contain live coals, and the path to the Propylaia was probably not actually inclined.

These old men represent the home guard, the young men being away from the city (313, 524), and they have taken it upon themselves to deal with the emergency. Their motivation is largely old-fashioned patriotism: as assemblymen who support the war policy (380, 698 ff.) they view the women as traitors and hope to deal with them as they had once dealt with Kleomenes (273 ff.), thus proving themselves worthy of their valour at Marathon (285). Additional motivation is provided by pure male indignation at the women's audacity (256 ff.) and by knowledge that the Akropolis treasury is the source of their own jury-pay (624-5), over and above the means of Athens' safety. Unlike the spectators, the old men know neither the reason for the women's action (476 ff.) nor the identity of the ringleader (270). Nor do they expect a counter-attack, for the appearance of the old women (319) surprises them (352-3). Thus, they are operating with violent intent toward fellow citizens under false assumptions and with inadequate strategic preparation, so that their humiliation by the women can be anticipated. Nevertheless, Ar.'s portrayal is (as befits a lively contest) not entirely unsympathetic. Despite the caricature, many in the audience will have identified with these old men (cf. MacDowell at *Ve.* 162), and in the course of the play Ar. will have them learn the error of their ways and come round to the women's point of view (contrast the unsympathetic and unredeemable Proboulos).

The epirrhematic section of *Lys.*, which is devoted exclusively to the occupation-plot, is structurally typical in that physical violence precedes debate, but it is atypical in that the violence and debate proceed on two fronts (both onstage and in the orchestra), and the semichoruses continue their antagonism until well after the epirrhematic section has ended: for the structural scheme see *Introd.* II. Although the expulsion of the Proboulos and the disarming of the men's chorus secure the occupation of the Akropolis, the Proboulos refuses to admit defeat in the agon, and the men's chorus continues to oppose the women.

Noteworthy in the scenes of violence is the surprise-technique whereby successive assaults by male attackers are opposed by equal forces of female defenders who suddenly materialize: in the orchestra, the women's semichorus; in the stage-area, *Lys.*'s helpers (439 ff.) and the troop of market-women (456, note *ἔνδοθεν*). The women consider themselves, *qua* defenders, as being the more righteous party, and their surprise counter-attacks give the impression that *Lys.* is a superior strategist, cf. 471-5.

As in the parodoi of *Ach.*, *Ve.*, and *Av.* Ar. delays the initial contact with antagonists; contrast *Eq.*, *Pax*, and *Pl.*, where the entering chorus confronts an enemy at once. Since there is to be no settling of an argument, there will be no parabasis-speech: instead, each semichorus delivers its own interpre-

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tation of the situation (614-705 n.) and each continues to play an unusually prominent role during the post-epirrhematic section of the play.

For further typological details about the parodos see Zimmermann i. 42 ff.

254-318. *The old men attack the citadel*

Metre. 254-85 are in epirrhematic form; 286-305 are a strophic pair, the only one in this metre in Ar. The koryphaios uses catalectic iambic tetrameters (254-5, 265-70, 281-5, 306-18), a rhythm first found in Hipponax (119) and used by Ar. elsewhere for the entry of old men (*Wasps*, *Wealth*) and for the women in *Ek.* who pretend to be old (285 ff., cf. 277-8). For this metre see West 92-3.

(1) 256/7 ~ 271/2	--υ--υ--υ--υ--υ--	2 ia ith
(2) 258/9 ~ 273/4	υ--υ--υ--υ--υ--υ--υ--	2 ia ith
(3) 260-1 ~ 275-6	υ--υ-- --υ--υ--υ--υ--υ-- υ--	4 ia
(4) 262 ~ 277	υ--υ--υ--υ--υ--υ--	2 ia ~ 2 da ia
(5) 263 ~ 278	υ--υ--υ--υ-- υ--υ--	2 ia ~ 2 da ia
(6) 264 ~ 279	--υ-- υ--υ--	ia tr
(7) 265 ~ 280	υ--υ--υ--	ith

(1) (2) This rhythm (which could be called a catalectic iambic tetrameter with the third anceps position suppressed) is used at *Ve.* 249-72 in dialogue by the koryphaios following the chorus's entry to catalectic iambic tetrameters (230 ff.); in song *Ra.* 397-8. (4) (5) The antistrophe uses a rhythm found in tragedy, e.g. *E. Hp.* 1108 ~ 1116, cf. T. C. W. Stinton, *CR* 15 (1965) 142 ff. The 2 *da* respond with the first iambic metron of the strophe, which has regular tribrachic resolution. This responson has no certain parallels, but is guaranteed by its repetition in two successive lines and recurs at 324 ~ 338. When either half of an iambic metron consists of two short syllables and one long, υ--υ-- and --υ--υ are found in the first half but only υ--υ-- in the second (here apparently inverted, cf. Dale 78 n. 1). Zimmermann i. 45 n. 18 suggests that this responson expresses (musically and choreographically) the old men's anxiety (ode) followed by martial resolve (antode): the same might be said for 324 ~ 338. (6) (7) Trochaic movement in the course of iambic songs is not infrequent in Eur.'s later plays (cf. West 102 ff.); in Ar. cf. 286-305, *Ra.* 209 ff., J. D. Denniston, 'Lyric Iambics in Greek Drama', in *Greek Poetry and Life* (Oxford 1936) 133-4, Prato at *Ve.* 1326 ff. (6) Cf. *E. Suppl.* 374 ~ 378, *Pi. O.* 2. 1 ἀναξιδόρουγγες ἄννοι. For a resolved *tr* in responson with an unresolved one cf. *A. Pers.* 638 ~ 645. (7) For resolution of the first syllable cf. *Ra.* 446 (more frequent in tragedy, Prato at *Av.* 944).

(1) 286 ~ 296	--υ-- --υ--	2 ia
(2) 287 ~ 297	υ--υ--υ--	lek

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(3) 288 ~ 298	υ-υ- υ-υ --- υ-	3 <i>ia</i>
(4) 289 ~ 299	---υ-υ-υ-	2 <i>ia</i>
(5) 290 ~ 300	-υ---υ-	<i>lek</i>
(6) 291 ~ 301	-υ-υ-υ- υ-υ ---υ△	2 <i>tr lek</i>
(7) 292 ~ 302	-υ-υ-υ-	<i>lek</i>
(8) 293 ~ 303	-υ---υ-	<i>lek</i>
(9) 294 ~ 304	-υ---υ---υ-υ-υ-	2 <i>tr lek</i>
(10) 295a ~ 305a	--	<i>extra metrum</i>
(11) 295b ~ 305b	υυυ- υ-υ-	2 <i>cr</i>

Continuing the mixture of iambic and trochaic rhythms, this time exploiting the *lek*, which fits into either environment. (1) (2), (3) (4) Cf. *Ek.* 289/90. (10) The blowing up of the coals was no doubt a protracted bit of comic business. (11) If *κάπνον* (cf. *Nu.* 320) we have --- (cf. *E. IT* 400), but in such a context that is unlikely; *κάπνον* at 312, 319. *ιού* is possibly υ-, in which case we would have *ia cr* (syncopated 2 *ia*).

254-5 For the leader's opening exhortation compare 321, *Ach.* 204, *Ve.* 230, *Pax* 301. For Drakes *Ek.* 294, *S. Ichn.* 314. 183 (?), *Drakyllos Ach.* 612. *εἰ... ἀλγείς*: 'even if your shoulder *does* hurt you', Denn. 299 f. Men carried burdens on their shoulders, women on their heads (*Pl.* 1198); *Hdt.* 2. 35 notes the opposite Egyptian convention. *κορμού*: Only here in *Ar.*, who perhaps has the scene in *E. HF* 240 ff. in mind (*κορμούς* 242). Note the variation in the words for the logs: *πρέμνα* 267 (and *Av.* 321), *στελέχη* 336 (only here in *Ar.*). *ἐλαίας*: In contemporary inscriptions *ελα(ε)α* designates both tree and fruit, e.g. *Hesp.* 22 (1953) 249 # 2, 84 and 89 (*c.* 414). *κορμού* is freshly chopped (green, *χλωρᾶς*) wood. Some (though not all: *Lys.* 7. 7) olive-trees were sacred to Athena (*S. OK* 698 ff.) and associated with peace (*Pax* 578-9). Since *Ar.* could have specified some other kind of wood (oak, for example, as in *E. HF* 241) his choice of olivewood may be significant, perhaps suggesting sacrilegious behaviour (cf. 351).

256-9 Reflection on the unpredictability of life often accompanies novel experiences, an early example being *Archil.* 122 (about a solar eclipse). Compare the women's reaction to the Relative's shocking speech at *Th.* 520 ff. (where *Blaydes* collects other examples). *ἦ*: Affirmative, 1031, Denn. 280. *ἄελλτ'*: Virtually = *ἄπιστα*, e.g. *E. Alk.* 1123-5. *ἐπεῖ*: Virtually = *γάρ*, as often. For *Strymodoros* cf. *Ach.* 272, *Ve.* 233, *D.* 36. 29, perhaps *IG* i² 936. 3 *Strymo[* and *SEG* xvi. 129 *Strym[*. *Sommerstein* at *Ve.* 233 suggests that, since *Demosthenes'* *Strymodoros* is apparently an Aiginetan, *Ar.* may have come across the name 'owing to his connection, whatever its nature, with Aigina (cf. *Ach.* 652-4)'.
261 *ἐμφανές κακόν*: 'a manifest (*Ve.* 417) evil'. An abstraction is often used of a person, e.g. *Ach.* 737 *φανερὰν ζημίαν*. The old men's misogynistic attitude is found in Greek literature from the time of *Hesiod* (*WD* 55 ff.) onward; *Sem.* 7 is a particularly noteworthy example.

262-3 *Tmesis* in *Ar.* appears in choruses 1280 ff., *Av.* 346; in dialogue *Ach.*

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295, *Nu.* 792 (cf. 1440), *Ve.* 784, *Av.* 1506, *Ra.* 1047, *Pl.* 65. **μὲν ... τε:** Denn. 374–5. **βρέτας:** Of sacred images, chiefly those venerated by a city, here the ancient olivewood image of Athena. This was housed in the Old Temple (location uncertain) until it was burnt in 406 (X. *H.* 1. 6. 1), thereafter in the Erechtheion. For its sanctity cf. A. *Eum.* 80. **ἐμάν:** For the proprietary pronoun cf. 487. The old patriots and long-time defenders of their city are outraged by a threat to its most venerable symbol (Th. 2. 15–16). Compare the attitude of the Acharnians.

264–5 κλήθροισί: This word (usually pl.) designates anything with which one closes an opening so as to obstruct passage, cf. Barrett at E. *Hp.* 577. At 2. 17. 1 Thukydides says that people displaced after the outbreak of war in 431 were forbidden to take shelter on the Akropolis or any other place that *βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν*. **τ' αὖ:** 'and likewise/further', *Ach.* 375, *Eq.* 207, 471, *Nu.* 651, 1060, *Th.* 558, *Pl.* 304. Corruption proceeded in two stages: first τ(ε) αὖ became δ(ε) αὖ because of preceding μὲν. But the barring of the gates is an item in a parallel series of actions and an adversative is out of place. Then δ' αὖ became δέ: for this error cf. 426. The transposition of *μοχλοῖσιν* and *κλήθροισι(ν)*, originally proposed independently by Hermann and Reisig, brings 264 into resposion with 279 (where there is nothing objectionable in sense or metre) and gains support (1) from the only other collocation of these words, E. *Andr.* 950–1 *πρὸς τὰδ' ἐδ' φυλάσσετε, κλήθροισι καὶ μοχλοῖσι δωμάτων πύλας*, and (2) from the quotation in Suda π 31, cf. app. crit.

266–70 This epirrheme (one of those not divisible by four: Händel 68–9) resumes the katakeleusmos (cf. *Ve.* 240 ff.); **ἀλλ'** indicates progress, cf. 286, 292. **ἀπὸ ψήψου μιᾶς:** *Σ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης καὶ κρίσεως*, cf. 1000, 1005, Th. 7. 71. 6 *ἀπὸ μιᾶς ὀρμῆς*. For the old antithesis 'one vs. many' cf. Fraenkel at A. *Ag.* 1455. **τὴν Λύκωνος:** The old men think that Lykon's wife must be the ringleader: her name was Rhodia and she was mentioned in comedies also by Eup. (273, 215 *ἐπὶ τὴν Λύκωνος ἔρρει πᾶς ἀνῆρ*), as was Lykon's son Autolykos, a famous athlete (X. *Smp.* 1. 2) and the subject of at least one comedy by Eupolis (fr. 42–67). Lykon himself was a prominent figure (*Ve.* 1301–2) who came in for his share of comic abuse (Krat. 214, Eup. 53, *Σ Ve.* 1169). He is generally identified with Lykon of Thorikos, one of the accusers of Sokrates (*PA* 9271), but in X. *Smp.* he is portrayed as being on friendly terms with Sokrates (9. 1). In Greek comedy (e.g. *Nu.* 551 ff., *Th.* 830 ff.), as in Greek politics, an opponent's wife or mother was not exempt from public ridicule, e.g. Demosthenes on Aischines (18. 130), '... and for his mother he's invented the very impressive name Glaukothea, when everyone knows that she's called Empousa, a name obviously acquired by readiness to perform any service, to endure any kind of treatment and to assume any identity (cf. *Ra.* 289): for how else does one get such a name?' In view of the fact that three of Glaukothea's sons attained high elective office, we must not take this kind of insult too seriously.

271-4 In Old Comedy only men swear by Demeter, 500, Werres 45-6. **ζῶντος**: 696 n. **ἐγχανοῦνται**: 'laugh at', after having with impunity tricked someone, *Ach.* 221-2. Failure to liberate 'their' Akropolis would open the men to ridicule. **Κλεομένης**: For the synzesis cf. 63-4 n. Kleomenes I, an Agiad king in Sparta c. 519-490, was until 506 the decisive voice in Spartan foreign policy. In 510 he helped in the expulsion of the Athenian tyrant Hippias (1149-56 n.), which paved the way for the ascendancy of Kleisthenes and Isagoras, the latter elected archon in 508/7. Isagoras, menaced by Kleisthenes' popular alliances, appealed to Kleomenes for help. Kleomenes, whose influence at Athens depended on the oligarchs, came to Athens with a small force in 508 and seized the Akropolis as part of Isagoras' plan to establish a close oligarchic government. But popular resistance was strong: after a two-day occupation of the Akropolis Kleomenes was allowed to depart under truce (*ὑπόσπονδος*). For these events see Hdt. 5. 72, who notes that it was the Polias priestess who officially opposed the occupation (see *Introd.* III), and *Μθ.* π. 20. For other aspects of popular memory of Kleomenes' occupation cf. De Ste. Croix 167. For the old men's nostalgia cf. *Ach.* 209 ff.

275-80 ἀψάλακτος: 'unmolested', cf. 84. **Λακωνικὸν πνέων**: 'breathing the true Spartan spirit', cf. LSJ *πνέω* V, van der Valk in *ΚΩΜΩΔΙΟΤΡΑΓΗΜΑΤΑ* 125-44, Fraenkel *Ag.* ii. 127-8; for the construction cf. 825 ff. The old men's point is that Kleomenes was no mean opponent. **τριβῶνιον**: A short cloak worn by slaves (*Pl.* 714-15), the poor (*Ek.* 850), and ascetics (*Ve.* 116). Here the old men refer to the poor and unkempt appearance of Spartans generally, cf. *Pl. Com.* 124 *τὸν ὑπηρόβιον σπαρτιοχαίτην ῥυποκόνδυλον ἐλκετρίβωνα*; such indeed is the appearance of the Spartans who appear later in the play (1073 n.). At the same time they imply that Kleomenes' surrender was ignominious, like that of the Potidaians who were allowed to depart with only one himation (*Th.* 2. 70. 3). **πεινῶν ῥυπῶν**: Cf. *Av.* 1282 (of Lakonizers) *ἐκόμων ἐπεινῶν ἐρρύπουν ἐσωκράτου*. R's *πινῶν* cannot be right: it would be tautologous and in any case the verb is unattested (MSS *πεινῶντα* is correct at *Pl.* 297, cf. Holzinger's note). **ἀπαράλιτος**: With unplucked beard (*Σ*), as at *Luc. Salt.* 5 (the only other attestation), cf. Pherekr. 195 *ἄσμηκτος ἀπαράλεκτος*. *παραιλλομαι* can be used of men as well as women, *Ach.* 31, *Men.* 303. 4-5. **ἕξ ἐτῶν ἄλουτος**: An exaggeration, cf. *Pl.* 85 *ὅς οὐκ ἐλούσατ' ἕξ ὅτουπερ ἐγένετο*. The old men do not imply that the siege lasted six years: their point is that the man they defeated was an especially dirty (i.e. rough and manly) Spartan.

281-2 For tribrachic resolution in iambic tetrameters cf. 373, 374, 539, in general Franca Perusino, *Il Tetrametro giambico catalettico* (Rome 1968) 67-72. **ὠμός**: Bentley's emendation (required on metrical grounds) suits this passage perfectly: *ὠμός* (elsewhere in *Ar.* only at *Eq.* 260 in the sense 'unripe') is frequently used in prose to denote 'harsh', even 'savage'

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- behaviour. The old men boast of being more fierce than the fierce-looking Spartans (275–80). For harshness as an admirable quality in a soldier cf. Xenophon's description of Klearchos (*An.* 2. 6. 1–15) who *αὐτὸς ἀνδρῶν ὡςτε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὡςπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον* (12). **ἐφ'...καθεύδων**: 'keeping constant watch before the gates in ranks seventeen-deep' (cf. Th. 6. 67, where the Athenians deploy the front line in eight ranks and the rear guard in eight ranks). **ἐπ' ἀσπίδων** is used of holding a formation, **ἐπ' ἀσπίδας** of forming one (Th. 2. 90), cf. *Ek.* 756 *ἐπὶ στοίχου*. The lemma of **Σ^Γ** has been corrected to conform with the quotation of fr. 72, where acc. is correct. Words meaning 'sleep' are freely used of nocturnal vigilance (Fraenkel at A. *Ag.* 2). The gates in 508 were the nine gates of the old Pelasgic wall.
- 283–5** Euripides, for whose reputed misogyny see 12 n., is comically mentioned before the gods, cf. *Th.* 335–8, 'Should anyone seek to harm in any way the women's *demoi* or to their detriment lodge information with Euripides or the Medes...?' **τασδι**: *ὄδι* does not invariably refer to what is actually present. **θεοῖς...ἐχθρὰς**: 'hated by the gods', as 371, 397, 623, elsewhere 'wretched' or 'devilish' (*Ve.* 418). **μῆ νυν...εἴη**: *νυν* is inferential, 531, 933 n. For dactyls in iambic tetrameters cf. 357, *Th.* 381, *Pl.* 278. **τετραπόλει**: An ancient confederacy of neighbouring towns, chief of which was Marathon, where a monument commemorated the Athenian–Plataian victory over the Persian invaders in 490, popularly considered to be Athens' most courageous hour (Th. 1. 73. 4, W. C. West *CP* 64 (1969) 7 ff.) and a very frequent subject of patriotic nostalgia in Ar. For the battle cf. N. G. L. Hammond, *JHS* 88 (1968) 13 ff., and for the monument E. Vanderpool, *Hesp.* 35 (1966) 93 ff. As reminders of past victories *trophaia* were symbols of prestige, *HCT* v. 54–5, W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* ii (1974) 246–75.
- 286–8 αὐτό**: 'only', *Ra.* 73–4, *KG* i. 625–6. **τὸ σιμόν**: Of any uphill path (*X. H.* 4. 3. 23), here perhaps referring to a particular section of the path approaching the Propylaia (fr. 76, *Pl. Com.* 79). The old men of course mime the ascent, but are to be intercepted by the old women before they reach the stage (319 ff.).
- 289–91 πῶς δῆ**: MSS *χάπως* ('see to it that') does not suit the content (**ὡς** 291 is causal, cf. Kannicht at E. *Hel.* 623–4) and *χά-* is probably the result of dittography of *ἔχω* in 288. Fraenkel's *πῶς δῆ ποτ'*, 'how will we ever' answers the requirements of the passage; *πῶς πῶς ποτ'* (Radt) is also attractive. **ἔξαμπρεύσομεν**: *Hapax*, from *ἀμπρόν*, a rope used for hauling loads by beast-labour (*ἀμπρευτής* of an ass at S. fr. 820); for the prefix cf. *Gloss.* *ἔξαμπρον*, E. *El.* 491 *ἐξελκτέον*. **τῷ ξύλῳ**: The pair of logs carried by each choreutes are to be piled up in front of the stage-area (312), but just as the old men are about to set it ablaze the old women appear and interrupt them (319 ff.). After the women douse the fire (381) there is no further need of the logs, torches, and pots, which presumably were removed by stage-hands before the arrival of the *Proboulos*

- (387). **ἐξιπώκατον**: First perfect dual, from *ἵπος*, press or weight, cf. *Ek.* 924 *ἱπούμενος ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς*.
- 295 φῦ φῦ**: Imitating the sound of blowing up the coals (*Σ*, cf. *Luc. Philopatr.* 2), or reaction to the stench (cf. *Th.* 245, Denniston/Page on *A. Ag.* 1307-8). **ιοῦ** conveys surprise or annoyance (cf. 66) and is often followed by exclamatory gen., cf. 312.
- 296-8** Cf. Pherekr. 60 *ἀνέπλησα τῶφθαλμῶ πάλης φυσῶν τὸ πῦρ*. Herakles, like Poseidon and Apollo, was invoked (only by men) in reaction to a sudden, extraordinary or frightening event. **προσπεσόν**: The fire (293) makes a sudden and unexpected attack (*Th.* 1. 5. 1 of unfortified cities, *Ek.* 694 of women accosting men on the street). **χύτρας**: The most common cooking-pot, B. Sparkes, *JHS* 82 (1962) 130. **δάκνει**: Of both physical (1029) and mental (*Ach.* 1) pain, Taillardat 153-4; used of smoke *Pl.* 822, soap *Ach.* 18. This biting, smoky fire, like the gnat in the eye later (1025 ff.), symbolizes the old men's angry, warlike spirit, and like anger and warfare the fire turns on those who blow it up and causes them pain, cf. *Ach.* 321, *Pax* 610-11 (of Perikles) *κάξεφύσθηεν τοσοῦτον πόλεμον ὥστε τῷ καπνῷ πάντας Ἕλληνας δακρῦσαι*.
- 299-301 κάστιν γε**: *γε* stresses the addition made by connective *καί*, Denn. 157-8. **Λήμνιον**: For the sake of the pun on **λήμας**, 301. Lemnian fire (cf. W. Burkert, *CQ* 20 (1970) 1 ff.) was proverbial because of the volcano there, reputed to be Hephaistos' forge (*S. Ph.* 800, B. 18. 55, Hsch.). Athens had had colonists on the island since the sixth century and c. 450 had organized it as a cleruchy. **ἔβρυκε**: Of violent chewing, usually by beasts (*Av.* 26), used at 367 by the old women, who compare themselves to angry bitches (cf. 363). *At. S. Tr.* 987 Herakles is 'chewed up' by his poison garment, which is animated by the blood/semen of the centaur Nessos.
- 304** Cf. *Ve.* 402 *πότε δ', εἰ μὴ νῦν, ἐπαρήξετέ μοι*. Laches was a common name and one used especially for old men in comedy (cf. the list in Gomme/Sandbach p. 386). This Laches is not the soldier of *Ve.* 240, who was killed at Mantinea in 418 (*Th.* 5. 74. 3).
- 306 ἐργήγορεν**: 315, fr. 291, *A. Ag.* 299 (*λαμπὰς*) *ἤγειρεν ἄλλην ἐκδοχὴν πομποῦ πυρός*. **θεῶν ἕκατι**: A traditional and not exclusively poetic (Björck 122-3) expression, elsewhere in *Ar.* only at *Pax* 699 (perhaps paratragic). The liveliness of the fire was a sign of divine favour, cf. Thummer at *Pi. I.* 5. 2. **ζῆ**: 696 n., *E. Ba.* 8 *πυρός ἐτι ζῶσαν φλόγα*. B's *ζει*, if not simply etacism, could be an emendation, cf. *Ach.* 321 *οἶον αὖ μέλας τις ὑμῖν θυμάλωψ ἐπέζεσεν*, Taillardat 191-3.
- 307-11 οὐκοῦν ἄν... χρή**: Anacolouthic (we expect e.g. *ἐμπρήσαιμεν*, cf. *S. El.* 799 *οὐκοῦν ἀποστειχομ' ἄν, εἰ τὰδ' εὖ κερεῖ*), but *κἄν μὴ*... *χαλῶσιν* facilitates the transition. See Goodwin § 555, and for the structure of the subordinate clauses begun with *εἰ* cf. 191-2. *χρή* instead of a modal verb indicates that the old men are eager to carry out their assault, and *οὐκοῦν* expects an affirmative answer: 'Now that the fire is ablaze would it not be

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- best if we ...' (note the chorus' implied assent in 312). **τῆς ἀμπέλου:** Gen. indicating the material from which the torches are made. **τὴν θύραν:** Used in both sg. and pl. of one door (this variation also at *Ve.* 152, 273), W. K. Pritchett, *Hesp.* 25 (1956) 236. **κριηδόν:** *Pax* 81 *ἰππηδόν*, *Ra.* 804 *ταυρηδόν*, 824 *πινακηδόν*; at *Ra.* 38 Dionysos bangs on a door *κενταυρικῶς*. *κριός* can be used of battering-rams (X. *Kyr.* 7. 4. 1.). **καλούντων:** *Sc.* ἡμῶν, cf. *Ve.* 881. **πιέζειν:** Of victorious armies 'pressing home' an advantage, LSJ II. 2.
- 312 δῆ:** The Koryphaios has received a sign of assent from his comrades, cf. KG ii. 127, Denn. 216 ff.
- 313** A variation of the routine appeal for help (*Ach.* 566 ff., *Pax* 276 ff.). The old men face the women alone (the Athenian garrison was undermanned, cf. 524), and the koryphaios implies that the generals at Samos (now the Athenian naval headquarters in the Aegean with a force of 73 ships, Th. 8. 25, 30) ought to lend a hand if they want to be more active, cf. Th. 8. 38. 5 *ἡσύχαζον*. There is perhaps a hint of the infantryman's contempt for the navy in this remark (cf. 676-9 n.), and the image of a general piling up logs was bound to appeal to the spectators. It is likely that Phrynichos and (S)kironides had been removed from their commands shortly before *Lys.* was performed (cf. Introd. I), but Σ (the work of Didymos) is wrong to see a reference to Phrynichos here. Given the attitude of these old men, it is hard to believe that at the time of the performance the spectators were yet aware of the generals' oligarchy at Samos.
- 315-16 σὸν δ' ἔργον ἐστίν:** This phrase, in which *ἐστίν* (*Ra.* 589, *Men.* *Dysk.* 630) is usually omitted, is used with infinitives (839) or alone (381). For the address cf. 381, *Nu.* 1494 *σὸν ἔργον, ὦ δᾶς, ἰέναι πολλὴν φλόγα*. The old men assembled around the woodpile remind us scenically of the wives assembled around the wine-bowl (203), and just as the wives took the spurting wine as a sign of divine favour, so here do the old men interpret the fire. **πρώτιστ':** Blaydes's emendation is easy (cf. 1169) and appropriate (setting the pile ablaze is the first step in the assault). **ἔμοι:** The chorus. **προσοίσεις:** For the tense cf. 384 n., *Nu.* 1398.
- 317-18** The koryphaios' prayer echoes (and counterpoints) the wives' prayer (203-4 n.) **δέσποινα Νίκη:** As the wives had prayed to Peitho, the old men pray for a new *tropaion* (283-5 n.), addressing Nike. The Nike sanctuary was situated on a bastion overlooking the approach to the Propylaea on the right-hand side (Paus. 1. 22. 4) and contained a wingless wooden statue (Paus. 3. 15. 7, Harpokr. s.v. *Νίκη Ἀθηναία*). The cult was very old (there are remains of a sixth-century altar), but c. 448/7 the democracy decreed the building of a new sanctuary and the establishment of a new demotic priesthood (i.e. one filled by allotment or election, not restricted to a particular family or priestly group), *IG* i³ 35. The Nike bastion was completed at some point after work on the Propylaea was resumed after its interruption in 432 (*IG* i³ 36, cf. Meiggs 496 ff., 597).

For the priestess see Introd. III. Thus Nike, apart from her military significance, appealed to the old men as a creation of the democracy and a reflection of its ideals (like the Propylaea, the Parthenon, and other elements of the Periclean building program for the Akropolis, cf. in general C. J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias* (Manchester 1955)). The importance of Nike as a symbol appears in her association with the ancient hereditary cult of Athena Polias (e.g. *Eq.* 581–94), to whom the chorus of old women (as upholders of traditional values and as defenders of the citadel) pray at 341–49. **τοῦ... θράσους:** The gen. is frequently used with *τροπαῖον*. For the phrase cf. S. *OK* 1030 *τόλμης τῆς παρεστῶσης τανῶν*. *θράσος* is praiseworthy in a warrior fighting for his city (546) but unsuitable behaviour against fellow citizens (379) and not a behaviour esteemed in women. The distinction made e.g. by Aristotle (*EE* 1234^b12, cf. LSJ II) between *θράσος* (irrational) and *θάρσος* (rational) may be relevant here, although *θάρσος* is not used in comedy.

319–49. *The old women defend the citadel*

The semichorus (254–386 n.) of old women suddenly appear on the run, carrying on their heads (254–55 n.) pitchers of water (327), which are to remain in the orchestra (539–40). They wear a long outer garment (686) over a short undergarment, and kothoroi (657). Some are named: Nikodike (321), Stratyllis (365), Rhodippe (370). They are friends of the old women who have seized the citadel (322–3, 334, 373, cf. 549–50) and whose smoking out they are only just in time to prevent, for they have been delayed by the usual morning's throng at the well (327 ff.). Their arrival surprises the old men (352–53) and is certainly not the response looked for from Lady Nike (317–18)! The spectators knew that twelve additional choreutai would appear (254–318 n.) but not who they would be.

In vivid contrast to the halting and long-winded men, the women fly on (321) to a lively iambo-choriambic rhythm, and there is no counterpart to the men's epirrhematic pauses (254–85). The lofty (and partly paratragic) language suits the women's role as defenders of the citadel and workers for a great cause (340–1), while at the same time it is humorously incongruous with their references to mundane domestic tasks (compare *Ach.* 211 ff., *Ve.* 236 ff.).

The execution of this rapid antistrophic dance cannot have been easy for men unaccustomed to carrying water-pitchers on their heads, even if it is unlikely that these were actually filled: a typical hydria, when filled, weighs about sixty pounds and the men (who are doused at 381) would not have wanted to continue the performance in soaked clothes (especially in Lenaia weather) or on a slippery orchestra. And yet a real wetting (as in *Pax* 969 ff.) would be funnier than a purely imaginary one. Alan Sommerstein suggests that Ar. probably had the same idea as the players in a recent production of *Lys.* at Cambridge University: the pitchers contained only enough water to make the wetting obvious to the audience.

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Since the women represent the winning cause, Ar. portrays them more sympathetically than he does the men. They are sensible, high-minded, aggressive only when provoked (cf. 471-75) and justify their actions in the name of panhellenic peace and civic concord. They later claim to have earned the right to offer the city advice, for they have contributed sons and performed service in its most splendid cults (636-57).

Metre. The koryphaia uses (319-20) chiasmically arranged iambo-choriambic tetrameters (*ia ch ch ba*). The metre of the song is:

(1) 321/2-3 ~ 336-7	$\cup - \cup - \cup - - \cup - \cup -$ $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - $ $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \bar{\alpha} $	<i>ia ch ia ch</i> <i>ia dodr A</i>
(2) 324 ~ 338	$\cup \cup \cup \cup -$ $\cup - \cup - \cup -$ } $\cup - \cup - $	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ia\ ch \\ Dd_2 \\ ia\ ch \end{array} \right.$
(3) 325 ~ 339	$\cup \cup \cup \cup - \cup - \cup -$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3\ ch\ ba \\ 2\ ch\ ia\ ba \\ ia\ ch\ ch\ ba \\ ia\ 3\ ch\ ba \end{array} \right.$
(4) 326 ~ 340	$- \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \cup - \cup - \\ \cup - \cup - \end{array} \right\} \cup - -$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3\ ch\ ba \\ 2\ ch\ ia\ ba \\ ia\ ch\ ch\ ba \\ ia\ 3\ ch\ ba \end{array} \right.$
(5) 327 ~ 341	$- \cup - \cup - \cup \cup - - \cup - \cup - \cup - \bar{\alpha} $	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ia\ ch\ ch\ ba \\ ia\ ch\ ch\ ba \\ ia\ 3\ ch\ ba \end{array} \right.$
(6) 328/9 ~ 342/3	$\cup \cup \cup \cup - \cup - \cup - $ $\cup - \cup - - \cup - \cup - \cup - $	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ia\ ch \\ ia\ ch \end{array} \right. \left\{ \langle \dots \rangle \right.$
(7) 330/1 ~ 344/5	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - $ $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - $	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ia\ ch \\ ia\ ch \end{array} \right. \left\{ \langle \dots \rangle \right.$
(8) 332/3 ~ 346-8	$- \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup -$ $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - $	6 <i>ch</i>
(9) 335 ~ 349	$\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - $	<i>ia ba</i>

(1) The clausula $-\cup\cup-\bar{x}$ (*dodrans A*, Dale 139), cf. *Av.* 1724-5, *E. El.* 174, 434, is in comedy more frequent in the form $-\cup\cup\cup-$ (*Ek.* 941), cf. M. West, *CQ* 32 (1982) 286 ff. Keeping in mind the spondees used later in the play (658 ff. ~ 682 ff., 781 ff. ~ 805 ff.), we could call this clausula *ch sp.* (2) For the responson cf. 262-3 ~ 277-8. The sequence in 338 is symbolized **ddd** by Dale in her analyses, *BICS* Suppl. 21. 1 (1971), D^2 by West *GM* 70, who sees no reason to treat it as a compound. (3) (6) Cf. *Ve.* 1455 *ἐπὶ τὸ πρυφῶν καὶ μαλακῶν* ~ 1467 *οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὐτως ἀγανφῶ*. (4) For the responson cf. *Ve.* 527-8 ~ 632-3, 532-4 ~ 636-8, West 105. (5) In iambo-choriambic tetrameters *ia* and *ch* can be used in any variation (*ia ch* or *ch ia*), cf. K. Itsumi, *CQ* 32 (1982) 59 ff., Zimmermann i. 52. (7) The unusual iambic metron $\cup\cup\cup-$ is found also at 384, 1263, *Ach.* 1040, *Nu.* 812-13, *Ve.* 886 ~ 869, *Pax* 948, *Ek.* 940. (8) A run of 6 *ch* arranged in diameters in the text. (9) Iambic dimeter catalectic.

319-20 *λιγνῶν*: Perhaps paratragic (*Av.* 1241). *πυρός*: Adnominal gen. of origin, cf. *Th.* 280-1.

321-3 For the use of *ἡμυχόριον* in MSS and scholia see J. W. White *HSCP* 17 (1906) 106, T. Renner, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 7. *πέτου*: 55 n., contrast the movement of the old men *βάδην*, 254. *Nikodike* was a common name,

here chosen probably for its auspicious meaning (cf. Kalonike) and possibly to underline the appearance of the women immediately following the koryphaios' prayer to Nike (317-18). Kalyke appears at [Stes.] 277. Kritylla, daughter of Antitheos of Gargettos, is the name of an old woman in *Thesm.* (898, cf. 896), apparently the one who stands guard over the captive Relative (cf. 762 ff.). It is tempting to think that our Kritylla (one of the occupying women) was the same woman and an actual contemporary (perhaps a priestess of Demeter). But it is not unlikely that Ar. arbitrarily chose the name (cf. Laches, 304 n.): in the *Th.*-passage, the old woman's father and deme sound comically anticlimactic in context (the Relative, pretending to be Helen, has just told Euripides/Menelaos that she is 'Theonoe, daughter of Proteus', 897). **περιφυσήτω:** 'blown from all sides', hapax, cf. *Nu.* 396 (*κεραυνός*) *τοὺς ζῶντας περιφλεῖει*.

324-5 ἀνέμων: Eup. 376 *ἀνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος*. A 'wind' is not always a welcome event in the life of a seafaring people and not infrequently appears as a metaphor for human anger and violence, cf. Taillardat 180 ff. **ἀργαλέων:** Common in epic, elegiac poetry, and Attic prose, but not in tragedy or Ionic prose. Ar. uses it in songs (*Eq.* 978, etc.) and in dialogue (764). For our context cf. *Il.* 13. 795, where the coming battle is likened to the sea stirred by *ἀργαλέοι ἄνεμοι*. **ὀλέθρων:** 'pests', Eup. l.c., *Th.* 860, *Ek.* 934, *Krat.* 221; a colloquial example in *D.* 21. 209. Compare *φθόρος* at *Eq.* 1151, and for similar metaphors Svennung, *Anredeformen* 61.

326 τόδε: Proleptic. **ὑστερόπους:** Modelled on such tragic compounds as *E. Hp.* 54 *ὀπισθόπους* (cf. *ibid.*, 1243 *ὑστέρω ποδί*). Contrast this excuse for lateness with the frivolous excuses of Myrrhine (69-72, cf. 15 ff.). The urgency and importance of their mission contrasts with the ordinariness of a morning's trip to the well.

327 νῦν δῆ: Enough of a semantic unit to postpone *γὰρ*, cf. *E. Hp.* 233 *νῦν δῆ μὲν*. **ὑδρίαν:** Like the kalpis (358), which was essentially the same as the hydria (Plu. *Demetr.* 53, B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* 82 (1962) 121), used to fetch well-water (*Ra.* 1339, *E. Hp.* 123). One vertical handle was attached for carrying the pitcher empty, two for hoisting the full pitcher on to the head. In general see E. Diehl, *Hydria* (Mainz 1964). **κνεφαία:** Perhaps quasi-tragic (Rau 134), but cf. *Ve.* 124, *Ra.* 1350-1.

328-9 κρήνης: No particular well is indicated; fetching water was a normal morning's activity everywhere (at *Ra.* 113 wells are listed among the ordinary requirements of a traveller); with our passage compare the vignette at *E. Hp.* 121 ff. and the vase-paintings collected by B. Dunkley, *BSA* 36 (1935/6) 198 ff. An inquisitive spectator, however, might imagine that the water had been fetched from the well at the foot of the Akropolis known as Enneakrounos or Kallirrhoe (*Th.* 2. 15. 5, *Poll.* 3. 43) and whose water was used for various religious purposes and for weddings (cf. 378). The Klepsydra was too small and difficult of access for the

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activity pictured here (913). Some well-groups from the agora are described by E. Brann, *Hesp.* 30 (1961) 304. **ὕπ'**: 3 n., *Th.* 281. **πατάγου**: Poetic (cf. Rau 96-7). **χυτρείου**: Probably from the adj. *χύτρειος*, but possibly from **χυτρειοῦς* (KB i. 403), in which case the accent would be perisp.

330-1 δούλαισιν: MSS *δούλησιν* is probably an intrusive epic or tragic (Radermacher at *Ra.* 1212, Collard at *E. Suppl.* 497 ff., Barrett at *E. Hp.* 101) form. This dative (unlike the Attic *-ησι*) does not appear in inscriptions after *c.* 420, and in prose it appears only in such archaic contexts as legal and hieratic formulae. Many, perhaps most, of the women who would ordinarily fetch water will have been slaves. But that does not mean that water-fetching was considered a slavish or a low job: the women of the chorus are distinguished ladies (636 ff.), and water-carrying was, along with wool-working (493-5 n.), one of the activities for which women were glorified, cf. the many cults involving *hydriaphoriai* (as depicted on the N. Frieze of the Parthenon) and Herodotos' story (5. 12) about the wonderful woman from Paionia who could carry a full water-jug on her head and spin flax at the same time. **στιγματίας**: A slave who has been tattooed as a runaway (*Av.* 760) or who bears the marks of many floggings (*Ve.* 1296). The old women emphasize the roughness of the competition at the well. **ἀρπαλέως**: Epic and elegiac, only here in comedy. The root is probably the same as that of *ἐλπής*, cf. Lat. *voluptas*; a connection with *ἀρπάζειν* (as LSJ) is unlikely.

The variant *μαστιγίας*, unless it is mere anagrammatism for *στιγματίας* or an intrusive gloss, suggests that a line has fallen out somewhere in this passage, e.g. *μαστιγίας τ' ἀνδραπόδοις* (Blaydes), and since 330 follows naturally enough on 329, and 332 on 331, I have (with Hermann) put a lacuna after 330. If the lost line was in fact along the lines of Blaydes's suggestion, this passage was originally an accumulation similar to *Eq.* 684 ff. *πανουργίας μείζοσι κεκασμένον καὶ δόλοισι ποικίλοισι ῥήμασιν θ' αἰμύλοισι*. That the antistrophe contains two metra more than the strophe (344-5) is not in itself sufficient reason to posit a lacuna: such discrepancies are not uncommon in comic responsion (*Ve.* 403-14 ~ 461-70 differ in length by three metra), cf. West 105-6. But this usually happens where strophe and antistrophe are separated by intervening action (*Ek.* 900-5 ~ 906-10 are monodies involving no dancing).

333-4 ἀραμένη: With **φέρουσ' ὕδωρ**, a common idiom (e.g. *Ve.* 1443-4), thus no need (Σ) to supply *τὴν ὕδριαν*. **δημόσιον**: Cf. 5, *Nu.* 210, 1322 (*δημόται*). **βοηθῶ**: The verb, awaited since 327, is climactic.

335-6 τυφογέροντας: Cf. *Nu.* 908 *τυφογέρον εἰ κἀνάρμωστος* ('unhinged', 'crazy'), cf. *Ve.* 1364, LSJ *τύφος*, *τυφῶω*. *τύφος* 'folly/delirium' (Taillardat 262-3), always applied to old men who are behaving in a peculiar way, is here playfully related to their windiness (324-5 n.) and smokiness (*τύφειν*). **ἔρρειν**: Often in the sense 'go astray' (to one's own harm), cf. *ἐρρέτω* in curses. **στελέχη**: Only here in comedy (cf. 254-5 n.).

- 337-9 βαλανεύσσοντας:** As if to heat water for the baths (*Pl.* 535, 952), an extremely low occupation (*Ra.* 710, etc.). **ὡς τριτάλαντα:** With *σπελέχη*, 'about three talents in weight' (cf. fr. 286 *λίθος δεκατάλαντος*), *ὡς* as often with numerals and numerical compounds giving a round number (e.g. *Av.* 1136-7 *ἦκον ὡς τρισμύρια γέρανοι*). The corruption was caused by someone who thought the adj. ought to go with *βάρος*. **ἑπῶν:** 'words', as 467 (and in Lakonian, 1076), cf. E. *Suppl.* 542 *δεῖν' ἀπειλήσων ἔπη*, and note the echo of 249.
- 340 μυσάρης:** Found in Hdt. and Eur., only here and 969 in comedy. **γυναίκας ἀνθρακεύειν:** We expect *ἀνθρακίζειν*, 'make charcoal of' (*Pax* 1136, *Av.* 1546, *Ra.* 506), whereas *ἀνθρακεύειν* means 'be an ἀνθρακεύς' (KB ii. 261): thus Blaydes's conjecture may be right. But here *ἀνθρακεύειν* is probably used like *φονεύειν* ('kill' = 'be the killer of').
- 341-9** This prayer to Athena Polias, the city's most venerable deity, underscores the women's noble cause and invites the sympathy of the spectators. Its serious tone (cf. Kleinknecht 69, and compare *Pax* 815-16) is undercut only by the comic incongruity of the final clause (cf. Fraenkel at A. *Ag.* 811). The women's prayer makes a more favourable impression than the men's (317-18 with n.). In a similar way, the Sausage-Seller's appeal to Athena outdoes Kleon/Paphlagon in their competition for Demos' favour (*Eq.* 1168-82).
- 341-2 ὦ** thrice repeated, as often in prayers. **πιμπραμένας:** Bergk's *'μπιμπραμένας* may be correct, since the simplex occurs nowhere else in Ar. (cf. 269, 311, 322, 381). **πολέμου...μανίων:** The contrast is between military action against external foes (*πόλεμος* ~ *Ἑλλάς*) and strife among fellow citizens (*μανίαι* ~ *πολίται*), both of which are stressed later in the play by Lys. (487 ff., 555 ff. resp.). Madness (here collective pl., cf. *Nu.* 832, *Pax* 65) is associated throughout the play with fomenters of civil discord (335 n., 397, 556) and seems to have been a common way to characterize the policy of a political opponent, cf. G. Grossmann, *Politische Schlagwörter* (Zurich 1950) 137-45 and, for similar uses of emotionally charged words in political debate, Dover *GPM* 126 ff. **ῥουσαμένας:** Epic and tragic with gen. **Ἑλλάδα:** Without article = 'the Greeks', *Av.* 409, KG i. 598-9.
- 343-9 ἐφ' οἷσπερ...ἔσχον:** 'for it was for this reason that they occupied...', cf. *Eq.* 468. The old men do not notice this statement, cf. 476 ff. **χρυσολόφα:** The tiara on the image (262) of Athena Polias. At *Eq.* 1181 *γοργολόφα* refers to the chryselephantine statue in the Parthenon. **πολιοῦχε:** *Eq.* 581, numerous Akropolis dedications. **σὰς...σέ:** Hymnic. **ἔδρας:** 'sanctuary', cf. *Ra.* 324, referring probably to the entire Akropolis (483) but perhaps only to the Old Temple (262, 775). **ξύμμαχον:** The deity asked to be an ally is common in prayers. **Τριτογένει:** Also (but less frequently) *Τριτογενής* (*Eq.* 1189), a name for Athena from Hesiod onwards; for the form cf. Iphigeneia, etc. The name suggests a connection with water (Farnell, *Cults* i. 265 ff., cf. *Eq.* 1189 *ἡ Τριτογενής*

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γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐνετριώνισεν), although Athena's cult shows no such connection in historical times. The name is often interpreted as referring to Athena's birthplace, lake Tritonis in Libya (A. *Eum.* 292–3, Hdt. 4. 180), but the epithet may itself have produced this connection. **φέρειν ὕδωρ μεθ' ἡμῶν**: The bathos of the final clause is charming and not (as in Aischylos' malicious parody, *Ra.* 1356 ff.) ridiculous.

350–86. *The old women douse the old men*

The two semichoruses face off behind their leaders on either side of the woodpile. After an exchange of insults and threats, which grow increasingly more violent and which are probably to be distributed among the various choreutai, the women finally empty their pitchers on the men, thus dousing their torches.

350–1 'leave off', referring to the singing and dancing (cf. 686–7) as the koryphaia sees the old men. For the exhortation cf. 539–40. **ὦ**: Exclamatory, cf. *ὦμοι*; for the accent cf. Fraenkel at A. *Ag.* 22. **τούτῃ τί ἦν**: 'what's this?', as often when a speaker catches sight of something for the first time (445); the imperfect probably designating what *was* there before it is noticed, cf. *ἦν ἄρα* (20 n.). **πονωπονηροί**: For this intensive form (*πονω-* is instrumental) cf. J. Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.* ii. 1098 n. 1. *πονηρός* is used of a broad range of misbehaviour (like Eng. 'bad'), cf. Dover *GPM* 52 ff., Neil 206 ff., De Ste. Croix 358–9, Connor 89 n. 3. The opposite qualities here are *χρηστός* and *εὐσεβής* in the following line. **χρηστοί**: The most common antonym in Ar. is *πονηρός* (e.g. *Eq.* 1274–5, *Ra.* 1454–7). A citizen is *χρηστός* if he possesses moral, political, and social qualities (not as easily distinguished in classical Athens as they might be in our own culture) that benefit both himself and the city, cf. *Th.* 832 ff. For this reason *χρηστός* sometimes overlaps with *χρήσιμος* 'useful', whose most common antonym is *ἄχρηστος* (e.g. *D.* 19. 135), as below, 639 ~ 648, cf. Dover *GPM* 296 ff. **εὐσεβεῖς**: Scrupulous in honouring the gods, cf. Des Places 363 ff., Dover *GPM* 247–8. At least until well into the fourth century *εὐσεβής* is distinguished from *ῥσος* (743), which denotes actions approved or permitted by the gods and which therefore has a moral and subjective sense. In the women's eyes goodness requires one to be both *χρηστός* and *εὐσεβής*, cf. *Th.* 2. 53. 4 *θεῶν δὲ φόβος ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπέιργε*. The women protest on both human and divine grounds at an assault on Athena's citadel, which in fact was forbidden by many ordinances, cf. J. Rudhardt, *Le délit religieux dans la cité antique* (Rome 1981), *passim*. The women's own occupation of the citadel is not similar because it was not done through force but stealthily, by women 'apparently making a sacrifice' (179): that is, the women are more or less in asylum.

352–3 The men react to the unexpected arrival of the women. **ἔσμός**: Of a large gathering of anything (thus probably connected with *ἔζεσθαι*), *Ve.*

1107, compare *σμήνος Nu.* 297. The different metaphors at *E. Ba.* 710 (*γάλακτος*) and *Epin.* 1 (*μελίσσης*) suggest a connection with *ιέναι*. **αὐ:** These are a second group in addition to the occupiers they had come to evict.

354–5 βδύλλεθ': 'fear', *Eg.* 223–4 *καὶ γὰρ οἱ τε πλούσιοι δεδίασιν αὐτὸν ὃ τε πένης βδύλλει λεώς*, connected with *βδεῖν* (fear affecting the bowels, cf. Henderson 195–6). The suffix is colloquial (Neil at *Eg.* l.c.) and the tone mildly contemptuous and possibly condescending (for this aspect of the semichoruses' antagonism see 616–35 n.): in the *Knights* passage, where no one has the courage to stand up against Kleon, *βδύλλει* (of the poor) is stronger than *δεδίασιν* (of the rich); but, as Dover points out to me, the distinction is perhaps not sociological, cf. Philokleon's description of the litigants who appear in his court, *Ve.* 626 ff. *κᾶν ἀστράφω, ποππύζουσιν κάγκεχόδασι μ' οἱ πλουτοῦντες καὶ πάνυ σεμνοί. οὐ τί που κτλ.:* 'surely we don't appear as numerous as all that?', i.e. as to justify so pusillanimous a reaction. This expression is common in incredulous questions, *Ek.* 329, Denn. 492, KG ii. 523–4. **καὶ μὴν μέρος γ' κτλ.:** 'actually, you haven't yet seen the tiniest fraction of our forces', a boast made good at 456 ff. See Denn. 351 ff. for *καὶ μὴν*, which here has an adversative undertone, *Ve.* 1173, Denn. 357–8. **ἡμῶν:** Partitive, referring to the band of women as a whole and to be construed with the whole expression *μέρος τὸ μυριοστόν* (of infinite numbers, *Th.* 555).

356–7 Tired of his companion's inactivity (mere words) the speaker urges physical force, cf. 467 ff. The wood is now to serve as clubs (compare Trygaios' walking-stick, *Pax* 1121), For the metre of 357 cf. 285 n. Phaidrias was a common name. That the speaker singles out a companion (cf. 209–10 n.) does not necessarily mean that the companion spoke the previous line. *ἐχρήν* regrets that no one has yet done so, cf. 360–1. **περικατάξαι:** Simplex only at *E. Hel.* 1598; this aor. only in Eur. and comedy.

358–9 θώμεσθα δῆ: 'in that case . . .' (since you threaten us), cf. 312 n. The women here, as throughout (435 ff., 471 ff., 682 ff.) resort to violence only when threatened, the men always initiate it. **κάλπιδας:** 327 n. **χῆμείς:** In response to the men: we too have force, cf. 453. **τούτο:** Referring as often to the general circumstances rather than to a specific antecedent, e.g. *Av.* 377.

360–1 ἦ . . . τρίς: 1052–3, expressing a round-number idea, 'a couple of times'. Sometimes the first ἦ is omitted (*Ra.* 50, 506, etc.); at *Th.* 4. 38. 3 *γενομένων ἐπερωτήσεων δὲς ἢ τρίς*, a papyrus adds and then deletes an ἦ before *δὲς*. **έκοψεν . . . ἂν εἶχον:** 'if someone had before . . . they wouldn't now . . .', cf. 356–7. The variant *ἂν ἤδρεν* (cf. *S. Aj.* 1144 *φθέγγμ ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἤδρες*) gives the inappropriate sense 'wouldn't have spoken'. Boupalos was a sixth-century sculptor and the traditional (*Hor. Ep.* 6. 14) enemy of the iambographer Hipponax, cf. fr. 120 West *λάβετέ μοο ταϊμάτια, κόψω Βουπάλω τὸν ὀφθαλμόν*. Here the women's jaws are the target because they babble (635).

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- 362-3** καὶ μὴν ἰδοῦ: 'very well, then, here is my jaw', cf. *Ek.* 523. **κού...** **λάβηται:** 'fear not (οὐ) that (μὴ) any other bitch (than I) will grab your testicles' (my jaws can do more than talk); for aor. subj. with οὐ μὴ in negative predictions KG ii. 221-2, for threats to the testicles 694-5, *Eq.* 772, *Pl.* 955-6. Dogs were proverbially shameless (in insults, *Ve.* 1402, cf. *Ra.* 1287; as a prostitute-name *Eq.* 765); here the old women are proud of their forthrightness. In contests of insults the sympathetic side usually gets the more vivid lines, Henderson 69.
- 364** **θενών:** *Ve.* 1384-5 εἶτα τῇ πυγμῇ θενών ὁ πρεσβύτερος κατέβαλε τὸν νεώτερον. **'κκοκκιδῶ τὸ γῆρας:** 'knock the seeds out of your old skin', i.e. beat you to a pulp (so Σ), cf. *Ach.* 1179 (a dislocated ankle) τὸ σφυρὸν παλινόρρον ἐξεκόκκισεν, *Pax* 63 (of Zeus' treatment of the cities) λήσεις σεαυτὸν τὰς πόλεις ἐκκοκκίσας, *Nikom.* Com. 3. γῆρας is used elsewhere metaphorically for old skin (671 n.). The men's choice of metaphor may have been determined by its genital associations (since they are responding to a threat on their testicles), *Hsch.* κ 3288 κόκκος: τὸ γυναικεῖον μόριον, cf. *Ach.* 275 καταγυγαρτίζειν, *Pax* 1123 ἐκβολβίξειν in the sense 'rape/deflower', and for γῆρας cf. ἦβη at *Nu.* 976. Thus the threat would be comparable to American slang 'I'll beat your ass' = 'beat you'.
- 365-7** **Στρατυλλίδος:** ἀντ' ἐμοῦ (Σ), but probably another woman chimes in, cf. 435 ff. For this kind of challenge cf. *Nu.* 933, *Pl.* Com. 128 αἶμαι μόνον σὺ κἄν ἄκρω τοῦ Μορσίμου. τί δ': 157 n. **τοῖς κονδύλοις:** Capping τῷ δακτύλῳ. The definite articles indicate physical gestures. τί... **δεινόν;** *Nu.* 1266, *E. Ba.* 492 (Dionysos to Pentheus) τί με τὸ δευρὸν ἐργάσει; **βρούκουσα** (299-301 n.) continues the bitch-metaphor. **πλεύμονας:** The original, and Attic form (*Moer.* 309, *Eust.* 483. 10, 1436. 62, Σ *Pax* 1069); πνεύμονας reflects late etymological interpretation (cf. *Arist. Resp.* 476^b9, *EM* 677. 31). For similar gory threats cf. *Eq.* 708, *Ra.* 473 ff., *E. Kyk.* 234-40.
- 368-9** Unable to cap 367, the men return to their original task and try to ignite the woodpile. It is not unusual for a pair of verses to interrupt stichomythia. For the reference to Euripides cf. 283-5 n. **σοφώτερος:** 'more correct' (in his judgement of women). Poetic σοφία primarily designates the skilful expression of a truth (such as the one cited here), and thus comes to designate good judgement as well (e.g. *Ra.* 1518-19). The idea that salient features of a poet's work apply to the poet himself underlies the plots of *Th.* and *Ra.* **οὐδὲν... γυναικες:** Quasi-tragic (θρέμμα elsewhere at *Ek.* 973), not necessarily a quotation (*E. fr.* 882a Snell): it is the sentiment that is Euripidean, cf. 1015. **ἀναιδής:** 'shameless' but also 'stubborn, relentless, unreasonable', cf. *Il.* 4. 521 λάας ἀναιδής, *Pl.* *O.* 10. 105 πρότμος ἀναιδής. On the Areopagos (*Paus.* 1. 28. 5) stood the λίθος ἀναιδείας, on which stood accusers demanding the full penalty for homicide (cf. αἰδεῖσθαι 'relent'/'forgive' in the homicide law, *LSJ* II. 2-3, *Tod* 87. 13).
- 370** As the men turn to the woodpile, the women lift their pitchers

- (358–9). **θούδατος**: This crasis is written *θῦδ-* at Krates 17. 5, Ameips. 2. 2, cf. *θειῶ* *GAI* i. 434. The article designates water brought for this particular purpose (to extinguish the men's fire). Rhodippe is an hetaira—name at *AP* 5. 36, but Rhodippos occurs in inscriptions.
- 371–2** **θεοῖς ἐχθρά**: 283–5 n. The men realize what the water portends, so their question amounts to, 'Surely you don't expect to put out our fire?' The women's reply is equally ironical. **τί...ἐχων**; 'and why have you (come) with fire, old tomb?' For this standard epithet of old men cf. fr. 55 Dem. *τυμβογέροντα*, E. *Med.* 1209 *γέροντα τύμβον*, *Herakl.* 167 and compare *σορός* *Ve.* 1365, Machon 301 (with Gow's note), 600 below; *σορέλλη* of an old man fr. 205. 1. **ὡς...ἐμπυρεύσων**; 'so that you can light your own funeral pyre', cf. the similar jokes at 599 ff., *Pl.* 1052 ff.
- 373–4** For the metre 281–2 n. **ἐγὼ μὲν...ἐγὼ δέ γ'**: Cf. 113–15. **σὰς...σὴν**: To express contempt, as often, 703. **φίλας**: The old women on the Akropolis. **ὕφάψω...κατασβέσαιμι**: In final clauses subj. and opt. often alternate freely, KG ii. 387–8.
- 375–6** The division of single lines between two speakers increases the velocity of the exchange and prepares for the climax (381). **τοῦργον...δεῖξει**: 'the deed itself will soon show (that I will douse your fire)', cf. *Ra.* 1261, Pearson on S. fr. 388, LSJ *δείκνυμι* 2. **οὐκ οἶδά σ' εἰ**: 'I'm not sure I shouldn't...', *Ra.* 1477. **ὡς ἔχω**: 'without further ado', *Eg.* 488, Hdt. 6. 17; at 610 = 'as I am' (*Ek.* 533). **σταθεύσω**: 'brown lightly' (*Σ, Ek.* 126–7 with *Σ, A. PV* 22–3, *Alex.* 187), esp. on a grill (*Ach.* 1040).
- 377–8** This joke is recalled at 469–70. **ρύμμα**: 'soap' (*Ach.* 17 *ρύπτομαι*), made of wood ash, water, and sodium carbonate, often with various clays (*Ra.* 710 ff.). **<γέ σοι>**: Best in view of the men's reply in 378a (compare, with a similar ellipse, 528–9, *Ra.* 1200–1), even though it introduces apodotic *γε* (Denn. 126), nowhere surely attested in Ar. (cf. 656–7 n.). **σαπρά**: Frequent in the abuse of old women, and also old men (*Pax* 698 *γέρων ὦν καὶ σαπρός*). **νυμφικόν γε**: *γε* stresses the addition made by **καὶ** (Denn. 157), cf. 488–9 n. The remark about a nuptial bath (*Pax* 842 ff.) is sarcastic, perhaps also suggesting the nearby well Enneakrounos (328–9 n.).
- 379–80** **ἡκουσας**: To a companion, cf. *Av.* 1211 (*Peisetairos* to the chorus) *ἡκουσας αὐτῆς οἶον εἰρωνεύεται*; **θράσους**: 317–18 n. **ἐλευθέρα γάρ εἰμι**: The women protest being treated like slaves (cf. 436, 463, 614, *Nu.* 1412–14). The freedom to speak freely was a privilege of citizens (Barrett at E. *Hp.* 421–5, L. Edmunds and R. Martin on Th. 2. 65. 8, *HSCP* 81 (1977) 187 ff., Hdt. 5. 78, *Arist. Pol.* 1310^a30, etc.). **οὐκέτ' ἠλιάζει**: 'you are not sitting in the Eliaia now', i.e. you must rely on your strength alone to make good your threats, cf. 698. The Eliaia (the unspirated form is established from fifth-century inscriptions, and cf. *Av.* 110 *ἀπηλιασά*), which perhaps met in the Metiocheion (MacDowell at *Ve.* 1108), tried cases of impeachment and other cases requiring very large juries, on which old men would be numerous (625 n.). But *ἠλιασής* was used also of

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jurymen in general (*Eg.* 798, *Nu.* 863, *Ve.* 206). The false future form in MSS (*Ve.* 772 ἡλιάσει is correct) results from the mistaken assumption that this is a threat (*Σ* φονεύσω γάρ σε), 'you'll be sitting on no more juries'.

381 The speaker orders a companion to attack the speaker of 380b. Singeing someone's hair (usually a slave's, 1217 ff.) with a torch is the kind of crowd-pleasing slapstick on which Ar. claims to rely less frequently than his rivals (*Nu.* 543) and for which the Athenian Ambassador pretends to apologize at 1218 ff. **σὸν ἔργον:** 315–16 n. **ᾠχελῶε:** Metonymic for water, as often (fr. 365, *E. Andr.* 167, Bond *Hyps.* p. 86). At one time perhaps a mainland water god (Wilamowitz *GdH* i. 93, *Σ^T Il.* 21. 195), Acheloos was by now merely a grandiloquent way of referring to spring or river water, cf. H. P. Isler, *Acheloos* (Berne 1970); Dover adds that it was particularly suitable for vocatives (to avoid the odd-sounding ᾠ ὕδαρ). Ephoros' statement (*FGrH* 70 F 20) that Acheloos = water belonged to the language of ritual does not seem to apply in our passage. The women empty their pitchers (surely not containing much real water, 319–49 n.) on the old men and so douse the fire. Like singeing hair, dousing is an old slapstick technique: *Pax* 969–72, fr. 319, *Antiph.* 25, cf. L. Campo, *I drammi satireschi della Grecia antica* (Milan 1940) 196 ff.

382–6 Iambic dimeters ending with an iambic tetrameter catalectic; the structure resembles that of a pniḡos (532–8 n.). **μὴν θερμὸν ἦν:** 'I hope it wasn't too hot', ironic (it is in fact too cold). **ποῖ:** 193–4 n. **ὄπως ἀναβλαστανεῖς:** For the very common fut. indic. after ὄπως cf. 316, S. Amigues, *Les subordinées finales par ὄπως* (Paris 1977), index. MSS subj. reflects the later Greek use of ὄπως + subj. without ἄν. The compound verb is necessary because the joke involves the motif of rejuvenation (668 n.), cf. *Σ ἴνα νεάσῃς* (ἴν' ἀνανεάσῃς cj. van Leeuwen), *Pax* 861 (γέρων) *αἰθις νέος ὦν πάλιν* with *Σ^V οἶον πάλιν ἀνανεάζων*. Thus, the women are watering the old men so that they will 'grow again' (like a withered plant). For the metron ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – cf. 345, for the prosody of ἀναβλ- see K-A on *Autokr.* 3. **ἀλλ' ... τρέμων:** 'but I'm quite dry/stiff/dead already with my trembling', i.e. I am hardly blossoming. For the construction cf. *Th.* 846 ἄλλος γεγένημαι προσδοκῶν. Dryness/stiffness is often associated with fear (*Men. Epitir.* 901, *Pk.* 352–3) and with death (*Hsch.* ἐξαναί- νεται · ἀποθνήσκειται). αἶος occurs in poetry and Ionic prose, but in Attic prose only at *Pl. Lg.* 761C–D, where it is glossed καὶ ξηράν. The Attic breathing is uncertain: in compounds it is aspirated but MSS usually write the simplex with smooth breathing. **οὐκοῦν ... σεαυτόν:** 'Then surely you will warm yourselves at your own fire, since you have it with you'. Wilamowitz suggested removing οὐ to give a tetrameter of the form 2 *ia ith* (cf. *Nu.* 1213 (as a clausula), *Ve.* 248 ff. (where οὐ is interpolated at 248 and 249)), but the text as it stands is perfectly unobjectionable, and οὐ ... σεαυτόν in fact have an emphatically contemptuous ring that is quite appropriate for the women's 'last word' (note that in the preceding 22 lines the second person pronoun or adj. appears 14 times).

387-475. EPISODE: THE PROBOULOS

387-423. *The Proboulos' tirade*

An aged (599 ff.) magistrate (perhaps identifiable by his costume) enters with two slaves (carrying crowbars, to pry open the Propylaia) and four Skythian policemen (to arrest the women): 184 n.; in addition there appear to be some other archers accompanying the policemen: 449-52a n. The Proboulos identifies himself and his mission at 421-3: he has come to withdraw money to supply the fleet with oars. Like the old men of the chorus, he has heard about the occupation (though he, too, is ignorant of its motive: 476-87). Whereas the old men (who initially enjoyed the chance to relive their past military exploits) compared the women to the Persian invaders and to Kleomenes, the Proboulos blames the occupation on the inherent mischievousness of women and on the complacency of their husbands. As an example he cites the baneful role played by Demostrotos' wife during a crucial political deliberation (391 ff.).

Our Proboulos represents one member of a standing board who were appointed in 413/12 following news of the Sicilian disaster. The title first appears in our play: Thukydides calls them *πρεσβύτεροι ἄνδρες* (8. 1. 3) or *ξυγγραφεῖς ἀτοκράτορες* (8. 67. 1). The original board had ten members: *Ἀθ. π.* 29. 2 (the source of *Σ Lys.* 421 and *Suda π* 2355), *Androtion* 324 F 43 and *Philochoros* 328 F 136 (the sources of *Harpokr. s.v. ξυγγραφεῖς*); in the summer twenty additional members were added (*Ἀθ. π.*). Whether all ten were as old as the Proboulos in *Lys.* cannot be determined (*Ἀθ. π.* says that the twenty additions had to be over 40), but the two known members were: Hagnon (*Lys.* 12. 65) and the poet Sophokles (*Arist. Rh.* 3. 18. 6). The board's duty was to propose measures, whenever the occasion arose, to meet emergencies. In particular they were to expedite the financial transactions crucial to the war effort. Our Proboulos' errand is precisely what *Lys.*'s occupation is designed to frustrate (173-6, 488 ff.).

The establishment of the Probouloi reflects popular sentiment that the democracy should exercise more self-restraint in the conduct of business. The title suggests that instead of a probouleuma forwarded by the Boule to the Assembly, the Probouloi could, if they deemed it necessary, bypass the Boule. After the addition of twenty new members (at Peisandros' suggestion) the Probouloi were instructed to report to the Athenians on a fixed day with proposals for improving the constitution. Their one recommendation—to suspend the traditional safeguards against rash decision-making—opened the way for the revolutionary measures enacted by the Assembly at Poseidon's temple in Kolonos.

In *Lys.* the Proboulos is a burlesque bureaucrat with overtones of the stock tyrant: pompous, arrogant, unreasonable, stubborn, and ultimately ineffective. Like Sophokles' Kreon, Euripides' Pentheus, and Thukydides' Kleon, he can have won no sympathy from the spectators. When he

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departs, thoroughly discredited and humiliated, all join in the derisive laughter of the women. Thus the chorus of old men, and their sympathizers in the audience, have in the Proboulos a most unworthy champion (compare Lamachos in *Ach.*).

The Proboulos was an ideal choice for the heroine's antagonist. He best suited the logic of the occupation-plot and afforded a dramatically efficient way of handling its rather abstract theme (contrast the entirely rhetorical treatment of the financial theme in *Wasps*). In addition, he provided a focus for spectator resentment: he held extraordinary powers that traditionally belonged to the demos and held them as a result of Athenian failure, not Athenian success. In the Proboulos Ar. could boldly confront the Athenian predicament without impugning the fitness of everyday political and military leaders to get them out of it. In early 411 an antagonist like the Lamachos of *Ach.* or the Kleon of *Eq.* would have frightened rather than amused the spectators and so might have exposed the poet to dangerous resentment.

Ar. chose not to identify a particular Proboulos because there was nothing to gain by doing so. The issue at stake is the elimination of popular resistance to a favourable peace-settlement, not the misbehaviour of particular individuals. What is more, there is no reason to doubt that the eight unknown Probouloi were as generally acceptable, if not perhaps as prestigious, as Sophokles and Hagnon. Ar. could get more mileage out of an attack on the office rather than on one of its incumbents.

387 ἀρ': 'The appeal for confirmation is the more confident because less obviously stressed,' Denn. 46. **ἐξέλαμψε**: Metaph. of 'flare-ups' such as fevers (Hp. *VM* 16) and social disorder, *E. Ba.* 778 (Pentheus) ἤδη τὸδ' ἐγγυὸς ὥστε πῦρ ἐφάπτεται ὕβρισμα βακχῶν. Here the metaphor perhaps carries over the fire of the preceding scene. **τρυφή**: Of 'soft', 'spoiled' wives (*Nu.* 48), with overtones of 'misbehaved' (405); personified at *Ek.* 973, an hetaira name at *AP* 5. 154. 2.

388 τυμπανισμός: 3 n. **πυκνοί**: 'thick and fast', of repeated cries. **Σαβάζιοι**: 'cries of "Sabazios!"'. Sabazios had arrived fairly recently in Athens, apparently in the 430s (E. R. Dodds, *HThR* 33 (1940) 171 ff.), as the object of private mysteries of the sort described by D. 18. 259 f. His worship involved intoxication (our earliest reference to him occurs in the conversation between two tipsy slaves in *Ve.* 9 f.) and so was associated with Dionysos (Amphitheos *FGrH* 431 F 1, Nilsson 836). The statement in our *Σ* that he was Thracian in origin results from confusion with Dionysos, for he was apparently Phrygian (*Av.* 873 (cf. *Σ*), fr. 578, Str. 470). The name may well be related to Slavic *svoboda* ('liberty'), cf. Lat. *Liber* (A. Vaillant, *NClío* 7/9 (1955-7) 485-6). In one play (*Seasons?*) Ar. showed Sabazios and other 'strange gods' (for a list see A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* i. 627-8, cf. E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter* 79-87) being tried and expelled from Athens. But in fact Sabazios-worship was quite long-lived, C. Robert, *CRAI* 1975. 307 ff.

389 This line was the source of one alternative title of the play in antiquity (for the other see 1114 n.); Σ rejects it. Plato Com. wrote an *Adonis*, Philippiades an *Adoniazousai*; cf. also Theokr. 15. The Semitic (*adon* = lord) Adonis came to Greece from Byblos and Kypros, and his cult was already well established in the seventh century (Sappho 168, Hes. fr. 139). It is similar in essentials to that of Dumuzi-Tammuz: confined to women, celebrated on flat rooftops where quickly germinating 'Adonis gardens' are planted, and culminating in loud lamentation for the dead god's image (cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 276B, Men. *Sam.* 39 ff.). In Athens Adonis was associated with Aphrodite but had no temple and was not officially recognized by the city (thus business continued during the celebration). The Semitic month Tammuz was June/July, but the Athenian Adonia need not have been held at the same time (for Greek adaptations of the Adonia generally cf. Burkert, *GR* 176-7). The requisite gardens suggest a time in spring, cf. A. D. Nock, *Gnom.* 10 (1934) 292. Our passage suggests a time prior to campaign-season.

390-7 This passage throws little light on the events preceding the Sicilian Expedition of 415; Demostratos advocated the expedition and recommended the enrolment of Zakynthian hoplites. It is not clear to which assembly (there were several: Th. 6. 8. 1-2) the speech reported belongs, nor is there any strong reason to identify Demostratos with the unnamed speaker in Th. 6. 25 (Plu. *Nik.* 12. 6 and *Alk.* 18. 3 based his identification on our passage). Demostratos' speech cannot be assigned to the assembly that dispatched reinforcements in response to Nikias' despondent letter (Th. 7. 16) because the Adonia will not have been celebrated in winter (389 n.). Zakynthians were enrolled by Demosthenes on his way to Sicily in early summer 413 (Th. 7. 31. 2, 57. 7), but Thukydides does not mention them in connection with the original armada.

On the other hand, our passage does allow a glimpse of the popular mood of scape-goating and recrimination that followed the disaster. Th. 8. 1 notes that the advocates of the expedition (politicians, oracles-mongers, and soothsayers) felt the people's wrath, and Plu. *Nik.* 13 lists numerous ominous signs of divine warning (among them the lamentations of adoniazousai) that were ignored during the assemblies where the expedition was voted. The jocular fashion in which Ar. presents the Proboulos' tirade suggests that by the time of *Lys.* much of the initial shock had passed and that the Athenians were satisfied that the guilty parties had been identified and punished: compare the jocular treatment of the mutilation of the herms (1093-4).

Like the chorus of men earlier (271 ff.) the Proboulos aligns the present emergency with an historical precedent, the women's ill-omened cries that were heard in the assembly as it was deciding to send the flower of Attic youth into battle: as if the women were responsible for the outcome. But, as the spectators know, the present emergency is the result not of the women's usual frivolity but of *Lys.*'s plot, which has endowed them with

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unprecedented discipline and political awareness. An amusing feature of the Proboulos' narrative is its ping-pong-style juxtaposition of the women's cries with Demostratos' insistent speechifying (for the imperfects cf. *Eq.* 1350 ff.): compare *Ve.* 114 ff.

- 391** *μη ὦρασι μὲν*: Cf. 1037, *Alex.* 266. *μη ὦρασι μὲν . . . ἴκοιθ'* (where *μὲν* is emphatic, as here), which give the full phrase 'may you not come in good season' = 'bad luck to you'. *ὦρασι* (cf. *θύρασι*, *'Ολυμπίασι*) is a dative of the first declension which uses a termination originally locative. Later we find *μη ὦρας . . . ἴκοιο* (*Men. Pk.* 321-2) where *ὦρας* is a temporal accusative, the result of reinterpretation of *ὦρας* or assimilation to the phrase *εἰς ὦρας ἰκέσθαι*, 'return at this time next year' (*h.Hom.* 26. 12, *Theokr.* 15. 75, *Babr.* 53. 7).

Demostratos (*PA* 3611, *Davies* 105) was portrayed by Eupolis in *Demes* and by other comic poets as *μανιώδης*, according to *Σ* 397 which quotes *Eup.* 97 *τί κέκραγας ὥσπερ Βουζύγης ἀδικούμενος*; (a reference to the curses of the Bouzygai at the Bouphonia), which was excerpted by paroimiographers, *Paroem. Gr.* 1. 388(61). Cf. *Eup.* 96, where someone, asked to name a politician capable of making a speech, replies *ὁ Βουζύγης ἄριστος ἀλτήριος*. Evidently the comic poets portrayed him as angry, loud, and rash.

- 392** The Proboulos uses the case of Demostratos' wife to illustrate his thesis that failure to control wives brings disaster to husbands.
- 394-7** Zakynthos, most southerly of the Ionian islands, was allied with Athens by Tolmides in 456 (*D. S.* 11. 84. 7) and remained loyal throughout the war with the Peloponnesians. *ὑποπεπωκυ'*: 113-14 n. Understatement? or 'already quite tipsy', cf. 567-70 n. *ἐβιάζετο*: 'persisted in his proposal', *D.* 21. 205. *Σ* 'was forced by the woman's cries to raise his voice' furnished the variant in *B* *ἐβοάζετο*. *θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς*: 283-5 n. *μιαρὸς*: 'polluted', 'guilty' (971-2 n.). *Χολοζύγης*: A pun on the family name Bouzyges. *χολή* 'bile' was associated with madness (*Σ* *διὰ τὸ μελαγχολᾶν*); for madness as a political charge cf. 341-2 n. At 465-6 an excess of bile is associated with pathological anger and violence.
- 398** Perhaps typically rhetorical (cf. *D.* 24. 86 *τοιαῦτα τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ κακουργήματα*); the Proboulos recycles it with variation at 406, 420.
- 399-402** This complaint (repeated at 467 ff.) the Proboulos brusquely and unsympathetically sweeps aside: contrast the readiness of Lamachos to help the distressed semichorus at *Ach.* 572 ff. *τί δῆτ' ἄν, εἰ πύθοιο*: 'what would (you say) if you found out . . .', i.e. how much angrier you would be. For this kind of rhetorical question see Burckhardt 187. In comedy this kind of elliptical apodosis with *ἄν* has in the protasis opt., aor. ind., or imperf. ind. (*Ach.* 1011, *Nu.* 154-5, *Th.* 773, etc.). *ἕβρις*: Hybris was technically the treatment of a fellow citizen as if he were a slave or foreigner, and such physical mistreatment as dousing someone (381) certainly qualifies as hybris. Nevertheless, the use of so strong a word intensifies the ludicrousness of the old men's complaint. Later (425, 658)

- hybris is used more loosely of misbehaviour in general, as often (cf. Dover *GPM* 54-5). **τάλλα θ'**: The usual word-order (953, *Th.* 515) is **τά τ' ἄλλα**. **θαιματίδια**: Full-length cloaks of the kind normally worn by choreutai (Sifakis 86-7); the old men remove them at 615. **σειεῖν πάρεστιν**: They shake out their cloaks; for the construction cf. *Ek.* 1003-4. **ἐνεουρηκότας**: *Eup.* 45 *ἄρα σφόδρ' ἐνεούρησον οὐξώλης γέρων*. Incontinence was a stock joke about the old (Henderson 194).
- 403** Cf. *Th.* 86 *νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ καὶ Δικαίᾳ γ' ἂν πάθοις, Men. Epit.* 221-2. **γε** is always found in this ellipse, 1033, 1171, Denn. 128. **ἄλυκόν**: 'briny', an allusion to the old men's predicament, cf. *Ach.* 435 (alluding to tattered garments) *ὦ Ζεῦ διόπτα καὶ κατόπτα πανταχῇ*. This epithet does not appear elsewhere (the context of fr. 93 is unclear); Poseidon was normally *θαλάττιος*. *Σ* says that 'some see a reference to the Peloponnesian city Alykos, where Poseidon was honoured' (Alykos (= Halieis) in the Argolid is mentioned by Kall. fr. 705), cf. Hsch. a 3006 *Ἀλικούων · ὁ Ποσειδῶν, Σώφρων* (fr. 137), a 3009 'dwellers in the coastal areas of the Peloponnese are called Halikoi'. The variants in the app. crit. and in the testimonia reflect topological research. Thus it is possible that an actual Peloponnesian epithet was here enlisted as a witticism.
- 404-6** The theme of the Proboulos' satirical set-piece: what else can we men (he speaks generically, cf. 25 n.) expect, when we spoil our women and indulge their natural inclination to mischief? Compare *Th.* 383 ff., 443 ff., 466 ff. **ξυμπονηρευόμεθα**: 350-1 n. **τρυφᾶν**: 387 n. **τοιαῦτ'... βουλευμάτα**: *A. Sept.* 592-4 (of Amphiaraios) *οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει, βαθείαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενῶν καρπούμενος, ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνά βλαστάνει βουλευμάτα*, Hdt. 5. 92, *S. El.* 1095, *OK* 611.
- 407-19** Of the two vignettes of foolish husbands the first (407-13) concerns a wife whose orifice is too big, the second (414-19) one whose orifice is too small. The goldsmith and shoemaker were stock characters in tales of the cuckold, as the door-to-door salesman and mailman are today.
- 407-13 ἐν τῶν δημιουργῶν**: 'in the craftsmen's (district)', cf. 557. Those selling similar goods had (and still have) their shops and stalls in the same area. Men would normally do the shopping (cf. 560 ff.) and run this kind of errand, but only a fool would invite the craftsman to his house, especially in his absence: this is the example of husbandly complacency. **χρυσοχόε**: Usually uncontracted in inscriptions, Meisterhans 127. **τὸν ὄρμον**: Inverse attraction of the acc., cf. *Pl.* 200-1, KG ii. 413-14. **ἐπεσκεύασας**: 'prepared for (my wife)', cf. 613, *Ek.* 1147. **ὄρχουμένης**: Perhaps punning on *ὄρχεις*. The gen. absol. can also be interpreted as separative (*ἐκπέπτωκεν*) or as possessive (*τοῦ τρήματος*) because of the *double entendre* in 410. **ἐσπέρας**: That is, at a village dance or panny-chis. **βάλανος**: Only here = *περόνη*, normally of a bolt-pin for a door (e.g. *Ve.* 200), because of the *double entendre* = 'glans penis' (Arist. *HA* 493^a27, etc.). **ἐκπέπτωκεν κτλ.**: Cf. *Ek.* 906-8 (a crone abuses her young rival) *ἐκπέσοι σου τὸ τρήμα τό τ' ἐπικλιντρον ἀποβάλοις βουλομένη*

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σποδείσθαι. **Σαλαμίνα**: 59–60 n. **πάση τέχνῃ**: ‘by all means’, also playing on the sense ‘(sexual) skill’, cf. Lys. 1. 17 of Eratosthenes, who made a τέχνη of adultery. **πρὸς ἐσπέραν**: 59–60 n. **ἐκείνη**: ‘for her’/‘into her’. **τήν**: ‘the’/‘your’.

414–19 ἕτερος δέ τις: 524, *Ek.* 697. **σκυτοτόμον**: Because their trade was so humble (Pl. *Prt.* 319D, *Thi.* 180D) cobblers could be considered low types (*Eq* 738 ff., Machon 359 ff.). **τῆς μου γυναικὸς**: The sequence *μου τῆς γ.* (as in 409) is avoided because the enclitic would be heard with *σκυτοτόμῃ*. *Th.* 744 ἀπέδυσας ἀναίσχυντέ μου τὸ παιδίον is different because there the verb comes first. For the word-order cf. 168 n. **οὐ παιδικόν**: A large penis was conventionally a sign of sexual incontinence, *Nu.* 1014 ~ 1019, *Dover GH* 125 ff. **δακτυλίδιον**: The diminutive of δάκτυλος (toe) ought to have short iota, long iota making the diminutive of δακτύλιος (ring), a form rejected by Atticists (*AB* 88). But here there is a play on ring = anus (LSJ δακτυλικὸς 2, δακτύλιος 2; *Dover* informs me of the identical usage in (northern) British slang). The tightness of this orifice prompts the husband (in *double entendre*) to have it widened. For heterosexual anal intercourse (a Spartan predilection: 1105 n.) on Attic vases see *Dover GH* 99 f. Athenian disapproval of this sexual mode is indicated by the scandal of Megakles and Peisistratos’ daughter (*Hdt.* 1. 61, 1–2). In pronunciation the actor could indicate the pun by prolonging the syllable -λί-; for other examples of artificial lengthening cf. A. Willems, *Ar.* (Paris/Brussels 1919) ii. 129 n. 1, W. Arnott, *CQ* 7 (1957) 194 n. 3. The same *double entendre* may be at work at *Th.* 424–5. **ἄθ’**: Causal, as often (*Denn.* 525). **ἀπαλὸν**: ‘easily chafed’/‘succulent’ (of young women’s flesh *Av.* 668, *Ek.* 902). **τῆς μεσημβρίας**: 59–60 n. **χάλασον**: Cf. *Th.* 263 (ὑποδήματα) *Mv.* ἀρ’ ἀρμόσει μοι; *Ev.* χαλαρὰ γούν χαίρεις φορῶν, and for the sexual sense *Pherokr.* 145. 5 (cf. *AP* 5. 99), *CIL* xii. 5678. 38, *EM* 805. 9 χαλιμάδας ἔλεγον τὰς χαλωμένας πρὸς σνονοσίαν. **εὐρυτέρως**: Cf. the anal joke at *Eq.* 720–1 (homosexual).

420 For the phrase cf. 398, 406, compare *Ter. Ad.* 3. 4. 63–4 nimia illaeca licentia profecto evadet in aliquod magnum malum.

421–3 ὅτε γ’ ὦν: The Proboulos declares himself the victim of the derelictions he has been enumerating (γε gives a causal sense to ὅτε. ὅτε γε only here in *Ar.*, but cf. *Pax* 1251 ὡς μ’ ἀπώλεσας, ὅτ’ ἀντέδωκά γ’ ἀντὶ τῶνδε μὲν ποτέ, *Denn.* 141–2). **ἐκπορίσας ὅπως... ἔσσονται**: ἐκπορίζειν in this construction only here. Attika could provide only a fraction of the timber needed for ships and had to get the rest elsewhere, mainly from Makedonia, Thrace, and Mysia ([X.] *Ath.* 2. 11–2). *Andokides* 2. 11 claims to have brought oar-timber from Makedonia to Samos in 411, and Archelaos of Makedonia is praised in a decree of 407/6 for providing χσύλ[α] καὶ κοπέας (*ML* 91. 30). Following the Sicilian disaster the Athenians got timber ‘from wherever they could’ (*Th.* 8. 1. 3). **τάργυριου νυνὶ δέον**: *Ar.* no doubt meant to convey the impression that the Proboulos will pocket some of the money, cf. 488 ff., *Th.* 811–2 (female

officials would be more honest than men) οὐδ' ἂν κλέψασα γυνή ζεύγει κατὰ πενήκοντα τάλαντα εἰς πόλιν ἔλθοι τῶν δημοσίων. -κέκλειμαι: Cf. 487, 1071. κληζέω is still found in inscriptions in the early fourth century but ηι > ει was in progress in the late fifth (GAI 353-4, 370). The perfect appears instead of the usual present ('I find I'm shut out') also at Nu. 34.

424-66. *The Proboulos attacks the citadel*

The Proboulos turns to a pair of slaves (the archers do not come into action until 433) with crowbars and orders them to begin prying open the gates, but before they do so Lys. emerges voluntarily (430). The Proboulos orders one of his four archers to arrest her (434); when she frightens him off the Proboulos orders a second archer to assist the first (437-8). At this moment an old woman emerges to help Lys. (439). When the Proboulos orders a third archer to arrest her (441), another old woman emerges in her defence (443). A fourth archer is summoned (445), but when still another old woman emerges (447) the Proboulos finds that he is 'out of archers' (449). Not wishing to be bested by women, he orders the full troop to charge (450-5). In response Lys. summons her four troops (453) of tough market-women from the Akropolis (456-8) and in the ensuing battle (459-61) the Proboulos' forces are routed. At the end of the scene the Proboulos is defenceless and must settle for a battle of words (467-75). Thus the occupying women defend themselves just as had the chorus of old women (356 ff.).

In this scene we have five speaking parts (Proboulos, Lys., three old women), two slaves, four archer-policemen and a troop of archers, and four market-women (at least: 449-52a). In the similar scenes at *Ve.* 433 ff. and *Ra.* 605 ff. there are two slaves and three archers. Ar.'s accommodation of a small fifth speaking part (447-8, cf. 136 n., Introd. IV) necessitated the fourth archer.

424-5 οὐδὲν ἔργον ἑστάναι: 'Now we must not stand around...', 614, *Av.* 206. **μοχλοῦς:** *Pax* 307-8 (freeing the entombed Eirene) *μοχλοῖς καὶ μηχαναῖσιν εἰς τὸ φῶς ἀνελκύσαι τὴν θεῶν πασῶν μεγίστην*, cf. *E. Or.* 1474, *Arist. Mech.* 847^b11. **ὑβρεως:** 399-402 n. **σχέθω:** Poetic, cf. *Eq.* 320.

426-30α κέχηνας: 'stare stupidly' (*Ach.* 133, *Men. Dysk.* 441), 'gape expectantly' (*Eq.* 956), 'gaze intently' (*Nu.* 996): a sign of slavish inattentiveness, 18 n. **δύστηνε:** 'wretch(ed)' (652, 699, cf. *Ek.* 166), at 959 in its older (epic) sense, 'unfortunate'. **σύ:** A second slave; for the form of address cf. *Th.* 852 τί αὐτὸν σὺ κυρκανᾶς; **ἀλλ' ἦ:** Absent in serious poetry. **καπηλείων:** Cf. 466, *Ek.* 153 ff. Slaves as a type are bibulous (like wives!), cf. *Wasps*, prologue.

430b-2 The first public appearance of Lys. It is perhaps remarkable that the Proboulos never demands to know her name (she is first named publicly by the Athenian Ambassador, 1086, who already knows her name). Those who incline to the view that Lys. is assimilated to an actual

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- contemporary (cf. *Introd.* III) might find some support here. Like *Dikaiopolis* (*Ach.* 352 ff.) *Lys.* asks that the situation be discussed calmly and rationally (the women never initiate violence). **νοῦ καὶ φρενῶν**: Often linked (*Th.* 291, *Ra.* 534 ff., *D.* 18. 324) but not considered attributes ordinarily (i.e. outside comedy) possessed by women (1124 n.). Later they are attributed by the women's chorus to the Akropolis-women (548, 572, 1124), but the young wives conspicuously lack them (42, 708). *Lys.* implies that the *Proboulos* lacks them, too: *Ar.* frequently labels the Athenians politically *ἀνόητοι*: 518, 572, *Nu.* 898, *Ra.* 734, 1503, *Ek.* 473 ff.
- 433 ἄλθες**: 'How dare you!' **ὦ μίαιρά σὺ**: For the adj. cf. 252–3 n. This form of address is not inconsistent with formal civility, *J. Griffith, CR* 18 (1968) 8 ff. **ποῦ 'στι τοξότης**: The papyrus variant (MSS *ποῦ 'σθ' δ τ.*) is preferable because at this point the *Proboulos* faces only *Lys.* and has no need to single out a particular archer from the four present.
- 435–6** Addressed to the *Proboulos* (it is beneath her dignity to address the archer). For the ensuing routine cf. 358 ff. **τάρρα**: 'if that's the way you want it (*ἄρα*) then be sure (*τοι*) . . .', *Ve.* 299, etc., in threats *frr.* 602, 623, *Denn.* 555. **Ἄρτεμιν**: 893 and n. **ἄκραν**: Cf. 365, *E. Hel. κἄν ἄκρα θίγγης χερί.* **προσοίσει**: 471. **δημόσιος ὤν**: 'public slave that he is', not 'even though he's a public agent': *δημόσιος* has a low connotation, *Eq.* 1136 = *φαρμακός* (cf. *Σ*), *Lys.* 30.5 *καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ὕβρεως ἦκεις, ὥστε σαυτοῦ νομίζεις εἶναι τὰ τῆς πόλεως, αὐτὸς δημόσιος ὤν.* Archers seem, probably on account of their police powers, to have been particularly resented: *Ach.* 707, *Eq.* 665, *Th.* 1001 ff., 1082 ff., 1176 ff. At *Av.* 1031 *μαρτύρομαι τυπτόμενος, ὧν ἐπίσκοπος* being struck is *below* the dignity of an official. **κλαύσεται**: 503 n.
- 437–8** Imperative questions, cf. *Nu.* 505, *Ve.* 1253, *Pax.* 274, *Pl.* 974. **μέσσην**: 'on the hip', a palaestra metaphor, *Ach.* 571, *Ek.* 260, cf. *LSJ* I. 1. 6. **καὶ σὺ**: A second archer (not one of the slaves of 424–6 because archer-policemen were the only slaves authorized to seize citizens). **χάνουσιν**: 'quickly' (often with *τι*, 920), dual also at *Eq.* 71, *Pax* 872, cf. *KG* ii. 81. According to Atticists the correct form was aspirated (*Hdn.* Gr. i. 541, *Phryn. PS* 23B), but MSS usually have smooth breathing (*Jebb* at *S. El.* 1451). There is no inscriptional evidence, and *κατανύειν* occurs in tragedy (note the papyrus here), but other evidence favours the aspirated form (*LSJ* ad fin.).
- 439–40** The women who emerge from the Akropolis (439 f., 443 f., 447 f.) are the older women who seized the Akropolis (177–9). At least one of them (addressed as *γραῦς* at 506) plays the clown (like *Kal.* in the prologue) during the ensuing debate (467 ff.). Two of the Akropolis-women were named by the women's chorus (322–3) but none of the women who now appear is named. Note that they (unlike *Lys.*) address the archers directly. For the threat here cf. *Nu.* 933 *κλαύσει, τὴν χεῖρ' ἣν ἐπιβάλλεις. ἐπιχεσεῖ*: Evacuation of the bowels is frequently associated with being beaten (*Eq.* 69 f., *Th.* 570). The Doric future forms (cf.

- πεσοῦμαι) appear only in MSS of Ar. and Eur. and cannot be guaranteed (R. Walker, *CR* 8 (1894) 21); but there are no grounds for their systematic removal (see Kannicht on E. *Hel.*, p. 143). Other forms of the future of χέζειν are καταχέσομαι (fr. 157. 3), χέσω (Eur. 224), κάπιχέσουνται (*Ek.* 640, transitive). **Πάνδροσον**: One of the two daughters of the legendary Attic king Kekrops; the other was Aglauros (cf. G. Dontas, *Hesp.* 52.1 (1983) 48 ff.), who appears in an oath at *Th.* 533. A spurious third daughter, Herse, is the product of later mythographic predilection for triads (H. Usener, *RhM* 58 (1903) 10-1, Jacoby on Philochoros 328 F 105-6, S. Scheinberg, *HSCP* 83 (1979) 2-7). Pandrosos belonged to a group of ancient and valued cults and was associated with the city's most respected families (M. Jameson, *BCH* 89 (1965) 154 ff., Turner 99 ff., 413 ff.). Her priestess (M. Schmidt, *AthMitt* 83 (1968) 208, *Hesp.* 7 (1938) 1 ff.) wore a special costume (Poll. 10. 91, Suda π 2892), and in her precinct (the Pandroseion) near the Erechtheion (Paus. 1. 27. 2) stood the sacred olive tree and an altar of Zeus Herkeios (Philochoros 328 F 66-7). Woman A's oath may have sounded intimidating to the Proboulos because of Pandrosos' involvement (along with Athena Polias and Kourotrophos) in the sacrifices (ἐξιτήρια) held on the day officials left office (*IG* ii 1039. 57-8, P. Hanslik, *RE* 17 (1949) 533 ff.). **ταύτη**: Lys. 441-2 ἰδοῦ γ' ἐπιχέσει: Denn. 129, for a variation *Ra.* 1204-5. **ἕτερος**: 'another' (cf. 66), i.e. a third. **προτέραν**: before Lys.
- 443-4 Φωσφόρον**: An epithet of Artemis (E. *IT* 21, Kall. *Dian.* 204) and of Hekate (*Th.* 858, fr. 608, E. *Hel.* 569), here probably Hekate, since a dedication to Hekate Phosphoros stood near the Nike bastion (Paus. 2. 30. 2) and Hekate was particularly close to the everyday activities of women (63-4 n., 700 ff.). The epithet reflects Hekate's association with the moon—iconographically she was portrayed as a maiden in a short chiton holding torches (a selection of examples in T. Kraus (63-4 n.))—but here may have been chosen as a humorous allusion to φωσφόρος = 'eye' (E. *Kyk.* 611) or 'eye-salve' (Gal. 12. 747) to set up the following threat (cf. the significant epithet at 403). **κῦαθον**: For 'cupping' a black eye (*Ve.* 1386 τηροῦ μὴ λάβῃς ὑπόπια), *Pax* 541-2, Arist. *Prob.* 890^b7.
- 445-6 τουτὶ τί ἦν**: The Proboulos did not expect Woman B, cf. 350-1 n. **ποῦ τοξότης**: The fourth archer. **παύσω τιν' ὕμῶν**: 'I'll stop (any) one of you (who persists in these threats)', cf. *Nu.* 1491-2 (with Dover's note), *Ve.* 1327-8, E. *Hp.* 1086 κλαίων τις αὐτῶν ἄρ' ἐμοῦ γε θίξεται. **ἐξόδου**: 'outing' (16) would be contemptuous; 'sally' (of a temporary, small-scale military force, *Nu.* 579, *Pax.* 1181) would imply respect for what is no longer an easy adversary.
- 447-8 Ταυροπόλον**: Artemis Tauropolos (Σ quotes Xenomedes of Keos *FGrH* 442 F 2 for a connection with Athena, but there is no Attic attestation), who seems to have been represented in the Braurion enclosure on the Akropolis (Paus. 1. 23. 7), had festivals at Brauron

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(Deubner 208 ff.) and at Halai Araphenides (cf. Jacoby on Phanodemos 325 F 14), where the Tauropolia was orgiastic (Kamerbeek on *S. Aj.* 172) and preserved vestiges of earlier human sacrifice (blood was drawn from a man's throat, cf. *E. IT* 1450 ff.); for the women's pannychis cf. *Men. Epit.* 451 ff. See in general H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 103 (1983) 96 ff. This goddess was as frightening as Woman C's threat. **ἑκποκιῶ**: Cf. *Th.* 567 *ἐκποκιῶ σου τὰς ποκάδας*, *Krat.* 48 *νακότιλτος* ('with the wool plucked off') *ὡσπερὶ κωδάριον ἐφαινώμην*, *Theokr.* 5. 26 *τίς τρίχας ἀντ' ἐρίων ἐποκίξατο*; For similar metaphors cf. 685, *Ach.* 320, *Taillardat* 62–3, 343 ff. Corruption was evidently the result of confusion with 364. **στενοκωκύτους**: Comic grandiloquence, cf. *S. Ant.* 1316 *ὄξυκώκυτος*, for the banal version of the threat cf. 1222.

449–52a οἶμοι κακοδαίμων: 'Alas for my misfortune!', cf. 845. **ἐπιλέλοιφ' ὁ τοξότης**: 'the archer (I need) isn't available', i.e. he has used up his four archers, cf. *Pl.* 554 *περιγίγνεσθαι δ' αὐτῷ μηδέν, μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ἐπιλείπειν* 'he has nothing to spare, but at the same time lacks nothing that is necessary'. *ὁ τοξότης* is not the whole troop (*τὸ τοξικόν* 462). **ὄμοσε**: A general charge must be attempted, now that simple arrest has failed. The text does not make it clear whether the charge is made by the four archers who have already been rebuffed (Lys.'s defenders are 'four squadrons' 453) or additional archers (the market-women emerge from the Propylaea, 456, as if countering an additional threat). If the latter is the case, why does the Proboulos say he is out of archers? If the former, why would the market-women be necessary to subdue archers that have already been subdued by Lys. and her three helpers? The appearance of the market-women does on balance suggest that the Proboulos had additional forces, so that we should probably think of the four original archers as policemen distinct from the 'troop' (Skythai) now ordered to charge. The distinction between Lys.'s helpers and the rough market-women would thus parallel that between the policemen and their subordinates.

453–6 λόχοι: Of 'troops' of women at *A. Eum.* 46 (the Erinyes), *E. Ba.* 916 (Bakchai). **ἔνδον, ἔνδοθεν**: They will emerge through the Propylaea. **ἐξωπλισμένων**: Fully-armed women will have reminded the spectators of Athena Polias, cf. *Av.* 830–1 *θεὸς γυνή γεγονυῖα πανοπλίαν ἔστηκ' ἔχουσα*. Indeed, the women must be supposed to have got their weapons from the Akropolis inventories (Athena's citadel was, among other things, a war-museum), cf. the helmet at 751. Like Athena, they are defenders of the citadel. Other than in the figure of Athena, women in panoply could only be seen on the stage or as a symposium entertainment involving hetairai dancing the pyrrhiche (for representations on vases cf. J.-C. Poursat, *BCH* 92 (1968) 550 ff.): the knives or swords brandished by women in Dionysiac cults (*A. Henrichs, HSCP* 82 (1978) 151 n. 97) are connected with hunting and sacrifice, not warfare. **ἐκθεῖτ'**: 'sally forth', cf. 550 and compare the battle at *Ve.* 453 ff. The appearance of Lys.'s troops fulfils the boast of the old women of the chorus at 355.

457-8 Market-women are the *σπέρμ' ἀγοραίων* (*Av.* 110-11, Taillardat 100), proverbially tough, loud, and ferocious (*Ve.* 497, 1388 ff., *Ra.* 857-8, *Pl.* 426-8); reasons for their support of Lys.'s conspiracy appear at 556 ff. (soldiers disrupt the agora). The sesquipedalian coinages (*πολυσύνθετοι λέξεις*, Eust. 1277. 49) are favourites of comic poets: *Ra.* 505, *Ek.* 1169-75, Philoxenos of Leukas (*PMG* 836), cf. Shakespeare *LLL* 5. 1. 40 'honorificabilitudinitatibus', Rabelais ii. 7 'antipericatametananaparbeugedamphicrationes'. Austin, however, points out that these latter sound like gibberish, whereas Lys.'s call to the market-women is perfectly intelligible. **-σκοροδο-**: Garlic was a staple wartime ration (*Ach.* 164), and since it was used to prime fighting-cocks (*σκοροδίξειν*) was reputed to make one bellicose (*Ach.* 166, *Eq.* 494, etc.). **-πανδοκευτρι-**: An especially tough type, *Ve.* 35, *Ra.* 549 ff. **-αρτοπώλιδες**: Esp. *Ve.* 1388 ff.

459-61 When *οὐ* and fut. precede an imperative (*μὴ σκυλεύετε*) copulatives are omitted, E. Harrison, *CQ* 57 (1943) 59. For imperatives of the type here cf. Barrett at E. *Hp.* 212-14, 1084-5, KG i. 176-7. **παιήσεται**: *Nu.* 1125, *παίσω* elsewhere, e.g. E. *El.* 688. Compare *τυπτήσω Nu.* 1443, *βαλλήσω Ve.* 222. **ἀράξετε**: 'smite', the simplex being poetic (metaph. *Nu.* 1373). **ἐπαναχωρεῖτε**: 'do not pursue' (*Ek.* 28, *Th.* 6. 49. 4): the Proboulos' troops exit pell-mell through the parodoi.

462-6 τὸ τοξικόν: The whole troop, cf. *τὸ ἐπικόν, τὸ ναυτικόν*, etc. **ἀλλὰ τί γὰρ ᾤου;** 'well, what did you expect?', *Ach.* 594, Denn. 108. For a similar expression of indignation cf. E. *Alk.* 675-6 (Pheres to Admetos) *ὦ παῖ, τίν' αὐχεῖς, πότερα Λυδὸν ἢ Φρύγα κακοῖς ἐλαύνειν ἀργυρώνητον σέθεν;*, parodied by Ar. at *Av.* 1244-5. **χολήν**: 'wrath'/'courage' (caused by an excess of bile), cf. *Th.* 466-8. **νή... ἦ**: 'yes, indeed (there is courage), and a lot too, provided there's a tavern nearby', referring to women's reputation for bibulousness (113-14 n.), cf. *Th.* 735-7 *ὦ θερμόταται γυναικες, ὦ ποτίσταται, ... ὦ μέγα καπήλοις ἀγαθόν*. Theopompos wrote a comedy titled *Kapelides*. Since slaves too are fond of taverns (427), and since Lys. resents being treated like a slave (463-4, cf. 379) the Proboulos' insult amounts to, In my eyes you're still no better than slaves, despite your prowess in the skirmish.

467-75. A call for debate

The chorus of men repeat their complaint and call to action (399 ff.), and the chorus of women reply that they will respond violently even though they prefer a peaceful solution (cf. 430-2). The exchange of catalectic iambic tetrameters (for which cf. 254-318 n.) introducing an agon (and again before the second half of the agon, where there are only two, 539-40) is unparalleled in Ar. It is necessary (1) to cushion the violent preceding episode and the beginning of the debate, and (2) to remind the spectators of the continuing antagonism in the orchestra while at the same time motivating its temporary (until 614) cessation.

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- 467-8 ἀναλώσας:** Paratragic, as *Th.* 1131. **πρόβουλε... γῆς:** *Ach.* 775, *A. Sept.* 1006 *δήμου προβούλοις τῆσδε Καδμείας χθονός*. **εἰς λόγον:** *Eg.* 806, 1300, *Nu.* 471; *εἰς λόγους Nu.* 252, *Ve.* 472, *Av.* 258. I cannot detect the difference, but Dover persuades me to adopt the reading of R as *lectio difficilior*: the singular is somewhat less frequent than the plural, and at *Nu.* 471 *λόγον* (corrupted into *λόγους*) is recoverable only from the metrical analysis in Σ^V 457 (which shows that it was in Heliodoros' text). **σαυτὸν... συνάπτεις:** 'involve yourself', recalling the palaistra, cf. *Ach.* 686 *ξυνάπτων στρογγύλοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν*, and indicating 'serious conversation' (e.g. *S. El.* 21, *E. Ph.* 702). **θηρίσι:** For women as 'monsters' cf. 1014, *Ek.* 1104, less hostile in tone *Nu.* 184, *Ve.* 448, *Av.* 87.
- 469-70** For the dousing cf. 377, 399 ff. **κονίας:** At *Ra.* 711 (*lyr.*) with short iota. This was a cleansing powder made from lye or pearl-ash by mixing wood-ash and water (*Ra.* 710 ff., *Pl. R.* 430B, cf. *Ach.* 17-18).
- 471-5 ὦ μέλ':** 56 n. **προσφέρειν:** 435-6, 444. **πλησίσιον:** 'neighbours': the semichoruses sit (473) alongside one another (*Il.* 4. 21, *Ek.* 296-7, cf. 100). **κυλοιδιάν:** By being blackened, cf. 443-4. **θέλω:** Although rare this form does appear in prose and verse inscriptions (*GAI* i. 426), and cf. the name Thelochares, *IG* i² 597 (c. 480). **σωφρόνως:** For the decorum of maidens (comically incongruous in the mouth of an old woman) cf. 595-7, *X. Lak.* 3. 5 *αἰδημονεστέρους δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσαιο καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν θαλάμοις παρθένων*. At 508 Lys. uses *σωφροσύνη* to describe wifely forbearance. **καθῆσθαι:** 43 n., 597. **κινούσα μηδὲ κάρφος:** Herod. 1. 54 (with Headlam/Knox), 3. 66-7 *ἐγὼ σε θήσω κοσμιώτερον κούρης κινεύντα μηδὲ κάρφος*. For similar expressions denoting smallness or rarity cf. 107, *Ve.* 91, *Ek.* 284, Taillardat 125 ff. **σφηκιᾶν βλίττη:** The anger of wasps was proverbial, cf. *Ve.* 223-4, Taillardat 210-11. The Athenians well knew that one does not get honey from a wasps' nest, and at *Ve.* 1114 Ar. is aware of the difference between drones and stinging wasps. Yet at *Ve.* 1080 a wasps' nest is called *ἀνθρήμιον* and at 1116 the wasps' produce (*γόνον*) can only be honey. Evidently (as Dover suggests) wild (as opposed to domesticated) bees could be popularly referred to as wasps, perhaps as a result of attempts to steal (*βλίττειν* in this meaning, *Pl. R.* 546E) wild honey.

476-613. AGON

The agon (debate) between Lys. and the Proboulos is less a real argument on both sides of a question than a kind of rowdy news-conference in which Lys., who has the upper hand (the Proboulos is a captive audience), lectures on the insanity of the war, the confusion of the polis, and the correct way to go about setting things right. The Proboulos is allowed only indignant questions and incredulous responses. Thus the heroine's complaints and recommendations address the general situation rather than

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the misbehaviour of particular individuals (the off-hand mention of Peisandros at 490 is her only *ad hominem* remark). Her programme is formulated in terms of the domestic, the traditional, and the personal, and it is entirely convincing on the level of wish-fulfilment (see *Introd.* II). In her exposition she presents her reason for occupying the Akropolis, her complaints against those who want to continue the war, and her suggestions for healing the civil factionalism occasioned by the war. That is, she confines herself to the internal crisis, reserving the external problems for an international audience later in the play (1112 ff.). Ar. seems to be implying that the elimination of internal disharmony is a good recipe for strength in the negotiations to come, cf. *Dover AC* 161. When she arbitrates the negotiations later, Lys. has eliminated political (the Proboulos) and popular (the men's chorus) resistance to her plan.

Like an epic or tragic poet (or Thukydides for that matter: 1. 22. 1), Ar. gives Lys. the arguments which she, as the representative of the city's women, could plausibly be expected to make were her situation real. The war, she maintains, is the cause of all the city's ills (489): domestic strife (507-8), the death of young men (524, 590) and the consequent unavailability of husbands and bridegrooms (591 ff.), the disruption of such peaceful activities as marketing (555-64), the proliferation of dishonest and troublemaking politicians and their factions (486-92). She recommends that the men imitate the competent and productive management of private homes by their womenfolk (493 ff.), and shows the Proboulos how to 'card out' troublemakers as women card out dirt in their wool (574 ff.). Until the men accept her advice, she and her allies will continue to 'manage' the Akropolis treasuries (493 ff.). Lys.'s references to the ongoing conjugal strike (525-6, 551 ff.) are for the spectators only: the strike-plot is not aimed at the Proboulos or the old men but at the fighting men, and its existence is not realized until 1007 ff.

Lys.'s argument assimilates the city to a private home: the treasury is like the family coffers which the women lock up when the men threaten to bring the estate to ruin. That the Akropolis and its goddess(es) symbolized every individual *oikos* was a familiar idea, and the language designating women's domestic management (495) was also used in political and administrative contexts (*ταμειεύειν* 493 ff., cf. *διοικεῖν*, Lys. 1. 7, etc.), cf. *X. Mem.* 3. 4. 12 'domestic management (*ἡ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλεια*) differs from the management of the city only in scope (*πλήθει μόνον*)'. The logic and the persuasiveness of Lys.'s argument rely to a large extent on taking familiar associations literally. In addition, there is no reason to suppose that Lys.'s complaints about wartime hardships, the stubbornness of the men and the volatile political atmosphere had not actually been voiced by the women in many a spectator's house (the vignette at 507 ff. rings true to life), cf. *Introd.* II.

Lys.'s central metaphor (the city as a tangled and dirty lump of wool) is a more novel extension of the assimilation of female territory to male, and it is made scenically concrete when the Proboulos, dressed like a wife, is taught to operate woolworking equipment. This remarkable use of props differenti-

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ates Lys.'s metaphor from such purely verbal ones as the coinage-metaphor in the parabasis of *Frogs* (718 ff.). The presence of an extended metaphor, in combination with the expository character of the agon and its advice to the spectators, compensates for the absence of a parabasis speech later (the chorus remains divided after the agon, 614-705 n.).

Both halves of the agon end with physical action: first the obstinate Proboulos is dressed like a wife (531 ff.), then he is decked out like a corpse and expelled (599 ff.), not to be seen again. There is no arbiter and hence no verdict, and the chorus remains divided. Thus the women's goal of ending the war is not furthered by the agon in any concrete way. Yet we feel that the plot progresses: the purpose of the occupation has been achieved; the heroine has publicly justified her actions and offered recommendations; and a representative warmonger has been discredited. The way is now clear for the conjugal strike to move forward.

This agon can be analysed into the following sections: Ode (476-83), Katakeleusmos (484-5), Epirrheme (486-531), Pnigos (532-8); and their responsional Antode (541-8), Antikatakeleusmos (549-50), Antepirrheme (551-97), Antipnigos (598-607). This form of agon is found also in *Knights*, *Clouds*, *Wasps*, *Birds*, and *Frogs*, except that here a pair of tetrameters (apparently answering those at 467-75) precedes the Antode. See further Th. Gelzer, *Der epirrhematische Agon bei Ar.* (Munich 1960 = *Zetemata* 23) 24, 57, 64, 130. Other expository agons are *Av.* 462 ff. and *Ek.* 583 ff.

The metre of the Ode and Antode is:

(1) 476/7 ~ 541/2	⊖ - ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ - ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ - ⊘ - ⊘ ⊘ -	<i>ia</i> 3 <i>cr</i>
(2) 478 ~ 543	- ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ - ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ - ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ - ⊘ ⊘ ⊘	4 <i>cr</i>
(3) 479 ~ 544	⊘ ⊘ - ⊘ ⊘ - ⊘ ⊘ -	3 ⊘ ⊘ -
(4) 480-3 ~ 545-8	⊘ ⊘ - ⊘ ⊘ - ⊘ ⊘ - ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ - ⊘ ⊘ -	11 ⊘ ⊘ ⊘

(1)(2) Cf. 616 ff. ~ 638 ff. (3) Verse-end marks off a tripod, showing that Ar. is operating with odd numbers of the unit ⊘ ⊘ - (cf. *Ach.* 285 ~ 336) and not with anapaestic metra. The chorus thus took an odd number of paces. (4) Proceleumatics are more freely used in the lyric anapaests of comedy than they are in tragedy (E. *IT* 232 is the only tragic case of consecutive proceleumatics) and are said to have been typical of the entry of satyr-choruses (Aphthonios *GL* 6. 99. 19, cf. Pratinas *TrGF* 4 F 3). Here they are, as usual, marked off by word-division. In general see Dale 56, West 122-3.

476-538. *The Proboulos' turn*

476-7 The old men demand an answer to their original question (256 ff.).
κνωδάλους: Of persons who behave in a strange or inhuman way, *Ve.* 4,

- Krat. 251 κνώδαλ' ἀναιδῆ, A. *Eum.* 644 ὦ παντομισῆ κνώδαλα, στήγη θεῶν. οὐ...γ': Cf. *Ek.* 941 οὐ γὰρ ἀνασχετόν τοῦτό γ' ἔλευθέρω. The papyrus variant reveals the origin of the corruption in RJB: the final letter of *ETANEKTATAΔΕΙ* was mistaken for T, thus giving ἔτι twice. In the papyrus the first ἔτι was removed, in the medieval tradition the second. The correct reading was preserved only in the branch of the tradition represented by Vp2H. **τάδε:** Of a single event (the occupation), cf. 608, 658, KG i. 66. **βασανιστέον:** 'examine carefully', *Ek.* 748-9, Th. 6. 53. 2 *βασανίσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ εὐρεῖν ἦ, κτλ.*
- 478-83 τὴν Κραναῶν:** 'the rocky (citadel)' = the Akropolis, first of Ithake in Homer, later of other citadels. The mythical king Kranaos (Apollod. 3. 14. 5) was invented to explain the adjective. Thus the ancient inhabitants of Athens (*αἱ Κρανααί* at *Av.* 123) were *οἱ Κραναοί* (A. *Eum.* 1011), cf. ὦ Κραναῶ πόλις *Ach.* 75. The old men underscore the sanctity and antiquity of the citadel. **ἄβατον:** The whole Akropolis was a sacred enclosure where only sacerdotal personnel (mostly priestesses) would normally have business. Cf. Pl. *Laches* 183B, where hoplites consider Sparta to be an ἄβατον ἱερόν, καὶ οὐδ' ἄκρω ποδὶ ἐπιβαίνοντας.
- 484-5** The koryphaios urges the Proboulos to extract an explanation and offers support; for this feature of agons cf. *Eq.* 761-2, *Nu.* 959-60, *Ve.* 546-7, *Av.* 460-1. Although the Proboulos neither offers nor defends a position, and although there is no arbiter and no verdict, Ar. nevertheless follows tradition by having the eventual loser begin the agon. **ἀλλ':** Usual in katakeleusmoi. **ἀνθρώπα:** Absol. only here. **ἄκωδώνιστον ἔαν:** Cf. D. H. 1. 62 ἀβασάνιστον ἀπολιπεῖν, Plu. *Caes.* 49 οὐδὲν ἔων ἀνεξέταστον. The metaphor (= δοκιμάζειν, *Ra.* 79, D. 19. 167) is from 'ringing' money (*Ra.* 723) or pottery for genuineness/soundness.
- 486-528** Lys.'s argument is as follows: We have seized the treasury to prevent continued financing of the war and the speculation that goes with it. The war and the politicians who profit by it have thrown the whole city into turmoil. We are entitled to act because male leaders have shown their incompetence. We have long run domestic affairs and think the city should be run as efficiently. We shall save you even if you resist salvation. We long sat quietly and observed your disastrous decisions; our advice was rebuffed by blows. But as the ranks of men steadily dwindled we decided to act to save Greece. If you are willing to sit quietly, as we did, you will hear good advice.
- 486-7 καὶ μὴν:** 'very well' (Denn. 355-6), often opening the debate proper. In 486 the Proboulos addresses the koryphaios, in 487 he turns to the women (Lys. and her companions, who emerged at 439 ff., cf. 505, 535 ff., 603 ff.; the market-women of 456 ff. may be present, too, since no exit was indicated, and 556b would be most aptly uttered by one of them). For similar shifts of address cf. *Ra.* 895 ff., 1121, *Ek.* 662, *Pl.* 375. **ἀπεκλείσατε:** For the form cf. 421-3 n.
- 488-9** Interruptions from rival, enquirer, or third party are frequent in

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comic agons and in episodes involving long speeches (cf. 1136 n., the slave in *Nu.*, prologue): they add liveliness and avoid tedium. **δι'**: 'by means of', 936, LSJ B. III. 1-2. **γάρ**: In fifth position *Pl.* 1189, in fourth 595 below: 144 n., Denn. 95 ff. **καί... γε**: 'yes, and (for that reason) everything else was stirred up, too'. 377-8 n., 516, *Ra.* 49. **ἐκυκήθη**: A culinary metaphor often used of the turbulent effects of war (*Pax* 236 ff.) and especially of the behaviour of wartime leaders (*Ach.* 530-1, *Eq.* 363, *Pax* 654 where Perikles and Kleon are *κύκηθρον καὶ τάρακτρον*, cf. *Eq.* 984), Taillardat 409 ff.

490-2 Peisandros of Acharnai (*PA* 11770, cf. *HCT* v. 116-7) is mentioned as a typical politician who has for a long time been creating turmoil in order to gain money and power. This is a typical comic charge, consistent with the portrayal of Peisandros by Ar. and other comic poets in the past (first in *Babylonians* in 426, fr. 84; *Pax* 395, cf. Σ^R , *Av.* 1556 ff., *Eup.* 31, 182, *Phryn.* 20) Since mention of him here (Lys.'s only reference to an individual by name) cannot be mere coincidence, he must have arrived in Athens recently and made some kind of public report. It is, however, highly unlikely that Lys. would speak of him as she does if his sympathy for and activities on behalf of those promoting significant changes in the constitution and in financial strategy were yet publicly known (*Th.* 8. 53, 65, 68, *Arist. Rh.* 3. 18, *Plu. Alk.* 26). Later in the agon Lys. lumps oligarchic and democratic factions together as political irritants of long standing (577), thus betraying no awareness of the oligarchic machinations of the generals at Samos and their agent Peisandros (cf. 313 n.). *Th.* 8. 53-4 gives the impression that Peisandros presented his proposals to the Athenians soon after his arrival, but our passage is strong evidence that he spent some time testing the political waters before he did so. Thukydides has apparently collapsed several assemblies into one, perhaps as a result of his informants' over-dramatized account of Peisandros' persuasive success. See further *Introd.* I.

γάρ: Introducing an example of *τᾶλλα*, cf. 489. **χοῖ**: 'and the others...', cf. *Nu.* 413 *ἐν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι*, 'among Athenians and other Greeks', W. Verdenius, *Mnem.* 7 (1954) 38. **ταῖς ἀρχαῖς**: 'public offices', i.e. those filled by election and hence to some degree controllable by organized groups, cf. *Ve.* 682 ff. **κορκορυγῆν**: Any rumbling noise, thus 'tumult', e.g. *Pax* 991 *μάχας καὶ κορκορυγᾶς*; sg. only here. **ἐκύκων**: 'always were', i.e. before the occupation, cf. 625, 1117 *ἔδρων* = before the conjugal strike. **γάρ**: Explaining **τοῦδ' οὐνεκα** ('for this reason, namely...'). **οὐκέτι μή**: With aor. subj. denies (*οὐ*) any fear/suspicion that (*μή*) an event will happen (subj.) on any occasion (aor.), thus = 'never', cf. 704.

493-5 ἀλλὰ τί δράσεις;: 'But what will you do (to stop them)?' **ταμειόσομεν**: Used of both domestic and political management of finances, cf. *Lys.* 21. 16 *οἶμαι δὲ πάντας ἐπίστασθαι ὅτι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγὼ πολὺ βελτίων ὑμῖν ἔσομαι ταμίης τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὑμῖν ταμειόντων*. Although in well-to-do

households special slaves were stewards and treasurers (*ταμίαι* or *ἐπίτροποι*, *Ek.* 211 ff., *Hdt.* 8. 51. 2), the wife generally managed household finances (*X. Oec.* 9. 10 ff. on a wife's *ταμία*, and *passim*), often too extravagantly in the view of husbands (*Nu.* 46 ff., *Ek.* 14-5, *Th.* 418, *Thphr. Ch.* 22. 10). Since in classical Athens many of the activities now performed by industries (e.g. the manufacture of clothing and the preparation of food) were performed in individual homes under the direction of wives, Lys.'s assimilation of domestic to political management (thematic in this agon: 476-607 n.) was not as far-fetched as it would be in our own culture. On the other hand, the spectators of *Lys.* will have found the idea of women managing public funds much more far-fetched than we do. *πάντως*: 'in all circumstances', i.e. come what may.

496-528 The Proboulos questions not the fiscal capability of women but (1) their right to withhold money needed for the war (and therefore to save Athens), and (2) their right to talk of war and peace (i.e., political/male matters). Lys. answers (1) first: the women have waited long enough for success, but the situation steadily worsens, so that they have decided to take matters into their own hands. The reply to (2) is implicit in 524-6 but not formally made until 587 ff.: if the war continues there will be no young men left.

497-500 σωθησόμεθ': For 'salvation' cf. 29-30 n. *μέντοι*: Marking assent by echoing the previous speaker, *Denn.* 401. *σχέτλιόν γε*: 'Absolutely shocking!', this expression only here in Ar. <γε>: 'that's putting it strongly', indignant, cf. 529. *ἄδικόν γε*: 'you have no right!'

501-3 ὦ τᾶν: Condescending, as often; more polite at 1163. See in general G. de Vries, *Mnem.* 4. 9 (1966) 225 ff. The etymology is unclear, Björck 275 ff. *καί*: Adv.: the men's opposition makes Lys.'s task 'even more urgent'. *τοῦ, τῆς*: 'war and peace', generic despite the articles: for this type of composite phrase cf. *Renchan, Studies* 69 ff. *κλάης*: From a beating, cf. *Fraenkel at A. Ag.* 1148. Ar. maintains the contrast between the calm Lys. and the violent Proboulos (cf. 431-2, 471 ff.).

504-6 ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς: *ὑπό* = 'because of' (508, 792, 1023) is only rarely followed by the article (*Nu.* 835, *Pax* 933). Anger is an undesirable quality in a leader, *Eq.* 40 ff., *Ve.* 875 ff., *Ra.* 700 ff. *ὦ γραῦ*: One of the women who entered at 439 ff. Unseemly threats, jokes and scolding are inappropriate for Lys. but from the buffoon-figure they provide comic relief. *κρώξαις*: Pejoratively of human (esp. old people's) speech, *Pl.* 369, cf. *Hippon.* 61, compare *κρίζειν Av.* 1521, *Men. fr.* 699. The opt. form in *-αις* is especially favoured among dramatists by Ar. and Aischylos, KB ii. 74.

507-20 Lys.'s account of the wives' earlier attempts to talk sense to their husbands falls into two sections: in 507-15a the wives politely question their husbands but do not press the issue; in 517-20 they have become so stridently critical that their husbands threaten a sound beating. Lys.

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specifies the length of time it has taken for the wives finally to lose patience (since 418, cf. 513-14) and stresses the contrast between the wives' decorous behaviour and the husbands' unreasonable stubbornness. Lys.'s account is modelled on the confrontation between Andromache and Hektor in *Il.* 6., esp. lines 483-92, where Andromache, 'smiling through her tears' (*δακρύνειν γελάσασα*), is told *ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰούσα τὰ σαυτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε ἰστόν τ' ἡλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρесси μελήσει*. The husbands quote this rebuke at 519-20, and the wives initially emulate the deferential decorum of Andromache (512 *ἀλγοῦσαι τᾶνδοθεν . . . γελάσασαι*). But whereas Hektor had reacted to his wife's distress with pity (484 *πόσις δ' ἐλέησε νοήσας*) and explained that he was constrained by his fate, the Athenian husbands were peremptorily gruff and unsympathetic, and they offered no defence of their behaviour. Lys. creates the impression that the wives were left no choice but to act as they now have.

Homer's presentation of proper gender roles as the antithesis spinning/fighting is drawn from actual life and is frequently attested in literature, *Hdt.* 4. 162. 5, *Men. Sent.* 363 Jaekel *ἰστοὶ γυναικῶν ἔργα κοῦκ ἐκκλησίαι*. For this reason Ar. bases the central role-reversal of this agon upon it (531 ff., 567 ff.).

507-8 τὸν χρόνον: i.e., the time before we stopped putting up with your behaviour (*ὄτε δὴ δ'* 523). MSS *τὸν μὲν πρότερον πόλεμον καὶ τὸν χρόνον* is meaningless and unmetrical (*B's ἠνεχώμεσθα* is a metrical emendation). *τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον* is a most unlikely acc. of extent of time and in any case cannot be right because 513-14 show that Lys. refers to the period after the repudiation of the Peace of Nikias. The corruption arose from an intrusive explanation of *τὸν χρόνον*. <σιγῇ γ'>: Cf. 515-16, 528 ff., *Ve.* 513 *ἀλλ' ἐὰν σιγῶν ἀνάσχη καὶ μάθης ἀγῶ λέγω. ἠνειχώμεθ'*: Imperfect of habitual action, cf. 508-10, is preferable to an aor. <ὑμῶν>: Necessary to supplement *τῶν ἀνδρῶν* 508. **σωφροσύνης:** Housewifely decorum consisted essentially in knowing one's place and refraining from wrongdoing, cf. *S. Tr.* 552-3 *οὐ γὰρ . . . ὀργαίνειν καλὸν γυναῖκα οὖν ἔχοντα*, *E. Tro.* 655-6 (*Andromache*) *ἤδη δ' ἀμέ χρῆν νικᾶν πόσιν, κείνῳ τε νίκην ἄν ἐχρῆν παριέναι*. Thus, in the following lines, the wives' questions are polite and they defer to their husbands' request that they shut up. The dilemma that Lys. describes—whether to assert oneself for the good of the oikos or to defer to a husband's dangerous behaviour—could not have been uncommon in Athenian households, and it is reflected in the tendency (noted by Dover, *GPM* 67 ff.) to pair *σώφρων* and *ἀρετή/ἔσθλη* etc. as complementary epithets in epitaphs and in literature (e.g. *E. Alk.* 615-16), as if to emphasize that the wife praised was able to maintain a proper balance between activity and restraint, cf. *GVI* 890 where one Glykera achieved 'what is rare in a wife, to be manifestly *σώφρων* and *ἔσθλη*'. See in general H. North, *Sophrosyne* (Ithaca N.Y. 1966).

509-11 γρύζειν: Of a nearly inaudible voice, 656, *Ra.* 913. **καϊτούκ:**

Adversative, 905, 921, 1030, Denn. 556-7; for the crasis cf. *Ve.* 599. **καλῶς**: 'clearly'. **ἄν**: With ind. past tenses denotes a regular occurrence under particular circumstances, KG i. 211-12, P. T. Stevens (83 n.) 60. **κακῶς...βουλευσαμένους**: Athenian 'dysboulia' was a popular comic charge, cf. 186-71, *Eg.* 1055 *Κεκροπίδη κακόβουλε*, *Nu.* 587 ff., *Th.* 808-9, *Ek.* 137 ff., 473 ff., but it was also a charge made by speakers in assemblies and law courts much more frequently than would be allowed in similar modern contexts, cf. Dover, *GPM* 23 ff.

512-14 'although angry at heart we would put on a smile and ask you...' They smile politely (cf. 508), not derisively (as *Pl.* 723). The husbands' rebuke seems the more unfair. **περί... παραγράψαι**: In the winter of 418 the assembly had, on Alkibiades' advice, recorded on the stele containing the Peace of Nicias a notice of repudiation, *οτι οὐκ ἐνέμειναν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ἄρκοις* (*Th.* 5. 56. 3), cf. the old men's charge at 628-9. Lys. thinks of the war as having begun in 418 (not 431), so that the wives are shown to have had qualms from the very beginning: their anger has been mounting for years.

515-16 In addition to Hektor and Andromache (507-20 n.), cf. Ajax to Tekmessia (who has questioned his strange behaviour), *S. Aj.* 292-4 *ὁ δ' εἶπε πρὸς με βαί', αἰεὶ δ' ὑμνούμενα* ('the usual song-and-dance') *γύναι, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγῇ φέρει. κἀγὼ μαθοῦσ' ἔληξ', ὁ δ' ἐσσύθη μόνος. ἀλλ'... ἐσίγων*: The crone is not constrained by the requirements of decorum. **τοιγάρ... ἐσίγων**: 'that's why I for one kept silent at that point' (because I feared a beating). *τοιγάρ* in comedy only here and 901-2. Wilamowitz's emendation best answers the requirements of the passage (that Lys.'s behaviour contrast with the attitude of the old woman). *τοιγάρ ἔγωγ'* (ed. Iuntina) *ἔνδον ἐσίγων*, adopted by many editors, seems out of place in this context (Lys. has no need to specify that she was 'in the house': that is already clear, 510). Coulon's *τοιγάρτοῦγωγ'* *ἂν ἐσίγων* could have had the acceptable sense 'that's why I always kept silent', but following the conditionals of 515b-16a it would have conveyed the inappropriate sense 'that's why I would have kept silent' (implying that she or the others did not).

517-18 πονηρότερον: Not in the personal/moral sense (350-1 n.) but as applied to things, 'rotten', 'useless', 'harmful', cf. *Th.* 8. 97 (*πράγματα*), *Lys.* 14. 35 *ἂ πονηρώς ἔχει τῶν πραγμάτων*, LSJ II. **πῶς... ἀνοήτως**: 'tell me why, husband, you persist in carrying out a policy as stupid as this (latest stupid decision).' For the stupidity cf. 430b-2 n., for sg. vocative + pl. verb 209-10 n.

519-20 ὑποβλέψας: Cf. *Th.* 395-7 *ὡστ' εὐθὺς εἰσιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱκρίων ὑποβλέπουσ' ἡμᾶς σκοποῦνται τ' εὐθέως μὴ μοιχὸς ἔνδον ἢ τις ἀποκεκρυμμένος*, Pherekr. 153. 2. **εἰ... νήσω**: For women and spinning cf. 507-20 n. This Homeric allusion anticipates the action at 531 ff. and the woolworking metaphor at 567 ff. **δοτούξεσθαι**: A sound beating, a more violent response to a more disrespectful question than 511 ff.

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Cf. Peisetairos' threat to the Decree-monger, *Av.* 1043 *σὺ δὲ γ' οἴσῃπερ* (decrees) *᾿Ωροτύξιοι χρήσει τάχα.*

- 521-3 πῶς:** 496-500 n. **ὑποθέσθαι:** That good advice deserves a hearing regardless of its source is a frequent claim of Ar.'s heroes, 527-8, 648 ff., 1122 ff., *Ach.* 496 ff. **ὅτε δὴ δ':** 'but when finally . . .', picking up *μὲν* in 507, cf. *Ek.* 195, 315, 827. Note the tendency (normal in *ἐπειδή*) of *δή* to fuse with relatives, Denn. 220. The men's incompetence infuriates the wives but was not by itself sufficient provocation for their rebellion (contrast *Ek.* 105-9): it was rather the death of their menfolk in battle, cf. 588 ff. **ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς:** 'in the streets': the women might have heard this from roof or window, but the contrast with 510-11 *ἐνδον ἂν οὔσαι ἠκούσαμεν* suggests that they were out on errands (16 n.), where they became aware of the magnitude of the losses and could compare notes (and hatch a conspiracy) with other wives.
- 524-6 ἀνὴρ:** 'a single man' (i.e. 'husband' or 'warrior'). **μὰ Δι' . . . ἔσθ':** 'by Zeus, there certainly (*δῆτα*, cf. *Eg.* 725-6, etc.) isn't!'; for the ellipse cf. *Pl.* 409. **ἕτερός τις:** cf. 414, *sc. εἶπε* (cf. *Σ*). **μετὰ ταῦθ' . . . κοινῇ:** The Proboulos must take this to refer to the occupation only, since the men do not realize the existence of the conjugal strike until 1007 ff. But the spectators know about both parts of the conspiracy. **ποῖ:** 'to what end' or perhaps 'how long' (*Σ πότε*), i.e. until every last man is gone? **καί:** Emphasizing *χρῆν* (as often) and stressing 'the very necessity and advisability of something', Denn. 314-15.
- 527-8** For the argument cf. 140-1 n., 493-5 n. **χρηστά:** 350-1 n. **ὥσπερ χημείς:** *καί* is attached to the relative where logically it belongs with the demonstrative, 1088, Denn. 295-6. **ἐπανορθώσαμεν:** The word is common in the orators. **ὑμᾶς:** In effect = 'the city's affairs'.
- 529-38** The women turn the tables on the Proboulos by dressing him up like a housewife: wearing a veil and sitting with his woolworking equipment, he will have to listen in silence as the wives used to do. Later, in her speech assimilating woolworking to politics, *Lys.* shows the Proboulos how to operate the equipment, 567 ff.
- Cross-dressing, an ancient form of buffoonery, was a central element in Dionysiac contexts (most notably in drama). Here it symbolizes the role-reversal that is central to the plot of the play. In addition, we are strongly reminded of such mythological figures as Pentheus, the type of resistance to Dionysos, who is humiliated and expelled/killed, cf. Dodds at *E. Ba.* 854-5, C. Gallini, 'Il travestimento rituale di Penteo,' *Studi e materie di storia delle religioni* 34 (1963) 211 ff., Burkert *GR* 165; for abusive/humiliating application of female characteristics to male see in general Fraenkel at *A. Ag.* 1625 ff. Like Euripides' Pentheus, the Proboulos is tyrannical (387-423 n.) and exaggerates the importance of masculinity (cf. 559), thus inviting his own downfall.
- 529-31 κάλυμμα:** A head-covering that served in public as a veil. Woolworking married women are usually depicted on vases as wearing

long robes and snoods in the women's quarters. **μη νυν ζώνη:** 'I'd die first!' This form of emphatic denial evolved from such expressions as *Ach.* 151-2 *κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, εἴ τι τούτων πείθομαι ὧν εἶπας*. Inferential *νυν* (285) or *ἄρα* (933) usually are used, KG ii. 118.

532-8 At the end of an epirrheme comes the structure called by ancient scholars *πνίγος* (*Σ Ach.* 659a) or *μακρόν* (*Σ Nu.* 518, Poll. 4. 112) because it often took the form of a virtuoso epilogue rapidly spoken by a single speaker. Here more than one speaker participates (the chorus never participates in a *pnigos*, although the solitary sequence at 382-6 resembles one). The metre of *pnige* is the same as that of the preceding tetrameters and is arranged in systems with *synapheia* and *catalectic clausulae* (usually dimeters, but the systems are not invariably reducible to fixed *stichoi*). Correspondence between *pnigos* and *antipnigos* is not to be expected: in 532-8 there are twelve *anapaestic metra*, while in 598-607 there are nineteen.

The woolworking paraphernalia used at 567 ff. are stored in the basket given to the *Proboulos* at 535. These baskets were as common a wifely accoutrement in Athens as handbags are today and are inevitably part of the decor of the women's quarters in vase-paintings, cf. R. T. Williams, *AK* 4 (1961) 27 ff. This basket must contain the small hand-loom frequently depicted on monuments, cf. T. B. L. Webster, *Life in Classical Athens* (New York/London 1969) 34-5.

533-5 *περίθου:* Perhaps a twist on the usual procedure of putting on a garland before making a speech, cf. *Th.* 379-80 (*Γραῦς*) *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; (Γυ.)* *έγώ. (Κηδ.)* *περίθου νυν τόνδε πρώτον πρὶν λέγειν, Ek.* 130-1. **Γραῦς, καὶ** following on **κἄτα σιώπα** seems to require a change of speaker, but *Lys.* should have 536-8, since its climax echoes 520.

537 Athenians chewed beans while doing monotonous work, 688-9 n., cf. *Athen.* 3. 73D *τὸν σίκνον τρώγουσα, γύναι, τὴν χλαῖναν ὕφαινε*. Sometimes, like modern gum-chewing, this connotes rusticity, low social status, or low intelligence (*Eg.* 41, *Suda* κ 2578).

539-613. *Lysistrata's turn*

539-40 This pair of tetrameters structurally parallels those at 467-75. The fourth-foot *tribrach* (281 n.) in 539 is the least common (West 92), and the absence of a pause in mid-line (**ἀπὸ τῶν**) is unusual. For the leader's instruction of her chorus cf. 350-1. **αἴρεσθ' ἄνω:** 'leap up', as for a dance (cf. 1292, *Ek.* 1180, *S. Tr.* 216, compare *Eg.* 784-5). The women have been sitting quietly (473) beside the jars they used to douse the old men (381). Now they must 'help' their colleagues onstage by performing an encouraging dance (541 ff.). Brunck's widely accepted emendation **ἀπαίρετ' ὦ** means 'depart from' as for a journey (*Ek.* 817-18, *Hsch.* α 5729 *ἀπαίρει · ἀναχωρεῖ*, *Phryn. PS* 7. 10 de Borries, *Suda* ἀπῆρκότος · ἀναχωρήσαντος), which is not appropriate here. **ἐν τῷ μέρει:** 'in our

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- turn' (*Ra.* 32): this is the women's half of the agon, cf. 484–5 n. **χῆμεις**: The men have had their turn.
- 541–2** The chorus enthusiastically agrees to dance (**γὰρ** is assentient, Denn. 73) and declares its loyalty and (despite old age) energy. Compare *Kadmos* at *E. Ba.* 187–8 (an enthusiastic *bakchos*) *ὡς οὐ κάμοιμ' ἂν οὔτε νύκτ' οὔθ' ἡμέραν θύρωσιν κροτῶν γῆν*. For allusions by the chorus to its role as dancing troupe cf. *Pax* 326, *Pl.* 255 ff., *S. OT* 896, and choral self-address 1295, *Th.* 598, *Ek.* 1163 ff., *S. Tr.* 209 ff. **καματηρός**: Only here in comedy, of old age at *hVen.* 246. *κάματος* (weariness as a result of toil) is in epic frequently connected with the knees, e.g. *Il.* 4. 230 *ὄππότε κέν μιν γυῖα λάβη κάματος*. **κόπος**: 'fatigue', *Ra.* 1265 ff., *Pl.* 321.
- 543–8** For connection varied with *asyndeton* cf. 962 ff., *Nu.* 718 ff., *Av.* 586, Denn. 163 ff. **ἐπὶ πᾶν ἰέναι**: 'go to any lengths' (compare *Ve.* 348 *πᾶν ἂν ἔγωγε ποιήην*), perhaps with military connotation (e.g. *X. An.* 3. 1. 18). **τῶνδ'**: The women onstage. **ἀρετῆς ἕνεχ'**: 'for the sake of (our) valour', to match that of *Lys.*'s forces (548). **φύσις**: '(good) character', *E. El.* 390 *ἐν τῇ φύσει δὲ τοῦτο κἂν εὐψυχία*, elsewhere 'appearance' (*Ve.* 1071), 'disposition'/'nature' (*Ve.* 1458), probably (though not necessarily) implying genetic superiority, cf. Dover *GPM* 92–3. **χάρις**: 'charm' in both behaviour and appearance. **θράσος**: 317–18 n. **σοφόν**: 'intelligence'/'skill', in women usually designating domestic or erotic (*Ek.* 895–6) capabilities, here of the qualities applied to men (cf. *X. Ages.* 6. 4–8 for a detailed description). Since the concept is universalized the article can be omitted (KG i. 608), cf. *Av.* 382 *μάθοι γὰρ ἂν τις κἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σοφόν*. **φιλόπολις**: *Pl.* 726, 900–1, *Th.* 2. 60. 5, *D.* 20. 82; contrast *μισόπολις Ve.* 411, *μισόδημος Ve.* 473. Related words are *φιλαθήναιος (Ach.* 142, *Ve.* 282), *φιλόδημος (Eq.* 787, *Nu.* 1187), *φιλοπατρία (Ve.* 1465). For the motif in the orators see *Burckhardt* 40–1. **φρόνιμος**: 42 n., 430b–2 n.
- 549** For sg. vocative and pl. verb cf. 209–10 n., for the genitives KG i. 338–9. This line provides no clue to *Lys.*'s relative age, since the *koryphaia* urges on not only *Lys.* but also her elderly (439–40 n.) companions. **τηθῶν**: 'grannies' (*ἡ τῆθη*), with a pun on 'sea-squirt' (*τὸ τῆθος*). **ἀνδρειοτάτη**: 1109, *Ek.* 519, *S. El.* 983 (where *Elektra* envisages herself and her sister being honoured by all οὔνεκ' ἀνδρείας, after they kill *Klytaimestra* and *Aigisthos*). **μητριδίων**: dim. *μήτηρ* (for this kind of apposition see 928 n.), with a pun on *μητρίδιος* 'seed-filled'. **ἀκαλήφῶν**: 'stinging-nettles' or phps. 'sea anemones' (*Pherekr.* 24, *Eup.* 60), in either case metaphorical for 'prickliness', *Ve.* 884 *ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τὴν ἀκαλήφην ἀφελέσθαι*. Compare *σκῶλος* 810, *ἄκανθα* *Amphis* 36, *ἄχεδρος* *Pherekr.* 164.
- 550** **τέγγεσθ'**: 'soften', cf. *A. PV* 1008 *τέγγει γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μαλθάσσει κέαρ λιταῖς, Nu.* 727 *οὐ μαλακιστέα*. The metaphor is witty in this watery context. **ἔτι...θεíte**: 'for you are still running with a favouring wind', i.e. faring well in the contest, cf. *Th.* 1202 *ταυτὶ μὲν ἔτι καλῶς ποιεῖς*. This kind of nautical metaphor is frequent, cf. *Taillardat* 181 n. 3.

- 551-64** Lys. illustrates the disordering effects of the war upon the city (cf. 489) by describing the commotion caused by armed men in the marketplace (Th. 7. 28. 1 *ἀντὶ τοῦ πόλις εἶναι φρούριον κατέστη*), which was traditionally associated with peacetime (e.g. *Ach.* 620-5, 719 ff.). The war-correspondent William L. Shirer was in the markets of mobilized Berlin on 11 October 1939, when false rumours of an armistice swept the city, and noted that 'old women in the vegetable markets tossed their cabbages in the air, wrecked their stands in sheer joy and made for the nearest pub to toast the peace with *Schnaps*,' *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York 1960) 643 n. The opening allusion to the conjugal strike, like the one at 525-6, is a reminder to the spectators.
- 551-4** These lines resemble the prayers that often open speeches (e.g.. *Eq.* 634, *Ra.* 892, *Ek.* 171, D. 18. 1). For the sentiment compare Hera's prayers before the deception of Zeus, *Il.* 14. 197 ff. **Κυπρογένει**: Note the poetic prosody. **καταπνεύση**: Cf. *E. Med.* 836 ff. *τὰν Κύπριν κλήζουσιν . . . χώρας καταπνεύσαι μετρίας ἀνέμων ἀδυνήτους αἶρας, IA* 68-9 (*Τυνδάρεως*) *δίδωσ'* ἐλέσθαι *θυγατρὶ μνηστήρων ἕνα, ὅποι πνοαὴ φέροιεν Ἀφροδίτης φίλαι*. For *καταπνεῖν* of a deity's breath (epic and oracular) see Richardson at *hCer.* 238. **ἐντέξῃ**: 'engender in', of any cause engendering an effect, cf. *E. Hf.* 642-3 *τὸ γὰρ κακοῦργον μάλλον ἐντίκτει Κύπρις ἐν ταῖς σοφαῖσιν*. The sigmatic aor. is attested elsewhere only in *Hes.* fr. 343-8 M-W (*τέξῃ*). **τέτανον**: 'convulsive tension', 846, cf. 965, with which **τερπνὸν** makes an oxymoron. **ρόπαλισμούς**: A comic coinage on the model of technical ones. *ρόπαλον* = penis at *AP* 4. 261, *Hsch.* s.v. *ρόπτρον*, cf. 985 *δάρυ*, 992 *σκυτάλη*, *Ach.* 592, *Ve.* 27 *ᾠπλον*, in general Henderson 120 ff. **Λυσιμάχας**: See *Intro.* III. **καλεῖσθαι**: 'shall be known as', *Ve.* 544.
- 556 ἀγοράζοντας καὶ μαινομένους**: hendiadys (cf. *Th.* 795), *sc.* *ἄνδρας* (*Av.* 596). **νῆ . . . Ἀφροδίτην**: The epithet refers to Aphrodite's oldest and most famous shrine (*Il.* 8. 362), cf. 833. For this sort of vocal encouragement in an agon cf. *Ra.* 914, 1047. This supporter is probably the same old woman who provides the comic relief throughout the agon, but in view of the subject under discussion here we might assign this 'hear, hear!' (and also 561-4) to one of the market-women of 456 ff., if any are still onstage (cf. 486-7 n.).
- 557-8 κὰν ταῖσι . . . λαχάνοισιν**: This common metonymic (KG i. 12) idiom refers to sections of the marketplace where an item is sold (407-13 n.). **Κορύβαντες**: Ecstatic dancing to flutes and drums, with wild cries and clashing armour (*E. Ba.* 120 ff., *Men. Theoph.* 27-8, *Pl. Krit.* 54D), made korybantic dancers a byword for craziness (*κορυβαντίζειν Ve.* 119, *κορυβαντιᾶν Ve.* 8), and they were thought to have a homeopathically relaxing effect on mentally disordered persons, cf. I. Linforth, *CPCPh* 13 (1946) 121-62.
- 559** 'Certainly, for that is what brave men must do', cf. *Ve.* 512, *Werres* 15-16. Lys. replies, 'And yet it is an absurd thing when . . .', cf. 131. *Ar.*

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arranges the argument so that only the repugnant aspects of the war appear. As in *Ach.* and *Pax* Ar. ridicules military phenomena by sharply juxtaposing them to happy visions of peacetime.

- 560 Γοργόνα:** This popular blazon is the trademark of the *miles gloriosus* at *Ach.* 574, 1124. **κάτ'**: Apodotic (KG ii. 86, Denn. 308), used where there is contrast or incongruity, 654, 914, 1016, *Eq.* 391-2 *τοιούτος ἄν... κάτ' ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι*, KG ii. 254. **κορακίνους:** This very inexpensive fish (*Eq.* 1053), any of several species of the sciaenid (croaker) family (hence 'ravenfish': Thompson, *Fishes* 122-3), aptly illustrates the 'absurdity' of resplendent soldiers doing humble shopping. Shopping was usually done by slaves or men (cf. Hdt. 2. 35. 3): at *Ek.* 226 the women's shopping appears to be furtive (cf. Σ).
- 561-2** For the speaker see 556 n. **νῆ Δί' ἐγὼ γοῦν:** 'Part proof' (Denn. 451 ff.), cf. *Nu.* 408 *νῆ Δί' ἐγὼ γοῦν ἀτεχνῶς ἐπάθον τουτί ποτε Διασίοισιν*. **κομήτην:** Since Spartans wore their hair long (*Av.* 1282, Hdt. 1. 82. 8) and since long hair was fashionable among the Athenian upper classes (*Nu.* 14-5), Ar. here evokes the resentment of the ordinary spectator. **χαλκοῦν... πῖλον:** 'brazen cap' (piloi were normally made of felt) is a debunking periphrasis for 'helmet', cf. *πυλίδιον* at *Ach.* 439. The grand phylarch has no proper grocery-bag. **ἐμβαλλόμενον:** Middle, 'having the porridge put into his helmet by...', cf. *Av.* 1143; active at 1212. **παρά:** '(bought) from', *Pax* 385, etc.
- 563-4** This second example is more drastic than the first. Thracian mercenaries were a familiar sight in Athens and had a reputation for wild and undisciplined behaviour, *Ach.* 155 ff. (they steal Dikaiopolis' lunch), *Th.* 7. 29. 4 (on the savagery of their attack on Mykalessos) *τὸ γὰρ γένος τὸ τῶν Θρακῶν ὁμοία τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἂν θαρσῆσῃ, φονικώτατόν ἐστιν*. **πέλιτην:** A small, rimless shield made of leather, characteristic of Thracians (*Ach.* 160), as was the *ἀκόντιον*, a type of javelin (*X. Mem.* 3. 9. 2). **Τηρέυς:** This Thracian hero (for his story see *Ov. Met.* 6. 671 ff.) appeared in tragedies by Sophokles (*Av.* 100-1, see Radt 435-7) and Euripides and was a character in *Birds* (for his portrayal there see Hofmann 72 ff., 92 ff.). The hoopoe's warlike crest underlies his metamorphosis (cf. 771), cf. the hoopoe with shield and spear on a contemporary lekythion, *BCH* 70 (1946) 172 ff. **ἐδεδίσκετο:** A prose word, only here in comedy. **τάς δρυπεπεῖς:** 'figs' (Kall. Com. 26). The variant *δρυπέτεις* (-τεῖς) 'overripe' is frequent in MSS, cf. K-A on fr. 148. **κατέπιεν:** 'gulped down' (without paying, in contrast with the more civilized behaviour of the soldiers at 560-2), cf. Taillardat 395-6.
- 565-6** The Proboulos does not deny that such disturbances exist, but wonders what remedy the women plan to offer. **δυναται:** For the ellipse cf. 719, *Ve.* 649. **ταῖς χώραις:** This rare plural is unparalleled in the meaning 'cities'. Dover suggests that the thought of the devastation wrought in the *χώρα* of each city determined the choice of word. **φάυλως πάνυ:** 'very easily', *X. Oec.* 13. 4.

567-86 Lys.'s recommendations, which take the form of a woolworking metaphor enacted as a lesson in the use of the woolworking equipment which the Proboulos was given in 535 ff., are as follows. When a ball of wool becomes tangled, like a city at war, we use our spindles to put it in order. In the same way, through embassies, can the tangled threads of the city's affairs be ordered. First, we must wash the filth from the city as from a ball of raw wool, beating out the bad and useless parts and picking away the burrs: those who clump together in caucuses and those who knot themselves together so as to obtain positions of power must be combed out and their leaders plucked away. Then we must card the wool into a basket of peace and goodwill where all useful people will be: citizens, metics, friends. And all of our colonial cities, now strewn asunder like fragments of the whole, must be drawn together into the common ball and woven into a mantle for all the people.

This metaphor (anticipated at 519-20, 532-8) epitomizes the role-reversal inherent in the occupation-plot and illustrates how the wives can offer, in terms of their own sphere, useful advice to the city (cf. 527-8). Lys.'s recommendations are not, like the occupation and the strike, put into action in the play: they are the sort of good advice to the city that usually appears in a parabasis. But since the divided chorus in *Lys.* rules out a parabasis-speech (254-386 n.), this traditional speech finds its natural expression in the (expository) agon. The similarly extended metaphor from coinage in the parabasis of *Frogs* (718 ff.) is (because it is delivered by the koryphaios alone) purely verbal; here Ar. takes the opportunity afforded by an agon to illustrate the metaphor scenically.

In addition to its centrality in the domestic sphere, woolworking had a public dimension in its association with Athena and her cult, most notably in the weaving and presentation of a peplos at the Panathenaia (641 n.). The patriotic symbolism of this event is well illustrated in the parabasis of *Knights* (565-8) *εὐλογῆσαι βουλόμεσθα τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἦσαν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἄξιοι καὶ τοῦ πέπλου, οἷτινες πέζαις μάχαισιν ἐν τε ναυφάρκτῳ στρατῶ πανταχοῦ νικῶντες αἰεὶ τήνδ' ἐκόσμησαν πόλιν.* The chlaina with which Lys. climaxes her metaphor (586) similarly symbolizes renewed well-being and solidarity. The reminder of Athena's peplos, on which were woven pictures of the Gigantomachy (*E. Hek.* 466-74, cf. 2), perfectly suits the goal of Lys.'s recommendations: to strengthen the city and keep it secure.

In the metaphor the political ideas generate the woolworking procedures: Ar. chooses those that express his programme and ignores the sequence and some of the details that in actual woolworking would have to be followed. For the technique and industry of woolworking in classical Greece see H. Blümner, *Technologie u. Terminologie der Gewerbe u. Künste* i² (Leipzig 1912) and for a (perhaps overdetailed) examination of Lys.'s metaphor W. Hugill, *Panhellenism in Ar.* (Chicago 1936) 39 ff. A recent discussion of the poetic qualities of the metaphor is C. Moulton, *Aristophanic Poetry* (Göttingen 1981) Ch. 2.

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- Lys.'s metaphor may well have inspired those of Plato in *Rep.* 308C–D, 310E, 311B–E, cf. P. Louis, *Les métaphores de Platon* (Rennes 1945) 164.
- 567–70 κλωστήρ**: The skein of spun yarn ready for weaving (κλώθειν, cf. *Ra.* 1349) on the loom (ἰστός)—the Probulos holds a hand-loom (532–8 n.). A bundle of unspun wool (τολύπη) was placed on a distaff (ἡλακάτη) held in one hand; the fibres were drawn off by the other hand, twisted between thumb and forefinger and wound as yarn on a spindle (ἄτρακτος) or spool (πηνίον). **τεταραγμένος**: Taking off on the Probulos' word, 565. **ᾶδε**: Indicating the stage action (Lys. teaches the Probulos). **ὑπενεγκούσαι**: Not elsewhere used in this connection, apparently 'draw (from) under' (from one hand to the other) or 'draw gradually/carefully': for this force of the prefix cf. LSJ V.2 (where add Longinos 9. 11, Max. Tyr. p. 118. 2–3 Hobein = p. 61. 43–4 Dübner, T. V. Buttrey, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 9, W. J. Verdenius, *Mnem.* 32 (1979) 161. **οὕτως**: The form with sigma is only occasionally used before consonants (KB i. 269–70), hence is the *lectio difficilior* here. The other example in Ar. is *Av.* 63. **διαλύσομεν** (565–6)...**διενεγκούσαι**: 'resolve... by separating the knots and tangles'. **διὰ πρεσβειῶν**: Cf. 700–5, foreshadowing 980 ff.
- 571–3 ἐρίων κτλ.**: For the plurals cf. KG i. 18. **ὡς ἀνόητοι**: Exclamatory, 'how mindless you are to think... ', cf. *Ach.* 105 (cf. 254), *Eg.* 706, 1390, *Nu.* 1258, *Ek.* 521, cf. E. *Hyps.* I. i. 5 Bond with C. Austin, *CR* 16 (1966) 275. **κάν... εἰ**: Cf. *Ra.* 585 *κάν εἴ με τύπτοις οὐκ ἂν ἀντείποιμί σοι*. **ὕμιν**: ὑμεῖς would be more logical but the dat. anticipates the full conditional clause, cf. 1025–6. **ἐνήν νοῦς**: Cf. 1124. **ἐκ... ἡμετέρων**: 'this wool of ours (which you denigrate)', quoting in rebuttal the Probulos' contemptuous remark of 571, compare 46.
- 574–81** The metaphor is worked out in detail, the first section emphasizing the need for internal purgation, the second addressing the foreign tangle.
- 574–6 ἐχρῆν**: 'you ought to have'. **ὥσπερ πόκον**: Parenthetical and elliptical, cf. 115. **ἐκπλύναντας**: Of physical violence at *Pl.* 1062. For this and subsequent participles (580, 584) *sc.* as subject ὑμᾶς (ὑμῖν 572). **οἰσπώτην**: 'sheep-dung' (*Ach.* 1177, *Krat.* 43), i.e. the riff-ruff, people even worse than those mentioned in 577–8. For similar scatological pejoratives *Eg.* 309, *Pax* 47 ff., 658, 753, 790, *Eup.* 284, *Men.* 363. **ἐπὶ κλίνης**: *Sc.* e.g. *ἐκπετάσαντας* (cf. 732), cf. *Ek.* 909 *κατὰ τῆς κλίνης* (*sc.* *κειμένη*) *ὄφιν προσελκούσαιο*. **ἐκραβδίξειν**: 587, *Pherekr.* 50. **μοχθηροῦς**: In its social sense used esp. of troublemaking demagogues and sycophants, *Hugill* 40 ff., *Neil* 206–7, *Ach.* 517, *Ra.* 1011 (*opp. χρηστός* and *γενναῖος*), but also of arrogant *nouveaux riches* *Pl.* 108–9, prostituted young men *Pl.* 159, and miscreants generally 1160. In its material sense 'of poor quality' cf. *Krat.* 222 (*ἡμάτιον*), etc. Thukydidēs' description of Hyperbolos (8. 73. 3) is instructive. **τριβόλους**: Thorns/burrs small, sharp and difficult to remove. *Nu.* 1003 *στωμύλλων κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν τριβολεκτράπελα* refers opprobriously to the idle conversation of young men. For similar metaphors cf. *Taillardat* 294 ff.

- 577-8** Lys. turns from mere riff-raff to politically active people: the two articles (τούς . . . τούς) indicate distinct groups (cf. *Ve.* 1038 τοῖς ἡπιαλοῖς ἐπιχειρήσαι πέρυσιν καὶ τοῖς πυρετοῖσιν). The first suggests conspiracies composed of men with anti-democratic views (*Eq.* 862-3, Lys. 25. 9) of the kind visited by Peisandros (Th. 8. 54. 4, cf. 490-2 n.): καὶ ὁ μὲν Πείσανδρος τὰς τε ξυνομοσίας, αἵπερ ἐτύγγαλον πρότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὐσαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς, ἀπάσας ἐπέλθων καὶ παρακελευσάμενος ὅπως ξυστραφέντες καὶ κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι καταλύουσι τὸν δῆμον. These caucuses were secret because their agenda, which aimed at undermining the influence of the 'wrong kind of people', could be popularly denounced as oligarchic. The second group are open factions of competitors for public influence (cf. 490) and included the men portrayed as demagogues by Ar. Both kinds of organization had of course been in existence for a long time before 411 and are to be found in any democracy, but in the turbulent atmosphere of this period they must have been perceived as a more than usually threatening phenomenon (as indeed they turned out to be). Here Lys. appeals to the feelings of the average citizen: both oligarchs and democrats compete not for the common good but only for personal advancement. Lys. 25. 8 similarly downplays ideology in his portrayal of Peisandros and Phrynichos. Lys.'s view that ideological distinctions are merely convenient labels for selfish ambitions was, in the case of Peisandros, more accurate than Ar. yet knew (490-2 n.). **τούτους**: Indicating something taken from the basket or with a gesture toward the spectators. **διαξῆναι**: 'card out', of physical violence at *Ach.* 320. **ἀποτίλαι**: 'pluck out the knots' (= the leaders, as Σ).
- 579-80** 'then card into a basket (532-8 n.) general goodwill, mixing in everyone', i.e. those left over after the cleaning. **κοινὴν εὐνοίαν**: The elimination of factionalism, on which Thukydides blamed Athens' defeat more than any other factor (2. 65), was at this period referred to by the catch-word *ὁμόνοια*, Th. 8. 75. 2, 93. 3, J. de Romilly, in *Mél. Chantaine* (Paris 1972) 199 ff. Compare, in a more jocular tone, *Av.* 1014-14. **ἅπαντας καταμειγνύοντας**: Compare Trygaios' prayer at *Pax* 996 ff. *μείξον δ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς Ἑλληνας πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φιλίας χυλῶ, καὶ ξυγγνώμη τινὶ πραοτέρᾳ κέρασον τὸν νοῦν.*
- 580b-1** Lys. now turns to the non-citizens: metics, friendly foreigners, even public debtors. These should be 'mixed in' with the citizens if they would benefit the city. Cf. *Pax* 269 ff. where among those urged to rescue Peace are 'metics, foreigners, and islanders', and *Ra.* 701-2 *πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκόντες συγγενεῖς κτησώμεθα κάπιτίμους καὶ πολίτας, ὅστις ἂν ξυνανμαχῆ.* Since 451/50 Athens had maintained a policy of limited access to the citizenship (not always strictly, *Andok.* 2. 23). Recently, and especially after the loss of the Sicilian Expedition, there had been discussion about relaxing the qualifications, cf. E. *Ion* 668 ff., Jacoby on Philochorus F 119. **μετοίκους**: The comic poets were generally very favourably disposed towards the metics, who served as hoplites and in the navy and

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were as a group exceptionally loyal, *Av.* 1313 ff., *Lys.* 6. 49, Ehrenberg 150 ff., D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Cambridge 1977), *passim*. **κεῖ τις . . . ἦ**: Cf. *S. Ant.* 710 ἄνδρα, *κεῖ τις ἦ σοφός*, KG ii. 474, Goodwin §§ 468 ff. Here *κεῖ τις* = ὅστις, cf. *ὀπόσαι* 582. **ὀφείλη**: Those deprived of civic rights on account of a debt to the treasury (*Andok.* 1. 73 ff. provides a list of grounds), cf. *Ra.* 702, above.

582-6 τὰς γε πόλεις . . . ἄποικοι: Technically speaking, ἄποικοι were 'colonies', distinguished e.g. by Thukydides from subject allies and independent allies (7. 57. 2-6). Athenian colonists were citizens of the colonies where they lived and not of Athens, so that here *Lys.* calls for their incorporation into a single Athenian state with a single citizenship. In that way, she argues, we can increase their loyalty and strengthen ourselves. That the loyalty of a colony was not to be taken for granted is exemplified by Amphipolis, which was lost to Athens barely twelve years after its foundation (*Th.* 4. 102-8), and other more recent examples (like Mytilene) could be added if ἄποικοι was loosely used also of cleruchies (loosely, because these were holdings not cities and the holders continued to enjoy Athenian citizenship), cf. *HCT* i. 375 n. 3.

The gist of *Lys.*'s recommendation here (esp. 580 ξένος ἢ φίλος) suggests that she means to include all the allies under the rubric 'colonial cities.' If friendly aliens and foreigners are to be 'mixed in', then a *fortiori* the remaining loyal allies ought to be extended the same treatment. The allied cities were, with few exceptions, Ionian and thus descended (according to Athenian mythology) from Attic migrants, cf. *E. Ion* (c. 413), in which Ion is made into an Athenian (8 ff.), his four sons are eponymoi of Athens, and their descendants colonize the Aegean as 'Ionians' (1575-88). Thus Euripides propagandized for the colonial status of the allies by extending the definition of 'colonial' back into legendary times. Earlier in the war the Athenians had in fact extended to the allies the colonial obligation to send a cow and panoply to the Panathenaia (the decree of Thoudippos, *IG* i³71. 58, passed in 425/4: *πεποντον δ[ε εν] τει πομπει [καθαπερ αποι] κ [οι]*: possible allusions to this change of status are *Eg.* 581-5 and 763 (if *μεδέουσα* designates branch-cults of Athena Polias in the allied cities, as suggested by J. P. Barron, *JHS* 84 (1964) 41) and *Nu.* 386-7 (cf. *Σ*), which seems to allude to an unusual abundance of beef at the Panathenaia.

That *Lys.* does not explicitly distinguish non-colonial allies is probably due to *Ar.*'s desire to avoid compromising the general appeal of her recommendations. Even before the period of mass defections recently, *Ar.* invariably refers to the allies in a high-handed way (*Ve.* 675 ff. does not express sympathy for the allies but rather anger at demagogues who steal from the tribute-money, cf. Ehrenberg 155 ff.), as indeed he does later in this play (1178-81). Under the circumstances, it would have been awkward to single out 'ξύμαχοι who are φίλοι' (reminding the spectators of those who were not).

κατάγματα: Flocks of unspun wool ready for the distaff (Blümner (567-86 n.) i. 112 n. 5, 113-16). **ἀπὸ...κάταγμα:** 'the flock which represents each one of all these'. **δεῦρο:** Into the basket. **ξυν-...συν-:** A not infrequent variation, e.g. *Ra.* 701-2 (quoted at 580b-1 n.) with Radermacher's note. **συναθροίζειν:** Of persons and groups as well as things, cf. *Pl. Mx.* 243B. **χλαίαν:** A large piece of cloth for a blanket or a man's coat, warmer and of finer quality than a *tribon* (cf. *Ve.* 1131-2). The 'new suit' symbolizes renewed well-being, cf. 1022-3, 1156, *Eq.* 882-2 (the Sausage-Seller gives shivering Demos a cloak), *Av.* 712. The spectators are reminded of the Panathenaic peplos (567-86 n.).

587-8 Lys.'s formal reply to the Proboulos' argument (502, cf. 519 f.) that women have no vested interest in questions of war and peace. Ar. has saved the most poignant argument (loss of men) for last (though Lys., in the first half of the agon, pointed out that this was the factor that initially determined the women to act, 524 ff.). **ράβδιζέειν καὶ τολυπέειν:** 'speak of *ράβδοι* and *τολύπαι*', cf. *Ve.* 652 (*Bd.*) ἀτὰρ ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε *Κρονίδη*—(*Φι.*) *παῖσαι καὶ μὴ πατέριζε*. **πάνυ:** 'at all'. **καὶ μὴν:** 'on the contrary', *Pl.* 67. **παγκατάρατε:** For the intensifying prefix cf. 137, 969-70.

589-90 **πλεῖν ἢ διπλοῦν γ':** 'our share of it (the war) is more than/fully (cf. Antiphon 6. 44, Wackernagel *Verm. Beitr.*, 18) *double*'. MSS ἢ γε is impossible. γε comes naturally after καὶ μὴν (Denn. 357-8) and emphasizes the numeral (cf. 1129, *Ve.* 680, *Pl.* 1083, etc.). For διπλοῦν cf. *Nu.* 320, *Ve.* 151, *Av.* 579, etc. (Sachtsal 13). **μέν γε:** Introducing an explanation or instance (cf. 720, 1236), Denn. 159 ff. **σίγα, μὴ μνησικακήσης:** To allow Lys. to complete her statement ('never to see them again') would indeed have evoked spectator resentments and in addition would have been ill-omened (cf. 37-8). There could not have been many spectators who had not lost a relative in the war, *Th.* 8. 1. 2 *ἀμα μὲν γὰρ στερόμενοι καὶ ἰδία ἕκαστος καὶ ἡ πόλις ὀπλιτῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ ἰππέων καὶ ἡλικίας οἶαν οὐχ ἑτέραν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐβαρύνοντο*. But Lys. has made her point. Later the women's chorus use the same argument to justify their right to offer advice (651).

When Perikles says that those who risk children for the city have a special claim to be heard in the city's deliberative councils (*Th.* 2. 44. 3) he has in mind only the men (45. 2). The effect of bereavement on women is a matter confined to the individual oikos and even in a *logos epitaphios* may be mentioned only in the most circumspect terms, cf. Ehrenberg 311, O. Seel, *Ar. oder Versuch über Komödie* (Stuttgart 1960) 79 ff. The ἀρετή of women is to produce the fighters only: cf. E. *Erechth.* 50. 14-15 Austin (*Praxitheia*) *ἐπειτα τέκνα τοῦδ' ἕκατι τίκτομεν, ὡς θεῶν τε βωμοῦς πατρίδα τε ρύωμεθα*. The closest the Athenians could come to hearing the opinions of women in public was as spectators in the theatre or at an epic recitation, watching male performers enact the parts created for them by male poets. But it is hard to believe that Lys.'s argument here did not reflect the views

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of many a spectator's own wife and was not intended to evoke reflective sympathy.

- 591-3** **εὐφρανθήναι... ἀπολαύσαι:** Euphemisms for sexual fulfilment, cf. 165. **μονοκοιτοῦμεν:** Harax, cf. 143. **στρατιάς:** cf. 100; MSS corruption is not unusual, e.g. Eup. 369, *Σ Th.* 828. **καί... ἐάσω:** 'and I shall pass over our (i.e. the wives') situation', cf. *Ek.* 623 τὸ μὲν ὑμέτερον γνώμην τιν' ἔχει, 'your side of the question makes a certain sense'. For the *praeteritio* cf. *Ek.* 239, D. 25. 9, etc. Lys.'s *praeteritio* is intended to sound magnanimous, but the spectators have already heard the wives' complaints (588-92a, prologue), and the plight of the maidens (implying future dearth of men) makes a more effective climax. The maidens are the only class of women not represented in the play. **περὶ τῶν δὲ κορῶν ἐν:** For the absence of a second def. art. cf. *Ach.* 636, KG i. 615-16, for the word-order (not as rare as is implied by Denn. 186) *Ve.* 94 (cf. Pl. *Grig.* 490C), *Ek.* 374, 625, *Pl.* 1034, *Pherekr.* 130.7, Eup. 276. 5, *A. Ag.* 1638 (see Fraenkel).
- 594-7** **οὐκουν... γηράσκουσιν;:** 'don't men, too, grow old?' (The Proboulos is living proof that they do, if any were needed in a theatre which must have contained many in 411!). **μὰ Δί' ἄλλ':** 'look here, you're not talking about the same thing' (cf. 496). This oath normally means 'no' (rejecting a statement), but here it rejects the relevance of a statement, stressing the negative that follows, cf. Pl. *Grig.* 463D6 μὰ τὸν Δί', ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς συνίημι ὃ τι λέγεις, 'look here, Sokrates, even I don't understand what you're talking about', cf. *Krat.* 423C1 μὰ Δί' ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐμοὶ πω δοκεῖ καλῶς λέγεσθαι, 'wait, I rather think that we have yet to reach the truth about that' (it is not yet time to use that argument). Similarly νῆ Δία ('yes') can emphasize words that follow, Pl. *Grig.* 448A6-7 where Gorgias, who has announced his readiness to debate Sokrates, is saved by the intervention of Polos, νῆ Δί' ἂν δέ γε βούλη, ὦ Χαιρεφῶν, ἐμοῦ. Γοργίας μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκέναι μοι δοκεῖ, 'look here, will you please put your question to me: I think Gorgias is in fact (καὶ) tired'. **ὁ μὲν ἦκων γάρ:** i.e., from military service, cf. 105. For the position of γάρ cf. 488-9 n., *Ra.* 1434, *Pl.* 1205. **γεγάμηκεν:** Gnomical perfect, Goodwin §§ 154 ff. It was not unusual (especially in the course of a long war) for bridegrooms to be much older than their brides. For the resulting friction cf. *Th.* 410 ff. (Euripides warns older men, *δέσποινα γὰρ γέροντι νυμφίῳ γυνή*, cf. *Thgn.* 457), *Ek.* 323 ff. (Blepyros regrets having married a young wife). From the wife's point of view cf. fr. 616 *αἰσχρὸν νεὰ γυναικί πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ*. **ταύτην:** 'a girl like that', compare Lat. *istam*. **ὄττεουμένη:** 'looking for omens' (of marriage). **κάθηται:** Cf. 473.
- 598-608** The antipnigos (532-8 n.). The Proboulos, who still refuses to listen to reason, is dressed as a corpse and driven away, not to be seen again. The taunting of oldsters by reference to their death is not infrequent in comedy (372, *Nu.* 846, *Ve.* 1365, *Ek.* 535 ff., 904-5, 1028 ff., *Pl.* 277-8), but here the Proboulos' symbolic death and expulsion may in

addition have reminded the spectators of the myth-type Pentheus (the Proboulos is dressed as, and expelled by, the women, cf. 529-38 n.) and of cults like the Hephaistia on Lemnos (299-301 n.), where the 'rebellious' women expel 'King Thoas', cf. Burkert *HN* 190 ff. Lys. and her colleagues maliciously undertake to perform the duties appropriate to relatives of the deceased or (as here, cf. *Ek.* 982) women over sixty (D. 43. 62). For the procedures of prothesis and depictions on vases see D. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca N.Y. 1971), W. Zschietzschmann, *MDAI* 53 (1928) 17 ff.

598 The Proboulos begins to argue the point, 'But anyone who can still get an erection—', meaning that old men are not necessarily impotent (for this claim cf. *Ach.* 993-4, *Av.* 1255-6). Some scholars (e.g. van Leeuwen) interpret this remark as a call to battle (to the spectators or male chorus), in which case we might consider *γε στύσαι* (cf. 661), since the qualifications in *ἔτι* would then be awkward (implying that some of those summoned have lost their virility). The corruption will have resulted from an attempt to fill the ellipse, for which cf. 565-6 n. But this interpretation is less likely, since elsewhere the ability to achieve an erection indicates only sexual potency, whereas manliness and courage are symbolized by the testicles (as 661). *στύσαι*: This aor. only here: elsewhere the verb is middle, but note *στύσω* in Antiphanes, *AP* 10. 100.

599-601 'But what's keeping *you* from *dying*?', interrupting the Proboulos and implying that, far from being sexually potent, he is virtually deceased. For this type of question cf. *Ach.* 826, *Nu.* 1506, *Ve.* 251, *KG* ii. 519. *χωρίον ἔστιν*: i.e., there is room for your body (so *Σ*). *σορόν ὀνήσει*: 'you can afford a coffin', cf. *Ach.* 691. *μελιτούτταν*: 'and I'll even knead a honeycake myself'. The dead presumably used the honeycakes to placate such underworld perils as Kerberos, much as visitors to underground shrines used them to placate sacred snakes, *Nu.* 507-8, Paus. 9. 39. 5. *καὶ δὴ*: 65 n.

602-4 For a similar series of commands cf. *Ra.* 1500 ff. *ταυτί... στεφάνωσαι*: She places a garland of fresh flowers (or fashioned in wax, *κηροπλαστική* Poll. 7. 165, cf. *Ek.* 1034 ff.) on the 'corpse', *Ek.* 537-8. Two lines later the Proboulos is given *another* garland (*στεφάνον* 604). The deictic demonstrative in 602 indicates flowers, but the one in 604 indicates a garland already in use (i.e. already being worn by one of the women). Thus the 'wife' is being decked out as an actual dead wife would be, wearing both a funerary garland and her matron's tiara, as on vase-paintings. *ταυτασί*: Apparently referring to ribbons (*Σ τὰς ταινίας*), cf. *Ek.* 1032. The alternative explanation in *Σ* (*τὰς δραχμὰς εἰς μισθὸν τῷ πορθμεί*) is probably an inference from 605-7 and not a likely one: most of the spectators would have been unable to see coins, but all could see (and would have expected) the ribbons.

605-7 's': For the prodelision cf. 1 n. *τὴν ναῦν*: Charon's skiff, *Ra.* 180 ff. The ferryman of the dead is a familiar figure in art and literature in

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Greece and in the East, S. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago 1963) 46-7, J. G. Griffiths, *CR* 22 (1972) 237 (Egypt), K. Schauenberg, *JdI* 73 (1958) 53-4. He first appears in Greece in the *Minyad* (fr. 1 Kinkel, Paus. 10. 28. 2), in drama at E. *Alk.* 254; the etymology of his name is uncertain, Frisk ii. 1076. **σὺ... ἀνάγεσθαι**: 'but you're delaying the trip', a traditional motif, *Ra.* 185 ff., *Pl.* 278, E. *Alk.* 252 ff., S. *OK* 1627, Timotheos (? cf. Gow on Machon 82 ff.) *Niobe*.

608-13 Most agons are followed by a brief transitional scene in iambic trimeters. But there is no verdict here, and hence no sphragis; what looks like a sphragis appears instead at 1108-11 (when Lys.'s victory is finally achieved). The Proboulos utters a final, futile threat, but Lys. gets the last word: compare Dikaiopolis and Lamachos at *Ach.* 620-5.

608-10 εἶτ': Often opening indignant speech, *Nu.* 1214, *Ra.* 610. **οὐχὶ δεινά**: These words closely cohere and are followed by a pause, *Ve.* 1368, *Ra.* 610, Eup. 210 *οὐκ ἀργαλέα δῆτ' ἐστι πάσχειν ταῦτ' ἐμέ; δεινά* alone 626. **νῆ τὸν Δί' ἀλλά**: Assentient (Denn. 16 ff.), 'yes, and furthermore...' **τοῖς προβούλοις**: *Sc.* ἄλλοις (Σ), cf. *Ach.* 1073 where *οἱ στρατηγοί* cannot exclude Lamachos himself. **ἄντικρυς**: 1069-72 n. **βαδίζων**: Where we might expect an aor. participle, *Nu.* 780, 1213, *Pax* 1020-1, 1253, KG i. 200, Renchan, *Studies* 157-8. **ὡς ἔχω**: i.e. dressed as a dead wife, cf. 375-6 n., *Ek.* 533, *Pl.* 1089 (with R).

611-13 προῦθέμεθα: Deliberate misunderstanding (the Proboulos did not complain of the unsatisfactoriness of his 'funeral'). For the washing and laying out of the corpse for mourning cf. *Av.* 474, *Ek.* 536 ff., 1030 ff., M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge 1974) 7 ff. **ἀλλ' κτλ.**: But (even if we haven't laid you out properly now) on the third day we will at any rate provide the *trita* (for **εἰς** *Pax* 866, for **γοῦν** 877, Denn. 450). Offerings at the tomb were made on the third, ninth, and thirtieth days, and annually thereafter (*Is.* 2. 37, 8, 39, Hyperides fr. 110, Poll. 8. 146); sometimes these are reckoned from the prothesis (burial being on the third day, *Th.* 2. 34. 2, *Pl. Lg.* 959A, cf. Kurtz/Boardman 145-6), sometimes from the burial (*Is.* 2. 46, cf. D. 43. 62 where burial occurs the day after prothesis). Here the women reckon from the prothesis, so that burial is supposed to have taken place on or before the third day. Thus, Pardon us for not mourning you now, but we'll be there to 'dance on your grave' in three days! **πρὶ πάνυ**: 'in the very early morning' (cf. *Ve.* 104), i.e. we'll be on time for that!

614-705. PARABATIC DEBATE

The Proboulos dodders off, the women re-enter the Propylaia, shutting the door behind them. The stage is empty for the first time, at which point we expect a parabasis: in general see G. M. Sifakis, *Parabasis and Animal Chorus* (London 1971). Since our chorus is still divided into hostile

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semichoruses there can be no proper parabasis-speech by the koryphaios. Instead, we have a doubled parabolic syzygy: the men sing and dance, then their leader delivers a speech; the women and their leader follow suit; then the whole structure is repeated. As in *Wasps* and *Thesm.* there is no opening hymn or prayer. The advice to the city that might have been offered in a proper parabasis-speech has already been offered by Lys. in the preceding agon, esp. 567-86 (with n.).

The semichoruses continue their bickering (254-386, 467-75). Both remove items of clothing (614-15 n.), thus following a common practice in parabases (Sifakis 103 ff.) designed to allow the dancers more freedom of movement (*Ach.* 626-7, cf. *Σ, Ve.* 408-9, cf. *Σ, Th.* 656, *Σ Pax* 730). Here the dancing is bellicose (the dancers strip as for a fight) and the stripping plays a part in the reconciliation of the choruses (1019 ff.).

The semichoruses express their own views about the situation. The old men claim, as jurors (625 n.) and long-time defenders of the city (664 ff.), to represent the interests of the demos and vow to stop the women, whom they liken to Amazons and to Artemisia (671 ff.), from setting up a new tyranny with Spartan help. The women defend their actions (with an appeal to the spectators, 638) by pointing to their long service in the city's major cults and their production of male citizens (651). These contributions, they say, justify their speaking out, whereas the men are free-loaders (they contribute nothing in return for their jury-pay) who have squandered the city's ancestral wealth and brought it into disgrace by their noxious decrees (651 ff., 699 ff.). Thus the choruses continue, from the vantage-point of the orchestra, the debate that has just ended onstage: in fact this split parabasis is just as, if not more, agonistic than the agon itself, which was largely expository (476-607 n.). Although the men are no more persuaded by the women than the Proboulos was by Lys., they are just as effectively silenced. Thus Ar. manages to attack the performance of the average citizen who votes the war-policy just as in the agon he had attacked the leadership, as represented by the Proboulos.

It is worth noting that, despite the vigour with which Lys. and the old women urge their sympathetic views, neither the Proboulos nor the old men give in to their arguments: Lys's victory is achieved by sexual coercion, the old women's by maternal kindness (1014-42). This way Ar. avoids having men 'give in' to women's advice (this could be cited in court to prove an opponent's incompetence, D. 46. 16, Is. 2. 20) and at the same time keeps up the suspense longer than in the previous heroic plays (cf. *Introd.* II).

The metre of the songs is as follows:

616-25 ~ 638-47		
(1) 616 ~ 638	--υ --υ--υ--υ-	ia 2 cr
(2) 617 ~ 639	υ--υ- -υ--υ--	ia 2 cr
(3) 618/19 ~ 640/1	-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ- υ-υ π	4 tr
(4) 620 ~ 642	--υυυ-υ- -υ--υ--	4 cr

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(5) 621 ~ 643	- υ υ υ - υ υ υ υ - υ - - υ -	4 cr
(6) 622/3 ~ 644/5	- υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - - - υ -	2 tr lek
(7) 624-5 ~ 646-7	υ υ υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ -	2 tr lek cr
658-671 ~ 682-695		
(1) 658 ~ 682	- - - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ	sp 2 tr
(2) 659/60 ~ 683/4	- - - υ - - - υ υ - υ - υ - υ - υ	sp 3 tr
(3) 661/2 ~ 685/6	- υ - υ - υ - υ - - - υ - - - υ υ π	2 tr lek
(4) 663/4 ~ 687/8	- υ - - - υ - - - υ - υ - υ - υ π	2 tr lek
(5) 665/6 ~ 689/90	- υ - - - - υ - - - - υ - - - - υ -	2 tr lek
(6) 667-70 ~ 691-4	- υ υ υ - υ υ υ υ - υ υ υ - υ υ υ υ - υ υ υ - υ υ υ υ - - - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - π	6 cr sp 3 tr
(7) 671 ~ 695	- υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ -	tr lek cr

(1)(2) Here and in 781 ff. ~ 805 ff. Ar. begins a trochaic period with a spondee whose time-value is the equivalent of a trochaic metron (note the phrasing), i.e. a syncopated trochaic metron in triseme-position (cf. West 104-5). Cf. the double spondees which open the (paroemiac) songs at *Th.* 434 ~ 520, 953. Dale discusses 'double syncopation' at 88 ff. and (in connection with cretics) 98. Elsewhere in Ar. syncopation is infrequent and paratragic (e.g. *Ach.* 1190 ff., *Av.* 851 ff. ~ 895 ff., *Ra.* 209 ff.). (6) The spondee performs a similar function at 670 ~ 694 in marking the movement from paemonic to trochaic rhythm. This seems a rather long verse, but the alternative is to end 669 ~ 693 - υ υ υ υ ||, introducing a rhythm associated with iambs.

614-15 (and 636-7) resembles a kommaton, in keeping with the agonistic character of this parabasis. Removal of clothing, in preparation for a fight, allows the dancers more freedom of movement and also prepares for the reconciliation of the semichoruses later (614-705 n.). Here the old men remove their himatia (401, 470), at 662 they remove their exomides (which the women replace at 1021). At 637 and 686 the women follow suit (as always: 358-9 n.) by removing clothing of their own, but we are never told when they replace it. **ἐγκαθεύδων:** (*Σ* ἐγχειρήσομεν), cf. 424, *Av.* 639 ff. οὐχὶ νυστάζειν ἔτι ὥρα 'στὴν ἡμῶν οὐδὲ μελλονικίαν, Plaut. *Epid.* 162 non enim nunc tibi dormitandum neque cunctandi copias. **ἐλεύθερος:** The oldsters resent being treated like slaves, cf. 379-80 n. **ἐπαποδύωμεθ'**: 'strip (in preparation for)'. For the resolution cf. *Ve.* 461-2.

616-35. *The men cry tyranny*

The women's behaviour amounts to a conspiracy to set up a new tyranny, no doubt at the instigation of the Spartans. The women have seized not only the city's money but my pay. It is outrageous that they talk of war and presume to advocate a truce with Spartans, who are no more trustworthy

than a hungry wolf. But they shall not succeed, for we shall be as vigilant and bold as Harmodios and Aristogeiton and punch them in the jaw!

Although tyranny in Athens had ended as a reality in 510 and as a threat in 490, the charge of plotting tyranny (an actionable offence) continued to be levelled by politicians at those who could be suspected of hostility toward the democratic constitution: men with oligarchic leanings (cf. Th. 6. 60. 1 ἐπὶ ξυνωμοσίᾳ ὀλιγαρχικῇ καὶ τυραννικῇ), men thought to be too powerful or ambitious (like Alkibiades: Th. 6. 53 ff.), men who inclined to favour a negotiated settlement with Sparta (as here). The activities of Alkibiades after his defection in 415 excited real fear of a 'tyrannical' conspiracy and had aroused new interest in the story of the Peisistratidai (Th. 6. 53 ff.). For the reflex of this popular topic of discussion in Euripides' plays (esp. *Suppliants*) see J. de Romilly, *Dioniso* 43 (1969) 175 ff.

In Ar. 'tyranny' (like 'conspiracy') is a smear-word (appealing to emotion and prejudice rather than to reason) associated with demagogues (especially Kleon) and their followers, who use it both as a term of abuse and as evidence of their own patriotism. *Wasps* 463-507 typifies Ar.'s use of this charge as a characterizing device. There the leader of the dicast-chorus (who live only on their jury-pay) accuses Bdelykleon (and those like him: 466) of being an enemy of the demos who deprives poor citizens of their constitutional protections, who consorts with and dresses like Spartans, and who conspires for sole rulership (μοναρχία). Bdelykleon, who prefers 'discussion and compromise' to 'fighting and bellowing' (471-2), replies that he hadn't even heard the words 'tyranny' and 'conspiracy' for fifty years until recently, but now they are 'cheaper than salted fish', so that even the vegetable women in the market denounce you for a would-be tyrant if you so much as ask for a free onion (488 ff.). All he wants is to persuade his father to give up his early morning trips to the courts and his association with dicasts, so that he may enjoy the well-born way of life (ζῆν βίον γενναῖον, 506). The salient feature of this exchange is Ar.'s emphasis on social distinctions based on wealth and breeding.

So it is here: the old men's overheated clichés are a caricature of those heard in assembly and court; the women in reply juxtapose their life of ease and their service in élite cults (640 ff.). Later in the play Lys. corrects the men's 'naive' view by pointing out that it was Sparta who liberated Athens from tyranny, as part of her argument for a peace settlement (1149-56).

Note, however, that by the time of the City Dionysia (Introd. I) references to tyranny (Th. 338-9, 1143-4) assume a much less jocular tone.

For the old men's allusion to historical precedents cf. their reference to Kleomenes (273 ff.) and to Marathon (285) earlier.

616-24 ὄζειν: This metaphor is used with abstract words (943, etc.), with concrete words (663, 687), and with both together (*Nu.* 50 ff., *Pax* 529 ff., etc.). **πλειόνων καὶ μειζόνων:** When *πολύς* is paired with another adj. it almost invariably comes first, but there are exceptions: *μειζώ καὶ πλείω* is found in Xenophon (*Mem.* 3. 5. 3) and Plato (*Phdr.* 234E3) and is, as

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here, a variant in Isokr. 12. 89; for other examples cf. KG ii. 252. This very uncommon word order was used for effect and is not merely a sporadic type of scribal transposition, as is clear from D. 37. 57, where *πολλά καὶ δευὰ* is followed by *δευὰ καὶ πολλά*. But I can find no examples in poetry and none before the fourth century. **ὄσφραϊνομαι**: This use only here and Luc. *Tim.* 45. **Ἰππίου**: 1149–56 n. **εἰς Κλεισθέου**: 'to Kl.'s house' (725, 1065, 1069 f., 1210, KG i. 268–9). Kleisthenes (*PA* 8525), a frequent butt of comic ridicule, was apparently clean-shaven (*Ach.* 117 ff., etc.) or unable to grow a manly beard and was therefore teased as effeminate (1092, *Nu.* 355, *Av.* 829 ff., *Ra.* 426 ff.). Spartans were, according to the Athenians, excessively fond of anal intercourse with adult men (cf. Dover *GH* 185 ff.), so that Kl.'s house was an appropriate venue for the conspiracy. **θεοῖς ἔχθράς**: 283–5 n. **ἐξεπαίρουσιν**: Only here and E. fr. 963. 2. MSS pres. subj. ('may incite') must be wrong, because the women have already seized the Akropolis. Lenting's *ἐξεπάρωσιν* is no improvement, since in this construction the aor. subj. is used in the sense 'may prove to have (incited)' only in a few passages in Homer, KG ii. 391. The easiest solution is to emend to pres. indic. ('are inciting'), with Sommerstein.

- 625** As at 491, 1117 the imperfect refers to the time prior to the women's action. Like the dicasts of *Wasps* the old men live on their jury-pay (cf. 380, 690–705). Seizure of the treasury has deprived them of their livelihood and, since juries were regarded as representing the whole Athenian people, is an attack on the democracy itself. Traditionally, juries consisted of citizen volunteers over thirty years old. Perikles instituted a system of public payment at two obols a day, later raised to three, probably by Kleon (*Σ^R Vē.* 88). The effect of the payment was to make jury-service attractive to men unfit for more remunerative occupations, and it thus became in effect an old-age pension for those without comfortable incomes from their estates. Thus juries tended to be large, and largely composed of the elderly urban poor. In *Wasps* Ar. calls attention to the dangerous features of this arrangement: a large crowd of unsophisticated jurors is easily manipulated by appeals to emotion and prejudice, and tends to view the politicians who persuade the assembly to keep up the pay as patrons; in this way demagogues and sycophants can attack their rich enemies and so acquire wealth and power unjustly, since the jurors tend to believe that a man prosecuted by their patron must be guilty. On their side, the jurors took pride in their status as representatives of the demos and pleasure in their corporate power over wealthy individuals who must appear before them. Any attack on their pay could therefore be construed as an attack on the democracy by would-be 'tyrants', cf. 616–35 n. Ar. nowhere criticizes the jury-system as an institution, only what he considers its abuse by selfish demagogues. His own view, if we extrapolate from the negative criticisms he presents in *Wasps*, seems to be that a return to unpaid volunteer juries would make

jurors more disinterested and the courts less attractive to those who would manipulate them for personal ends. By and large, of course, the Athenians did not share that view: they did not consider themselves 'sheep' (*Ve.* 31-6) and thought of their leaders as ordinary men like themselves and as 'servants' of the demos (cf. *Knights*); in their minds the greatest danger was a return to an arrangement favouring wealthy individuals.

626-9 ἀσπίδος χαλκῆς: 'war', cf. 52, *Ach.* 279 (of peacetime) ἡ δ' ἀσπίς ἐν τῷ φειδάλῳ κρεμῆσεται. The old men echo the Proboulos, 502, 588. πρὸς: 'in addition' (adv.), 1238, *Ach.* 1229, *Eq.* 578, etc. οἰσ-... κεχηνότι: i.e., you may as well trust a gaping (hungry) wolf; for εἴπερ μὴ cf. *Nu.* 1183. Wolves were proverbial for rapacity, faithlessness, the (often disappointed) quest for prey: fr. 350, *Eub.* 15. 11, *Men. Asp.* 372, *Euphro* 1. 30-1, in general W. Richter, *RE Supplbd.* 15 (1978) 981 ff. For Spartan perfidy, officially invoked as grounds for ending the truce of 421 (512-14 n.), cf. *Ach.* 308, *Pax* 1063 ff., *E. Tro.* 208 ff., *Andr.* 445 ff., *Th.* 2. 58. 2. This charge is often (as here) coupled with praise of Athens (e.g. *E. Suppl.* 1886 ff., *S. OK* 260 ff., cf. Zuntz *PPE* 16 ff.) and was evidently employed by those who argued against any peaceful settlement of the war.

630 The metaphor is traditional (e.g. *Il.* 6. 187 δόλον ὑφαίνειν) but here it reminds us of 567 ff. The koryphaios addresses his companions: contrast the women, 638.

630-1 ἐμοῦ μὲν: 'me, for one', *Denn.* 361. φυλάξομαι: 'keep watch', as *Ek.* 769. φορήσω κτλ.: The skolion quoted here belonged to a group of patriotic songs of the sort one learned in school (*Nu.* 966). Four versions are preserved (9-12 Bergk = 893-6 Page): their date and authorship are unknown, cf. A. Podlecki, *Hist.* 15 (1966) 130-40. The songs celebrate Harmodios (*PA* 2232) and his friend Aristogeiton, who assassinated Hippias' brother Hipparchos in 514. The pair were revered as heroes of the democracy and their descendants were honoured by the city. *Th.* 6. 53 ff. tells us that the behaviour of Alkibiades in 415 seemed to many to give substance to the demagogues' talk of tyrannical conspiracies (cf. 616-35 n.) and that the Athenians 'recalled' how oppressive the regime of Hippias had been. Thus the old skolion became a rallying-cry for those who would 'guard against' a new tyranny. Thukydides offers his own view that the tyrannicides were not freedom-fighters but a pair of lovers avenging a personal insult: for the various traditions cf. C. W. Fornara, *Hist.* 17 (1968) 400 ff. Indeed, the words of the skolion could be given an erotic, perhaps obscene interpretation (ξίφος = penis, myrtle-wreath = pubis, as *Eq.* 964), cf. V. Ehrenberg, *WS* 69 (1956) 61 ff., G. Lambin, *REG* 92 (1979) 542 ff. This may account for the curious statute preserved by *Hyp. Phil.* 3 (c. 336/5) forbidding the singing of the Harmodios song in a denigratory fashion. For Ar.'s use of Harmodios to characterize popular leaders and their supporters cf. esp. *Eq.* 786-7, *Ve.* 1224 ff.

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633-5 The humour lies in the codgers' assumption of the familiar pose of the young tyrannicides and in the bathos of their final threat. Note that this climax is separated off from the preceding lines, as is the old women's answer, 656-7. **ὄδε:** Deictic: they strike a martial pose, with one arm raised. For the bronze statue of the tyrannicides by Kritios (erected c. 477 to replace the one by Antenor, which was removed by the Persians) in the agora (Paus. 1. 8. 5) see F. Jacoby, *Atthis* (Oxford 1949) 339 n. 52, G. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*⁴ (New Haven 1970) 154 figg. 609-15. **ἑστήξω:** For the future forms, derived from perfect stems, that show alternation between active and middle see KB ii. 110-11. Luc. *Pseudol.* 7 calls the active forms Attic. **αὐτό:** Preceding the infinitive (KG i. 658-9), cf. Pax 1248-9 *καυτό (καυτός P) σοι γενήσεται τὰ σὺκ' ἐν ἀγρῶ τοῖς οἰκέταισιν ἰσάναι. Σ λείπει βοηθός* reveals the origin of the corruption. **τῆσδε:** Normally without the article when deictic, KG i. 628-9.

636-57. *The women's contributions*

If you pick a fight with us, your own mother won't know you when you get home! We women have useful advice for the city, and that is not surprising. For we have since girlhood participated in the city's most splendid cults: as arrhephoroi, as grinders of the sacred cakes, as bears at Brauron, as kanephoroi. Moreover, we have contributed citizen males. But these wretched men contribute nothing: instead they have squandered our ancestral wealth and continue to pass decisions that may yet ruin us all. If I hear so much as a peep from you men, I'll kick you in the jaw!

As a reply to the men's accusation of lakonizing and conspiracy to tyranny the women offer their long record of distinguished service as citizens and as mothers. This record entitles them to speak out and is more valuable than the men's. A significant feature of this reply is its emphasis on the women's superior wealth and breeding as opposed to the men's freeloading: see 616-35 n. Their arguments develop on those made by Lys. in the agon. But whereas Lys. (a housewife confronting a political manager) stressed the domestic sphere, the old women here (who are past the age of domestic management) stress the public and political sphere. Since the city's cults were the only sphere of activity publicly recognized by the city that was open to women (Introd. III), Ar. uses them to supply the public dimension of the women's argument. Nevertheless, the city continues to be assimilated to private *oikoi* (476-607 n.): the old men have dissipated the estate, and the family has fallen into disrepute.

636-7 'In that case (Denn. 62: MSS *οὐ γὰρ* is impossible) your own mother (cf. *Ek.* 235) won't recognize you when you come home (cf. 867)', i.e. you'll be so beaten up. The old women play on the theme of mother (or other female relation) as welcomer of a man returning from battle or contest (cf. Pi. *P.* 8. 85-6), H. Fränkel, *Wege u. Formen frühgr. Denkens.*

- (Munich 1955) 97-9. To bolster their threat they remove their outer garments (**ραδι**) and strike a bellicose posture (to match the men, 615).
- 638-9** Since the women offer serious advice they address the spectators (= the city) in solemn tones, cf. *Ve.* 1015, *Pax.* 298, *Ek.* 834, *S. Ant.* 1183, *E. IT* 1422; for this style of address in oratory cf. *D.* 6. 2, Burckhardt 29 ff. **χρησίμων:** 350-1 n.
- 640** The city has nourished them (the verb refers to both physical and spiritual nurture: *Nu.* 986, *Ra.* 886, cf. Hansen on *χλιδή* in the Chian epitaph of a dancer (c. 400), *CEG* 168) splendidly and in great comfort. The proof is their participation in its most sumptuous and elite cults. In democratic Athens the state regulated the cults, and the pomp and splendour that in earlier times had been the glory of great families was now the glory of the state, even where great families continued to administer them (e.g. the cult of Athena Polias, the preserve of the Eteoboutadaí: *Introd.* III). Women served as priestesses in more than forty cults (Turner, *passim*; H. McClees, *A Study of Women in the Attic Inscriptions*, diss. Columbia 1920, 5 ff.) and in numerous sub-sacerdotal positions. These positions were the exception to the norm that confined citizen women to the private sphere of the *oikos*, cf. J. Gould, *JHS* 100 (1980) 38 ff., 50-1. In the cults of Athena, Demeter and Artemis particularly, the state officially recognized the importance of domestic fertility and industry (cf. 493-5 n., 567-86 n.). The cults mentioned here were chosen for their special splendour and for their connection with the preparation of girls for motherhood, since the women emphasize both the production of males and high social standing (the latter was mandatory for high religious positions, cf. *Ab.* π. 3, *Pl. Lg.* 6. 795C). Thus the women do not mention demotic cults such as that of Athena Nike, where selection was democratically organized (317-8 n.). During the women's song the spectators will have recalled the processions of young girls that they had seen, so that there is a humorous incongruity to match the old men's imitation of the young tyrannicides.
- 641-4** **ἄρρηφόρουσ:** *ἔρρη-* and *ἄρρη-* are interchangeable in inscriptions of the Hellenistic period (there are no earlier examples), though the former predominates (*GAI* 127). The etymology is unknown, but derivation from *ἔρρη-* or *ἄρρητο-* (suggested by ancient scholars) is linguistically unlikely. Service as *arrhephoros* (a liturgy: *Lys.* 21. 5) was reserved for girls seven to eleven years of age who came from the most distinguished families in Attika. Each year, four were elected by the *demos* and from them the King Archon chose two to be *arrhephoroi* (*Harpokr.*, s.v., *Suda* α 3848, W. Burkert, *Hermes* 94 (1966) 3-5). Their service began at the Chalkeia (30 Pyanepsion, nine months before the Panathenaia), when the priestess of Athena Polias (in whose charge they were) set up the loom on which Athena's peplos was to be woven (567-86 n.). For the next eight months the *arrhephoroi* lived on the Akropolis. Their main duties were to supervise the even younger girls (*ergastinai*) who wove the peplos,

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and to participate in the mysterious rites connected with the Skirophoria (near the end of their stay). On this special night the Polias priestess gave the girls *kistai* containing sacred objects, which they carried to an underground enclosure of Aphrodite and Eros. On the following morning they returned with *kistai* still unopened and presented them to the priestess (perhaps they brought something else back as well). It is very likely that the arrhephoria was initially initiatory: during the period of separation from their homes the girls learned domestic arts and had some sort of encounter with Aphrodite and Eros (it is precisely here that we would like to have more evidence, but this was a secret: Burkert *GR* 229). Thus the arrhephoroi symbolized the passage to puberty of all Attic girls, each of whom did make a visit to Athena before marriage (*proteleia*: Suda π 2865), and thus was the Akropolis ritually assimilated to the individual *oikos*. In general see Paus. 1. 27. 3, Parke, Pl. 59–60, F. Adrados, *Emerita* 19 (1951) 117 ff., Burkert *HN* 150–4, for representations in plastic art I. Jucker, *AK* 6 (1963) 47 ff. The recent long treatment by N. Robertson in *HSCP* 87 (1983) 241 ff. approaches the evidence with great scepticism but fails to supply any convincing reinterpretations.

643–4 The office of corn-grinder for Athena's sacred cakes is attested only here, but Σ notes that there were also *ἱεροὶ μύλωνες* and that such offices were prestigious. **τάρχηγέτι**: For the form cf. KB i. 422. The title properly designates a 'founder', then a divine or human patron of a city or colony, cf. L. Jeffery, *Hist.* 10 (1961) 144. Here Athena is meant, cf. *IG* i³ 252. 4, Σ *Ve.* 515, Plu. *Alk.* 2.

645 The cult of Artemis at Brauron (modern Vraona), of which there was a branch precinct on the Akropolis (on the south side to the right of the Propylaea, Paus. 1. 23. 7), was one of the oldest in Attika. The Brauronia was a penteteric festival in which girls five to ten years of age (cf. *δεκατεύειν*, though the age is controversial) performed rites (apparently dances) dressed as bears. A series of vases found at Brauron depict the girls naked or wearing a short garment: L. Ghali-Kahil, *AK* 8 (1965) 20 ff., 20 (1977) 86 ff. Like the office of arrhephoros, service as an *arktos* was a great distinction and in origin initiatory (specifically a preparation for marriage, Harpokr. *ἀρκεύειν* = *FGrH* 342 F 9), cf. A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 240–90, Burkert *GR* 263, E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Wisconsin 1983) 83–8, K–A on fr. 386.

καὶ χέουσα: Proposed by T. C. W. Stinton, *CQ* 69 (1975) 11 ff., following a discussion of this passage by C. Sourvinou, *CQ* 21 (1971) 339 ff., who drew attention to A. *Ag.* 239, where Iphigeneia apparently sheds her *krokotos* before being sacrificed, *κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα* (cf. the sacrifice of Polyxena, E. *Hek.* 557 ff.), and to the vase-paintings, where some *arktoi* are naked and some clothed (implying that the shedding took place at some point in the ceremonies). For Iphigeneia as archetypal *arktos* of Artemis cf. Σ and Brelich, *op. cit.*, 242 ff. Our passage is thus the only explicit testimony for the shedding, and in

addition shows that service as *aletris* could go with service as *arktos* in the same year's ritual sequence. The traditional reading κῆτ' ἔχουσα, proposed by Ellebodium and independently by Bentley, is also possible, cf. *Ra.* 1440-1 εἰ ναυμαχοίεν, κῆτ' ἔχοντες (MU: κατέχοντες cett.) ὀξίδας ράινοιεν, similarly *Eq.* 25, *Av.* 1456, and cf. our expression 'take the veil' (of nuns). But the allusion in Aischylos (not adduced by earlier editors) makes the reading of R look like more than scribal metathesis, and κῆτα could (though it need not) imply that these *arktoi* were older than ten.

646-7 The carrying of baskets was a feature of many processions, but its climactic position here points to the most splendid of all, the Panathenaia. Kanephoroi were girls of marriageable age who belonged to distinguished families. It was a great honour, and evidence of irreproachable character, to be chosen kanephoros of Athena (*E. Hkld.* 777, *Men. Epitr.* 438) and a great humiliation to be denied (this was the insult that precipitated the assassination of Hipparchos, *Th.* 6. 54 ff., *At.* π. 18. 2). Later in the play (1189-94) the united chorus offers to undertake the expense of a kanephoria (facetiously) as an illustration of how the city's money is to be spent after the war is over. ποτ': 'at some point', probably added because the Brauronia and the Panathenaia never took place in the same year (*At.* π. 54. 7). 'χουσα': For the prodelision cf. *Ve.* 1121, etc. and compare 736. ισχάδων ὄρμαθόν: Necklaces of dried figs were symbols commonly associated with rites of sexuality and procreation (Deubner 19 ff.).

648 Their credentials established, the women proceed to demonstrate that the money spent on their rearing (as opposed to that spent on the jurors' pay, 625) has been well spent, since they went on to contribute men. Thus it is their right and duty (cf. *E. Suppl.* 438 ff.) to offer useful advice to the city, cf. 527-8. The offering of advice to the spectators is typical of, but not confined to, parabases: *Ach.* 496 ff. χρηστὸν: 350-1 n.

649-50 Lys. makes the same appeal at 1124, although she offers a different justification. τοῦτο: For this style of emphasis cf. KG i. 660-1.

651 For the argument compare *Th.* 832-9. τοῦράνου: An ἔρανος was a cash contribution to an organization of friends (cf. *Ach.* 615). Here the women have contributed men to the city (cf. 589-90). This assimilation of public to private activity also occurs in oratory, *Th.* 2. 43. 1 (of men who gave their lives to the city) κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ προίεμενοι, Lykourg. *Leokr.* 143.

652-5 The fund of money passed on to us by our grandparents' generation was meant to build up the empire and to defend Greece from the Persian menace (cf. 1133-4); like prodigal sons you have squandered it without adding any contribution of your own. For the idea compare *Th.* 2. 36 (πατέρες ἡμῶν) κτησάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο ὄσσην ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀπόνως ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν προσκατέλειπον, *D.* 9. 30. Every male citizen had taken the ephebic oath (212 n.), promising among other things 'to hand on the fatherland not less but larger and better'. δυστήνοις: 426 n. ἐκ:

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Instead of τὸν ἐκ, *Ach.* 412, 1049–50, *Th.* 558. εἴτ': Logically following ἀναλώσαντες, cf. 560 n. τὰς εἰσφοράς: The men are 'in arrears' on their contributions, continuing the assimilation of city to private organization, εἰσφορά = 'contribution' and 'direct tax', cf. *Th.* 3. 19. 1, A. H. M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy* (Oxford 1957) 23–30. The point is that the cost of the decisions ratified by the old men must be borne by others: Ar. maintains the stereotype, central to the plot of *Wasps*, that jurors are impoverished old men living on a pittance from the city who nevertheless behave arrogantly. Speakers addressing juries, on the other hand, could turn impoverishment into patriotic flattery: *Lys.* 28. 3 equates the jurors with the city, pointing out that they are πιεζόμενοι ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς and (4) that each new levy makes them πενεστέρους, i.e. implying that their poverty is the result of unstinting support of the city. The speaker is trying to arouse anger at the accused, said to have embezzled the money. διαλυθῆναι: i.e. by further loss of men and wealth, probably hinting at more frequent levies to come, cf. *Th.* 8. 48. 1.

656–7 Structurally matching 634–5. γρυκτόν: 509–11 n. εἰ: Introducing a violent threat, cf. *Av.* 1253. σ'...τήν γνάθον: The pronoun is necessary in this construction (without it the women would be threatening themselves), cf. *Av.* 497 παίει ῥοπάλω με τὸ νῶτον, *KG* i. 289 f. MSS γ' is a metrical stopgap or mechanical confusion (uncial), not an example of apodotic γε (377–8 n.). ἀψήκτω: Predicative, cf. 1116. κοθόρνῳ: They raise a foot menacingly. The kothornos was a wide boot, pointed at the toe, which fitted either foot and was worn mainly by women (*Ek.* 313 ff., 344 ff.), cf. Stone 229 ff., *DFA*² 207–8, illustrations in Simon, *Pl.* 6–7 (pp. 23–4).

658–81. *The men strip for action*

What outrageous talk! Let those of us who are real men strip down for a fight and display the valour that distinguished us as young men in the action at Leipsydrium. Give these women the slightest chance and their mischievousness will be boundless: they will build ships and sail against us like Artemisia, and if they mount an equestrian attack they will be formidable, for women are great mounters: just look at Mikon's pictures of the Amazons battling men! We must grab them by the neck and put them in the stocks!

658–60 ὕβρις: 399–402 n.; for the rhetorical question cf. 608–10. πολλή: Heavily stressed by its position. κάπιδώσειν: Elsewhere in comedy at Hermipp. 42 (it is mainly a prose word). χρῆμα: 'state of affairs', in variation with πράγμα/-τα also at *Ve.* 799, *Pax* 38, *Ra.* 759, 795.

661 ἀμυντέον: For ἀμυνέτω. ἐνόρχης: The testicles commonly symbolize (youthful) virility/bravery, 598 n., *Eq.* 1385, *Av.* 568–9, *Pl. Com.* 64. 4, *CA* 90, 592, cf. American slang 'has balls' = 'is brave'.

663–6 For the stripping see 614–705 n. The exomis was a short, belted chiton that left one shoulder bare (cf. *Ek.* 266–7), here worn underneath

the himation (615) and later replaced by the old women (1021). **τὸν ἄνδρα**: 'one who is a real man', cf. 599. **ῥῆεν**: 616-24 n. For several years 'A man's gotta smell like a man' was the advertising slogan for an American men's cologne. **ἐντεθριώσθαι**: 'to be wrapped up' (in our clothing), a culinary metaphor (Σ) from the dish called *θρίον* (*Ach.* 1101, *Eg.* 954), an egg and cheese mixture wrapped in figleaves and baked, cf. *Ve.* 1312 τὰ θρία τοῦ τριβωνος. The metaphor is used elsewhere of the brains (*Ra.* 134) and of 'hoodwinking' someone (*Men. Sam.* 586), also (what may have been understood in this context) of the foreskin (*Ach.* 158, *Ek.* 708).

667-9 Continuing their recollection of the struggle against tyranny (614-35) the old men recall the valour they displayed at Leipsydriion, a district on the southern flank of Mt. Parnes, where in the period after the murder of Hipparchos (631-2 n.) the exiled Alkmaionidai and their Athenian sympathizers were besieged by the forces of the tyrant Hippias (*Hdt.* 5. 62, *Äth.* π. 19. 3). After a hard fight they were forced to retreat, but their exploit was celebrated in a patriotic skolion (907 Page). The old men have apparently got their history wrong, for they speak as if they had been the victorious besiegers (as in the action against Kleomenes, 271 ff.). **λευκόποδες**: The significance is obscure. Σ read *λυκόποδες* (metrically impossible) which, on the authority of Aristotle, he connected with the Alkmaionidai and which he surmised was a reference to wolf-blazons or wolf-skin footgear: for a discussion cf. R. Hopper, *CQ* 10 (1960) 242 ff. If this is more than a mere inference from the (corrupt) text, Ar. may be punning here. But it is more likely that 'white-feet' is an honorific way of referring to footsoldiers generally, 'bare-/dusty-/nimble-footed' (cf. E. *Kyk.* 72 βάκχαις ἀνὸν λευκόποσων) designating the manly endurance of hardship (like that of Sokrates at Potidaia, *Pl. Smp.* 220B, cf. X. *Mem.* 1. 2, 6. 2). In this connection it is worth mentioning the practice of monosandalism, as at Th. 3. 22. 2, where 212 members of the garrison in Plataia (including most of the Athenians) escape the Spartan blockade 'with only their left foot shod'. Thukydides rationalizes this detail by explaining that the escape-party did not want to slip in the mud, much as Euripides explains the monosandalism of the Aitolians, 'so as to have the knee nimble' (fr. 530, cf. Arist. fr. 74 Rose). But monosandalism is widely attested in ancient art and religion in connection with gods, heroes, kings, saints, initiates as well as footsoldiers (a modern survival is the initiation-ceremony of Freemasons, cf. the description in Tolstoy, *War and Peace* 2. 2. 3), so that the custom of baring one or both feet involved more than the practical utility mentioned by Thukydides (indeed, why did not the Plataian garrison remove *both* boots if they wanted a firmer foothold, as X. *Lak.* 2. 3?). For a recent discussion see L. Edmunds, in *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow* (Durham 1984) 71 ff. **ὄτ' ἤμεν ἔτι**: 'when we still were' (youthful/strong), cf. *Ach.* 708, *Ve.* 1060 ff., *Eup.* 221, *E. Hek.* 284.

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- 670-1 τὸ γῆρας:** They wish to 'slough off' their old skin (364 n.) in order to regain a youthful appearance, cf. Kall. 1. 33-6 with Pfeiffer, *Nu.* 288-9 ἀλλ' ἀποσεισόμενοι νέφος ὄμβριον ἀθανάτας ἰδέας ἐπιδώμεθα, *Ra.* 346-7 (old men) ἀποσεισόνται δὲ λύπας χρόνιους τ' ἐτῶν παλαιῶν ἐνιαυτούς. Rejuvenation by skin-sloughing occurred in Ar.'s *Amphiaraios* (fr. 33) and *Geras* (fr. 129). **τόδε:** They are naked from the waist up.
- 672-3 κᾶν συμκρᾶν:** *Ach.* 1021, *Ve.* 96, *Pl.* 126, *KG* ii. 488 ff. **λαβήν:** Probably a wrestling metaphor, cf. *Eq.* 847, *Nu.* 551, *E. Andr.* 965. **λιπαροῦς χειρουργίας:** 'obstinate handiwork' (*Σ τόλμης*, at *S. El.* 1378 *λιπαρῆς χεῖρ* is used of wheedling), perhaps with sexual innuendo, cf. Hippon. 114a, *Amphis* 20. 5, *AP* 12. 22.
- 674-7** For the story of Artemisia, the Karian queen who helped Xerxes against the Greeks, see *Hdt.* 7. 99, 8. 87-8. At *Th.* 1200 ff. Euripides, disguised as a crone in order to deceive a Skythian policeman, claims to be Artemisia. **ναυμαχεῖν** and **πλεῖν** are used of the partner who is on top in sexual intercourse (cf. 59-60, 411, *Ra.* 434) and hence dominant (cf. 773b, *Th.* 803-4). Likewise 'horsemanship' (**ἵππικῆν**), cf. 59-60 n., *Ve.* 502, *Pax* 900 ff., *Eup.* 268, *Anaxil.* 22. 10. **διαγράφω:** 'cross off' the list (to LSJ IV add [Pl.] *Axioch.* 366C), i.e. they would be no match for the women. The remark may reveal the infantryman's (667-9 n.) contempt for the cavalry (compare 313 with reference to naval officers). **χρήμα:** The pleonasm is not infrequent (e.g. *Ve.* 266, *Pl. Com.* 98, *E. Andr.* 181), cf. 83 n. and the similar use of **πράγμα** (*Ek.* 441-2), in general L. Bergson, *Eranos* 65 (1967) 79 ff.
- 678-9 τὰς Ἀμαζόνας:** As proof of their assertion the oldsters cite the Amazons (thus not MSS *τὰς δ'*), traditional female enemies of male warriors. Theseus' victory over the Amazons who had invaded Athens and occupied the Pnyx was a common fifth-century analogue to the Persian invasions (E. Harrison, *Hesp.* 35 (1966) 107 ff., Meiggs 276-7) and a popular subject for vase-painters (J. Barron, *JHS* 92 (1972) 33 ff.). **Μίκων:** Son of Phanomachos and (with Polygnotos) one of the leading painters of the Kimonian period: for his work and its political tendencies see L. Jeffery, *BSA* 60 (1965) 43 ff. The men have in mind the famous mural in the Peisianakteion (later Stoa Poikile), cf. Paus. 1. 15. 2. **ἐφ':** The men imagine the (painted) Amazons sitting upon rather than fighting from (*ἀπό*) their horses (cf. 561, 723).
- 680-1** Common criminals were immobilized by having their hands, feet, and head locked into holes in a plank (*Eq.* 1048-9, *Nu.* 592, *Krat.* 123, *Poll.* 10. 177) or by simply being tied to a board (like the Relative in *Th.* 931, 940). **τούτονι:** They make a rush at the women.

682-705. *The woman's counterattack*

Touch us and you will feel our wrath! Let's strip down and show them what wrathful women are like. If you approach us, or even speak an

impolite word, it will be the beetle and the eagle all over again. I pay you no heed, as long as Lampito and Ismenia are still active. You are impotent for all your decrees, you whom everyone detests, even your neighbours. Just the other day I'd planned a party for Hekate and invited a Boiotian friend — an eel! But your decrees prevented it. Nor will you stop passing your decrees until someone trips you up and puts you down for the count.

682 'inflame' (to anger), *A. Ag.* 1034, *E. El.* 1121, Taillardat 186-7. At *Pax* 310 τὸν πόλεμον ἐκζωπυρήσεται ἔνδοθεν κεκραγότες (war is asleep, don't wake him up) metaphorically indicates how war is 'inflamed' by civil turmoil (shouting), cf. Σ.

683 'I shall loose my sow/anger' (in response to your threat): the animal stands for its characteristic quality (so Σ, cf. 475, 1270). Boars and bulls were common symbols of anger and obstinacy, cf. 1252 ff., *Ve.* 36, *Men. Misoum.* 303 ὅς ὄρει (cf. Theokr. 14. 43 ταῦρος ἀν' ὕλαν), the paroimiographers (e.g. Apostol. 17. 14) ὅς ὀρίνει ἐπὶ τῶν βιαιῶν καὶ ἐριστικῶν, cf. Alk. *Z.* 70 L-P πάλιν ἂ σὺς παρορίνει. For the metaphor here cf. Luc. *Salt.* 4 ὡς κάρχαρον ἔλυσας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸν σαυτὸν κύνα, *Ve.* 383 τὸν πρινώδη θυμὸν ἅπαντ' ἐκκαλοῦμεν, Taillardat 206 ff., H.-J. Mette, *Lustrum* 11 (1967) 140. The women's choice of metaphor is appropriate, for 'sow' could be used of wives (1001, *Ach.* 741) and other sexually mature women (*AP* 11. 363 σφόρβια = brothels, 12. 197. 4, Machon 332).

685/6 Deme-members were expected to help one another in emergencies, *Ach.* 333, 675, *Nu.* 1322, *Ek.* 1023-4, 1115. πεκτούμενον: For similar metaphors cf. 447-8 n.

687-90 The women remove their chitons, matching the men, 663. For the leader's command cf. 350-1, 539-40. ὄζωμεν: 616-24 n., 664-5. αὐτοδὰξ ὠργισμένων: 'angry enough to bite', *Ve.* 164, 943, *Pax* 607, *Krat.* 175. 4.

691-3 ἴνα: i.e., if he wishes never again... φάγη... μέλανας: Garlic was a staple food (457-8 n.), and bean-chewing typical of old men in court/assembly (at *Eq.* 41 κναμοτρῶξ is one of the characteristics of old Demos), so that this threat = 'to stay alive'.

694-5 In the fable of the beetle and the eagle (mentioned in a symposiac context at *Ve.* 1448 and discussed at *Pax* 129 ff., cf. Aesop 7 Halm) the beetle avenges the loss of its young by breaking the eagle's eggs. These had been put into Zeus' lap for safekeeping, but when the beetle dropped its dung-ball into Zeus' lap, Zeus unthinkingly jumped up to brush off the dung and spilled the eggs. Moral: there is no refuge from a determined avenger. See for the fable J. Trencsenyi-Waldapfel, *Acta Antiqua Acad. Scient. Hung.* 7 (1959) 317. There is perhaps an underlying threat on the men's testicles (in response to 661), cf. 362-3. αἰετὸν: αἰετὸν (*Suda*) is not infrequently a variant in Ar. but is a form absent from inscriptions until c. 300 BC (*GAI* i. 277).

696-7 This reference to the conjugal strike is made for the benefit of the audience (as at 525-6, 551 ff.). ζῆ: *Eq.* 395 οὐδέοιχ' ὑμᾶς, ἕως ἂν ζῆ τὸ

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βουλευτήριον. Ἴσμηνία: Since the Theban wife of the prologue (85 ff.) was not named before, Ar. gives her a typical Theban name here (cf. *Ach.* 861). Mention of her prepares for the following anecdote (700 ff.).

698-9 οὐ... ψηφίση: i.e., you will not be strong enough to carry out your threats no matter how many votes you cast, cf. 380. **δύστην**: 426-30a n. **πάσι... γείτοσιν**: 'by everyone, and your neighbours too/especially' (cf. Denn. 291-2 on the use of *καί* to link appositionally related ideas with a sense of climax). The women liken the Greek world to a neighbourhood disrupted by a trouble-maker: just as the war has disrupted oikos-life, so has it disrupted friendships among oikoi, as the following anecdote demonstrates.

700-5 The kind of neighbourhood picnic that would be possible in peaceful times cannot be held because of the 'feud'. Mention of Boiotia's prime delicacy (36 n.) focuses spectator attention on the deprivations of wartime. For the colloquial parataxis of the narrative cf. *Ek.* 446 ff. **κάχθες**: 'only yesterday', lively verisimilitude, as 725, *Ve.* 242. **θήκᾶτη**: Hekate (cf. 63-4 n.) was a particularly popular goddess among women and the *kleine Leute* generally (*Pl.* 594 ff.); her image stood in front of many a house (*Ve.* 804 ὡσπερ Ἐκαταίων πανταχοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν). **παιγνίαν**: 'an entertainment', i.e. a privately organized neighbourhood party, cf. 1-2 n. **τὴν ἑταίραν**: 'my friend', *Ek.* 528. **ἐκάλεσ'**: 'invited', as 1. **ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων**: 'from just next door', *Pl.* 435, *Men. Dysk.* 594, *Lys.* 1. 14: *KG* i. 269. **χρηστὴν**: 350-1 n. **κάγαπητὴν**: 'dear', 'special' (usually of only children), cf. *Th.* 761. A fine Boiotian eel is a one-of-a-kind delicacy. **ἔγγελυν**: A surprise; for the personification compare *Ach.* 883-4 (a Boiotian trader to his sack of delicacies, for which he is denounced by a sycophant at 910 ff.) *πρέσβειρα πενήκοντα Κωπάδων κορᾶν, ἔκβαθι τῶδε κήπιχάριτται τῷ ξένῳ*. **οἱ**: The Boiotians. **σά**: Adding a contemptuous tone, 373-4 n., and the whole of the exchange at 363-86.

704-5 κοῦχι μὴ παύσησθε: For the construction cf. 490-2 n. **τοῦ σκέλους κτλ.**: 'grabs you by the leg and flings you away, breaking your neck', cf. *Nu.* 1501, *Pl.* 69-70. The women's threat goes the men's one better (681), perhaps thinking of *τράχηλος* as the source of speech, as *Ra.* 19-20, cf. *δέρη* at *A. Ag.* 328.

706-80. EPISODE: A CRISIS IN THE CITADEL

706-27. *The wives weaken*

Now that the Akropolis seizure is accomplished and justified, Ar. returns us to the young wives and their conjugal strike, which apart from a few reminders to the spectators (525-6, 551 ff., 696-7) was ignored during the epirrhematic scenes following the prologue. When we last saw the wives,

they were entering the Akropolis (245 ff.), where they now reappear. Elsewhere Ar. only rarely draws our attention to the passage of dramatic time (*Ach.* 961, *Nu.* 1131, *Av.* 1494), but in *Lys.* he carefully underlines the passage of days since the prologue (718, 725, 745, 761, 765 ff., 865 ff., 881, 898–9). We discover that the wives, who were reluctant to begin with, are now cracking under the strain of abstinence. Lys. must again rally them to the cause, thus providing Ar. with a second opportunity to exploit their stereotyped weaknesses.

The entirely farcical humour of this scene brings the spectators down from the lofty arguments and tumultuous action of the epirrhematic scenes and shifts the focus of the play from the city at large to the private sphere. The scene creates suspense because the spectators, who have been waiting for an enactment of the conjugal strike, begin to wonder when and in what form it will occur. Ar. delays the appearance of the husbands as long as possible.

Lys. appears in the Propylaea (cf. 728, 737, 779) and under questioning by the koryphaia reveals that the wives are attempting to desert to the enemy (their husbands). Lines 706–17 are a quasi-tragic imitation of those passages of stichomythia with *kommata* which in tragedy often reveal a crisis 'within the palace'. The elevated tone is shattered climactically at 715 (compare 124), and after this awful truth is revealed Lys. delivers a humorous account of events within the citadel.

706–9 ἀνασσα πράγους: According to Σ this address is from E. *Telephos* (fr. 105 Austin: to Klytaimestra?), but the whole passage is typically tragic and we need not suppose that the spectators were expected to recall any particular source(s). Compare the koryphaios to the Sausage Seller at a similar point in the action at *Eq.* 611 ff. and cf. Kannicht at E. *Hel.* 1039 f. for tragic procedure in such situations. **πράγους:** *Av.* 112 (King Hoopoe to Peisetairos and Euelpides) *πράγους δὲ δὴ τοῦ δεομένου δεῦρ' ἦλθετον;* **σκυθρωπός:** Indicating for the spectators that Lys.'s pacing is angry, cf. 7–8 n. **δόμων:** Poetic omission of the article (as in the following line), cf. *Ach.* 450 ὦ θύμ', ὀργῆς γὰρ ὡς ἀπωθούμαι δόμων; **θήλεια φρήν:** A virtual oxymoron, cf. 42; compare *Ek.* 110 θηλύφρων, E. fr. 362. 34 γυναικόφρων, *Andr.* 181–2 ἐπίφθονον ('jealous') τοι χρήμα θηλείας φρένός καὶ ξυγγάμοισι δυσμενές μάλιστ' αἰί. **ἀθυμείν:** Not attested for Old Comedy but frequent in tragedy and later comedy. Porson's emendation was suggested by correlative τ', and note R's ποιεῖν. **περιπατεῖν:** This verb is not found in tragedy or other early poetry but is frequent in prose. It appears only here and *Av.* 389 in Old Comedy as a stage-direction but very often in New Comedy (particularly Menander), where it usually indicates erotic anxiety, e.g. *Misoum.* A 7 περιπατῶ τ' ἄνω κάτω, *Georg.* 85 τί περιπατεῖς τρίβουσα τὰς χεῖρας; For the motif see R. F. Thomas, *HSCP* 83 (1979) 182 ff. **ἄνω κάτω:** In addition to anxiety connotes perplexity (*Pl. Phd.* 96A πολλάκις ἑμαυτὸν ἄνω κάτω μετέβαλλον σκοπῶν) and futility (*Av.* 3 τί ὦ πόνηρ' ἄνω κάτω πλανύττομεν;).

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- 710-11** In tragedy such *kommata* (always separate syntactical units) build suspense, cf. Bruhn *Anhang* § 240, Fraenkel at *A. Ag.* 1216; another comic example is *Nu.* 1443. Line 710 is an iambic monometer, 711 and 716 are syncopated iambs (bacchiac).
- 712** The suspenseful question and assurance of confidentiality appear in both tragedy and comedy, e.g. *Ve.* 335 λέξων· πρὸς εὐνοὺς γὰρ φράσεις.
- 713-14** The ‘dilemma’ is (according to Σ) a quotation from Eur. (*Telephos?*). For the koryphaia’s response cf. *Th.* 72-4, *Pl.* 23-5.
- 715** For the climactic release of suspense by means of a blunt revelation cf. 124, *S. El.* 673 τέθνηκ’ Ὀρέστης· ἐν βραχεὶ συνθεὶς λέγω, *E. Hp.* 1162. **βινητιώμεν:** A comic formation playing on the vogue for verbs in (ι)άν designating maladies, cf. 987, *Men. Dysk.* 462 κινητιάν; for a list cf. W. G. Rutherford, *New Phrynichus* 153. That βινεῖν (like πέος, 124) possessed obscene force is indicated by its use here and elsewhere for climactic effect: *Av.* 793 ff., *Ek.* 228, and esp. *Th.* 206 (note the build-up at 153, 157-8, 200-1). It is twice used in the presence of a spouse (934, *Ek.* 525), but in both cases it clearly expresses the speaker’s exasperation. Hsch. β 322 attributes a use of βινεῖν to Solon, but surely the citation was drawn from an iambic or epodic poem and not from a public notice.
- 717-19** Cf. *E. Kyk.* 669 τί χρῆμ’ ἀντεῖς, ὦ Κύκλωψ; δ’ οὖν: Emphasizing the essential fact, Denn. 461 ff. ἀποσχέιν ... ἀπό: 120-3 n. οἶα τ’: For the ellipse cf. 565-6 n. διαδιδράσκουσι: ‘are shirking their duty’, *Ach.* 601.
- 720-1** With the following ludicrous escape-attempts compare Philokleon’s at *Ve.* 136-229. μέν γε: Introducing an instance (quasi-connective), 589, 1236, Denn. 160. For the structure of the narrative cf. *Ve.* 564 ff. διαλέγουσαν: ‘picking open the hole’ (on the roof: *Ve.* 350, fr. 10 δι’ ὀπῆς καπὶ τοῦ τεγους) with a *double entendre* hole = vagina (*Hipponax* 135b, *AP* 11. 338. 2), note the article (‘the’/‘her’), as 413. διαλέγειν is not used elsewhere in *double entendre* but διορύττεω (*Nu.* 714, *Av.* 442) and κατορύττεω (*Pherekr.* 145. 19) are; compare Lat. *fodere* (*Mart.* 7. 102) and *effodere* (*Arn.* 4. 131). Σ preserves the gloss διορύττουσαν κακεμφάτως, cf. Hsch. δ 1129 διαλέξαι· διορύξαι. Πανός ... ταύλιον: Pan (1-2 n.) was worshipped in one of a series of grottoes on the NW side of the Akropolis (*Hdt.* 6. 105, *Paus.* 1. 28. 4), perhaps the one just east of Apollo’s, for it was here that Apollo raped Kreousa (*E. Ion.* 17, 938). Later in the play this grotto serves as the trysting-place of Kinesias and Myrrhine (911). In general see P. J. Riis, *Acta Arch.* 45 (1974) 130 ff.
- 722-3** τὴν δ’: A second deserter. ἐκ τροχιλείας: ‘suspended from a cable’. For the spelling (variously corrupted in MSS) see Meisterhans 53. Lys. refers to the equipment being used in the ongoing construction of the Erechtheion. κάπαυτομολούσαν: MSS τὴν δ’ αὐτομολούσαν is too bald in this lively description and clearly results from homoiarcton. There are only three deserters in this narrative. ἐπὶ στρουθίου: A tactic similar to Philokleon’s at *Ve.* 207-8. Small birds would be numerous on or under roofs. In addition, sparrows were especially associated with Aphrodite

(e.g. Sappho 1. 9-10), and *στρούθος* was a slang term for phallos, CA 592, Paulus-Festus 411. 4-5 Lindsay. *μίαν*: Epexegetic, cf. *Av.* 1292 *πέρδιξ μὲν εἰς κάπηλος ὠνομάζετο*.

724-5 πέτεσθαι: Metaphorical for haste (55 n.) and sexual fickleness (*Av.* 164 ff., *Ek.* 899, fr. 582), cf. 774. *εἰς Ὀρουλόχου*: 'to O.'s house', 616-24 n. This name is otherwise unknown (*Σ*'s statement that he was a brothel-keeper is an inference from the text) and sounds like one chosen or invented for its phallic associations (cf. 834, 995, the Orthagoras at *Ek.* 916 who personifies a dildo); but it is not un-Attic, cf. the native Athenian OrsimeNES of *IG* ii. 1623. 1 (333/2 BC). *χθές*: Lively verisimilitude (700-5 n.) but also an indication of passing time (706-27 n.). *τῶν τριχῶν*: Hair-pulling is not infrequently mentioned in tragedy, e.g. *E. Andr.* 710 *ἐλᾶ δι' οἴκων τήνδ' ἐπισπάσας κόμης*. *κατέσπασα*: She was already (ἤδη) on sparrowback when Lys. pulled her down and off.

726-7 προφάσεις ... ἔλκουσιν: *Hdt.* 6. 86. 1 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσις εἰλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, cf. *Ve.* 644-5 *δεῖ δέ σε παντοίας πλέκειν εἰς ἀπόφυξιν παλάμας*.

728-80. An attempted desertion

Three wives emerge, each with an excuse for a furlough. The first complains that she must tend to her fine linens, but Lys. says that these must be sacrificed. The second complains that her flax needs scutching, but Lys. cannot grant one leave without granting all. The third claims to be on the point of childbirth, but Lys. discovers that she has put Athena's helmet under her dress. By this time other women have gathered with complaints, but Lys. rallies them all by producing an oracle enjoining loyalty and predicting the husbands' capitulation.

728 A wife emerges from the Propylaea and tries to slip away. *αὐτή σύ*: Colloquial ('hey you!'), occurring over 60 times in *Ar.*, eight in *Eur.*, cf. *Svennung* 208 ff.

729-30 For this peril cf. 896-7. Milesian wool was expensive and exceptionally soft (*Σ*, cf. *Ra.* 542 ff.), and at this time unavailable (108-9 n.). *κατακοπτόμενα*: 'eat ravenously' (of animals/insects), LSJ I. 10. Compare the similar use of *ἐρείδων* (*Pax* 31), *σποδεῖν* (*Pax* 1306), *φλᾶν* (*Pl.* 693-4), *παίειν* (*Ach.* 835), cf. *Pl.* fr. 222 *κεῖνον* (gold) *οὐ σῆς οὐδὲ κῖς δάπτει*. *ποιῶν σέων*: 'what do you mean, moths?', cf. 922, 971, 1163, etc.

731 For the rhythm $\text{—} | \text{—} | \text{—}$ cf. *Nu.* 664, *Ra.* 483, *Alex.* 173. 15.

732-3 The wife's omission of a direct object produces the double meaning, cf. 738-9. *ἴσον ... μόνον*: *Ve.* 1288, *Pl. R.* 607A. *διαπετάσασ'*: *Nu.* 343 *ἐρίοισιν πεταμένοισιν*. *ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης*: Cf. 575. *μὴ ... ἀπέλθης*: Cf. *Pax* 785 *μὴθ' ὑπάκουε μὴτ' ἔλθης*. *μηδαμῆ*: Only here in *Ar.*

734 *ἀλλ' ἐὼ 'πολέσθαι*: *ἐὼ* in synizesis only here, but *ἐώμεν* at *Il.* 10. 344; *εἶω* is otherwise very common (KB i. 227). Compare *εἶω* at *Th.* 64, 176, *S. Ant.*

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95. *OT* 1451, perhaps *Nu.* 932. Prodelision of *a-* is quite rare (E. *Suppl.* 639 *μακροῦ' ποπαύσω*, other exx. in KB i. 240 ff.), and most cases could be written as synizesis (*μη' πό* or *μάπό*, as at 740, S. *Tr.* 239, etc.), cf. *Ra.* 509 *περίοφομαι ἀπελθόντ'*. But here synizesis of *έώ ά-* would seem to obscure *έώ* altogether (contrast 945 *έα αύτ'* where synizesis involves only the prolongation of one vowel). The reading of B *έώ ἀπολέσθαι* seems rather abrupt and looks like a metrical emendation (there are many in this MS, Introd. VI), but it is not impossible that *άλλ'* is an intrusive attribution of speaker (*άλλη*), since a second wife speaks the following line.
- 735-6** Line 735 is paratragic, cf. *Th.* 690, E. *Ph.* 1294. **άμόργυδος:** 150 n. **άλοπον:** 'unscutched', i.e. the valuable fibres must be separated from the woody parts by beating the stalks: for *λέπειν* in a sexual sense cf. *Mnesim.* 4. 18, *Alex.* 49 (masturbation), compare Lat. *glubere* *Cat.* 58. 4, *Aus. Epigr.* 71. 7. **καταλέλοιφ':** For the reading of R see 49 n. **αὔτη 'τέρα:** Cf. *Pax* 253 *χρήσθαι 'τέρω* (Brunck: *χρήσθαι θάτέρω* MSS).
- 738-9** For (Hekate) Phosphoros cf. 443-4 n. **άποδείρασ':** In a sexual sense, 158, 953, *Ve.* 450 (cf. *Theokr.* 5. 116-7). As at 732 omission of a direct obj. produces the double meaning. **άνέρχομαι:** With future sense (cf. 935), *άνα-* because she will have to ascend the Akropolis on her return (cf. 912).
- 740 μη' μη' ποδείρης:** It seems best to write this as prodelision (734 n.) since *μη' μη'* is treated as an exclamatory unit, cf. *Ve.* 1418, *Pax* 457. **τουτού:** *Lys.* underlines the *double entendre* by gestures.
- 742 ώ πότνι' Είλειθυ':** The same formula (note the poetic prosody) at *Ek.* 369. *πότνια*, the general title for goddesses in Mykenaian times (Burkert *GR* 43-4), became a poetic title honouring any 'mistress' human or divine and was particularly favoured by Euripides, who uses it eleven times of human beings and twenty-five times of gods or abstractions. *Eileithya* (the name also appears in the plural: 1-2 n.) was the birth-goddess already in Mykenaian times: *Ereutija* (i.e. *eleuthia*, the coming), A. Heubeck, *Kadmos* 11 (1972) 87 ff., J. Chadwick and J. T. Killen, *The Knossos Tablets*⁴, p. 206. She 'comes' to a pregnant woman either to aid or to prevent (*hAp.* 96 ff., *Il.* 19. 119) childbirth, and she also had several cult-places in Attika, cf. Jessen, *RE* 5 (1905) 2106-7. Attic inscriptions show nine different spellings of her name (*GAI* i. 342-4), but there is no trace in classical times of *-θνια* (this diphthong tended generally to lose the iota: *GAI* i. 338).
- 743 όσιον:** Opp. *ίερός* (LSJ I. 2, add *Hyperid.* 32, D. 24. 120), *δίκαιος* (*Antiphon* 1. 25), designating a place where sacred restrictions apply (350-1 n.): like sexual intercourse (912, 1182 ff., *Hdt.* 2. 64) childbirth was forbidden in a sanctuary, T. Wächter, *RVV* 9. 1 (Giessen 1910) 37-8, Sokolowski # 63, 66. Euripides' inscenation of childbirth in sanctuaries was considered shocking (*Ra.* 1080, cf. E. fr. 268). As a way out of her obligation under oath the wife invokes a sanction of equal power. **μόλω:** Poetic, avoided in comic dialogue save for proverbs, word-play (*Ve.* 21 ff.) or dialect (984, 1264, 1297).

- 744-7** For the comic routine in which a character, caught red-handed in an untenable story, sticks to it under questioning cf. 985 ff., *Th.* 637 ff. **τέξομαι**: Perhaps poetic here (active at *Eq.* 1037, *Th.* 509). **τίνα ... λέγεις**;; 'what are you talking about?', *Ach.* 299.
- 748-50 τοῦτ'**: Lys. feels the wife's belly (so Σ) and then knocks on it. **οὐ ... κοῖλον**: 'you are obviously carrying nothing but a hollow bronze thing', cf. *Eq.* 1397, *Ra.* 928. **εἴσομαι δ' ἐγώ**: 'but I'll find out for myself', 1114, *Ve.* 1224. Lys. opens the wife's clothing to reveal the helmet. For the routine of exposure cf. *Ach.* 110 ff.
- 751-2 τὴν ἱερὰν κυνῆν**: 'the sacred helmet', i.e. not merely one of the votive helmets, but Athena's. **κυεῖν**: The Greeks' great interest in the significance of words and enjoyment in revealing unexpected connections among them made them much more enthusiastic punsters than we are. **καὶ κυῶ γε**: 'yes (I did say so), and what's more I *am* pregnant', cf. 299-301 n.
- 753-4 εἶχες**: Imperf. because Lys. asks why she took the helmet in the first place, *Nu.* 57-9. **μ'**: For the position cf. 1027, *Av.* 95.
- 757** The amphidromia (see R. Hamilton, *GRBS* 25 (1984) 243 ff.) was a ceremony in which a newborn child was 'carried round' the hearth and presented to the household and friends. This occurred five (Σ Pl. *Th.* 160E, Suda α 1722) or seven (Hsch. *δρομῖάριον ἡμαρ*) days after birth and thus is to be distinguished from the naming-day which occurred ten days after birth (*Av.* 494, 922-3). Σ here apparently confuses the amphidromia and the naming-day. **κυνῆς**: A surprise.
- 759** 'The household snake' (*A. Ag.* 809, *S. Ph.* 1327-8), a familiar feature of Greek religion since Mykenian times (Burkert *GR* 30), guarded the Akropolis and was fed honeycakes by the Polias priestess (Hdt. 8. 41); no doubt many people believed that they had seen it. In the arrhēphoria (641-2 n.) this snake was the epiphany of Erichthonios-Erechtheus, the ancestral king whom Athena brought up in her temple (Kron 42, Paus. 1. 24. 7).
- 760-1** As at 136b the speaker chimes in with an apparently gratuitous echo of the previous speaker (Wife C). There is no reason why Wife A or Wife B should add this final excuse to the ones they have already given. This passage, together with 136b and 447-8, indicates the presence of a fifth actor (see Introd. IV) who here serves to give the 'revolt' a more general appearance (as 136b). For the rhythm $\cup | \cup \text{---}^4$ with hepthemimeral caesura cf. Alex. 257.2 *καὶ νῦν πορίζεται γε τὰ δείπν' ἀσύμβολα*. **δ' ... γε**: Picking up a remark interposed by another speaker, Denn. 154. **κικκαβαζουσῶν**: *Av.* 261 *κικκαβαῦ κικκαβαῦ* (sung by the hoopoe in summoning the birds) is said by Σ to imitate the call of owls (*κικκάβαι*). Our MSS have *κακκαβάζειν/-ίζειν*, which is consistently associated with partridges (Alk. 39. 3 *κακκαβίδες*, quoted by Athen. 9. 389F as a diminutive of *κακκάβη*, Arist. *HA* 536^b 14, Thphr. fr. 181) or with partridges and doves (Chrysipp. *Stoic.* 3. 180). The distinction made by Hellenistic scholars

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may not have been made by Ar., but in default of other evidence it is best to follow them. The fact that neither verb sounds to us any more or less like an owl than the other is not a reason to assume that they were used interchangeably: Ph. Kakridis at *Av.* 261 remarks that *κικκαβαύ* sounds more like an owl than its modern equivalent *κουκουβάου*, while I think Eng. 'hoo' is more accurate than either. Meanwhile real owls go on making the sounds that they make.

762-6 Lys. rallies her 'troops' like a general: compare Odysseus at *Il.* 2. 190 ff. **τεραπευμάτων**: 'preposterous excuses', *Eq.* 627, *Ra.* 834. **ἴσως**: 'I daresay', *Ach.* 993, *Ra.* 224. **οἶε**: For variation of sg. and pl. cf. *Ek.* 504 ff. and for the form of the question *Ach.* 555, *E. Hek.* 1256 *ἀλγείς*: τί δ'; ἦ 'μὲ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀλγείν δοκεῖς; Lys. reminds the wives of what she told them earlier (164 ff.) and prepares for the following oracle. **ἀλλ' ... ὤγαθαί**: Cajolery in response to stage-action indicating the wives' refusal, cf. *Ach.* 295-6 (*Χο*) σοῦ γ' ἀκούσωμεν; ἀπολεῖ κατὰ σε χάσσομεν τοῖς λίθοις. (*Δι*) μηδαμῶς πρὶν ἂν γ' ἀκούσῃτ'· ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθ', ὄγαθοί. **προσταλαιπωρήσατ'**: Cf. 1220.

767-8 Lys. produces a written oracle (cf. *Av.* 1029), probably from under her himation, that was composed for this emergency (cf. *Ve.* 800). Oracles and prophecies were widely circulated during the war (*Th.* 2. 8. 2) and Ar. frequently ridicules both those who circulate them (*Pax* 1043 ff., *Av.* 959 ff.) and those who credulously accept them (*Eq.* 61, 109-10, *Ve.* 799 ff.). Thus Lys. is not consistently above using demagogic tactics: for oracles and even dreams as evidence in legal and political argument cf. Burckhardt 26 ff. Contrast the solemnity of oracles in tragedy, R. Staehlin, *Das Motiv der Mantik im ant. Drama*, *RVV* 12. 1 (Giessen 1912/13) 181-2. It may be relevant to the characterization of Lys. that Athena seems to have possessed some oracular competence at Athens (*Hdt.* 5.72), as she certainly did elsewhere (e.g. at Erythrai). **μη στασιάζωμεν**: A danger to the conspiracy (238-9) as to the city (579).

770-1 Poetic oracles were normally in dactylic hexameters. **ἀλλ'** (often used in beginning an oracle: 1-2 n.) **όπόταν**: As in the oracle at *Eq.* 197. **χελιδόνες**: Animals frequently represent human beings in oracles (Fraenkel at *A. Ag.* 115, 1125), and *χελιδών* was a slang term for the female genitals, *Poll.* 2. 174, *Suda* χ 185, *Juv. Sat.* 6. *O.* 6. **ἐποπας**: The flight of the swallow from the hoopoe was familiar from the myth of Tereus (563-4 n.). **ἀπόσχονται**: A thematic word, cf. 120-3 n., 718. **φαλήτων**: Hieratic.

772-3 τὰ δ' ... ὕψιβρεμέτης: A traditional way of expressing topsy-turviness in the natural order of things (*Theognis* 843-4, *Hdt.* 1. 173, 3. 3, *D. L.* 6. 32), of which Zeus is the guarantor (cf. C. J. Herington, *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 236 ff.). **ἐπάνω ... ἡμείς**: The wife interprets Lys.'s metaphor in a sexual sense (so Σ), cf. 674-7 n. and for a similar joke *Machon* 252 ff.

774-6 διαστῶσιν: Cf. 768, *Ve.* 41 τὸν δῆμον ἡμῶν βούλεται διυστάναι. **ἀνάπτωνται**: 55, 724-5 nn. There may be a pun on *ἀνάπτομαι* (with dat. *E. HF* 1038) 'grab hold of if *πεπερύγεσσι* can = phalloi. Phallos-birds are

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among the fantastic creations of Attic painters (Dover *GH* 133), who show them in the company of (*ARV* 279 = Boardman # 176) or ridden by (*ABV* 610, 711 = J. Marcadé, *Eros Kalos* (Geneva 1962) 103) women (and sometimes satyrs). The idea that wings are phallic seems to underlie Sokrates' quotation of two epic lines about Eros, the second of which he deems *ὑβριστικόν πάνυ*: τὸν δ' ἦτοι θνητοὶ μὲν Ἔρωτα καλοῦσι ποτηρόν, ἀθάνατοι δὲ Πτέρωτα, διὰ πτεροφύταρ' ἀνάγκην (Pl. *Phdr.* 252^b4 ff.). **καταπυγνέστερον**: 137 n.

779-80 As at the end of the prologue (252-3) a sententious remark closes the episode. All exit through the Propylaea.

781-828. CHORAL INTERLUDE

While the spectators wait for the anticipated staging of the conjugal strike in action, the semichoruses resume their mutual antagonism in a pair of independent songs of the kind that often articulate episodes following the parabasis, except that elsewhere the chorus sings as a unit and directs abuse at prominent figures of the day. Each semichorus tells a *μῦθος* (traditional story), the men's about the misogynist Melanion, the women's about the misanthrope Timon, in the style of competitive *amoibaia* (cf. *Ra.* 209-68, *Pl.* 290-321, cf. Zimmermann i. 161-8) in which the second singer replies to the theme taken by the first, cf. R. Merkelbach, *RhM* 99 (1956) 97 ff. on this technique in shepherd-songs. As often, the stories are paradigmatic (universalizing human behaviour) and draw a moral pointing out the connection with the immediate situation (793-6, 816-20), cf. on this use of *μῦθοι*: Hofmann 40 ff., 51 n. 2, M. Nøjgaard, *La fable antique* (Copenhagen 1964), A. Koehnken, *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar* (Berlin 1971). After each song the leaders engage in insults and threats (as in *parodos* and *parabasis*, where the men also lead off). Zimmermann ii. 94-5 suggests that these are milder in tone than previously and thus signal the reconciliation to come (1014 ff.). But kicking (799, 823) and punching (821) do not seem very *much* milder than previous threats, and the old men's desire to 'kiss' the women (797) is not serious.

On the whole this choral interlude is a kind of miniature second parabasis (Händel 113 n. 2).

The metre of the dialogue following the songs is trochaic dimeters catalectic = *lekythia* (797-800 ~ 821-4) and that of the little song *lek 2 tr 2 tr 2 cr* (801-4 ~ 825-8). The metre of the songs is:

- (1) 781/2-3 ~ 805/6-7 --| - - | - - - - | - - - -
 - - - - - π || *sp 3 tr cr + sp*
- (2) 784/5-7 ~ 808/9-11 - - - | - - - - - - - - - | - - -
 - - - - - - - - - - - π || *sp 2 lek 2 cr*

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(3) 788 ~ 812	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{---}\cup\cup\text{---} \\ \cup\cup\cup\text{---} \end{array} \right\} $	<i>ia + sp</i> $\cup\cup\cup\text{---} + sp$
(4) 789 ~ 813	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{---}\cup\cup\text{---} \\ \cup\cup\cup\text{---} \\ \text{---}\cup\cup\text{---} \end{array} \right\} $	<i>cr + sp</i> <i>ith</i>
(5) 790 ~ 814	$\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---} $	<i>cr + sp</i>
(6) 791 ~ < >	$\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---} $	<i>cr + sp</i>
(7) 792 ~ 815	$\text{---}\cup\cup\cup\text{---} \text{---}\cup\cup\cup\text{---} $	<i>2 cr cr + sp</i>
(8) 793/4-6 ~ 815/8-20	$\text{---} \text{---}\cup\cup\text{---} \text{---}\cup\cup\text{---} \text{---}\cup\cup\text{---} $ $\text{---}\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\cup\text{---} $	<i>sp 3 tr lek 2 cr</i>

The rhythms resemble those of the second parabolic syzygy earlier (658 ff. ~ 682 ff.), esp. in the use of *sp* to open a trochaic period (note how word-division in (1) and (8) sets them off) and *lek* to bridge trochaic and cretic rhythm (2) (8). The sequence $\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ which recurs throughout is best described as *cr + sp* where *sp* = catalectic *cr*, as in lyric poetry (e.g. Alkman 58, cf. West 54-5) and in various shapes in tragedy (cf. Dale 102-3); (7) is an expanded version. The respiration in (4) may be regarded as $\text{---}\cup \times \cup\text{---}$ (cf. West 108, Dale 88-9), cf. *Ve.* 410 ff. ~ 468 ff. In (3) this rhythm has a rising movement to begin but ends pendant (West 19) in keeping with its environment, $\times\text{---}\cup \times \cup\text{---}$.

781-804. *Melanion the misogynist*

781-3 A storyteller's claim to have heard a story as a boy is a common way to establish its veracity, cf. M. Lüthi, *Das Volksmärchen als Dichtung* (Köln 1975) 65-6. The whole song keeps to the style of simple story-telling, with its simplicity of language, clarity of phrasing, and paratactic structure.

784-7 οὐτως: 'once upon a time', cf. *Ve.* 1182, Pl. *Phdr.* 273^b2, Theokr. 11. 7, cf. οὐτος οὖν 813. At the end of the story οὐτω reappears to announce its relevance to the present situation, 793, 816. **Μελανίων:** This Hippolytos-like figure was taught to hunt by Cheiron and hunted in the forests of Arkadia (X. *Kyn.* 1. 2, 7); his name is the title of a play by Antiphanes. The old men ignore his connection with Atalante, originally his divine companion (like Artemis for Hippolytos: cf. J. Fontenrose, *Orion: The Myth of the Hunter and Huntress* (California 1981) 175-6), later his bride (Apollod. 3. 9. 6). **δς φεύγων γάμον:** As Hes. *Th.* 603.

788-92 Repeated *καί* for narrative simplicity. **ἐλαγοθήρει:** Only here. **πλεξάμενος:** This aor. only in Ar. and Eur. among the dramatists. **κύνα τιν':** 'some (kind of) dog', i.e. a special dog, cf. 808/9, 1061, *Od.* 9. 348 (Odysseus to Kyklops) 'come, drink the wine, now that you have eaten manflesh, δφρα ἰδῆς οἶόν τι ποτόν τόδε νῆυς ἐκεκεύθει ('so that you may see what sort of special drink is this that my ship holds'), other examples in Schwyzer ii. 215. **οἴκαδ':** Where the women would be, cf. 636.

793-6 οἱ σῶφρονες: Those immune to sexual temptation (LSJ II. 1), here taken to an extreme: ἐβδελύχθη is not mere hatred but revulsion. The

men's leader now demonstrates a Melanion-like attitude by threatening the koryphaia.

797-8 κύσαι: Preparing the surprise in 799: the men's intention is hostile not friendly. **κρομμύων ... ἔδει:** 'In that case you won't be eating onions' (and so spoiling your chances): a polite rebuff with playful mockery (the old men smell of onions, 691-2). At *Th.* 494 an adulterous wife eats garlic to avoid suspicion, and at *X. Smph.* 4. 8 a husband avoids onions out of consideration for his wife. **γ' ἄρ'** is preferable to **τᾶρ'** because a negative tends to precede the latter, e.g. *Ve.* 299 οὐ τᾶρα προπέμφω σε τὸ λοιπόν, *E. Ion* 337 οὐ τᾶρα πράξεις οὐδέν, *Denn.* 555, cf. Fraenkel, *Beob.* 105-8, J. C. B. Lowe, *Glotta* 51 (1975) 60. *Σ* offers two different interpretations: (1) 'you will cry (from a beating) even without onions', cf. *Plu. Mor.* 153E where 'eat onions and hot bread' = κλάειν κελεύειν. (2) 'you will no longer be fighting', as 691 ff. These interpretations envisage a threatening gesture from the women. But mention of onions seems to be motivated by the offer of a kiss, to which there is no reason for the women to respond violently. Rightly suspecting that the offer is not serious (799) the women reply with a witty refusal.

799-800 κἀνατείνας λακτίσαι: 'kick' is a surprise, since *κύσαι* and *ἀνατείνας* (used of lifting one's own legs and also lifting a woman's legs prior to penetrating her, *Pax* 889 f., *Av.* 1254 *ἀνατείνας τὸ σκέλει διαμηριῶ*) lead us to expect *βινεῖν*. The men execute a kick, as the women's reply shows. **λόχημν:** The pubic hair, cf. *Ek.* 61 *μασχάλας λόχημης δασυτέρας*. The men are not completely naked (they have removed himation and exomis, 614 ff., 658 ff.) because the women see their pubic hair only when they lift a leg. This line provides no clue to the question of whether choreutai wore the phallos, for which cf. Stone 72 ff. A new piece of evidence is an Attic red figure calyx-krater published by J. R. Green, *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 2 (1985) 95-118, who argues that it is a contemporary illustration of *Ar. Birds*. It depicts two bird-choreutai wearing short drawers to which erect phalloi are attached: apparent confirmation that Old Comic choreutai could, when appropriate, be phallic. If the vase does illustrate *Birds* (and if the painter reproduced what he saw in the theatre), it is remarkable that nothing in the text seems to motivate the use of erect phalloi.

801-4 'Yes (I do have bushy pubic hair), for (Denn. 110) Myronides was for this reason (they point to their rumps, 91-2 n.) fierce and swarthy-arsed to all his enemies, and just so was Phormion as well.' Myronides defeated the Korinthians at Megara in 457 (*Th.* 1. 105, who notes the prominent role played on that occasion by *πρεσβύτατοι*) and the Boiotians at Oinophyta in 456 (*Th.* 1. 108). He is praised also at *Ek.* 304-5 and perhaps appeared in *Eup. Demes* (98), although we must reckon with possible confusion with the play's hero, Pyronides. Phormion, son of Asopios (*PA* 14958), was a popular figure from the recent past, when the war was still going well for the Athenians. This younger contemporary of

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Perikles had his most notable victory over the Corinthians off Naupaktos in 429 (Th. 2. 80 ff.). Ar. praises him elsewhere (*Eg.* 562, *Pax* 348–9, fr. 88, 397), as does Eupolis (40, 250–64, cf. A. M. Wilson, *CQ* 24 (1974) 250–2). He probably died in winter 429/8 (cf. Th. 3. 7. 1). Our passage shows that Myronides and Phormion were remembered as tough commanders (cf. 281–2 n.). **τραχύς** (cf. 281 *ἰμῶς*) ... **μελάμπυγός τε**: ‘dark-/hairy-rumped’ augments and particularizes the quality of fierceness expressed by *τραχύς*. To Fraenkel’s discussion at *A. Ag.* 115 add Philostr. *VA* 2. 36 *καὶ τοῦτ’ ἴσως ἦν τὸ μελαμπύγου τυχεῖν*. For hairiness as a sign of valour cf. *Th.* 31 *ὁ μέλας* (‘tanned’), *ὁ καρτερός* opp. *λευκόπυγος*, 160 *ἀγρεῖον ὄντα καὶ δασύν*, *Ra.* 965 (the hairy Phormisios is an apt pupil of the martial Aischylos), Pl. Com. 3 *δασύπρωκτος*.

805–28. *Timon the misanthrope*

805–7 ἀντιλέξαι: Instead of the usual *ἀντειπεῖν* (*Nu.* 1040, etc.) because the women reply to the men’s *λέξαι* (781–2). **τῷ Μελανίωνι**: ‘your story about M.’

808 Timon’s status as a real person who lived during the Peloponnesian war (*PA* 13845) appears to be based solely on mention of him in comedy (cf. Plu. *Anton.* 70 = Pl. Com. 218). The extant references (*Av.* 1549, Phryn. 18) could be to a proverbial figure. Some details preserved by later writers look at first glance like plausible facts: he was the son of Echekrates of the deme Kollytos (Luc. *Tim.* 7) and had a *πύργος* near Akademe (Paus. 1. 30. 4). But the former could easily be the invention of a comic poet (like ‘Kinesias of Paionidai’, 852) and it is not unusual for old sites to be popularly attached to legendary or proverbial figures. Other details are clearly fictitious: that Timon died from an infection after falling from a pear-tree (only a Timon would be found in such a thorny place, cf. *Od.* 14. 10, *Men. Dysk.* 99 ff.) and refusing to see a physician, and that his tomb was in an unapproachable, sea-swept place (*Σ* quoting Neanthes *FGrH* 84 F 35). If Timon was a real person, our passage indicates that he was dead before 411.

Timon was, in any case, the archetypal misanthrope, a figure perennially popular with comic writers, cf. the Old Comedies *Agrioi* by Pherekrates (cf. Pl. *Prt.* 327D on its chorus), *Monotropos* by Phrynichos (whose misanthrope models himself on Timon, fr. 18), Anaxilas, and Ophelion; in the fourth century *Timon* by Antiphanes, *Dyskolos* by Menander. For general discussion of this type in Greek and other literature see the articles by P. Photiades and C. Préaux in *Chr. d’Égypte* 34 (1959) no. 68, 305 ff. and 327 ff.

The women follow tradition in emphasizing that Timon’s misanthropy was the result of his intolerance of men’s evil behaviour and that he was as devoid of human sympathy as the Erinyes. That he was well-disposed toward women (820) is, however, an invention of this chorus: Phryn. 18. 3 *ἄγαμον*, Poll. 3. 47 *μισογύνην*.

- 808/9-12** 'lived as a genuine (τις: 788-92 n.) drifter, his countenance enclosed in unapproachable thorns, an extension of the Erinyes'. In this passage the women wax poetic, by contrast with the men, then slip back into the simple tone. **αἰδρυτος**: Note the poetic prosody. The word combines the sense 'shiftless', 'of no fixed abode' with the idea of moving about at will with sinister intentions, cf. *Krat.* 224 οἰκοῦσαν φεύγουτες, αἰδρυτον κακὸν ἄλλοις, *Poll.* 6. 130 αἰδρυτος· ἀκάθεκτος πλήκτης, of the Erinyes *S. El.* 489 ff., *E. IT* 970-1 ὅσαι δ' Ἐρινῶν οὐκ ἐπέισθησαν νόμῳ, δρόμοις αἰδρῦτοισιν ἠλάστρου μ' αἰέ. **ἀβάτοισιν ἐν σκώλοισιν**: Misanthropes lurk in places inaccessible or unattractive to ordinary men, such as thorns (cf. the prickly-pear trees associated with Timon and Knemon, 808 n.); the thorns are also symbolic of an angry disposition, *Σ σκυθρωπός, οἶον ἀκάνθαις τετριχωμένος, σκληρός*, cf. 549 n., Taillardat 201-2. **τὰ πρόσωπα** (the epic pl., banalized in MSS) **περιειργμένος**: Timon is visualized as peering out of a thorny thicket angrily. **Ἐρινῶν ἀπορώξ**: Cf. our 'chip off the same block', 'cut from the same cloth'. The frightening figure of the Erinyes was familiar from tragedy, cf. *Pl.* 423-4 (Blepsidemus reacts to the appearance of Poverty) ἴσως Ἐρινὺς ἔστιν ἐκ τραγωδίας· βλέπει γὰρ τοι μανικὸν τι καὶ τραγωδικόν, and also from vase-paintings, cf. L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque* (Paris 1926) 93 ff. For their characterization in drama cf. *A. Eum.* passim, for their cult and sanctuaries in Athens E. Wüst, *RE Supplbd.* 8 (1956) 128 ff.
- 814-20 ὄχθ'**: 'retired' (from the community). Coulon's supplement <κὰν ὄρεσιν ὄκει> would match the men's detail about Melanion (788): mountains were wild and dangerous places frequented by hunters and misanthropes (*Luc. Tim.* 7, 31 notes that Timon wandered in the mountains). **ἡμῖν ἀντεμίσει**: 'hated, as we do', ἀντι- = ὁμοίως (*Σ*). **φίλτατος**: 'kindly disposed toward', *LSJ* II.
- 821-3** 'No! I'm frightened!' (*Denn.* 145), intended ironically, cf. *Dikaiopolis* at *Ach.* 580-1 (responding to Lamachos' demand for an account of himself) οὐκ οὐδ' αὖ πω· ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γὰρ τῶν ὄπλων εἰλιγγιῶ, which the sequel (590 ff.) shows is not real fear but mockery. The women reply with a stronger threat, 'then what if (*Denn.* 9) I kick you?', cf. 799.
- 824** '(If you do) you will reveal your *sakandros*'. This word (only here) must (as 825-8 show) refer to pubic hair (cf. 800) and may therefore be connected with *σάκος*, anything (particularly sacks) made of hairy cloth (like beards, *Ek.* 502, *Pl. Com.* 122). Similar words for genitalia are *σάκας* (*Hsch.*, *AP* 12. 174. 3), *σάκτας* (*CA* 1135), perhaps ὕσσακος 1001. Neatly trimmed pubic hair was a sign of good grooming in women (87-9 n.) and unkempt pubic hair was unattractive, cf. *Ek.* 900 ff. where a young girl ridicules an old woman's hairiness. Lines 825-8 show that this was associated with old women particularly.
- 825-8** 'Even if I do you will see that it is not longhaired, though it belongs to an old woman, but on the contrary neatly depilated by the lamp'. **ὄμωσ**: as at 276. In *Th.* 238 ff. Ar. stages a farcical depilation-by-torch.

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829-953. EPISODE: KINESIAS AND MYRRHINE

829-44. *Kinesias appears*

Lys. appears on the battlements (the roof of the scene-building) and sees a young man (finally!), hugely erect (he wears a large, artificial phallos) approaching the Propylaia. With him is a slave with an infant child (probably a doll representing one). Lys. summons the wives (among them Myrrhine, who appeared in the prologue, 69 ff.). When Myr. recognizes the man as her own husband Kinesias, Lys. orders her to enact the conjugal strike exactly as it was plotted earlier (841). While Myr. is on her way to the stage Lys. prepares Kin. for the coming encounter with some lascivious badinage; the other wives leave the battlements as Kin. reaches the Propylaia.

831-2 παραπεπληγμένον: 'stricken', 'maddened' (Σ, cf. *Ek.* 139 [βουλεύματα] ὡσπερ μεθύοντων ἐστὶ παραπεπληγμένα, *Plu. Aem.* 24. 1, compare παράπληκτος, παραπλήξ). ὀργίους: Strictly 'rites' but here 'divine experience' (Σ τῷ ἔρωτι), cf. *ἱερά* at 898, *Herod.* 1. 62 (with Headlam/Knox), 83 ἔκρητι τῶν ἱρών = sexual intercourse. Sexual desire and enjoyment were manifestations of the divine and were prominently recognized in cult; thus the use of hieratic language to describe sex is fairly common, cf. Burkert *HN* 270-1, Lobeck *Aglaoph.* 651 n. A new archaic example is *Archil.* S 478. 13-15 Page *τέρψιές εἰσι θεῆς* (Aphrodite) *πολλὰι νεοῖσιν ἀνδράσιν παρέξ τὸ θεῖον χρῆμα* (= sexual intercourse, cf. *Hsch.* π 839). εἰλημμένον: Frequently of sickness, 1089, *Ek.* 417, cf. 1110.

833-4 The hieratic language and prosody of the prayer is undercut by the pun in ὀρθῆν, 'direct' (*Av.* 1) and 'erect' (725, 995, *Henderson* 112). For rude and even obscene words as climaxes to prayers cf. e.g. 972 ff., *Ve.* 389-94. For Lys.'s phrase cf. *Ra.* 301 ἴθ' ἥπερ ἔρχει.

835 The following line shows that 835a is not spoken by Myr. but by one of the other wives. The shrine of Demeter Chloë was noted by *Paus.* 1. 22. 3 as he approached the Propylaia from the south-west.

836 'Yes, by Zeus, there he is. And who is he?' For this form of oath cf. *Av.* 661, *Ek.* 160. δῆτα: Echoing (and accompanied as often by an oath) the previous speaker, cf. 848, 882, 930, 972, *Denn.* 276. τίς κάστιν: καί following the interrogative underlines a request for additional information, *Denn.* 312.

838 For the rhythm $\underline{\text{v}} \cup | \cup \underline{\text{v}}$ cf. *Ra.* 652, 658. Kinesias is not the notorious dithyrambist of *Av.* 1372 ff. but a young husband with a significant name (*κινεῖν* = *βινεῖν*, so Σ), cf. 852 n. For the purpose of the following scene, the name Myrrhine (cf. *Introd.* III), in juxtaposition with 'Kinesias', will have reminded the spectators of the common metaphorical use of 'myrtle' = female genitalia (cf. 1004, *Henderson* 134-5). The significant names underscore the archetypal nature and representative function of the coming encounter.

839 σὸν ἔργον ἦδη: 315-16 n., cf. *Pax* 1305-6 ὑμῶν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον ἦδη ... φλᾶν. Jackson's σὸν οὐδ' ἂν εἴη (cf. *S. El.* 1215) is attractive in that it accounts for MSS εἴη, but a potential opt. seems less to the point than ἦδη, 'now is the time'. ὀπτάν: Of erotic stimulation at Sappho 38, *S. fr.* 474, cf. Taillardat 159-60. στρέφειν: 'torment', in a sexual sense also at Pherekr. 145. 15, Amphis 20, Anakreon 417. 4.

840-1 κάξηπεροπεύειν: This familiar epic word (thus compounded only here and 843, for emphasis) is used especially of erotic deception/cajolery. ὦν ... κύλιξ: A reminder to the spectators. The kylix (195 ff.) was 'privy to' the terms of the wives' conspiracy (212 ff.), cf. *Ek.* 17-18 (Praxagora to her lamp) ἀνθ' ὧν συνείσει καὶ τὰ νῦν βουλευμάτα, ὅσα Σκίροις ἔδοξε ταῖς ἐμαῖς φίλαις.

845-63. *Kinesias asks for Myrrhine*

Kin. reaches the Propylaia, muttering of his unbearable torment, and is challenged by Lys., who identifies herself as the daytime lookout. As Kin. pleads with Lys. to summon his wife, Lys. inflames him further by describing Myr.'s love for him in highly suggestive language. Kin., a husband accompanied by his slave and small child, finds himself in the anomalous and ridiculous position of an excluded lover (cf. the youth at *Ek.* 938 ff.) and a customer bargaining with a bawd for a girl's services (860-3).

845-6 κακοδαίμων: Like the Proboulos (449) he is a victim of misfortune. ὁ σπασμός: 967 n., 1089. The article has demonstrative force (Kin. displays his phallos to the spectators). χῶ τέτανος: Confirming Lys.'s prediction at 553, cf. 551-4 n. ἐπὶ τροχοῦ: Torture 'on the wheel', mentioned at *Pax* 452, *Ra.* 616 ff., *Pl.* 876, Antiphon 5. 40, Andok. 1. 43-4, *Plu. Nik. ad fin.*, apparently involved binding the victim, face upwards, to the rim of a wheel-like apparatus and then pulling his/her limbs downwards with cords: Antiphon l.c. calls this an especially severe form of torture; perhaps that is why it is so frequently associated with erotic torment, cf. 1110 n., *Plaut. Cist.* 2. 1. 4 iactor crucior agitor stimulator versor in amoris rota miser. The torture of slaves and criminals was public and not infrequent in classical Athens (e.g. *A. Eum.* 185 ff., *Pl. R.* 439E), cf. L. Gernet, *REG* 37 (1924) 261 ff.

847-9 Lys. speaks as if the Akropolis were an armed garrison with sentries at its periphery; she is the 'daytime lookout', cf. *Av.* 1174 (Cloudcuckoo-land is guarded by φύλακας ἡμεροσκόπους). δῆτ': In reply (836 n.) Kin. indicates his phallos. οὐκ ἄπει δῆτ': Contemptuous repetition. σύ ... τίς: A common formula, cf. 982, *Av.* 960, G. Thomson, *CQ* 33 (1939) 149.

850-1 ἐκκάλεσον ... καλέσω: The simplex normally retains the semantic force of the preceding compound, cf. 971, *Eq.* 253-4, 1200 ff., *Nu.* 1072-4, *Ve.* 1334-5, *Ra.* 960-1, 1227-9. For (ἐκ)καλέω = 'summon (a lover)' cf. *Ek.* 915, *Eup.* 139. 3.

852 The small deme Paionidai (Leontis) is chosen simply for the sake of a

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pun on *παλίον* = *βινεῖν* (*Ach.* 835, *Pax* 874, 898). Thus Kinesias (838 n.) announces himself as 'Mr. Screw from Bangtown' or the like. Σ hears a pun on *πέος*, but that would not have been heard by a fifth-century audience (there is no confusion of *αι* and *ε* in Attic inscriptions until c. I AD, *GAI* i. 294).

853-5 Quasi-tragic (although *ὦ χαῖρε* may also be colloquial), e.g. *Th.* 859 (cf. *E. Hel.* 16), *E. Hp.* 1028, *Rau* 144 ff. **τοῦνομα**: That is, in its sexual meaning, as throughout her dialogue with Kin. That the wives 'constantly' talk of sex is certainly true of the wives in this play. Kin., however, understands Lys. only in the literal sense of her words. **ἀεὶ**: The variant *αἰεὶ* appears with equal frequency in state decrees in the period 450-350 but is rare thereafter until the end of the Hellenistic period, *GAI* i. 275. **σ' ἔχει διὰ στόμα**: Alluding to fellatio, cf. Theopomp. *Com.* 35 *ἵνα μὴ τὸ παλαιὸν τοῦτο καὶ θρυλούμενον δι' ἡμετέρων στομάτων εἴπω σόφισμ'* ('technique', 'refinement'), *ὃ φασὶ παῖδας Λεσβίων εὐρεῖν* (for the tendency of Athenian humourists to associate fellatio with Lesbian women cf. *Dover GH* 182-3, and compare its association in America with the French).

856-7 Lys. underlines the point of 855 by putting an imaginary egg/apple to her mouth. Absent loved-ones were toasted with food or drink (*X. H.* 2. 3. 56) and both *Ar.* (*Th.* 404) and *Kratinos* (fr. 299) parody this motif of Euripides' *Stheneboia*, whose heroine constantly pines for her 'Korinthian guest' Bellerophon. **ὦ ... θεῶν**: Usually followed by an imperative: Kin. is on the point of saying *κάλεσον αὐτήν* (861), but Lys. interrupts him.

860 Again playing on Kin.'s name, cf. 159 (of the penis).

861-3 τί ... μοι: A feed for the following joke. Lys. treats Kin. as if he were a customer in a brothel: now that he has settled on a girl the bawd begins to discuss the price. **<σοι>**: Answering *μοι* (861) and cohering closely with the following oath, cf. 897, *Ve.* 1400. **τοῦθ'**: Σ correctly sees that Kin. offers not money but his phallos; for this use of the demonstrative cf. 937, 956, 991, 1090, 1121.

864-88. *Kinesias' desperation*

Lys. agrees to fetch Myr. and disappears from the roof. After a brief monologue in which Kin. declares how much he misses his wife, Myr. appears on the roof but refuses to join Kin. onstage. When he appeals to her pity for their child she agrees to come down. While she does so (through the interior of the scene-building) Kin. delivers a second monologue declaring his arousal and anticipation.

865-9 Kin.'s sentimental monologue recalls such Euripidean characters as Admetos (*Alk.* 940 ff.), Theseus (*Hp.* 1408), Medeia (*Med.* 226-7), perhaps Proitos (in *Stheneboia*), cf. also *Krat.* 116 (Zeus and Nemesis), V. Tammaro, *MCr.* 13/14 (1978/9) 206-7. Kin.'s conjugal loyalty and

affection (constant even after his deception: 954 ff.) is required by the strike-plot, and his nostalgia for his wife's presence in the home parallels the wives' longing for their husbands so often away on campaigns (99 ff.). Nevertheless this portrayal of the typical Athenian husband is probably truer to the experience of the average Athenian man than is the usual comic portrayal of the sexually freewheeling and opportunistic male (cf. Dover *AC* 160-1), just as the wives' desire for frequent sex is directed toward their husbands and not, as usual, toward lovers (107 n.).

ἔχω ... χάριν: Quasi-tragic but also rhetorical, *Lys.* 6. 28 *καίτοι τίς χάρις τῷ βίῳ*. **ἔστuka γάρ:** A surprise obscenity undercutting the sentimentality and returning us to the central problem (845-6).

870-1 We hear Myr.'s voice (speaking to *Lys.*) before she appears. Myr.'s skilful wheedling, teasing, and coquettishness were surely more characteristic of *hetairai* than of wives, just as *Kin.*'s suppliant position is that of a customer, not a husband: *Ar.* exploits the role-reversal inherent in the conjugal strike.

872 The diminutive (normally expressing affection) is ingratiating (cf. *Ach.* 475, *Eq.* 726, *Nu.* 80). **τί δρῶς:** The conspiracy is still a secret, so *Kin.* cannot see why Myr. will not come out at once.

873 αὐτός: To LSJ add *Metag.* 6. 4.

875-6 δεόμενος: In the erotic sense (so *Σ*), cf. *Ek.* 934-5. **ἐπιτετριμμένος:** Cf. 888, 936, 952, 1090.

877-8 *Kin.* resorts to a tactic familiar in law-courts (*Andok.* 1. 148, *Lys.* 20. 34, *Pl. Ap.* 34C, *D.* 21. 99, 186-8) and parodied by *Ar.* (*Ve.* 976-8). **γούν:** 611-13 n. **οὗτος** (728 n.), **οὐ καλείς:** With imperative force, cf. *Nu.* 121, *KG* i. 176. *Kin.* perhaps prods the child.

879 The infant was probably represented by a doll and its cries made by *Kin.* For the cry cf. *παππία*, *Ve.* 297, *Pax* 128.

880-3 τί πάσχεις: 'what's the matter with you?' *Kin.* considers Myr.'s lack of feeling unnatural. **οὐδ' ... παιδίον:** Contrast *Kin.*'s different attitude at 908-9! **ἕκτην ἡμέραν:** Since Myr. abandoned her home: for the unusually specific allusion to the passage of time in the strike-scenes cf. 706-27 n. *Lys.* had predicted merely that the husbands' capitulation would be very rapid (154): 'six days' seems rapid for the build-up of sexual desperation, but a very long time for a child to go without the breast. **ὦ δαιμονία:** Of persons behaving in a strange or unnatural way.

884 οἶον τὸ τεκεῖν: For the sentiment cf. *E.* *IA* 917 *δεινὸν τὸ τίκτειν καὶ φέρει φίλτρον μέγα*, *Ph.* 355-6. **τί γὰρ πάθω:** 'what's to become of me', i.e. 'what choice do I have', cf. 954, *Nu.* 798, etc. The epic 'prospective subjunctive' (cf. *Il.* 9. 404) survives in Attic only in this phrase, perhaps by analogy with the deliberative subj. (e.g. *τί ποιῶ*), cf. *KG* i. 222-3. Myr. leaves the roof and emerges through the Propylaea, allowing time for a second monologue by *Kin.* For a similar routine cf. *Ek.* 949 ff.

885-6 μὲν: Brunck's emendation, accepted by most editors, is picked up by

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καί in 887. MSS γάρ would make sense only if a preceding line has fallen out, e.g. van Leeuwen's ἢ που μέγα φίλτρον ἢ μακρά 'στ' ἀπουσία.

887-8 'And as for her ill-tempered and high-handed *behaviour* toward me, it is exactly this that afflicts me with longing!' For the construction cf. 46 n.

889-953. *Myrrhine lives up to her oath*

Myr. refuses to return to her home on the grounds that she is bound by an oath. Kin. suggests that they have sex where they are, but Myr. refuses on various grounds to do so. After she agrees to move to Pan's Grotto, Myr. pretends to be on the point of gratifying Kin.'s wish but repeatedly puts him off by going into the Grotto to fetch various items of bedding and some perfumes. When Kin.'s frustration is at its height Myr. extracts a promise that he will vote for a peace-settlement, then abruptly deserts him.

The conjugal strike is enacted much as it was envisaged by Lys. in the prologue (149 ff.), except that the wives are not at home (240-53 n.) and Kin. has had to come looking for Myr. The battle of will and wits between seducer and seduced is a common theme in Greek poetry (cf. *Areth.* 9 (1976) 159 ff.) and must have been a situation familiar to any Athenian with very much experience of *hetairai*, if we can judge from their portrayal in fourth-century comedy and from many of the vast number of anecdotes about *hetairai* and their careers which were collected e.g. by Athenaios (cf. Book 13 of *Deipnosophistai*). The situation of Myr. and Kin. here arises from the comic role-reversal, but Hera's deception of Zeus in *Il.* 14 was a well-known precedent for sexual manipulation of husbands by wives. As in the cases of Euripides and his relative in *Th.* and Blepyros in *Ek.*, Kin. does not stand a chance against the rebellious wives.

Myr.'s behaviour in this scene is well characterized by M. Rosellini, in *Ar., les femmes et la cité*, edd. Bonnamour and Delavault (Fontenay-aux-Roses 1979), as an example of *grève du zèle* ('work-to-rule'), where someone's meticulously correct efforts to achieve an objective are so meticulously correct that they end up impeding it (Myr.'s intention all along).

889 The diminutives are affectionate; for the sentiment cf. A. fr. 201 ἐχθροῦ πατρός μοι τοῦτο φίλτατον τέκνον.

891-3 **πονήρα**: Kin. is exasperated by Myr.'s behaviour (cf. 1017); elsewhere the word is more abusive (350-1 n., *Eq.* 712, 858). For the accent cf. Schwyzer i. 80. **χάτέραις κτλ.**: Cf. Jason to Medeia, *E. Med.* 1361 καυτή γε λυπεῖ καὶ κακῶν κοινωδὸς εἶ. **μή ... μοι**: Nikeratos' wife uses this phrase when he threatens her with violence, *Men. Sam.* 582, compare 435 ff., 471-2 above. It is possible that Kin. here makes a threatening gesture, but more likely he stretches out his hand in a conciliatory (Σ thinks lewd) fashion.

894 MSS *διαρθεῖς* is a common corruption, KB ii. 193.

896-7 recall the wife's excuse for a furlough, 729-30. **τῆς κρόκης**: 'your expensive material'. **φορουμένης**: 'carried off', cf. *Th.* 2. 76. 1.

- 898-9** Kin. abruptly (note the absence of connective particles) introduces the most urgent matter, using an elaborate euphemism (cf. 831-2 n.).
- 900-3** Myr. just as abruptly states the conditions of her return. Both parties open negotiations by driving a hard bargain. **διαλλαχθήτε**: This form of the aor. (found in prose) is less common in comedy than *διαλλαγήναι* (1161, 1175), but the two are apparently interchangeable, cf. Men. *Pl.* 1020 *διαλλάγηθι* ~ 1106 *διαλλαχθήσομαι*. **τοιγάρ**: 515-16 n., here indicating that he is prepared to act as Myr. requests, Denn. 565. **ἂν δοκῆ**: 'if it seems best' or 'if the people vote that way' (cf. 951), in either case stopping short of a firm promise. In reply Myr. refuses to accept so tentative a commitment, 'All right, if that is what you decide, I for my part will return home. But now I am bound by my oath.'
- 904-5** Kin. suggests a compromise, 'Then at least (Denn. 10) lie down with me now, after so long a time apart'. **κατακλίνηθι**: Ar. always (like Plato mostly) uses the strong aor. form. The seduction-argument 'never mind X for now; let's have sex instead' appears first in *Il.* 14. 313-14 (the deception of Zeus), thereafter Archil. S 478. 16 ff. Page, *hVen.* 145 ff. (Anchises to Aphrodite); Achilleus' request for Patroklos' embrace at *Il.* 23. 95 ff. is typologically similar. Myr.'s refusal invites further negotiation.
- 907-9** **ἐναντίον τοῦ παιδίου**: i.e. in front of the slave who carries the baby. Kin.'s eagerness to be rid of the child contrasts comically with his earlier concern for its welfare (880-1): Ar. has devised an amusing way to motivate the exit of the slave and child, now that they have served their purpose. **μὰ Δι' ἀλλὰ** introduces an imperative clause only in Ar. **μανή**: A proper name in Phrygia (*IG* i³ 1361. 2 = *CEG* 87. 2, Sext. Emp. *Pyrr.* 2. 257), Lydia (Hdt. 1. 94. 4. 45), and Kappadokia (Str. 12. 553), Manes was one of the most common slave-names in Attika (Str. 7. 3. 12), cf. 1212, *Av.* 1311, Pherekr. 10, *IG* ii 12034. That it was used indiscriminately for Asiatic slaves generally is suggested by the article that often accompanies it, e.g. 1212 and *Pax* 1146 *τόν τε μανήν ἢ σύρα* ('the Syrian slave-girl') *βωσπρησάτω*, compare our use of 'john' as a noun = a prostitute's client, 'mick' = any Irishman. **ἰδοῦ κτλ.**: 'there, the child that troubles you (σοι) is, as you see (65 n.), gone'.
- 910-11** **πού κτλ.**: 'no, because (γάρ) where could one even *imagine* (καί) doing it?', cf. *Nu.* 840, Denn. 314. **τάλαν**: 'dear', 102-3 n. **ἔπου**: Kin. pauses to think and looks about, stalling for time (as does Myr. at 921, 925). **τὸ τοῦ Πανος**: 720-1 n. **καλόν**: 'convenient', 'fine', cf. 922-3 n. Kin. has hit upon a plausible way around Myr.'s objection that they cannot possibly think of sex in the open: cf. the same objection by Hera (*Il.* 14. 330 ff.), who suggests repairing to her secret chamber (337 ff.), and by Cheiron, who tells Apollo not to deflower Kyrene in the open but rather in a proper bedroom (*Pi. P.* 9. 39 ff.). As *Σ* observes, Pan's Grotto had erotic connotations, cf. 1-2 n., 720-1 n.
- 912** For the requirement of purity in sanctuaries cf. 743 n., 1182 ff.

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Although Myr.'s question amounts to tentative agreement (yes, it would be possible to do it there), its tone is indignant, cf. *Ach.* 307 πῶς δ' ἔρ' ἄν καλῶς λέγοις ἄν, εἴπερ, κτλ. ἄν ... ἀνέλθοιμ': The compound (cf. 739) is necessary because Myr. speaks of 'going back up' to the Akropolis after the proposed tryst in a grotto on its slopes.

- 913** τῇ Κλεψύδρα: For the dat. cf. *Pl.* 658 ψυχρᾷ θαλάττῃ λούμενος. Washing in running water after sexual intercourse was sufficient for ritual purity, cf. *Hdt.* 2. 64. The spring called Klepsydra was just to the left of the grottoes in a cleft of rock converted in the fifth century into a fountain-house, *Judeich* 191 ff., *Travlos PDA* 323 ff. In earlier times it was a shrine of the nymph Empedo, and it was in its waters that Hera was said to have recovered her virginity (*Paus.* 2. 38. 2). In Ar.'s time the image of (Aphrodite) Peitho was washed here, 203-4 n.
- 914** Again Myr. tacitly agrees while making a further objection: for the form of her sceptical question cf. 985, *Denn.* 272-3.
- 915** 'let it be on my head', *Ach.* 833 πολυπραγμοσύνη νυν εἰς κεφαλὴν τράποιτ' ἐμοί. The aor. is normally used in oaths and imprecations. μηδέν ... φροντίσης: Σ shrewdly remarks οὐκ ἔστιν ὄρκος γυναικῶν. Myr. lets herself be talked out of her oath very easily and makes no further demurral. Of course she is actually intent on living up to the oath (cf. 220 ff.).
- 916** During the preceding negotiation Myr. has allowed Kin. to draw her away from the Propylaia toward a door representing Pan's grotto (not naturalistically represented, cf. J. Vaio, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 377 n. 39), from which she now suggests fetching a cot. The following scene cannot take place before the 'Propylaia': (1) Intercourse within the Propylaia is ritually forbidden, and Myr. has already objected to sex in the open (910-12); (2) At the end of the scene, while Kin. reclines awaiting Myr.'s embrace, she dashes back to the Propylaia and vanishes. The spectators see that she has deserted Kin., but this does not immediately dawn on Kin., who reacts with despair to find her gone. The comic impact of Myr.'s departure suffers if she departs through the same door from which she has repeatedly fetched the paraphernalia.
- 917-18** An oath by Apollo is elsewhere reserved for men (at *Ra.* 508 the attribution is doubtful, cf. *Radermacher's* note, *Werres* 44-5), so perhaps Myr. is inspired by his nearby shrine (720-1 n.). μὴ ... κατακλινῶ: μὴ + indic. following an oath (where we expect οὐ) is frequent in epic and comedy, *KG* ii. 183-4. The consequence of the oath is seen subjectively, 'there is no way that I will ...' τοιοῦτον: 'undeserving', or perhaps 'in such a condition' (cf. 1087). Myr. begins to play the dutiful and affectionate wife 'except in the ways which the kylix knows about' (841).
- 919** Myr. enters the grotto, allowing Kin.'s aside. τοι: Frequent in asides, *Th.* 904, *Ek.* 321. δῆλη 'στὶν καλῶς: 'that's fairly obvious', *Eq.* 330, *Av.* 1407, *S.* *OT* 1008. Kin. is taken in.
- 920-1** ἀνύσας τι: 437-8 n. καίτοι: 509-11 n. τὸ δεῖνα: 'what-do-you-call-it', gaining time to think of something, cf. 926, 1168, *A.* Moorhouse,

- CQ* 13 (1963) 23. Compare Kin.'s stalling at 911. **ψίαθος**: A rush mat used as bedding, esp. at inns, *Ra*. 567.
- 922-3 ποία**: 729-30 n. **μή μοί γε**: *Sc.* e.g. *ἔκφερε*. **αἰσχρὸν**: 'unpleasant', an extension of the normal semantic range of the adj. (cf. 911 *καλόν*), *Dover GPM* 71. **τόνου**: Collective sg. for the supports, *Poll.* 10. 36.
- 924-6 παπιάξ**: *Th.* 1192, *E. Kyk.* 153. **ἦκέ κτλ.**: As Myr. reenters the grotto. **καίτοι κτλ.**: Repeating her trick of 921. Kin. is now reclining on the cot.
- 927** For the rare third-foot split anapest cf. *Eq.* 26, W.G. Arnott, *CQ* 7 (1957) 189. **δέομ'**: For the elision cf. *Ve.* 1426, *Ek.* 913, *KB* i. 237-8.
- 928 ἄλλ' ἦ**: Introducing an objection in interrogative form (*Denn.* 27-8). But Myr. has already returned to the grotto. **τό... ξενίζεταί**: 'like/as (is) H.' This form of apposition is not infrequent with predicate adjectives/participles but rare with substantives, cf. *Ra.* 159 *ἐγὼ γοῦν ὄνος ἄγω μυστήρια*, *Theogn.* 347 *ἐγὼ δὲ κύων ἐπέρησα χαράδρην*, *Th.* 4. 2. 3 *νῆες... παρεπεπλεύκεσαν... τιμωροί*, compare *Pl. Prt.* 315D (*τῷ οἰκήματι ὡς ταμειῶ ἐχρήτο* (where the predication is spelled out), *Schwyzzer* ii. 618-19, R. Kassel, *RhM* 116 (1973) 109. Herakles, traditionally a glutton, was often portrayed as being delayed in, or cheated of, a promised meal, *Σ* and text., *Ve.* 60, *E. Alk.* 747 ff., cf. *Hofmann* 30 n. 3 on his portrayal in *Birds* and *Frogs*.
- 929-30** Myr. (returning with a pillow) 'Lift up now, up. Now I've got everything.' Kin. 'I daresay you have! (836 n.) So (**νυν**) over here, darling!' Line 930a should not be interrogative because Kin. does not want to give Myr. another chance to delay (observe the consequences at 942-5a), and although interrogation can be conveyed by voice alone **δῆτα** normally is used in coordination with interrogative particles, *Denn.* 271-2.
- 931-2 στρόφιον**: 'brassiere', *Th.* 638, fr. 664. **τῶν διαλλαγῶν**: With art. 984, *Pax* 1049, without 1009, 1101, cf. 144 n.
- 933 νῆ... ἄρα**: A common expression of emphatic denial deriving from such oaths as *Ach.* 151 *κάκιστ' ἀπολόμην, εἴ τι τούτων πείθομαι*, cf. *D.* 54. 41: *Ek.* 746, 977. **ἄρα** (*Denn.* 45) is inferential, taking the place of a condition ('if I do'), *KG* ii. 118. **σισύραν οὐκ ἔχεις**: Some editors add a connective particle, but that spoils the abruptness of Myr.'s new suggestion.
- 934** The obscenity (715 n.) underlines Kin.'s growing exasperation: contrast his euphemisms hitherto.
- 936-7** Another (more vehement) aside: **ἄνθρωπος** has, as often in the orators, an angry tone, cf. 989. **τούτογι**: He points to his phallos.
- 938-40** For perfume and sex cf. 47 n. **μή μέ γε**: *Sc.* *μύρισον*. For Myr.'s response cf. 499, 1036; for **γ'** cf. *Av.* 823, *D.* 19. 188, *Denn.* 161. The oath is emphatic, *Ek.* 981, 1097. **ὦ Ζεῦ δέσποτα**: CA 28 records an obscene variation, *ὦ βδεύ δέσποτα*.
- 942-3** Kin.'s anger causes a strategic blunder: 'This perfume is not pleasant (cf. *Men.* fr. 240 *ἥδὲ τὸ μύρον*), but rather fit for delay/pounding and with no savour of (616-24 n.) matrimony'. For the elliptical clause with **εἰ μή... γε** following a negative statement cf. *Eq.* 185-6, *Av.* 1679 ff., *Th.* 879 f.,

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- Denn. 121, Werres 17-18. The origin of this idiom can be glimpsed e.g. in Pl. *Prt.* 310B οὗτος, μή τι νεώτερον ἀγγέλλεις;—οὐδέν γ', εἰ μὴ ἀγαθὰ γε, cf. nil nisi bonum. **διατριπτικόν**: Punning on two meanings, 'waste time' and 'pound' (as were certain perfumes, Σ). For a similar metaphor cf. *Ach.* 192-3 (Dikaiopolis evaluates the σπονδαί) ὄζουσι χαῖται πρέσβειω εἰς τὰς πόλεις δξύτατον ὡσπερ διατριβῆς τῶν ξυμμάχων.
- 944-5** Myr. capitalizes on Kin.'s complaint by apologizing for having brought the wrong perfume: Rhodian was perhaps inferior to Attic (Aisch. *Ep.* 5, 2, Athen. 688E), and there may be an allusion to the defection of Rhodes (Th. 8. 44) if that had yet occurred, cf. 108. **ἀγαθόν**: '(it's) fine!' Cf. *Ek.* 1117-18. **ἔα αὐτ'**: For the synizesis cf. *Ra.* 1243, 734 n. Kin. tries to take back his complaint, but Myr. is already on her way back to the grotto.
- 946** Aside. The first example of this topos, for which cf. F. Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*² 151 ff., A. Kleingünther, *Protos Heures, Philol. Sphbd.* 26. 1 (1933), is S. *Aj.* 1192-4, cf. E. *Hp.* 407-9. The curse-formula (common since Aischylos) is pronounced as if its object were still alive (A. *Suppl.* 867, E. *Hp.* l.c., Men. fr. 142), though we expect ὄφελ' δλέσθαι (S. *OT* 1157, E. *Andr.* 1193), because the one cursed is felt to be responsible for the curser's misfortune. Comedy always uses the compound, tragedy the simplex verb.
- 947 ἀλάβαστρον**: A slender, cylindrical vessel four to eight inches long (cf. 109!), used exclusively by women for unguents and perfumes, *HSCP* 76 (1972) 136-7, B. Sparkes, *JHS* 95 (1975) 134. Alabastra are a standard attribute of married women in vase-paintings but are only rarely shown in scenes depicting *hetairai*: an indication that they were associated with conjugal duties, cf. *Ach.* 1058 ff. (Dikaiopolis instructs a bridesmaid about how to oil the groom's penis), the wedding-scene depicted on *ARV* 1094. 104. Because of its shape the alabastron is used in phallic byplay, *Ach.* l.c., fr. 561 vagina = ἀλαβαστροθήκη. The spelling in the text is better attested in MSS than the variant -τρον and is corroborated in inscriptions of c. 414 (*JG* i³ 421. 207) and in some fourth-century examples (*GAI* i. 482). But the alternative spelling is also possible if, as in θέρμαστ(ρ)ις and μικ(ρ)ός (etc.), there are variant formative elements, cf. J. Tischler, *Glotta* 61 (1978) 50-6.
- 948 ᾤζυρά**: 'disagreeable (girl)', in Attic only here and *Ve.* 1504, *Av.* 1641.
- 950-1 ὑπολύομαι γοῦν**: 'see, I'm removing my shoes', *Nu.* 152, *Th.* 1183. As she speaks Myr. sneaks away from the recumbent Kin. and disappears into the Propylaia (so Σ), cf. 916 n. **βουλεύσομαι**: 14, 1176, cf. 901.
- 952-3** Kin. realizes that Myr. is gone. **κάποδείρασ'**: 738-9 n.

954-79. DUET: KINESIAS IN DESPAIR

This amoibaic duet in anapaests resembles those in tragedy, cf. H. Popp in *Die Bauformen der gr. Tragödie*, ed. W. Jens (Munich 1971) 221 ff., but

with a substantial mixture of comic bathos. Like such stricken heroes as Herakles in *S. Tr. Kin.* expresses both mental and physical anguish and calls down a curse upon his tormentor.

954 οἶμοι τί πάθω; 884 n., cf. *Pl.* 603, *E. Andr.* 513, *Tr.* 792. This series of anaphoric questions is paratragic but its language is comic.

955–6 τῆς . . . ψευσθείς: A ludicrous magnification of his predicament. The gen. with *ψεύδειν* (LSJ 2) is poetic, cf. *Nu.* 618, *Th.* 870. **ταυτηνί:** *Sc. τήν ψωλήν.* *Kin.* speaks of his erection as of a child bereft of its mother (tragic pathos). **παιδοτροφήρω:** Cf. *Nu.* 999 *ἐνεοττοτροφήθης.*

957–8 Κυναλώπηξ: The nickname of a pimp, Philostratos (*Eq.* 1069). *Kin.* perhaps looks for him among the spectators so that he can hire a ‘nanny’ to care for his ‘orphan’.

959–61 ‘In frightful misfortune (cf. *E. IA* 527), wretch, do you suffer oppression of soul (*τείρει* is poetic) in your complete deception. I too pity you, alas!’ In tragedy it is normal for the chorus/koryphaios to offer pity and solace to an unfortunate character. Here the effect is comic because the language expresses pathos that is out of proportion to *Kin.*’s predicament. The serious expression of pity is alien to Old Comedy.

962–6 For the structure cf. 543–8 and n. The anaphoric repetition of a word is characteristic of tragic pathos (cf. *Nu.* 718 ff., *E. Ion* 865–6, *Andr.* 1078), and repetition of *ποιός* occurs at *E. Hek.* 159 ff. and also in prose (*Aischin.* 3. 121, *Thphr. Ch.* 8). Thus *Σ* is not necessarily correct in assuming that 963 is a parody particularly of *E. Andromeda* (produced 413/12 according to *Σ Th.* 1060, *Σ Ra.* 53), fr. 116 *ποιάι λιβάδες, ποία σειρήν.* **νέφρος ἄν:** With tragic prosody. The MSS corruption is the result of two variants (*ἄν* and *ῆ*) misread; *ῆ* does not fit the sequence. The kidneys are associated with all swellings of the groin (987, *Ve.* 275 ff., *Ra.* 1280, *Kall. Com.* 31), and ‘kidneys’ was apparently a euphemism for the testicles, *Philippid.* 5. 4. **ἀντίσχοι:** This aor. opt. (always compound) occurs only in drama. For *ἀντέχειν* of the bodily organs in the sense ‘withstand’ cf. *Hp. Fract.* 11. **ψυχή:** Comically assimilated to bodily organs, as in a similar lament by *Strepisades* at *Nu.* 719, where however *Dover* points out that *ψυχὴν ἐκπίνουσα* alludes to a physiological conception of *ψυχή* as ‘life-blood’, cf. *S. El.* 785–6. **ὄσφύς:** Cf. *Ve.* 739 f. *πόρνην, ἣτις τὸ πέος τρύβει καὶ τὴν ὄσφυν.* **ὄρρος κατατεινόμενος:** Words for ‘tail’/‘rump’ (compare *κέρκος, οὐρά*) can also be used for the penis, cf. *Lat. cauda, Ger. Schwanz.* **τούς ὄρθρους:** 59–60 n., for the acc. *Hdt.* 4. 181, *KG* i. 314.

967 *Kin.* is racked by fresh pain, cf. 845, 1089, *S. Tr.* 769 f. (*Herakles*) *ἤλαθε δ’ ὀστέων ὀδαγμός ἀντίσπαστος, 1082 ἐθαλπέ μ’ ἄτης σπασμός ἀρτίως ὀδ’ αἶ.*

968–9 The koryphaios moves from pity for *Kin.* to blame for *Myr.* For the intensifying prefixes cf. 137, for *παμμυσάρα* 340 n.

970 The MSS assign this response to the koryphaia, but there is no apparent motivation for an isolated interjection from the women. This *amoibaion* is the affair of the men, and *παγγλυκέρα* is a distinctly male form of praise. *Kin.*, despite having been tricked and tormented, cannot deny

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that he desires Myr. (cf. the climax of his 'curse', 979). The representative husband is on the verge of capitulation to the wives (980 ff.), and soon the men's chorus will give in too (1014 ff.). It is a case of 'omnia vincit amor'.

971-2 'What do you mean "sweet" (729-30 n.)? She's a trickster! (252-3 n.)' (Kin.) 'Yes, a trickster, O Zeus' (δητ' cannot be a response to ποία γλυκέρα but makes perfect sense with Beer's easy supplement, cf. 836 n.). Kin.'s agreement on this point prompts a curse-prayer (973 ff.) which, however, only reinforces Kin.'s indelible desire (979): for this mixed emotion cf. 887-8. <μιαρά μιαρά>: Emotional repetition is a Euripidean mannerism (e.g. *Or.* 1369-1502) and is parodied also at *Th.* 915, *Ra.* 1335-6. ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ: Preserves the dimeter and is the usual form of such outcries, *Ve.* 1403, *Pax* 131, *S. El.* 1410 (where some MSS wrongly insert a second ὦ, as here), *E. Hp.* 1363.

973-9 Like the prayer at *Ve.* 317 ff. (a self-curse, cf. Kleinknecht 64 ff., *Rau* 150 ff.) this one ends with a comic surprise: Myr. is not to be hurled to her death but returned to Kin.'s phallos. This surprise indicates that the curse is pronounced by Kin. and not the koryphaios (the oldsters do not have erections and would not want Myr. spared for Kin.'s). Prayers for the destruction of self or of an enemy often express the wish to be physically removed to a far-away place, e.g. *Od.* 20. 61 ff. (to Artemis) αἶθε μοι ἦδη ἰὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βαλοῦσ' ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλοιο αὐτίκα νῦν, ἣ ἔπειτά μ' ἀναρπάξασα θύελλα οἴχοιτο προφέρουσα κατ' ἡερόεντα κέλευθα, ἐν προχοῆς δὲ βάλοι ἀφορροῦ Ὠκεάνοιο, *Il.* 6. 345 ff., *A. Suppl.* 25 ff., *E. Hp.* 732 ff., 1290 ff., *Suppl.* 829 ff., *Hel.* 1478 ff. ξυστρέψας καὶ ξυγγογγύλας: 'rolling her up and twirling her round', cf. *Th.* 56 γογγύλλει, 61 συγγογγύλας καὶ συστρέψας, where the context indicates parody of the tragic poet Agathon. αὐ πάλιν: *Nu.* 975, *Ek.* 163, freq. in tragedy.

980-1013. EPISODE: KINESIAS AND HIS SPARTAN COUNTERPART

A new episode begins immediately after a prayer also at *Th.* 1001 and 1160. A Spartan Herald enters. He wears a military cloak (987), under which is a large erect phallos (989), and probably carries a walking-stick (as having made a journey). Undoubtedly his hair and beard are long and unkempt, according to the stereotype (275-80 n., 1072-1105 n.). He has come about peace negotiations and wishes to inform the Athenian government: Ar., as before (168-80 n.), is careful to portray the Spartans as cracking first, cf. *Introd.* I. After some comic byplay in which the Spartan tries to conceal his erection, the Athenian interlocutor discovers that the Spartan suffers from the same affliction as his own. It emerges that the Spartan women have been withholding sex too. Finally the nature of the women's conspiracy dawns on the Athenian. He sends the Herald back

home for ambassadors and rushes off himself to acquaint the Athenian Council with the important news.

MSS and scholia attribute the interlocutor's part to An Athenian or to Proboulos. It cannot be a Proboulos because this man is young (983) and has an erection (992). Recent editors, following a suggestion by van Leeuwen, introduce a Prytanis. But it is clear that the Athenian government knows nothing as yet about the conspiracy (1008, 1011-12), and this Athenian does not greet the Spartan officially but rudely asks who or what he is (982). Wilamowitz's claim that only a Prytanis had the authority to bring such a matter to the Council is incorrect, for any citizen had that right (Lys. 13. 21, Andok. 2. 3. 20), even the lowly Sausage-Seller (*Eq.* 624 ff., cf. 475 ff.) or a Blepyros (*Ek.* 311 ff., 520 ff.).

As Bentley concluded from the scholion at 1014, Kinesias is the only possible candidate (Σ 's statement that the lines were assigned to Kin. ἐν ἄλλῳ could be a Hellenistic note = 'in another copy of the text' or a later note = 'in a marginal scholion in another copy of the text'). Kin. is already on stage where Myr. has left him (he must sing 973-9, cf. n.), and no new arrival is announced (cf. 1072, 1082, 1107). He already has an erection and so does not, like the Spartan, try to dissimulate his condition. And he represents the Athenian husbands, having been the victim of the conjugal strike as enacted in the previous scene. After his defeat by Myr. he is psychologically prepared (970, 979) to take the action he takes at 1009 ff. In terms of the plot it is best that the officials initially play no role in the peace initiative, only the husbands (980-1013) and, by way of preparing the general reconciliation, the semichoruses (1014-34).

980-1 The Herald is comically ignorant about Athenian government (cf. the Boiotian Herald in *E. Suppl.* 399 f.). The Spartan Gerousia (for the Lakonian form, corroborated by inscriptions, cf. Schwyzer 218 n. 1) was composed of powerful men from influential families and had wide advisory and judicial powers. But foreign policy was determined by the Ekklesia (De Ste. Croix 125 ff.). The Athenian Prytaneis (F. Gschnitzer, 'Prytanis', *RE Supplbd.* 13 (1973) 730 ff.) numbered 50 men representing a given tribe (Aischin. 1. 33), each tribe holding the prytaneia for 35 or 36 days (*Äth. n.* 43. 2). They acted as a steering committee for the Council (1011-12 n.), presided (*Ach.* 173) and kept order (*Ach.* 56, *Ek.* 396) at Assemblies, and escorted special delegations to both Council and Assembly (Gschnitzer 752). They had a special block of seats in the theatre (*Av.* 794) and, in an early example of 'audience participation', are involved in the action at *Pax* 887-909.

982 οὐ δ' εἶ τίς: A surprise for τίς, cf. *Av.* 69 ἀτὰρ οὐ τί θηρίον ποτ' εἶ; ἄνθρωπος ἢ κονίσσαλος: A common form of joke, *Ve.* 1509, *Av.* 102, 1203, *Ek.* 1071-3, *Men. Asp.* 230, fr. 303, cf. L. Friedländer at *Petr. Sat.* 38. 15, Headlam/Knox at *Herod.* 6. 4. Konissalos (the title of a play by Timokles) was a phallic creature associated with Priapos, *Pl. Com.* 174. 13, cf. *Str.* 13. 1. 12, *SIG* 1027. 10 (Kos), and with a phallic or satyric

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- Spartan dance (Hsch.). In general see H. Herter, *De Priapo, RVV* 23 (1932) 59.
- 983-4 κυρσάνι:** 'young man' (not, with LSJ, contemptuous: cf. 1248). The word appears to be a Lakonian variant of *σκυρθάλιος/-άνιος* (dissimilation of initial sigma because of the following spirant or simply on the pattern of e.g. (σ)κιδνασθαι, KB i. 76, Schwyzer 334, 351), glossed by Hsch. as *μειράκια, ἔφηβοι, νεανίσκοι*, cf. *σκυρθαλιάς· Θεόφραστος τοὺς ἐφήβους οὕτω φησὶ καλεῖσθαι, Διονύσιος δὲ τοὺς μείρακας, σκυρθάνια· τοὺς ἐφήβους οἱ Λάκωνες, κυρσίον· μειράκιον*. The derivation is obscure, but similar words may be a clue: *κύρρασι* (and *κυρσεῖν*): *τοῖς κέρασι ἐπιτυχεῖν κρούσαντ ...* (Hsch.), *κύρσεος = πρωκτός* (Gal. 19. 116). For these glosses see further Bechtel 376.
- 985** 'is that why you've come hiding a pike under your arm?', i.e. like an enemy, Pl. *Gr.* 469 f. The tone is indignant, cf. 914. **δόρυ:** Comically replacing e.g. *ξίφιδιον* because of the large size of the Herald's erection, cf. Σ. For *δόρυ* = phallos cf. *Ach.* 592, *Ve.* 27 and compare Lat. hasta.
- 986-7** The Herald denies that he has an erection and tries to explain away the bulge under his cloak: for this routine cf. the wife earlier, 748 ff. **προβάλλει:** Cf. 1083-4, *Nu.* 972-3. **χλαμύδ':** A mantle worn by military personnel, X. *An.* 7. 4. 4, Poll. 10. 124. **ῆ:** Suggesting an answer to his own question, Denn. 283. **βουβωνιάς:** 715 n. Tired or traumatized feet (as from a long hike from Sparta) could cause swelling of the groin, cf. *Ve.* 277.
- 988 ἀλεός:** 'crazy' ('making crazy' of wine at *Od.* 14. 464), A. fr. 410, Hsch. a 2916 ἀλ<ε>ώσσειν μωραίνειν, *EM* 59. 45 ἀλεόφρων παράφρων. παλεός (the reading of *GBVp2H* and *Suda*) reflects the presence of initial digamma (note preceding *δδοῦ*). The length of the alpha is uncertain. If long (on the analogy of *ἡλεός*, Aeol. ἀλ(λ)ος) we must have synizesis of -εο-. The form *παλεόρ*, reflected in the MSS, is hyperlakonian (rhotacism appears only much later).
- 989-90 ἀνθρωπος:** 'a crazy man, by Kastor', using the nominative in an exclamation, as often in epic, e.g. *σχέτλιος, νήπιος, δύσμορος Od.* 20. 194, *δημοβόρος βασιλεύς Il.* 1. 231; in tragedy usually introduced by *ὦ*, e.g. S. *Ph.* 254 *ὦ πόλλ' ἐγὼ μοχθηρός, ὦ πικρὸς θεοῖς*, cf. KG i. 46. Dover suggests that Ar. may have intended the sense 'the man (is) crazy' but stopped short of writing *ἄνθρωπος* (cj. Toup) in the interest of clarity. For the tone cf. 936. **ὦ μισώτατε:** 'you devious fellow', cf. 252-3. **μηδ':** Following a negative statement, Denn. 190 ff., Fraenkel at A. *Ag.* 1498.
- 991 σκυτάλα:** 'dispatch-stick', long and wrapped with leather, thus similar to the comic phallos, *Nu.* 538. For a description cf. Plu. *Lysandros* 19, Aul. Gell. 17. 9. 6.
- 992-3** 'if that's really a Lakonian skytale (cf. 629, Denn. 487-8), then this (indicating his own phallos) is another! But come, tell the truth to one who is in the know', cf. A. *Ag.* 1402-3 *ἐγὼ δ' ἀτρέστῳ καρδίᾳ πρὸς εἰδότας λέγω*. For the preposition cf. KG i. 552.

- 995-6 ὄρσά:** A *double entendre*, 'in a state of commotion' (Isokr. 15. 7, Lykourg. *Leokr.* 39) and 'erect' (725, 834). **τοὶ σύμμαχοι:** Especially Thebes and Korinth (cf. the prologue). **πελλάνας:** As the context shows, this word has a sexual meaning (cf. *Pax* 870 *τοῦ πέους δὲ δεῖ*). It is probably an otherwise unattested (Lakonian) word for vagina (or anus, 1105 n.). Σ predictably invokes a Spartan courtesan, but she is nowhere else mentioned, nor is there an apparent reason to suppose a proper name at all. If there is a play on a toponym there are three known candidates: (1) Pellana in Lakonia, F. Bölte, *RE* 19 (1937) 350 ff. But why would the Spartans want their own city? (2) Pellene, which however was loyal to Sparta throughout the war and had recently contributed ships to her fleet, Th. 8. 3. 2. (3) Pallene, E. Meyer, *RE* 19 (1937) 355, which the Spartans had failed to capture during the Archidamian war and which was now an Athenian colony, E. Meyer, *RE Supplbd.* 10 (1965) 618-24. But this involves emending the text, cf. J. Taillardat in *Mél. Chantraine* (Paris 1972) 255.
- 998 Pan** (often represented as ithyphallic, Burkert *GR* 172) could engender illness or madness, E. *Hp.* 141 ff.
- 1000 ἀπὸ μιάς ὑσπλαγίδος:** 'unanimously', cf. 270, 1005, and for similar metaphors *Ach.* 483, *Ve.* 648, fr. 630, Taillardat 337-8. The *hysplex* (first attested here) was the equivalent of our 'starting tape' in footraces. Ar. uses it here to set up the jingle in the following line.
- 1001 ὑσσάκων:** This word (the context indicates a sexual meaning) was variously spelled by lexicographers and its nominative form was unknown: ὕσσαξ/ῦσταξ or ὕσσακος/ῦστακός (Hsch., Phot., Theognost. *Can.* 24. 9, *EM* 785. 8). It may be Lakonian (*Lyr. Adesp.* 974 Page ἀπ' ὑσσάκω), but Phot. found ὑσσάκουσ in Ar. ὕς (683?) and σάκανδρος (824) may be comparable.
- 1002-6 μογιόμεσ:** Poetic in Attic, perhaps not in Lak. **λυχοφορίοντες:** They are bent over (cf. 1083-5, *Ve.* 555) like lamp-bearers in a wind (so Σ), cf. Hes. *WD* 533-5. **τῶ μύρτω:** A common euphemism for the female genitalia (838 n.). **ἐξ ἑνὸς λόγῳ:** 'by common accord', cf. 270, 1000, *Pl.* 760. **ποπτᾶν Ἑλλάδα:** 'with (the rest of) Greece', 'the other Greeks'.
- 1007-8 Kin.** puts two and two together. **ἄρτι νυνὶ μανθάνω:** 'I see it all now!' For this kind of sudden realization of a truth cf. E. *Alk.* 940, *Ba.* 1296, Pherekr. 146. 6, Men. *Epir.* 515, *Adesp. Nova* 257. 16-7 Austin.
- 1009-10 φράζει:** 'advise (your countrymen)'. **αὐτοκράτορας:** The ambassadors must be empowered to negotiate terms (as they do at 1162 ff.). We have already been given to understand that the Spartan authorities desire peace (984). For such powers cf. *Pax* 359, *Av.* 1595, Th. 1. 126. 8, *Lys.* 13. 9, C. W. Fornara, *Hermes Einzelschr.* 16 (1971) 67, P. J. Rhodes, *Ath. Boule* (Oxford 1972) 216.
- 1011-12** The Council (not the Probouloi) undertake this important business, indicating that the mechanisms for determining foreign policy had not been changed upon the reorganization of government in 413

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(387–423 n.). The Council was not officially discarded until 14 Thargelion (*Μθ. π. 32*). For Kin.'s right to inform the Council cf. 980–1013 n.

1013 πωτάομαι: For the metaphor cf. 55 n. The form with *πωτ-* is epic (and a false variant at *Pax* 830), cf. Fraenkel at *A. Ag.* 978, *Eum.* 250, *PV* 645, but it may have persisted in Lakonian. I therefore retain R's reading as *lectio difficilior*.

1014–42. CHORAL DIALOGUE: RECONCILIATION

Now that the Athenian and Spartan belligerents have begun moves toward peace, the hostile semichoruses resolve their differences and become a single chorus. Just as the men had initiated hostilities against the women, so now the women initiate the offer of reconciliation. To demonstrate their kindly intentions the women replace the clothing that the men had removed in anger, extract the bug in their eyes (a symbol of anger), and give them a kiss. The metre is a variant form of catalectic trochaic tetrameter in which the third metron is replaced by – υ υ υ (cf. 781–828 metrical note), unique in a stichic sequence. At 1036 (the moment of the kiss) the metre changes to regular tetrameters.

1014–15 The men realize that their cause is lost. **θηρίον:** 467–8 n. **ἀμαχώτερον:** Cf. 253. **πύρ:** Symbolizing audacity (*Eq.* 382–5, Taillardat 165–6) and resistless force (E. fr. 429 *ἀντὶ πυρός γὰρ ἄλλο πῦρ μείζον ἐβλάστομεν γυναῖκες πολὺ δυμαχώτερον*, *Andr.* 271–3, *Il.* 17. 565, *S. OT* 177, *Ph.* 917). **ἀναιδής:** 368–9 with n., cf. B. 5. 105 *ἀναιδομάχαι κάπροι*. **πόρδαλις:** Symbolizing ferocity (*Av.* 1250 with Kakridis' note) and familiar to the Athenians (*Nu.* 347) from painting and sculpture. The panther, like the lioness (231 n.), was a female sobriquet (Poll. 7. 201–2 = fr. 494). The spelling of the word (cf. app. crit.) was the subject of inconclusive (Ael. Dion. π 18 Erbse) debate in the time of Aristarchos (*Σ Il.* 13. 103, 17. 20) and was evidently variable in classical times (Dover refers me to *ΠΑΡΔΑΛΙΣ* on an Attic black-figure vase, Beazley *Paralipomena* 69).

1016–17 'knowing that (cf. 968, *Nu.* 329, Denn. 407–8) do you intend (εἶτα, 560 n.) to continue fighting us ...', mildly gloating. **πόνηρέ:** 891–3 n.

1018 ὥς: 32 n. Compare the implacable attitude of Hippolytos, E. *Hph.* 664 ff. For this kind of solemn vow cf. E. Wolff, *NPhU* 6 (1928) 37 ff.

1019 'very well, stop hating us whenever you are ready', politely disarming the old men's menace. **περιόψομαι:** *Ra.* 508–9.

1020–1 γυμνόν: The men had removed their exomides at 662. They are not entirely naked (151 n.) because they revealed their pubic hair only when they took a kick at the women, 799 f. For *γυμνός* in the sense 'partially clothed' cf. Pl. *R.* 474A *ῥύπαντας τὰ ἰμάτια, γυμνοὺς λαβόντας ... ἔπλον*. It is not clear when the women replaced their own clothing (it was sometime after the songs at 781 ff.). **προσιούσ':** 153 n.

- 1022-3** **πονηρόν**: 'mischievously'. **ἀλλ' ... γάρ**: 'for, on the contrary, ...', Denn. 107. **ὀργῆς ... πονηράς**: *Ve.* 242-3 *χθές οὖν Κλέων ὁ κηδεμών ἡμῖν ἐφέιτ' ἐν ὄρα ἦκεν ἔχοντας ἡμερῶν ὀργὴν τριῶν πονηράν. τότ'*: Cf. *Th.* 217 (van Leeuwen: *ποτε R.*), 642.
- 1024-6** **πρῶτα ... εἶτ'**: 1074-5, 1174-5, *Av.* 114-7. **γ'**: Preceding the emphatic word, Denn. 149. **ἀνὴρ**: 524-6 n. The first complimentary remark between the semichoruses. **θηρίον**: Perhaps a comic exaggeration, but used of a bee at *Theokr.* 19. 5, of a worm at *Ael. NA* 9. 33. The bug in the eye symbolizes anger, 296-8 n. **τούπι**: For the preposition (sometimes with gen. in this idiom) see Fraenkel at *A. Ag.* 1428.
- 1027-8** **ἄρ' ἦν**: 20 n. **με**: For the position cf. 753-4 n. **δακτύλιος οὐτοσί**: 'here's a ring' (*sc. σοι*), *Ach.* 585, *Pax* 256. The ring was used to retract and scrape clean the eyelid. For other uses cf. *Pl.* 883-4, *Eup.* 87 *δακτύλιος φαρμακίτης*. **ἀφελούσα**: *metri gratia* for *ἐξελοῦσα* (cf. 1026).
- 1029** **ὡς ... γε**: 865-9 n. **δάκνει**: A play on *δακτύλιος*. For the metaphor cf. 298.
- 1030-4** **ἀλλ'**: Practical consent, Denn. 17: 'don't worry, I'll do it', cf. *Ve.* 1454, *Av.* 162, Denn. 280. **Τρικορυσία**: Trikorythos was a wooded, marshy (*Av.* 246-7) region in the Tetrapolis (Σ, *Arist. HA* 596b, N. G. L. Hammond, *JHS* 88 (1968) 13) where the insects may have been particularly large or numerous (so Σ). **ὡς πάλαι κτλ.**: The men perhaps dissimulate their real (sentimental) reason for weeping, like Philokleon at *Ve.* 982 ff.
- 1035-6** **ἀλλ'**: As 1030. **καίτοι**: Parenthetical, Denn. 558-9. MSS *καίτοι γε* is a frequent variant (Denn. 564). **ἦν ... μή**: As 499, 939. The women seal the reconciliation before the men can recover their defiant spirit. Contrast the situation at *Ek.* 981, 1097. At this important moment the tetrameters become regular.
- 1037-9** **μὴ ὤρασ' ἴκοισθ'**: 391 n. The old men express annoyance at being so easily vanquished. **τοῦπος**: 'saying', *Th.* 412, *Ra.* 1395. The men take consolation in a proverbial truth; Σ quotes Susarion 3 ff. *κακὸν γυναικες· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὡ δημόται, οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκὴν οἰκίαν ἀνευ κακοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι καὶ τὸ μὴ γῆμαι κακόν*, a sentiment at least as old as Hesiod, *WD* 58, *Th.* 600 ff. For the argument from the women's point of view, cf. *Th.* 785 ff.
- 1040-2** The men, initially the aggressors, offer a truce and promise never again to do or say anything abusive, cf. Euripides' promise to the women at *Th.* 1160-3. Henceforth the semichoruses are a single chorus of Athenians and the koryphaios its leader. **φλαῦρον**: Of slander (cf. 1044), abuse, ill-treatment generally, *Nu.* 834, 1157, cf. *E. Andr.* 731 *οὐτ' οὖν τι δράσω φλαῦρον οὔτε πείσομαι*. **κοινῆ**: They arrange themselves in pairs. **δυσταλένες**: 'in close formation', 'shoulder to shoulder' (*Ve.* 424, where the choreuts have removed clothing, 408, *Ek.* 486), but perhaps 'with clothes hitched up' (ready to dance). **τοῦ μέλους**: 'our (common) song'.

- 1043-4** The koryphaios promises the spectators (**ᾠνδρες**) that the eschewal of malice (**φλαῦρον**, 1040-2 n.) which now applies to the men and women of the chorus will also apply in their dealings with the city. As throughout the play, reconciliation must be general (public and private, internal and external).
- 1047-8** 'The troubles lying before us now (**καί** is emphatic) are quite sufficient', referring not to their own (as **Σ**) but to the city's as a whole, cf. *Pax* 353-4 (where the chorus promises to make no more trouble) *καί γάρ ἱκανὸν χρόνον ἀπολλύμεσθα*.
- 1050-4** **πᾶς ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή**: Not necessarily indicating the presence of women among the spectators (though it is likely that women were present, *Dover AC* 16-17) because the song envisages private (neighbourhood, cf. 700 ff.) celebration. **μνᾶς ... τρεῖς**: 'a couple of *mina*' (360-1 n.), a ridiculously large sum and a surprise after *ἀργυρίδιον*. **ἔσω**: 'at (our) home(s)'. For *ἔσω* (instead of the usual *εἴσω*, as at 1067-8) cf. *Eub.* 40, *S. Aj.* 105, *Hermipp.* 8 (where it is a variant), *Phryn.* 1 *ἔσωθεν*, *Schwyzzer* ii. 546-7. **βαλλάντια**: The spelling is uncertain (*BH βαλλάντια*) because there are no metrically guaranteed examples.
- 1055-7** **εἰρήνη**: i.e., prosperity. **ὅστις ... ἀποδόῃ**: 'whoever has borrowed anything from us now need never repay it, provided he's got it', implying that he won't have received it in the first place (**Σ** *δηλονότι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς προήσονται*). **ἀποδόῃ**: Where we expect *ἀποδώτω*, cf. *KG* i. 220.
- 1058-60** *Karystos* was a loyal ally of Athens (1181), having distinguished himself in the Athenian invasion of *Korinth* in 425 (*Th.* 4. 42, cf. *Eq.* 595 ff.) and taken part in the Sicilian expedition (*Th.* 7. 57. 4). A few months later the *Karystians* would assist in the installation of the 400 (*Th.* 8. 69. 3). The context here and at 1181 suggests that there were jokes about their attractiveness to Athenian women, unless their name itself suggested sexual prowess (*κρούειν* = *βινεῖν* *Ek.* 989, cf. 257 *κρούματα*, or more remotely *κάρνα* = testicles, *Pl.* 1056, cf. *Eub.* 137 *κάρνα Κάρυστια*). **καλοὺς τε κάγαθούς**: For this phrase and its social and political connotations cf. *Dover GPM* 41 ff. and (with different emphases) *De Ste. Croix* 371 ff. The *Karystians* were cavalrymen and thus of a high social class. Like the women earlier (700 ff.) the chorus will invite the 'best people' to the party. There is no reason to suspect sarcasm here: indeed kind words from the old men about *καλοὶ κάγαθοί* are a remarkable indication of their changed attitude (674-7 n.).
- 1061-4** Catalogues of food are frequent in comedy (*Spyropoulos* 87 ff., cf. the *tour-de-force* at *Ek.* 1169-75) and in invitation-poetry generally. **ἔννος τι**: 'hearty (788-92 n.) pea-soup', cf. *Pax* 1150 *ἦν δὲ καὶ πνός τις ἐνδον*. **τέθυχ'**: 'is ready to eat'. **ἀπαλὰ καὶ καλά**: 'fine and tender (portions)', hence the intrusive gloss *τὰ κρέα*.
- 1065-71** Cf. *Av.* 131-2 *οὕτως παρέσει μοι καὶ σὺ καὶ τὰ παιδία λουσάμενα πρῶ*, fr. 109, 111. Special occasions called for bathing, *Pax* 868, *Pl. Smph.* 174A. **μηδένα**: The slave at the door. 'But come straight (609,

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Ek. 281) to my house as you would to your own ($\xi\alpha\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}\nu = \acute{\upsilon}\mu\hat{\omega}\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$, cf. *KG* i. 571 ff.) in proper fashion (*Ek.* 638 $\epsilon\delta$ *καὶ* *χρηστῶς ἐξήης*), since the door will already (*Eq.* 1370–1, *Nu.* 1436, *KG* i. 179 f.) be closed.’ The jokes at 1200 ff. and 1212 ff. are variations. For $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota$ - cf. 421–3 n.

1072–1188. EPISODE: LYSISTRATA CONDUCTS THE PEACE-TALKS

1072–1105. *The ambassadors*

Ambassadors from Sparta (invited at 1009–10), outlandishly costumed and wearing long beards (1072), enter to a greeting by the koryphaios (now representing a chorus of united Athenians). For the miraculous speed of their arrival compare Amphitheos, dispatched at *Ach.* 130–2 and returned from Sparta with truces at 175. Unlike the Herald earlier (980 ff.) they do not try to dissimulate their erections but ask to begin negotiations at once. As at 980 ff. Ar. is careful to show the Spartans asking first. Almost at once Athenian ambassadors (promised at 1011–13), similarly afflicted, are announced. After briefly conversing with the koryphaios they greet the Spartans and agree to get down to business without delay. For the institution of *presbeia* see D. Kienast, *RE Supplbd.* 13 (1973) 499 ff.

1072 καὶ μὴν: Announcing a new arrival (1082, *Pl.* 332–3, *Denn.* 356), elsewhere in Ar. in iambic trimeter passages. In tragedy *καὶ μὴν* occasionally introduces an iambic distich by the koryphaios following a choral song (*S. El.* 1422, *E. Hp.* 1151) or a brief anapaestic system following a choral song (*E. Andr.* 494, *Suppl.* 980, *Tr.* 230, *Or.* 348) or to divide scenes (*S. Ant.* 526, 1257, *E. Hp.* 1342, *Andr.* 1166). **ἔλκοντες ὑπήνας:** For this stereotype (by contrast with the short-trimmed Athenian style) cf. 275–80 n., *Ve.* 476–7, *Plu. Phok.* 10 *πῶγωνά τε καθεμιένος ὑπερφύη μεγέθει καὶ τριβῶνα φορῶν ἀεί.*

1073 χοιροκομῆιον: ‘pig-pen’ (*Ve.* 844), because the Spartans’ clothing, distended by their erections, resembles a pig-pen around the middle (so Σ^R). Compare *Ach.* 95 ff. where Dikaiopolis compares the arriving Persian ambassador to a warship. There may be a further suggestion of Spartan unkemptness/uncleanliness, cf. 279–80.

1074–7 πρῶτα ... εἶτ’: 1024–6 n. **μοι χαίρετε:** Cf. *S. OK* 1137. **πῶς ἔχοντες:** The same question as Kinesias’ (982), but put more politely. **ἔπη:** ‘words’, cf. 337–9 n. **ὡς ἔχοντες:** They open their cloaks to reveal their phalloi.

1078–9 βαβαί: Astonishment (*Ach.* 806, *Pax* 248, *Av.* 272, fr. 415). ‘This affliction has grown terribly tense and appears to be inflamed worse than before!’ **νευέρωται:** Playing on *νεῦρον* = penis, cf. Σ^R , *Pl. Com.* 173. 19–20, *Gal.* 8. 442, *Lat. nervus* (*Hor. Ep.* 12. 19, *Priap.* 68, *Petr. Sat.* 131. 46). **τεθερμῶσθαί:** This verb only here, but cf. *ΑπΟχοπ.* 2. 448 *θερμού-*

- σθαι, which may have been drawn from our passage in a variant form, note RVp2H reflecting the reading (from false segmentation) *δευῶς τε θερμῶσθαι γε*. The meaning is clear enough: the Spartans are afflicted as by an ‘inflamed’ limb, cf. *Pax* 1069 where Trygaeos wishes on Hierokles *θερμὸς ὁ πλεύμων*. There may in addition be a pun on the name of Hermes (cf. 1094), *Σ^R χεῖρον τῆς τάσεως τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ φαίνεται*, Kall. fr. 119 *Ἑρμᾶ, τί τοι τὸ νεῦρον, ὦ γενειόλα, ποττὰν ὑπήναν κοῦ ποτ ἰχθιον <βλέπει>*, Corn. *ND* 61 *γενειῶντας Ἑρμᾶς ὀρθὰ ... τὰ αἰδοῖα ἔχοντας*.
- 1080–2 ἄφατα**: 198 n. **ὅπῳ**: ‘in whatever manner’, cf. 1188, *S. Ph.* 481 *ἐμβалоῦ μ’ ὅπῃ θέλεις ἄγων*, contrast 118. **καὶ μὴν**: 1072 n. **αὐτόχθονας**: ‘natives’, for the Athenians prided themselves on being the original inhabitants of their land: *Ve.* 1076, *Ra.* 679–80 (= *εὐγένεια*, cf. *Arist. Rhet.* 1360^b31), *E. Ion* 589–90, *Th.* 1. 2. 5, 2. 36.
- 1083–5** ‘like wrestlers, driving their clothing from their bellies’. Since Greek wrestlers competed naked it is only the Athenians’ posture that resembles wrestlers: they walk with the upper body inclined as far as possible (cf. 1003) like wrestlers keeping an opponent from getting a hold on them, cf. J. Jüthner, *Philostratos über Gymnastik* (Leipzig/Berlin 1909, repr. Amsterdam 1969) 256–7. They do this because their erections are so large that they cannot be concealed under their clothing in a fully upright posture. For the metaphor in *ἀποστέλλοντας* cf. 987, *Eq.* 268 *ἀναστέλλεσθ’ ἄνω τὰ χιτώνια*. **ἀσκητικόν**: ‘liable to afflict an athlete’, with a pun on *ἀσκήτην* = ‘swollen’/‘dropsical’, compare the pun at *Nu.* 74 *ἵππερον/ἵκτερον*. **τὸ χρήμα**: 83 n. **τοῦ νοσήματος**: Words for ‘sickness’ are often used (esp. in tragedy) of erotic passions and the disturbances arising from them, cf. 1088.
- 1086–7** We are not told how the Athenian ambassador knows the name and role of Lys., for this is the first time in the play that she is named by a man: for the significance of the naming see *Introd.* III. **πυῦ**: *Pl.* 1171, fr. 130, *ἴσπου Ra.* 432, *Ek.* 1126. **οὔτοι τοιουτοί**: Cf. *Nu.* 141–2 *ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτοι ἦκω*. They straighten up (1083–5 n.), revealing their phalloi (to match the Spartans at 1077).
- 1088–9** Aside. The koryphaïos compares the appearance of both parties (who have not yet met), cf. *Ek.* 1070 *τοῦτ’ αὖ πολὺ τούτου τὸ κακὸν ἐξωλέστερον* (comparing two old women). **χαῦτη**: For *καί* cf. 527–8 n. **θῆτέρα** (for the form cf. 85 n.) **ταύτη**: *Sc. νόσω* (hence MSS corruption), i.e. that of the Spartans (1085). **νόσος**: 1083–5 n. **συνάδει**: ‘jibes with’, *S. OT* 1113, freq. in Plato. **ἦ που**: 28 n. To the Athenians. **πρὸς ὄρθρον**: 59–60 n. **σπασμὸς**: 845–6 n. **λαμβάνει**: 831–2 n.
- 1090** ‘More than that (cf. *Pl.* 22), we’re driven to distraction (888, 936, 953) by suffering in this way (indicating his phallos, cf. 861–3 n.).’ Here *δρᾶν* = *πάσχειν* (*Nu.* 234), cf. 1165, 1175, *Nu.* 494, *Pl. Soph.* 252E *ὅτε δὴ τὰ μὲν ἐθέλει τοῦτο δρᾶν (= συμμειγνυσθαι), τὰ δὲ οὐ, σχεδὸν οἶον τὰ γράμματα πεπόνθαι’ ἂν εἴη*.
- 1092** A joke, not a serious possibility (107 n.); for Kleisthenes cf. 616–24 n. **βινήσομεν**: The obscenity (716 n.) expresses their impatience.

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1093-4 A clever way to motivate the covering up of the phalloi (because serious matters are to be discussed). **τῶν ἔρμικοπιδῶν**: A comic coinage (cf. *χρεωκοπῖσαι* Plu. *Sol.* 15). In the summer of 415, just before the departure of the Sicilian expedition, the herms found throughout Athens were mutilated (Th. 6. 27-9, Andok. 1) by defacement (Th. 6. 27. 1 *περικόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα*) and by having the phallos (those that had phalloi) knocked off. For the face and phallos cf. refs. at 1078-9 n., R. Lullies, *Die Typen der gr. Herme* (Königsberg 1931). Here (and at 1098-9) the implication is that some mutilators may still be among the spectators, but the tone is jocular: no doubt the Athenians were satisfied that they had found and punished the culprits. At Phryn. 58 someone warns Hermes to be on the lookout for 'another Diokleides' (cf. Andok. 1. 37 ff.), but Ar. has no one particular in mind here. Alkibiades was accused of parodying the Mysteries but was not associated with the mutilations, as he later was (D. 21), probably (as Dover suggests) as a result of popular tradition in part fueled by prosecutions of the younger Alkibiades: Lys. 14. 41-2 (where the mutilations are listed alongside such other offences as incest and *asebeia*) is a specimen of that process at an early stage.

1095-6 μέντοι: Assentient, cf. Th. 9 *δεξιῶς μέντοι λέγεις*, Denn. 401. **τὸ ἔσθος**: Epic and lyric (cf. *Av.* 943 recalling Pi. fr. 105b), perhaps colloquial in Lakonian (note initial *w-*). **ἀμβαλώμεθα**: They place the lefthand fold over the right shoulder.

1097-9 The Athenians notice the Spartans: 'Greetings, Spartans. We have had an *awful* (cf. 923) *disgraceful* experience (Denn. 128-9)'. 'My dear fellow, it would be positively terrible if those fellows have actually seen us in our excited condition' (referring to the mutilators, 1093-4). For this exchange cf. *Ra.* 252-3 (*Ba*) *δεινὰ τᾶρα πεισόμεσθα. (Δι) δεινότερα δ' ἔγωγ'*, *ἐλαύνων εἰ διαρραγήσομαι*, *Ek.* 95, 650, 794. **πολυχαρείδα**: Although the suffix is a patronymic (e.g. *Λακρατείδης Ach.* 220) this cannot be a proper name, since it is addressed to the Athenian (at 1242 to the Spartan piper), but is apparently a Lakonian equivalent of Att. *βέλτιστε/φίλιταε*. R here and at 1242 has *πολυχαριδα* (metrically impossible), BVp2H at 1242 have *πουλυχαριδα*, apparently a metrical emendation because this lengthening of the stem-vowel would be *πω-* in Lak. (Intro. V. 1(d)), cf. *Πωλυδεύκης Alk.* 1. 1, *πώλυπος Epich.* 61, 124 (cf. *Athen.* 7. 318F = *Sim.* 514) as opposed to e.g. *Πουλυτίων PA* 12154, *πούλυπος* fr. 197. Megarian *Πουλυχάρης (IG* iv. 926. 62) apparently reflects a local spelling (as also at *Korinth*, *Sikyon*, *Kerkyra*, cf. *Buck GD*² 30). For Attic examples of *ω* for *ο* = *ου* see *GAI* i. 48-9, Hansen at *CEG* 312 = *IG* i³ 983. The easiest solution is to print, with all recent editors, Meineke's *πολυχαρείδα*, although Enger's *πωλυχαριδα* is also possible. **αἰκ**: Cf. *LSJ* s.v. *εἰ* II, *Epich.* 121 *Kaibel*, *Hdt.* 1. 174. Here almost = *στι* (as often, what we think of as causal is expressed as hypothetical in Greek), cf. *LSJ* *ibid.* V. For *αι(κ)* with past indicative (*epic* and *Doric*) cf. *KG* ii. 483.

1100-3 αὐθ' ... λέγειν: i.e., we should get down to business, cf. Krates 16. 4-5 πρόσεισιν αὐθ' ἕκαστον τῶν σκευαρῶν, ὅταν καλῆ τι. ἐπὶ τί πάρεστε; fr. 649, Hdt. 1. 118. 2, X. An. 7. 1. 35.

1105 'Yes, by the Twain (81 n.), and (summon) Lysistratos as well, if you like'. Unless 'Lysistratos' was invented for a joke about Spartan homosexuality (616-24 n.), Ar. might be teasing Lysistratos of Amphitrope (IG ii. 2645), son of Makareus (Σ Ve. 787, which notes that he was ridiculed for passive homosexuality), to be distinguished from Lysistratos of Cholargos, who is ridiculed in *Ach.*, *Eq.* and *Ve.* on other grounds.

1106-27. Reconciliation

As in her appearance before the Proboulos, Lys. has been following events onstage and appears on her own initiative (cf. 431). The koryphaios greets her in catalectic anapaestic tetrameters (1108-11) which resemble the sphragis of an agon (608-13 n.) and which underscore the importance of the moment: she must use her charm, political acumen, and persuasive powers to arbitrate the dispute. Lys., judging that the long-awaited moment has come, summons Reconciliation (an actor costumed as a lovely naked girl, see below) from the Propylaia (less likely from the *mechane*) and asks her to escort first the Spartans, then the Athenians to her side. After briefly justifying her qualifications as an arbiter (intelligence, good judgment, knowledge of tradition), Lys. is ready to begin the negotiations.

Reconciliation exemplifies, personifies, and concretely embodies the blessings of peace, which Ar. typically portrays in sensory terms (food, drink, sex, festivals) and often personifies in the form of a girl: *Ach.* 989 ff. (the chorus imagines Reconciliation as a young bride and describes her defloration in agricultural metaphors, appropriately to the play's theme of return to the countryside), *Eq.* 1390 ff. (Spondai), *Pax* 525, 847 ff. (Opora and Theoria); cf. *Av.* 1706 ff. (Basileia). Other appearances of naked girls are *Ach.* 1198 ff., *Ve.* 1342 ff., 1373 ff., *Av.* 667 ff., *Th.* 1174 ff., *Ra.* 1305-6, and we should probably include the female musicians depicted on komos-vases as a feature of the traditional background of comedy. On Ar.'s technique in such personifications see further H.-J. Newiger, *Metapher u. Allegorie* (Munich 1957 = *Zetemata* 16) 107-22.

Just as male nudity is represented by male actors wearing tights and a phallos, so female nudity is represented by male actors wearing female masks and tights with breasts and pubic hair (cf. 87-8) or, in the case of little girls, no breasts or pubic hair (cf. *Ach.* 781 ff.). What is demonstrably the case for the actor who played Lampito (who has a speaking part, 81-240) must be the case for all 'naked women' in comedy. It is unlikely that (slave) prostitutes were allowed to participate in any official way in dramatic festivals, and all references to hire of prostitute-entertainers in our sources refer to private or symposiac contexts. False breasts and genitalia were as much a part of the fun as false phalloi. See further A. Willems, *Ar.*

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(Paris/Brussels 1919) iii. 388 ff., K. Holzinger, *SB* (Vienna) 208. 5 (1928) 37-41 (who notes that actual nakedness would often have been impracticable in chilly weather), J. Vaio, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 379.

In this scene Reconciliation remains by Lys.'s side throughout the negotiations so that the men will have before their eyes an example of the pleasure they will have when they have ended the war. In reality war does demand the abnegation of sex and peace does restore it (especially for the victors). Ar. wants the negotiators (and the spectators) to focus on this happy end-product of negotiations rather than on the issues they would have to face in real-life negotiations. The sex-starved negotiators can think only of Reconciliation's body and agree to whatever Lys. says in order to make a quick end of the war. In this utopian scenario the Spartans, who are even more eager for sex (peace) than the Athenians (cf. 980-1013 n.), are easily out-bargained (1172). Thus Ar. alleviates a potentially overcharged moment (negotiation with Spartans). In addition, Reconciliation motivates the kind of comic relief necessary to break up long speeches (488-9 n.) and creates an opportunity for clever stage-business (1162 ff.).

We should not imagine that by introducing Reconciliation Ar. was indicating to the spectators that they need not take to heart the arguments made by Lys. in her speech (1128-56): τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον οἶδε καὶ τρυγηδία (*Ach.* 500). In fact, Reconciliation is a suitable embodiment of these arguments, which appeal to nostalgia for peaceful times in terms with which no spectator could quarrel. In effect Lys. says, Wouldn't it be wonderful if all Greeks were (again) friends and all were prospering? Whether this had ever really been the case and whether it was a practicable possibility now are out-of-order questions in a festive context (see *Introd.* II). Lys.'s arguments are serious and persuasive on the level of wish-fulfilment.

1108 χαῖρ' ... ἀνδρειοτάτη: Echoing 549. The koryphaios praises Lys. for the successful conduct of her plan, cf. *Ek.* 514-16 (koryphaia to Praxagora).

1109 <μαλακήν>: Complements δεινήν ('forceful in speech'). For gentle persuasion cf. *Od.* 1. 56, 582, *S. Ph.* 629, *Arist. Rh.* 1408^b9 ἐὰν τὰ σκληρὰ μαλακῶς λέγεται. ἀγαθὴν φαύλην: Uniting the characteristics of both superior and inferior social classes. σεμνήν: Designating the stately and handsome (sometimes haughty and severe: *Ra.* 178, *Pl.* 275, *E. Hp.* 93-4) demeanour of deities and of the high-born (*Nu.* 48, *Ek.* 632, *Isokr.* 3. 42, *X. H.* 5. 4. 4 γυναικας ... τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θήβαις, cf. *Ek.* 617 αἱ φαυλότεραι καὶ σιμότεραι παρὰ τὰς σεμνὰς καθεδούνται, *Pl. R.* 475A). ἀγανήν: Cf. 886. πολύπειρον: Summing up the three preceding antitheses. For πολυπειρία as a creative approach to problems cf. *Th.* 1. 71, where the Corinthians note this quality of Athenians as opposed to Spartans.

1110-11 Compare e.g. the delegation of heroes from Athens and Sparta that visits Aiakos, *Pi. N.* 8. 9 ff. οἱ πρόωτοι: The chief combatants, cf. 1177-81. ληφθέντες: 831-2 n. ἕγγυ: 'charm' (Σ^R τῷ σῶ πόθῳ, τῇ σῇ θέλει), cf. *LSJ* 2, for the actual love-charm Gow on *Theokr.* 2.

- 1112-13** ἀλλ': Consenting to her task, Denn. 17-18. ὀργώντας: 'eager' for both peace (Σ) and their wives, which in this play amount to the same thing. There may be an additional connotation 'ripe', cf. Hdt. 4. 199 'the crops near the ocean are ripe for (ὀργᾶ) harvesting.' κπειρωμένος: Of questioning an opponent with the intention of getting the better of him, *Eq.* 1234, *S. OT* 360, Hdt. 1. 135.
- 1114** Διαλλαγή: The source of one alternative title of the play: Σ^R ὅλως ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τούτου Λυσιστράτη ἢ Διαλλαγαὶ κέκληται τὸ δρᾶμα (the Index Ambrosianus lists the play by that title). For the other alternative title (rejected by Σ) cf. 389 n.
- 1116-18** ἀθάδικῃ: *Metri gratia* for ἀθάδης. τοῦτ': Resuming λαβούσα (1115) and accompanying a gesture. ἔδρων: i.e., before we removed ourselves from their clutches (for the tense cf. 489 ff., 507 ff.). οἰκείως: 'like a member of the family', i.e. not hostile but gentle/feminine, cf. the actions of the old women at 1019 ff.
- 1119-20** τῆς σάθης ἄγε: For the gesture cf. *Ach.* 1216, *Ek.* 1020. σάθη (first attested in Archil. 43, where someone's penis is likened to that of a donkey) was apparently used of a large penis: σάθων was used by Antisthenes as a denigratory sobriquet of Plato (*D. L.* 3. 35, *Athen.* 5. 220D, 11. 507A), as a hypokorism of young boys by Telekl. 65 (cf. *πόσθων* at *Pax* 1300); ἀνδροσάθων/-σάθης (*AB* 394. 5 = *μεγάλα ἔχων αἰδοῖα*) in the cult of Priapos (cf. LSJ).
- 1124** Intelligence (cf. 430b-2 n.) was considered rare in women: *Ra.* 949, *Ek.* 241 ff., *E. Andr.* 364-5, *Med.* 298 ff., 1081 ff., *Or.* 1204. Thus Lys. prefaces her speech by establishing her credentials and removing the challenges that her audience might make on account of her sex, just as any orator does when facing a potentially unsympathetic audience (cf. *Dikaiopolis, Ach.* 496 ff.). This line is a quotation from Euripides' *Melanippe the Wise* (fr. 483), but the following lines (though they are quasi-tragic in rhythm and language) cannot continue the quotation because Melanippe had claimed wisdom from her mother Hippe (fr. 484).
- 1125-7** 'I am of an age to have a worthwhile opinion (LSJ ἔχω B II 2b, KG i. 382-3; on the development of rationality with age and experience cf. Dover *GPM* 102 ff.), and in addition I am not badly educated in the traditional knowledge, having heard much from my father and from elder men'. Compare the Korinthian women at *E. Med.* 1085-6 ἔστιν μουσα καὶ ἡμῖν, ἢ προσομιλεῖ σοφίας ἔνεκεν, cf. *Ba.* 825. At *Ek.* 473 Blepyros too appeals to the wisdom of οἱ γεράτεροι to settle a point. Knowledge of tradition is the prerequisite for a speech like Lys.'s; by contrast, Praxagora is equipped for her different role with the skills of the politician/rhetor, *Ek.* 243 ff. (*Πρ*) ἐν ταῖς φυγαῖς μετὰ τὰνδρὸς ᾤκησ' ἐν πυκνῷ. ἔπειτ' ἀκούσασ' ἐξέμαθον τῶν βητόρων. (*Γν*) οὐκ ἐπὸς ἄρ' ὧ μέλ' ἦσθα δεινὴ καὶ σοφῆ, cf. *Pl. Mx.* 236B.

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1128-36. *Athens and Sparta rebuked*

Lys. begins her tripartite speech (the longest in Ar. since the Sausage-Seller's at *Eq.* 624 ff.; for *Ve.* 54-135 see MacDowell at 74-85) by rebuking both Athenians and Spartans alike (1129) for ignoring the racial and cultural unity that is expressed by sacrifice to common gods at common altars, and for fighting one another instead of barbarians, the traditional enemy of Greeks. No doubt the notion of 'giving in to Spartans' was often expressed in highly jingoistic terms by those who resisted negotiation (cf. 628-9), and in all periods Athenians tended to assume their superiority to other Greeks as a fact of nature (Isokr. 15. 293, for example). Nevertheless, panhellenic sentiment could be invoked when politically expedient and usually includes mention of common festivals, mutual benefactions of the past, and the contrast Greeks/barbarians: many features of Lys.'s speech have parallels in actual rhetoric (e.g. *Andok.* 3. 21, Isokr. *Panegyrikos*, X. H. 6. 5. 33 ff., D. 9. 30-1, others in Burckhardt 68 ff.) and no doubt her arguments were familiar to many Athenians who believed that the war had been a mistake. For Greek concepts of nationality cf. F. W. Walbank, *Phoenix* 5 (1951) 41-60, H. C. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought* (Cambridge 1965), Dover *GPM* 83-5, 279 ff.

1129-30 'you who with a single ablution besprinkle altars like kinsmen'. *χέρνυψ* is frequently so used as a symbolic detail (Th. 4. 97. 3, S. *OT* 240, Lys. 6. 52, D. 20. 158). What seems in Homer to have been a ritual hand-washing was extended in historical times to include a kathartic lustration. A basket of meal and a vessel of water (already Minoan, S. Marinatos, *BCH* 53 (1929) 365) were borne round the altar for sanctification. A brand (*δαλός/-ίον*) was then dipped into the water and used to sprinkle (*περιρραίνειν* is the technical term) the altar and the participants before the sacrifice, cf. *Pax* 956 ff., E. *HF* 926 ff., Athen. 9. 409B = Eup. 15, L. Ziehen, *RE* 18 (1939) 601-2, Nilsson 148. **γε:** Emphasizing the numeral, 589-90 n. **χέρνυβος:** For the accent in oblique cases (often paroxytone in mss.) cf. Athen. l.c., Hdn. Gr. 1. 246. 25-6. The genitive is difficult to classify and Bentley's *ἐκ χέρνυβος*, adopted by most editors, is easy (cf. 297, 400). But here the language is poetic/hieratic, and emendation unwarranted. *χέρνυψ* usually designates the water itself, and so it is possible to interpret the genitive as partitive (a portion of the water is used to sprinkle the altars), cf. *Eq.* 99 f. *πάντα τανῖ καταπάσω βουλευματίων*, *Od.* 2. 261 *χείρας νυφάμενος πολιῆς ἄλός*, S. *OT* 240 *χέρνυβος νέμειν (τινά)*. Even if *χέρνυψ* designates the vessel, the genitive can be interpreted as ablative, cf. 1184, *Il.* 23. 305 *πίθων ἠφύσσετο οἶνος*. For a history of the word *χέρνυψ* and its Mykenian associations see O. Panagl, *Sprache* 23 (1977) 49 ff.

Sacrifice had political as well as religious significance and was often the common bond that kept Greek cities from total estrangement. How seriously sacrificial protocol was taken can be seen e.g. in the Korin-

thians' decision to support Epidamnos against their own colony Kerkyra because the Kerkyraians 'failed to show the Corinthians the respect due from a colony, refusing them the customary rights and honours ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς and denying the Corinthian representative the same sacrificial privileges that were provided by the other colonies' (i.e., treating them like foreigners), Th. 1. 25. 4. Festivals generally provided a venue for diplomatic contact (e.g. the Isthmia in summer 412, Th. 8. 9-10) and for the demonstration of political positions (the Peace of 421 provided that the oaths be renewed annually at the Athenian Dionysia and the Spartan Hyakinthia).

1131-2 The great panhellenic athletic-musical festivals, to which competitors enjoyed safe-conduct under sacred truce even during wartime, had come to symbolize Hellenic unity, *Pl.* 583-4, *Hdt.* 8. 144, *Isokr.* 4. 43-6, *Pl. R.* 470E. Athens, which was proud of her own numerous festivals (Th. 2. 38), strove to put her own most splendid ones (the Panathenaia and the Great Dionysia) on a par with these, with no small success. For a general overview see H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (London 1966), I. Weiler, *Der Sport bei den Völkern der alten Welt* (Darmstadt 1981). Πύλαις: The Pylaia at Thermopylai. ἄλλους: *Sc. βωμοῦς.*

1133-4 'at a time when enemies are at hand (i.e. available) with a barbarian army (D. 1. 4 παρῆναι τῷ στρατεύματι, cf. A. *Eum.* 864-5) it is Hellenic men and cities that you destroy'. Blaydes's emendation in 1133 restores the proper phrasing and puts the emphasis where it belongs. The enemy is Persia: if you must fight, fight barbarians, not one another. The context makes it clear that Lys. does not refer to the use of foreign mercenaries, a practice for which Athens was particularly criticized, *Ach.* 61 ff., Th. 2. 104. 4, 6. 90. 3, 7. 29.

Lys.'s argument—that Athens and Sparta should return to the policy of the good old days when they enjoyed joint hegemony in Greece and resisted barbarian interference in Greek affairs (cf. 1137-46 n.)—is designed to make the idea of a settlement with Sparta more appealing. The same argument was made in 424 (Th. 4. 20. 4) and in 421 (Th. 5. 29. 3, cf. *Pax* 107-8, 406 ff., 1082) and continued to be made on similar occasions in the fourth century (1128-36 n.) and beyond (*Hor. Od.* 1. 2. 21-2 pro nefas, cives acuisse ferrum, quo graves Persae melius perirent). Since Athens was receiving Persian aid from the outbreak of the war in 431 (Th. 2. 7. 1) at least until 424 (Th. 4. 50. 3), this panhellenic argument could be used whether or not dealings with Persia were official policy: it is to be distinguished from the charge of medizing (*Ach.* 61 ff., *Eq.* 478). Thus Lys. tells the negotiators what they ought to be doing and rebukes them for fighting one another. She does not rebuke them for medizing, and her words cannot therefore be taken as a direct reference to contemporary Athenian or Spartan relations with Persia.

They may, however, be an indirect reference. The Peloponnesians had, since the Sicilian disaster (Th. 8. 5. 4), been receiving aid through

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Tissaphernes until about the end of January, when Tissaphernes and Lichas quarrelled (Th. 8. 43. 2-4). Athens, on the other hand, had for at least three years been actively supporting the rebellion of Amorges against Persian rule. Amorges' father Pissothnes, satrap of Sardis, had revolted against King Dareios II (who took the throne *c.* 424/3) and was crushed, his satrapy passing to Tissaphernes (Ktesias *FGRH* 688 F 15. 53(52)). This occurred sometime after 421, cf. D. M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* (Leiden 1977) 80-1. Amorges, based on Iasos, continued the revolt, which must have been considerable because Dareios ordered Tissaphernes in the winter of 412 to capture him dead or alive (Th. 8. 5. 5). Tissaphernes was also ordered to make good the tribute for which he was in arrears at the expense of the Hellenic cities hitherto protected by Athens (*ibid.*). Athens stood by Amorges until he was captured, along with Iasos, in late summer 412 (Th. 8. 28. 2). At around the time of the performance of *Lys.* (probably shortly before: *Introd.* 1), Peisandros secured from the Athenians the deposition of the general Phrynichos on the grounds that he had betrayed Amorges by failing to rescue Iasos (Th. 8. 54. 3). Thukydides tells us nothing about Hellenic-Persian relations between 4. 50 and 8. 5, but what he does say jibes with the statement of Andokides 3. 29, that Athens' breach with Dareios and support of Amorges provoked the Persian alliance with the Peloponnesians. The date of Athens' breach with Dareios is unknown, but *Av.* 1027-30 preserves a recollection of passionate debate (not necessarily recent) about Persian relations (cf. *HCT* v. 17). The thinking in Athens that led to this most imprudent shift in policy as regards Persia is quite mysterious.

Since Ar. seems not to have known about Peisandros' secret negotiations with the generals (313 n.) or plans to alter the constitution (490-2 n.) in order to secure the return of Alkibiades, it is unlikely that the possibility of Persian money for the Athenians was yet public knowledge: that was inseparably linked to the deal with Alkibiades and could not have been announced as a separate plan. Thus 'the reference to barbarian enemies is one about which the Athenians could feel self-righteous' (Dover *AC* 170). Any more direct suggestion of Spartan medizing would be out of place in an appeal for reconciliation.

1135 According to Σ^R this line is from Euripides *Erechtheus* (= fr. 54 Austin), produced *c.* 423 in conjunction with the start of work on the Erechtheion (cf. *Plu. Nik.* 9 = fr. 369).

1136 As *Lys.* planned (1112-13) the Athenians react to Reconciliation's charms not to *Lys.*'s arguments. Such comic interpolations (1147-8, 1157-8), like those in an *agon* (488-9 n.), break up long speeches and alleviate their seriousness. They are of course ignored by *Lys.* **ἀπόλλυμαι**: Echoing 1134. **ἀπεψωλημένος**: 'with glans exposed' by erection (*Pax* 904, *Pl.* 295), elsewhere by circumcision, characteristic of barbarians (*Ach.* 155-61, *Av.* 504-7, *Pl.* 265-7), cf. Dover *GH* 129-30.

1137-48. An Athenian benefaction

The great earthquake of 464 (cf. *Ach.* 510-11) was followed by helot revolt. The rebels fortified Mt. Ithome in the Messenian plain and were besieged by the Spartans, who appealed for help to members of the alliance against Persia formed in 481, including Athens. Kimon, Spartan proxenos and leader of the conservative democrats (1144 n.), persuaded the Athenians (over objections from Ephialtes and the radical democrats) to honour the Spartan request. Kimon himself set out with a substantial hoplite force (Th. 1. 102. 1 *πλήθει οὐκ δλίγω*) and after an unsuccessful attempt to reduce Ithome by assault was ignominiously dismissed (late 463 or early 462, see below). This incident ended Kimon's career (he was ostracized in 462/1) and his policy of joint Spartan-Athenian hegemony, and it was a milestone in the history of enmity between the two states (Th. 1. 102. 3 *διαφορὰ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους φανερὰ ἐγένετο*, cf. De Ste. Croix 180-3). For these events see Hdt. 9. 35, Th. 1. 101-3, D. S. 11. 64. 4, 15. 66. 4, Plu. *Kim.* 17. 2.

Lys. urges the Spartans to return to the Kimonian policy by reminding them of a notable Athenian benefaction (*ἔσωσε* in 1144 is a rhetorical exaggeration) at a time when they were menaced by the two misfortunes they most feared, earthquake and helot revolt: note the clause in the Peace of 421 *ἦν δὲ ἡ δουλεία ἐπανιστήται, ἐπικουρεῖν Ἀθηναίους παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν* (Th. 5. 23. 3). For similar appeals to past benefactions cf. the Plataians at Th. 3. 54. 4 and the Spartans at X. *H.* 6. 5. 33-4 'they said that they had expelled (*συνεκβαλεῖν*, cf. 1154) the tyrants from Athens, and that the Athenians had eagerly sent help (*βοηθεῖν*) when they ἐπολιορκοῦντο by the Messenians, and they pointed out how fine things were when both cities acted in concert (*κοινῇ*), as when they drove out the barbarian ...'

For the dates see *HCT* i. 401-8. Σ^R at 1144 is a scholarly note (probably drawing on Philochoros, as at 1138 = 328 F 117), giving the standard Atthidographic date of 468/7 for earthquake and revolt, distinguishing between helots and Messenians (cf. *Hellanikos* 4 F 188, Ephoros 70 F 117, contrast Th. 1. 101. 2), and mentioning the destruction of an otherwise unattested odeion. The scholion concludes *ἕως Κίμωνος διὰ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ἔσωσεν αὐτούς*. This was obviously drawn from our passage but may have been accepted as historically true (not merely a scholiast's embellishment of his source): cf. Xenophon's *ἐπολιορκοῦντο* (quoted above) and, for Ar. as a historical source in the fourth century and later, W. R. Connor, *Theopompus and Fifth-century Athens* (Cambridge, Mass. 1968), index (further research in this area is needed). Philochoros' statement (quoted Σ^R 1138) that *τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λαβεῖν διὰ τὰς κατασχούσας τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα συμφορὰς* probably reflects knowledge of a disastrous and long-lasting fall in the Spartiate population as a result of the earthquake and revolt, which Thukydides does not mention (1. 19-9, cf. 5. 60. 3, 74. 1, *HCT* i. 298-9), but which later writers knew in some detail, cf. L. Ziehen, *Hermes* 68 (1933) 218-37.

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- 1138-9** Perikleidas (the statement in Σ^R that he was a general cannot be verified) was perhaps the father of the Athenaios mentioned at Th. 4. 119. 2 as a signatory to the truce of 423. Kimon named a son Lakedaimonios. **καθέλειτο**: Unaugmented as in tragedy, contrast *Pl.* 727 and prose, e.g. Th. 4. 110.
- 1140** Humorously contrasting the scarlet garment with the pale face (**ἄχρῶς** of fear, cf. *Pax* 642). **φοινικίδι**: Associated especially with Spartans (Hdt. 1. 152, X. *Lak.* 11. 3), though probably worn also by Athenian taxiarchs (*Pax* 1173 ff., which suggests the common soldier's resentment of smartly dressed but often cowardly officers: cf. Sommerstein at *Pax* 303).
- 1141-2** **προσαιτῶν**: 'begging' (*Ach.* 429), a comic exaggeration. **ἄμα**: The variant **μέγα** occurs very frequently (and often at line-end) in tragedy, and its presence in the scholion's lemma may derive from a quotation of a tragic source (E. *Erechtheus*?, cf. 1135 n.).
- 1143** Four thousand hoplites may be an exaggeration (cf. 1137-46 n.; Plu. *Kim.* 17. 1 and Diodor. 11. 64. 2-3 say 'a large army').
- 1144** Kimon, who exemplifies the good old days when Athens and Sparta were friends, is one of the few political figures praised by Ar. (for the military figures see 801-4 n.). These are without exception conservative democrats (usually dead) without aggressive attitudes toward Sparta and without a main base of political support in the lower orders: for a list see De Ste. Croix 361-2, 367, to which add Archeptolemos of Agryle, son of the Milesian Hippodamos (*Eq.* 327, 794-5), who apparently commended Spartan peace proposals to the Athenians c. 425 (see A. H. Sommerstein, *CQ* 30 (1980) 47-8) and was to be one of the three extreme members of the 400 (*HCT* v. 60, 197); and Kimon's son Oulios (*Eq.* 407). Kratinos also praises Kimon (fr. 1), but in Ar.'s day memory of his philolakonism elicited disapproval even from the oligarchs (Kritias ap. Plu. *Kim.* 16. 9) and from comic poets (Eup. 208 is not wholly condemnatory).
- 1145-6** **δηοῦτε χώραν**: 'ravage' (not necessarily implying the taking of booty), referring to King Agis' forces at Dekeleia (Introd. I).
- 1147-8** The Spartan's remark is an aside (1136 n.), since Lys. proceeds at 1149 as if she had heard only the Athenian. We cannot (with Wilamowitz) give 1148b to the Athenian because **ἄφατον** seems to be Lakonian (cf. 198, 1080) and because that would spoil the joke on the Spartan predilection for anal intercourse (616-24 n., cf. 1157, 1163, 1174). Nor can we transpose the lines because then the Athenian's remark would be lost in the laughter, cf. 1157-8. Like the Athenian (1136) the Spartan is hardly listening to Lys.

1149-58. *A Spartan benefaction*

For these events see Hdt. 1. 59-64, 5. 55-65, 94-5, Th. 1. 20. 2, 6. 54-9, *Ath.* π. 13-9, Philochoros 328 F 115. Thukydides 6. 53 ff. tells us that after

the Sicilian expedition there was new interest in the Peisistratidai and their fall from power, especially (1) the role played by Harmodios and Aristogeiton, (2) the role played by the Alkmaionidai, maternal family of Perikles and Alkibiades: even after the war the younger Alkibiades was attacked and defended in court on the basis of his ancestors' behaviour during the tyranny (Lys. 14. 39, Isokr. 16. 25 ff., cf. 1093–4 n.), just as the 'curse of the Alkmaionidai' had been used as propaganda against Perikles in 432/1 (Th. 1. 139), and (3) the role played by the Spartans.

Even the later tradition that speaks favourably of the Peisistratidai agrees that after Hipparchos' assassination in 514 (630–1 n.) Hippias' rule became oppressive. Nevertheless the attempt of the exiles (among them the Alkmaionidai) on Leipsydriion to overthrow Hippias was a failure (667–9 n.). The Spartans had supported the tyranny (Hdt. 5. 90. 1, cf. 91. 2) but by 510 had decided to intervene in its overthrow. In that year a sea force under Anchimolios was overcome by Hippias and his Thessalian cavalry, but the land force under Kleomenes (271–4 n.) routed the Thessalians and besieged the tyrant's men on the Akropolis. After a few days Hippias and his family escaped to Sikyon.

The importance of the Alkmaionidai in these actions is played down by Thukydides: 'the Athenians knew that it was not they and Harmodios that had put an end to the tyranny, but the Spartans' (6. 53. 3), 'Hippias was deposed by the Spartans and the exiled Alkmaionidai' (6. 59. 3). Herodotos, the Athidographers, and the orators play down the role of the Spartans by stressing that it was the Alkmaionidai who led the exiled families and who sought Delphic help in order to pressure the Spartans to come to their aid.

Lys.'s view of these matters is determined by the requirements of her argument: the help sent by the Spartans parallels the help sent by Kimon (1137–46 and the passage from Xenophon quoted in n.). That the Athenians were enslaved is a parallel exaggeration. Lys.'s argument implicitly corrects the naive view expressed by the chorus of men at 616–35 (see n.).

1150–2 ὑμᾶς: With *κῆλευθέρωσαν* (1155): a remarkably long period for a comic speech, probably from assimilation to actual forensic practice.

κατωνάκας: A rough sheepskin chiton worn by slaves (*Ek.* 721–4). Later tradition that the tyrants of Athens and of Sikyon forced citizens to wear servile clothing may have been inferred from this passage (Σ 618, Theopomp. Hist. 172, Poll. 7. 60, Athen. 6. 231D). **ἐλθόντες δορί:** Poetic.

1154–6 ξυνεκβαλόντες: As in the passage from Xenophon (1137–46 n.). R's *ξυνεκμαχοῦντες* is an unlikely verb. Van Leeuwen's *καὶ ξυμμαχοῦντες ... ἤλευθέρωσαν* (*ἤλ-* had been proposed by Dindorf) is less forceful, diminishing the impact of the climactic main verb *κῆλευθέρωσαν*. In the text *ξυνεκβαλόντες* is a circumstantial participle with *ἀπώλεσαν* 1152. **τὸν δῆμον ... χλαῖναν:** For the accusatives cf. 1021, for the garment 582–6 n.

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ἡμιέσχον: Usually of an outer garment (at *Ek.* 331 ff. of an undergarment used in place of a missing himation).

1157-8 The asides (1136 n.) contrast Athenian preference for the vagina with the Spartans' for the anus (1147-8 n.). **οὔπα ... ὄπωμα:** Cf. 1225. **χαϊώτεραν:** 'fine', 'well-endowed', referring to Reconciliation's hindquarters (cf. 91-2 n.). **κῶσθον:** An obscene word (Henderson 130), suiting the second aside.

1159-88. *Negotiations*

Lys. arbitrates the demands for mutual concessions. When agreement has been reached both sides impatiently reject Lys.'s suggestion that the allies be consulted on the grounds that the allies are surely as eager for peace as they are. Lys. invites the ambassadors on to the Akropolis for ratification of the treaty and for a celebratory banquet, after which they may reclaim their wives. All exit hastily through the Propylaea.

In this scene the proceedings descend into pure farce: the sexual theme displaces the political, and hereafter the situation is, Now that that's settled, let's celebrate! Ar.'s concern was to present a plausible case for the justice and desirability of a negotiated peace, and he had no desire to confront the concessions that Athens would have had to make on any realistic appraisal of her situation. The geographical specifics are introduced as sexual *double entendres* and illustrated by reference to Reconciliation's naked body (for a similar routine cf. *Ve.* 1369 ff.). Thus no inference can be drawn about their power or relevance as political issues in 411. It is as a result of both sides' sexual preoccupation that negotiations are quick and easy: but still the Athenians have enough presence of mind to get the better of the bargain (1171-2).

The urgency with which the ambassadors exit into the Propylaea (1187-8) is motivated by Lys.'s promise that they shall soon reclaim their wives (1186-7). This ends the strike-plot, and Ar., having no further need to maintain the men's sexual desperation, allows it to be forgotten (we are not to imagine that the men satisfy their desire on the Akropolis: 912 n.).

1160-1 μοχθηρίας: 574-6 n. **διαλλάγητε:** Lys. gestures toward Reconciliation.

1162-4 τῶγκυκλον: The Spartan uses this word for an item of clothing (113-14 n.) metaphorically ('rotundity', cf. *κύκλος* = fortification) with reference to Reconciliation's rump (1147-8 n.). **ποιόν, ὦ τάν:** For ὦ τάν (501-3 n.) in questions cf. 1178, *Krat.* 307, *Men. Dysk.* 359-60. Lys. expresses polite surprise, since Reconciliation is naked. **τάν Πύλον:** A *double entendre* referring to Reconciliation's anus (for this use cf. Anaxandr. 33. 17); the article is deictic. The capture and fortification of Pylos in 425 (*Th.* 4. 2-41) had been a major victory for Athens. The Spartans recovered it in 410 (*D. S.* 13. 64). **βλιμάδδομες:** 'grope for'/'feel/squeeze', cf. *Av.* 530 and *Σ, Krat.* 335, *CA* 766, compare *ὑποψαλάσσειν* 84.

- 1165-6** **μά τὸν Ποσειδῶν:** Lending a tone of defiance to the refusal (cf. *Eg.* 338, 409, *Ve.* 163, *Ek.* 748) and perhaps hinting at this god's power to harm the Spartans (1142). **τοῦτο ... δράσετε:** 'that you *shan't* get' (Denn. 159 f.), cf. 1090 n. **κινήσομεν:** 'cause trouble about' (cf. 474, *A. Ch.* 289 *κινεῖ παράσσει*), with a pun on *κινεῖν* = *βινεῖν*.
- 1167-70 γ':** Stressing a reply to an open-ended question (Denn. 133). **τὸ δεῖνα:** Buying time, 920-1 n. **τουτοῖ ... Ἐχινούντα:** Indicating Reconciliation's pubic hair (cf. the flute-girl's at *Ve.* 1394 and similar metaphors at Hippon. 70. 8 *βρύσσον*, *Ar. fr.* 425 *διαλείχοντά μου τὸν κάτω σπατάγγην*) or pubis (if she had no pubic hair), since *ἐχῶνος* was used of a wide-mouthed jar and perhaps of bodily cavities (at Poll. 2. 86 *ἐχινώσκος* = ear canal). Echino(u)s in Phthiotis on the NW coast of the Malian Gulf had been controlled by the Spartans since 426, when they sent a colony to Herakleia in Trachinia (*Th.* 3. 92-3), and late in 413 King Agis had campaigned in that area (*Th.* 8. 3). It is likely that the Athenians were concerned about the subsequent weakening of the anti-Spartan forces in the north (*Th.* 8. 92. 8 suggests that in 411 Thessaly requested Athenian assistance). **τὸν Μηλιῶ ... ὄπισθεν:** *κόλπος* can bear the meaning 'vulva' (cf. LSJ I. 2) and *τὸν ὄπισθεν* will then indicate the 'gulf behind the pubis'. The Spartan has already opted for the anus (1163), and the Athenian has had his eye on the vagina (1158). **τὰ Μεγαρικά σκέλη:** The walls connecting Megara and Nisaia were demolished by anti-Athenian Megarians in 424/3 (*Th.* 4. 109. 1). The Athenians did not lose Nisaia until 409 (*D. S.* 13. 65). During the peace negotiations in winter 422/1 the Athenians insisted on keeping Nisaia because the Thebans refused to give up Plataia: this was one of the unresolved issues (neither Plataia nor Nisaia was mentioned in the treaty), cf. *Th.* 5. 17.
- 1171-2** The Spartans lodge an objection (the Athenians are greedy) to match the Athenians at 1165. Lys. replies that a pair of legs aren't worth squabbling about. Perhaps the Athenian has hold of one leg and the Spartan the other, a situation resembling the walls which connected Spartan-held Megara with Athenian-held Nisaia. **λυσάνιε:** 'good sir' (*Hsch.*, *Phot.*) not (Σ) = *μαινόμενε* (reflecting confusion with the etacistic variant *λυσσάνιε*).
- 1173-4** Luckily the Athenians like the front and the Spartans like the rear (1147-8 n.), so that each side is happy with the settlement. **γεωργεῖν:** Agricultural metaphors for sexual intercourse are quite common in all kinds of poetry (Taillardat 100-1, Henderson 161 ff.), compare Reconciliation at *Ach.* 989-99. **γυμνός:** *Hes. WD* 391 ff. **κοπραγωγεῖν:** Alluding to anal intercourse, cf. *Pl. Com.* 222, *Juv. Sat.* 9. 43 ff. †**πρῶτα**†: The required sense is that, since dunging precedes ploughing, the Spartans want to have 'first go'. MS **πρῶτα** is unmetrical and un-Lakonian (*πράτα*) and looks like an intrusive gloss: the rest of the line is unobjectionable. No satisfactory emendation has been suggested: possible are Wilamowitz's (unattested) *πρῶ* or *πρὸ τευ*.

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1175-6 ἐπήν: Archaic and formal, cf. *Av.* 983, 1355, *KG* ii. 447 n. 1. **δράσετε:** 1090 n. **ἀλλ' εἰ κτλ.:** The formula for agreement, 167, 951. **καί:** At trimeter-end also at *Ach.* 143, *Ve.* 1193, *Pl.* 752.

1177-81 Ar. wants to motivate the allies' absence in the final scenes (some were represented in the prologue) and does so on plausible grounds: they will be as anxious for sex (peace) as the chief combatants, especially the Karystians (1058-60 n.). The argument for non-consultation is put with obscene bluntness (cf. 715 n.), and Lys. applauds it (1182).

The high-handed tone of the Athenian ('what do you mean, allies?', a response to an absurd question, 729-30 n.) is consistent with Ar.'s attitude toward the allies elsewhere but in 411 has a different significance than in earlier plays. Since the Sicilian disaster Athens could no longer count on dictating to her subject-allies because she could no longer police them as effectively as before. Earlier in the play Lys. circumspectly mentions them under the rubric 'colonial cities' (582-6 with n.). It must have been hard for the Athenians to swallow the rebelliousness of cities over which they had for so long been masters. Here Ar. cheers them up (in the good-old-days spirit that animates these final scenes) by laughing off the problem of the allies. The Spartan attitude is equally rambunctious. Sparta had never been able to control her allies as effectively as Athens did hers, nor (as self-styled 'liberators') did she particularly want to appear high-handed: note her fear of affronting the allies at *Th.* 4. 22. 3 and the indignant reaction of the allies when they felt affronted (5. 17. 2, 29. 2). Like the rest of Lys.'s peace, the problem of the allies is settled on the level of wish-fulfilment.

1184-8 In ordinary circumstances ambassadors and other dignitaries would be feasted in the Prytaneion (cf. *Ach.* 124 ff.); for a list see M. J. Osborne, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 153 ff. But banquets were held in sanctuaries as well (cf. F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Suppl.* (Paris 1962) # 24 and n.), including the Akropolis: an honorary inscription from the mid third century praises the priestess of Athena Polias for the splendid banquet she had prepared 'according to ancestral custom' (*IG* ii² 776. 10 ff.). **ὄν:** Ablatival, cf. 1129-30 n. **κίσταις:** Cf. *Pax* 666 where Peace arrives *σπονδῶν φέρουσα τῇ πόλει κίστην πλέαν*. Kistai (round wickerwork baskets with lids) are frequently associated with festive processions (Burkert *GR* 99). Although there may be a jocular pun here on *κύσθος*, sexual intercourse is not to be imagined as occurring on the Akropolis, cf. 743 n. **εἶχομεν:** They already have them ready, cf. *Ve.* 855, *Pax* 142, 522. **ὄρκους ... πίστιν:** Formulaic, *Ach.* 308 etc. **ὡς τάχος/τάχιστ':** Cf. 1159-88 n.

We are not to ask how the Lakonian wives were conveyed hither (perhaps they are among the hostages of 244) or what has become of the Boiotian and the Korinthian (in the final scenes only Athenians and Spartans are represented).

After Lys. enters the Propylaia with the others (the Ambassadors' slaves remain outside, 1217-18a n.), she speaks no more lines and takes

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no further role in the action (unless she mutely escorts the wives from the citadel at 1273 ff., see n.). Her purpose is accomplished upon ratification of the peace, and politics are once again in the hands of the men (cf. 1182-7), who have learned the error of their ways and swear to err no more (1273-8, 1287-90): compare the reformed Demos (*Eq.*) and Euripides (*Th.*). While the ratification is taking place offstage the chorus sings a pair of songs resuming the pair at 1043-71.

1189-1215. CHORAL INTERLUDE

- 1189-94** The chorus offers unstintingly (cf. *Ek.* 690 *πάσι γὰρ ἄφθονα πάντα παρέξομεν*) to equip any girls who are to be kanephoroi (645-7 n.). **δέ:** Marking the continuation from 1071, as at *Av.* 1553 (cf. 1482, 1694). **χλανιδίων:** Mantles of fine wool (Σ^R *πορφυρών περιβολαίων*), cf. *Av.* 1116, *Ek.* 848. **ξυστίδων:** A saffron-dyed himation, evidence of wealth (*Nu.* 70) and associated with kings in tragedy and with charioteers (Σ^{RVE} *Nu.* 70, cf. the illustration on the N Frieze of the Parthenon).
- 1195-1202 λέγω:** With *λαμβάνειν* and *φορεῖν* = 'invite', with *σεσημάνθαι* = 'declare'. **σεσημάνθαι:** Like *σημείον/-α* used both of the sealing material (as here) and of the device (often a finger-ring: *Ek.* 952) used to stamp an impression on it (*Ve.* 585). **τὸ μὴ οὐχι:** *Ra.* 68, KG ii. 217-18. **τοὺς ῥύπους:** Probably of a kind of clay (Σ^R *ἐκ πηλοῦ*, cf. *Athen.* 585D, *Poll.* 10. 59), like the sealing-earth used by the Egyptians (*Hdt.* 2. 38. 3), instead of the usual wax.
- 1203-4 σίτος:** Wheat or barley, L. Moritz, *CO* 5 (1955) 135-41. During the war the poverty of needier citizens was offset by doles of grain. Ar. elsewhere criticizes popular leaders for using the dole to curry favour (*Eq.* 1100 ff., *Ve.* 715 ff., *Av.* 580-1, *Ek.* 422 ff.) and here perhaps implies that performance often fell short of promise.
- 1205-8 πυρίδια:** More expensive than the usual barley (*Nu.* 106, 176). **λεπτά:** 'fine-grained' (not 'fresh' with LSJ II. 2, Taillardat 123 n. 6), preparing the following metaphor. **ἂπὸ χοίνικος:** 'by the litreful', a generous promise since one choinix per man per day was usual (*Hdt.* 6. 57. 3, 7. 187. 2, *Th.* 4. 16. 1). **ιδεῖν μάλα νεανίας:** 'very substantial to behold', playing on *λεπτά:* slender/puny grains of wheat 'grow up' to be strapping (Σ^R *μέγας*) loaves. The metaphor appears for the first time here, later *Pl.* 1137 *κρέας νεανικόν*, *Antiph.* 190. 20 (*πότοι*), *Alex.* 188 (*λοπάς*), *Pl. R.* 363C.
- 1210-15 τῶν πενήτων:** Citizens who have to work are poor (cf. *Pl.* 553). **σάκους:** This spelling also at *Ach.* 822, *Ek.* 502; *σακκ-* at *Ach.* 745. The same variation appears in inscriptions (*GAI* i. 517). **ὁ μανῆς:** 907-9 n. **αὐτοῖς:** The sacks and baskets. **γε μέντοι:** Adversative (*Denn.* 412). **τὴν κύναι:** For domestic watchdogs cf. *Th.* 414-17. The gender may imply special ferocity (cf. 363).

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1216-46. THE SUCCESS OF THE BANQUET

1216-38 The Athenian ambassador (who entered at 1086 and who presides over the final scenes as master of ceremonies: 1273-1321 n.) emerges from the Propylaea and knocks the doorkeeper out of the way. Annoyed to find the slaves (1217-18a) blocking his way, he threatens to singe their hair (those departing from a banquet would normally carry torches: these are probably the ones used earlier by the men's chorus). In an aside to the spectators he declares his reluctance to play such a clownish and trite routine, but if they want him to go through with it he will accommodate them. A second Athenian emerges with the rest of the Athenian delegation and offers to help. When the slaves have been scattered (so that the Spartans can emerge unmolested), the Athenians discuss the success of the banquet.

In most scenes involving doorkeepers in comedy and Platonic dialogues (e.g. *Pl. Phlb.* 62C) someone outside demands to be admitted. Here Ar. works a comic reversal of the preceding action, where men had attempted to enter, not escape from, the Akropolis. A similar reversal of the usual doorkeeper-routine occurs at *Ve.* 152, where Philokleon calls from within to a slave and tries to force his way out of the house.

Some interpreters introduce new arrivals seeking entrance (Prytaneis or layabouts), but surely these are the emerging banqueters whose appearance Ar. enlivens with some komastic farce. It would be awkward to leave new arrivals with nothing further to do after 1224. S. Radt, *Mnem.* 27 (1974) 16 notes that slaves would not have long, singeable hair and suggests that the obstructors are Athenian effeminate attracted by the Spartans (1223-4, cf. 616-24 n.). But *μαστιγίαι* 1240 (note *ἀδῆς* 1239) seems to indicate slaves. In addition, hair does not have to be long to be singeable and these slaves might have come with the Spartans (who wore their hair long, 561-2 n.). The Athenians and Spartans who emerge with the ambassadors perform the dance of the reunited couples (1273-1321 n.).

1216 Σ^R assumes that the doorkeeper is female, evidently because the women have hitherto been in charge of the Akropolis. But in the previous scene Lys. was accompanied only by Reconciliation: there is no indication of the presence of female defenders, nor is there need for any (the women secured the Akropolis at 456 ff.). *παραχωρεῖν ἔδει*: 'you ought to have got out of the way' (cf. *Ra.* 767): the doorkeeper tumbles violently as the banqueter emerges.

1217-18a To the group of slaves (cf. 1239-40) who had accompanied the ambassadors. The bullying of slaves was a standard slapstick routine (e.g. *Ve.* 1326 ff., *Pl.* 1052 ff.) and even appears in tragedy, as *E. Or.* 1448 *οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ἔτ'; ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κακοὶ Φρύγες*.

1218b-20 (To the spectators) 'What a clownish device! I'd rather not do it'. (At least some spectators shout their encouragement) 'Well, if we really

must, we'll take the trouble of doing you all that favour'. For the staleness of the routine cf. *Nu.* 543, and for a similar self-deprecating reference by an actor cf. *Ek.* 888-9 *κεῖ γὰρ δι' ὄχλου* ('tedious') *τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῖς θεωμένοις, ὅμως ἔχει τερπνόν τι καὶ κωμωδικόν*. Compare also the opening dialogue in *Ra.* Earlier, however, *Ar.* had used the singeing-routine without apology (381). The switch to the plural in 1220 indicates that the actor speaks for his troupe and thus signals the emergence of his comrades. **χωρίον:** Σ^R *τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὸ ὑμᾶς καῦσαι*, cf. *Th.* 1. 97. 2 where *χωρίον* = the place (in the book) that should be occupied by this period in history, *Eup.* 106 (*Demes*) *καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ γε παύσομαι λόγου, φράσω δέ σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ τῶν χωρίων*, *Lykourg.* 31, *Philostr.* *VS* 1. 16, *Luc. Dem. Enc.* 16 *ὑμῖν: Σ^R ὦ θεαταί*.

1221-2 A second Athenian emerges with a group of delegates. He must speak both lines in order to make good his offer of help. **κωκύσεσθε:** 447-8 n.

1223-4 The ambassador echoes his comrade and helps him clear the way. **καθ' ἡσυχίαν:** 'without interference', 'freely'.

1225-6 ὄπωπ': Since the Spartans do not emerge until 1241 this line is an Athenian's, and *ὄπωπα* a colloquial elevation of speech (it occurs in tragic dialogue) or a Lakonism (cf. 1157) reflecting the speaker's recent conviviality with Spartans. **ἦ καί:** ἦ is affirmative and *καί* emphasizes **χαριέντες**, cf. *Ek.* 125 *ὡς καὶ καταγέλαστον τὸ πρᾶγμα φαίνεται*, *Denn.* 285.

1228-30 Humorously inverting conventional wisdom: *Eq.* 88 *πὼς δ' ἂν μεθύων χρηστόν τι βουλευσάιτ' ἀνήρ;*, *Ve.* 1253 ff., *Ek.* 137 ff., *Pl.* 1047-8, *Henioch.* 5, *Eub.* 94. 10, *CA* 106. 12. The Athenian's changed attitude amounts to a decision to live henceforth a peaceful (festive) rather than a warlike life, since wine and warfare are antithetical (cf. 185 ff.). Not many years ago, during the period of protest against the war in Vietnam and of widespread disaffection with the political leadership in America and Europe, there were public voices that more or less seriously advanced the argument that the use of marijuana and LSD by politicians and generals would be a way to bring peace and improve the quality of life; as in *Lys.* this was closely aligned with the proposal to 'make love not war'. **πανταχοῦ:** *Pregnant*, *KG* i. 545.

1234-5 ὑπονεοῖκαμεν: 37-8 n., *Pl.* 360-1, cf. *Andok.* 1. 9 *μήτε ὑπονοεῖν μήτε ῥήματα θηρεύειν*. **ἀγγέλλομεν κτλ.:** 'and about any given negotiation we make contradictory (i.e. incorrect) reports'.

1236-8 νυνί: 'today'. **μὲν γε:** 589-90 n. **ᾄδοι:** The ability to select and perform the appropriate songs at a banquet was an important social grace, cf. *Ve.* 1224-48. Here the mood of the banqueters is so jovial that even mistakes are applauded. Both the *Telamon* (= *GLP* 898-9, cf. *Theopomp.* 64) and the *Kleitagora* (= *GLP* 912, cf. *Ve.* 1245-7, fr. 271, *Krat.* 254) were well-known skolia, but it is not clear why it was a mistake on this occasion to sing one instead of the other. The statements by *Σ Ve.* 1245 that the poet *Kleitagora* was Thessalian and *Σ^R* here that she was Lakonian are inferences from the respective texts.

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1239-46 The slaves, who have gathered again at the Propylaea, are shooed away, enlivening the emergence of the Spartans. Their leader is the ambassador of 1076 ff. With him is a musician, who is asked to strike up a tune so that the ambassador can perform a song and dance celebrating Athens and Sparta jointly. The Athenian ambassador happily endorses this idea because he enjoys Spartan dancing—another of the pleasures which peace has restored (cf. 36, 108 ff., 700 ff.).

The Spartans and Athenians now onstage represent the husbands awaiting the return of their wives (promised at 1186-7). The slaves are not seen again because the stage is needed for the solo (1247 ff., 1279 ff.) and couple (1296 ff.) dances that end the play.

1241-2 πολυχαρείδα: 1097-9 n. **φυστήρια:** A sort of bagpipe (Hdt. 4. 2), cf. the Boiotian at *Ach.* 863 and the Persian piping at *Th.* 1175 ff. The exodos of a comedy frequently showcases surprise entertainments (cf. *Ve.* 1536-7): the poet is not constrained by the requirements of the plot, which at this point has been effectively resolved, and wants to leave the spectators with a memorable finale. Here the ethnic novelty is the principal fun.

1243-6 The Spartan dance *dipodia* (cf. Krat. 173 [*Ploutoi*] ἄρξει γὰρ αὐτοῖς [αὐλὸς Marzullo] *διποδία καλῶς*) may be associated with the trochaic dimeter rhythm referred to by that name, cf. LSJ III, L. Lawler, *TAPA* 76 (1945) 59-73. **τε χαῖμ':** = *τε καὶ ἀμέ*, cf. *Ra.* 964, *Ek.* 51, Theokr. 11. 39 *τὴν τὸ φίλον γλυκύμαλον ἀμὰ κήμαντὸν αἰείδων*. **ὑμᾶς:** Generic, since there is only a single performer here, cf. also 1295.

1247-72. THE SPARTAN SINGS

The Spartan ambassador dances the *dipodia* and sings a song celebrating two glorious exploits of the Persian war: the (alleged) Athenian naval victory at Artemision and the heroic stand of Leonidas at Thermopylai (the closing invocation of Artemis Agrotera also alludes to Marathon). Thus Ar. drives home in a festive way the arguments of Lys. at 1128-56.

Astrophic monodies, a feature of the later plays of Sophokles and Euripides, allow the dramatist the greatest rhythmic diversity: 'the words did not at any point have to fit into a predetermined melodic frame, while the melody could be shaped throughout to express all the emotional nuances of the words. Polymetry was a natural resource in these circumstances' (West 136). Most examples in Ar. are modelled on or parodies of tragic monodies (most occur in *Av.*, *Th.*, *Ra.*, cf. Zimmermann ii. 1-40); here the Spartan's two songs imitate conventional Dorian lyric, and the Athenian's is a simple kletic hymn (cf. the Phales-song of Dikaiopolis at *Ach.* 263-79).

The first half of this song (1247-61), invoking the Muse and describing the battles, is mainly trochaic and dactylo-epitrite, perhaps recalling such

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earlier treatments as Simonides 531, 532, 536 (Thermopylai, Salamis, Artemision). The second half, invoking Artemis Agrotera, introduces an iambic element (as occasionally in tragedy after D/e openings, cf. West 134).

(1) 1247	-----υυ--	<i>chodim</i>
(2) 1248	-υυυυ-	2 <i>cr</i>
(3) 1249-50/1	-υυυυυυυυ---	3 <i>tr</i>
	-υυυυυυυυ-	Dυe
(4) 1252	-υυυυυ-	<i>lek</i>
(5) 1253	-υυυ---υ---	<i>tr</i> ---υ---
(6) 1254	-υυυυυ-	<i>lek</i>
(7) 1255-7	-υυ---υ---	E— (2 <i>tr</i>)
	-υυυυυυυυ-	eD
	-υυυυυυυυ-	eE (cr υυ <i>lek</i>)
(8) 1258/9	υυυ---υυ---υυ υ	2 <i>ia cr</i>
(9) 1260	---υυυ---	<i>sp ith</i>
(10) 1261	-----	2 <i>mol</i>
(11) 1262	-υυυ---υυ υ	<i>ch ia</i>
(12) 1263	υυυ-υυυυυ-	<i>ia cr</i>
(13) 1264	-----	2 <i>sp</i>
(14) 1265	-υυυ-υυυυυ-	Dd ²
(15) 1266/7	-υυυ-υυυυυ---	— <i>ch pher</i>
(16) 1268/9	-υυ---υυ---υυ-	<i>tr lek</i>
(17) 1270	υυυ---υυ υ	2 <i>ia</i>
(18) 1271	--υυυ-υ	<i>reiz</i>
(19) 1272	-υυυ-υ υ	<i>lek</i>

(1) *S. Ant.* 137 ~ 151, *E. Hel.* 1315-18 ~ 1334-7, cf. *Nu.* 571-2 ~ 603-4. (3) *Stes.* 209 i. 1 ~ 10. (5) Possibly *ith tr* but in D/e the dramatists use *ith* (the catalectic of *E = lek*) to end strophe or period (West 132), cf. (9) below, and the phrasing here suggests *tr* + the clausula found in *Stes. Eriphyle, SLG* 148 i. 5 ~ ii. 7, 'Thebaid', *ZPE* 26 (1977) 7 ff. and perhaps *SLG* 176. 8. Comparing the clausula in Alkman 14 - x - υ - -, West 49-50 suggests that it is a dragged form of *ith*. (7) (12) In D/e the dramatists permit resolution of the first principles of *e* and *E* (West 134). (9) Cf. (5) above and recall the *sp* associated with *cr/tr* earlier, 658 ff. ~ 682 ff., 781 ff. ~ 805 ff. (10) Cf. *Ra.* 374 ~ 380, *E. Hek.* 200, *Tro.* 144, *Ion* 904, *IT* 123, West 123. (12) For the *ia* cf. metrical note on 330/1 ~ 344/5. (18) *reiz* as a clausula *Ach.* 841, *Pax* 955, otherwise *Nu.* 1304, 1345 ff.; in astrophic passages *E. HF* 1048-9, *IT* 894, cf. West 113, 133.

1248 τῷ κούσανίῳ: 983 n.; indicating himself. **Μναμόνα:** Mother of the Muses, *Hes. Th.* 53-4, 915 ff. **Μῶάν:** He is too young to have witnessed it himself. For specialized Muses cf. 1296, *Ach.* 665-6, *Pax* 775, *Av.* 737-9, *Ra.* 674, Alkman 27. 1.

1250/1 For Artemision and Thermopylai see *Hdt.* 7. 175-8. 21, J. A. S.

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- Evans, *Hist.* 18 (1969) 389 ff. The Athenians, who furnished 180 triremes of a fleet of 324 (Hdt. 8. 1-2, 14. 1), saw their victory at Artemision as a great benefaction for Greece, cf. Pi. fr. 76-7, Sim. 532-3, W. Kierdorf, *Erlebnis u. Darstellung der Perserkriege* (Göttingen 1966 = *Hypomnemata* 16) 39.
- 1252-3 σιείκελοι:** Metre and dialect, together with the gloss in Σ^R, combine to suggest that Ar. wrote σιείκελοι, cf. Alkman 1. 71 σιειδής. This was a typically Spartan way of describing extraordinary human feats: Pl. *Meno* 99D, Arist. *EN* 1145^a29. Wilamowitz's σιείκελοι introduces the metaphor of boar-like ferocity (cf. 683 n.), but this is more appropriate to action on land (cf. 1255-9). **κάλα:** Still current in Lakonian, cf. X. *H.* 1. 1. 23, Plu. *Alk.* 28. For the synecdoche compare Att. ξύλα.
- 1254** At Thermopylai 300 Spartans under Leonidas were attacked from the rear and wiped out to a man by a Persian force under Hydarnes after a heroic three-day defence.
- 1255-9** A vivid simile in the spirit of epic, cf. *Il.* 11. 416, 13. 474, Hes. *Asp.* 386 ff., E. *Ph.* 1380 κάπροι δ' ὅπως θήγοντες ἀγρίαν γένυν ξυνήψαν, ἀφρῶ διάβροχοι γενειάδας. **τῶς κάπρω:** Symbolizing ferocity and heroic resistance even in defeat, *Il.* 20. 168-9 ἕαλ' ἑ γανόν, περὶ τ' ἀφρῶς ὀδόντας γίγνεται, ἐν δέ τε οἱ κραδίη στένει ἄλκιμον ἦτορ. **σάγοντας ... τὸν ὀδόντα:** Cf. *Ra.* 815. **ἀφρός:** A typical detail, perhaps suggesting an admixture of blood, A. *Eum.* 183, S. *Tr.* 702, Arist. *HA* 512^b10 αἷμα ἀφρώδες, Hr. *Arph.* 5. 13, Diog. *Apoll.* 6. **ἄνσεν:** For the metaphor cf. *Nu.* 978, Alkman 26. 3 (sea-foam). **κατῶν ... ἴετο:** Cf. E. *El.* 477 κελαινὰ δ' ἀμφὶ νῶθ' ἴετο κόνις. Σ^R inappropriately sees a reference to defecation from terror.
- 1260-1** A common simile (*Ach.* 3, *Il.* 9. 385, Pi. *O.* 2. 98), closing the narrative portion of the song with spondaic gravity. Traditional accounts emphasized the vast numerical superiority of the Persians, cf. C. Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford 1963) 345 ff. Scepticism is implied, however, in the speech of Hermokrates at Th. 6. 33. 5.
- 1262-3** MSS Ἄρτεμι (which would be Ἄρταμι in Lak.) is an intrusive gloss like those at 1298, *Ra.* 1359, E. *Tr.* 554. **ἀγροτέρα σηροκτόνε:** *Il.* 21. 470-1 πότνια θηρῶν, Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρη, Anakr. 348. 2-3, E. *IA* 1570, cf. Th. 320 θηροφόνη. Before battle the Spartans slaughtered a goat for Artemis Agrotera, X. *Lak.* 13. 8, H. 4. 2. 20, Plu. *Lyk.* 22. 2, and each year on 6 Boedromion the Athenians slaughtered 500 yearling goats to celebrate her birthday: there was a parade of young soldiers and a procession to her temple at Agrai. This festival came to be associated with the victory at Marathon, X. *An.* 3. 2. 12, Plu. *Mor.* 349E, 862A, Ael. *VH* 2. 25, cf. *Eq.* 660-1, Deubner 209-10, Parke 55. All the deities invoked in these final songs emphasize the theme of 'common altars' (1129 ff.). **μόλε δεῦρο:** 743 n., cf. *Ach.* 665-6, Th. 319 ἐλθὲ δεῦρο.
- 1264-70 ποττὰς σπονδάς:** For spondaic invocations see West 55-6. **συνέχης:** Of social and political order (LSJ 2b) as well as

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friendship. **εὐπορος**: Connoting both ease of performance/acquisition and abundance, cf. *Pl.* 532, *Pl. R.* 404C. **ταῖσι συνθήκαισι**: 'thanks to our pact'. **ἀλωπέκων**: 'trickery', cf. 1231-2, the animal representing its characteristic quality (683 n.). This abstraction also appears at *Pl. R.* 365C, cf. *Ve.* 1240 ἀλωπεκίζειν, *Pax* 1067-8 ἀλωπεκιδεύσι πέπεισθε, ὦν δόλαι ψυχαί, δόλαι φρένες, 1189-90 ὄντες οἴκοι μὲν λέοντες, ἐν μάχῃ δ' ἀλώπεκες, *Th.* 1133 μαρὸς ἀλώπηξ, οἶον ἐπιτήκιζι μοι, Taillardat 227-8. The fox as a metaphor for political trickery first appears in Solon 11. 5-8.

1273-1321 The unusual features of this final section have prompted editorial suspicion. Lines 1315-21 bid the chorus depart singing a hymn to Athena, but no hymn follows: has a choral song (perhaps the antistrophe to 1279-94) been lost? (thus Wilamowitz). Lines 1273-94 (especially the choral ejaculations at the end) seem to van Leeuwen to make a more satisfactory ending: were 1273-94 and 1295-1321 transposed somehow? This suggestion is followed up by S. Srebrny, *Eos* 51 (1961) 39 ff. Despite these suspicions, however, there are no cogent grounds for assuming any such major disturbance of the transmitted text.

(1) 1273-8 must stand where they are. The Spartan's song at 1296-1314 clearly accompanies a dance by the reunited couples and cannot therefore precede 1273-8, in which the Athenian ambassador (see note) officially returns the wives to their husbands (as promised at 1186-7). The wives emerge from the Propylaia while the ambassador speaks and join their husbands (who had entered from the banquet at 1221 and 1241).

(2) 1279-90 naturally follow: the song instructs the couples to form up a dance and invites the gods and Graces to join them in celebrating the peace 'which the Kyprian Goddess has accomplished' (1290), a clear reference to the successful conjugal strike (cf. 551-4) and perfectly appropriate at this moment of reunion. That this is an astrophic monody and not a choral song is indicated by its suitability to young couples (1277-8) and not old people and by the fact that the couples do not perform their dance until 1296 ff. The chorus of oldsters is not asked to dance until 1316 ff. The natural soloist here is the Athenian ambassador, who matches his Spartan counterpart (1247-72) in a display of singing skills, as both had reportedly done at the banquet (1236-8).

(3) 1291-4 (referring to the hoped-for victory of the play) belong to the chorus of oldsters and introduce the following couple-dance onstage. A similar arrangement appears in the exodos of *Birds*: Peisetairos announces his satisfaction with the chorus' hymeneal song (1743-7) and after a choral response sings an astrophic monody (1755-62), to which the chorus replies ἀλαλαί, ἐῆ παιῶν κτλ. This choral reply (as in *Ek.*) ends the play, that is, it immediately precedes the departure of the chorus from the orchestra. But in *Lys.* we have yet to see the couple-dance promised at 1279-90 or the exodos of the chorus, so that 1291-4 cannot end the play.

(4) 1296-1314 accompany the couple-dance. The sequence 1273-94 thus

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bridges the Spartan ambassador's two songs: a livelier arrangement than if (with van Leeuwen's transposition) one followed immediately on the other.

(5) 1316-21 (in tetrameters) bid the chorus depart singing a hymn to Athena Chalkioikos (the Spartan equivalent of Polias), an appropriate way to conclude a play about Spartan-Athenian reconciliation and whose action was directed by a woman and largely based on the Akropolis. The actual exit-hymn was not preserved because it was traditional and not composed by Ar. This is usual, cf. *Ach.* 1233-4, *Eq.* (the chorus, departing to a feast, must have done so in traditional symposiac song), *Ra.* 1524-7 (songs from Aischylos), *Pl.* 1209. When Ar. composed special exit-songs they are preserved (*Ve.*, *Pax.*, *Av.*). Thus we need not assume that anything has been lost after 1321. Even if some grounds for suspicion were present, it is strange that there are no references to or citations from the lost hymn, as in the case of *E. Ba.*, cf. G. Zuntz, *Die Ar.-Scholien der Papyri* (Berlin 1975) 119 n. 4.

Dramatic and structural considerations aside, it is difficult to imagine when and how a transposition of 1273-94 and 1295-1321 might have occurred. Accidental transposition is impossible in a text written in a roll, and there are not enough lines in either passage to commend van Leeuwen's assumption that two pages of a codex were reversed (each page will of course have had text on both sides). It is conceivable that performers had sheets of text containing only their parts and that these were subsequently bound together in a roll in the wrong order: see C. F. Russo, *Ar. autore di teatro*² (Rome 1984) 381 ff. But the scholia comment on the text as transmitted, indicating that the Alexandrian editors and the subsequent commentators were unaware of a transposition: it is hard to believe that a 'wild' text of *Lys.* (Ar.'s own) containing the correct sequence bypassed them, and 'histrionic' texts of Ar. are in any case unlikely (cf. *Introd.* VI). Finally, there seems no reason to assume that anyone would have deliberately performed the transposition.

1273-95. THE ATHENIAN SINGS

1273-8 The speaker tells the Spartan and Athenian husbands (who entered at 1221, 1241) to reclaim and take home their wives (who must have emerged from the Propylaia at 1273 or during the preceding song), after first performing a couple-dance and promising never to repeat the errors of the past. That the speaker of 1273-8 sings the following song (which cannot be choral: 1273-1321 n.) is indicated by the parallelism of 1277-8 ~ 1287-90 and by the absence of a request for a different singer (as 1242-6, 1295).

The text suggests that the speaker is the Athenian Ambassador and not (with MSS) *Lys.*: (1) each of *Lys.*'s previous entrances was announced (432, 706-7, 1106-7), but no new speaker is announced here; (2) the promise to keep the peace (1277 *εὐλαβώμεθα* ~ 1287 *χρησόμεθ'*) is best

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made by the spokesman for the husbands (and thus for the city); (3) in her instructions at 1182 ff. Lys. declares her own business finished upon the formal ratification of peace: *κάπειτα τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναιχ' ὑμῶν λαβὼν ἄπεισ' ἕκαστος* (1186-7), which is exactly what happens here; (4) *ὦ Λάκωνες ... ὑμεῖς* (1274-5) need not indicate that the speaker stands above and outside the two groups addressed, as 1122-3 *ἄνδρες Λάκωνες ... ὑμεῖς*, because here the Ambassador is the master of ceremonies for both groups.

And yet the heroine's presence in the final celebration would, one feels, make for satisfying theatrical symmetry (even if Ar. elsewhere leaves a heroine by the wayside early on: *Ek.* 711-28): the one who had taken wives from husbands was the natural choice to return them, and the one who had accomplished the peace ought to have a chance to toast it along with everyone else. In addition, the wives ought to be escorted from the citadel (the Ambassador, already onstage, cannot have done so). Thus it is likely that a mute Lys. escorts the wives from the citadel, then either joins in the couple-dance or (preferable) stands Athena-like in the Propylaea during the joyful exodos. **τᾶλλα:** The ratification of the peace settlement. **ταύτας ... τασδεδι:** Cf. *Av.* 17-18 *κάπέδοτο τὸν μὲν Θαρρελείου τουτουὶ κολοῖὸν ὄβολοῦ, τηρδεδι τριωβόλου. ἐπ' ... συμφοραῖς:* Cf. *Eq.* 406, 665-6, *Nu.* 1205, *E. Alk.* 1155 ff. *χοροὺς ἐπ' ἑσθλαῖς συμφοραῖσιν ἰστάναι βωμούς τε κνισάν βουθύτοισι προστροπαῖς. νῦν γὰρ μεθορμόμεσθα βελτίω βίον τοῦ πρόσθεν.* **θεοῖσιν:** 'in honour of the gods', *Nu.* 271, *Av.* 745 ff., *KG* i. 419.

1279-94 For the ambassador's song see 1273-1321 n. The trochaic and dactylic rhythms recall the preceding song by the Spartan ambassador, but their quicker tempo (achieved by resolution and dactylic runs) indicates a livelier dance than the *dipodia* and suits the joyful moment of reunion. Like most kletic songs in Ar. (cf. Zimmermann ii. 191 ff.) it reflects in form and context the usages of actual life.

(1) 1279-80	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>cr tr lek</i>
(2) 1281-83/4	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ - υ υ - υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ - υ υ - υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ - υ -	<i>2 tr</i> <i>2 tr</i> <i>4 da - υ -</i>
(3) 1285-6	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>2 tr</i> <i>lek</i>
(4) 1287-90	- υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ -	<i>13 da - υ -</i>

The phrasing throughout articulates the rhythms. The transition to dactylic rhythm is facilitated by resolution of the trochaic rhythms and in (2) by the substitution of - υ υ for - υ (in sung trochees *Eq.* 332 ~ 406,

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Ve. 407 ~ 465, *Av.* 396, *Th.* 436 ~ 522, 437 ~ 525, *Ek.* 1177, in trochaic tetrameter *Ach.* 318, *Eg.* 319, *Ve.* 496), cf. *Ek.* 1168 ff. (28 undivided dactyls). The clausula - u -, in *lek* in (1) and (3), is also used to close the dactylic runs in (2) and (4). The kolon - u u - u - (*dodrans*) frequently appears in the expanded form - u u - u u - u - (*ibykean*, cf. West 51), as in *PMG* 286. Ar. has simply extended the expansion.

(1) 1291	u u - u - u -	<i>kδ</i>
(2) 1292	- - - u - u -	<i>kδ</i>
(3) 1293	- u u - - - u -	<i>ch cr</i>
(4) 1294	- - - - - - - -	4 <i>sp</i>

(1) (2) For the dochmius kaibelianus (x - u - u -) see West 108, 111. These may also be described as syncopated catalectic 2 *tr.*, as can (4).

(3) For the choriamb in a trochaic sequence cf. *Ek.* 898 *μᾶλλον ἢ γῶ τὸν φίλον ᾤπερ ξυνείμην*, 902 and 905 (choriambic rhythm assimilated to trochaic, *Th.* 955, Dale 91).

The ambassador invites a list of gods (Artemis and Apollo, Dionysos, Zeus and Hera) and powers (those who would witness the Kyprian's peace) to the forthcoming dance (1296 ff.). The Graces, who personify the charm and beauty of the dancers themselves (cf. Hes. *WD* 73, *h. Cer.* 61), are invited first. The allusive style of identifying Apollo, Dionysos, Hera, and Aphrodite by epithets or special attributes instead of by name is common in epic and lyric poetry. Here Ar. chooses gods and attributes especially appropriate to the occasion (reconciliation of young husbands and wives). The gods are invoked in rising order of importance, with Aphrodite at the end (cf. 551 ff. for her importance to the wives' plan). This type of invitation (exaggerated at *Av.* 851 ff.) follows the practice and sentiment of actual life (at festivals it was regularly not one but a list of gods who were honoured, cf. Burkert *GR* 216 ff.) and thus occurs frequently in drama, e.g. *Eg.* 551 ff., 581 ff., *Nu.* 563 ff., 595 ff., *Th.* 312 ff., *A. Th.* 116 ff. (to avert imminent enemy attack), *S. OT* 158 ff. (to avert the ongoing plague).

The gods invited here mirror typical family groupings: Zeus and Hera (the archetype of the married couple), Apollo and Artemis (brother and sister). In addition, there is Dionysos (patron of the dramatic festival and emblem of release) and Aphrodite (maker of the reconciliation, 1290): both are antithetical to war.

1280-82 For the tmesis ἐπὶ ... κάλεσον cf. 262-3 n. **διδυμον:** Apollo is Artemis' twin brother (Σ^R refers to Apollo's temple at Didyma in Miletos, confusing διδυμον with the epithet Didymaios). **ἀγέχορον:** Otherwise unattested, but cf. *Ἡγέλοχος Ra.* 303, *CEG* 272. 3 = *IG* 1³ 850 (c. 465). Smooth breathing (ᾄγω) would have to be scanned short (cf. *ἀγέστρατος* of Athena, Hes. *Th.* 925). ἀγ- for Att. ἡγ- is strange, but MSS ᾄγε χορὸν clearly preserve the transmitted reading (the segmentation is editorial, cf. Σ^R, on διδυμον, explains ὅτι δύο εἰσὶ χοροί, ὁ τῶν

Λακόνων καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, thus *δίδυμον ἄγε χορὸν* = ‘bring on the twin chorus’, cf. 1296–1315 n.). Perhaps the ambassador wants to give the invocation some Doric coloration. For Apollo and dancing cf. *Av.* 217 ff., Burkert *GR* 146–7. **Ἥμιον**: From the cry *ἦ*, cf. 1291.

1282–4 Νύσιον: Cf. *Ra.* 215–16 *Νυσηῖον Διὸς Διόνυσον*. The second element of the name is perhaps ‘son’ (cf. O. Szemerényi, *Gnomon* 43 (1971) 665, who postulates a metathesis from *Diwossunos*), but more likely a non-Greek element is involved (Burkert *GR* 162–3). Several mountains are called Nysa, after the far-off place connected with the god’s birth (E. *Ba.* 88–100, 519–36, A. fr. 355–62 Mette (*Semele*)). **μετὰ**: Only here with dat. in Ar. The usage is epic (only occasionally in choral lyric and tragedy: KG i. 507), cf. *Il.* 11. 64 *Ἐκτωρ ... μετὰ πρώτοισι φανέσκεν*, E. *Hek.* 355 *δέσποια ἦν γυναιξὶ παρθένοις τ’ ἀπόβλεπτος μέτα*. **βάκχιος**: ‘rapt’/‘ecstatic’, *Th.* 988, *Ra.* 1259. **ἄμματα δαίεται**: Cf. *Il.* 12. 466 *πυρὶ δ’ ὄσσε δεδήει*, E. *Hkl.* 913–14 *πυρὸς δευῆ φλογὶ σῶμα δαισιθεῖς*. MSS *ἄμμασι* is awkward, though Wilamowitz thinks it could be used to parallel *Δία τε πυρὶ φλεγόμενον* in 1285.

1285–6 πυρὶ φλεγόμενον: Zeus is imagined holding his thunderbolt, which illuminates him. Cf. *Ra.* 293–4 *πυρὶ γοῦν λάμπεται ἅπαν τὸ πρόσωπον*, E. *Tr.* 825 *ἀ δέ σε γεναμένα πυρὶ δαίεται*.

1287 ἐπιμάρτυσι: Only here in the classical period; at *Od.* 1. 273 *θεοὶ δ’ ἐπιμάρτυροι* (ἐπὶ μάρτυροι) ἔστων there is a variant (Zenodotos?) *ἐπιμάρτυρες*, cf. Kall. 75. 48 (*Aitia*), A.R. 4. 229 (*ἐπιμάρτυρας*).

1289 Ἡσυχίας ... ἀγανόφρονος: MSS *μεγαλόφρονος* was originally quoted by a commentator as a parallel (Pi. fr. 109 *μεγαλάνορος ἡσυχίας τὸ φαῖδρόν φάος*) or supplied from memory; the desired epithet in this context is supplied from *Av.* 1320–2 *Σοφία Πόθος Ἀμβροσία χάριτες τό τε τῆς ἀγανόφρονος Ἡσυχίας εὐήμερον πρόσωπον*. Whereas Eirene symbolized peace between states, Hesychia symbolized civic tranquillity and freedom of action without constraint, cf. *Th.* 1. 70–1. These are qualities desired by Peisetairos for his new city in the passage from *Birds* just quoted, cf. *Krat.* 256. 3 (the good old days and its ‘blessed way of life’ *ὄν εἶχον ἄνδρες ἀγανόφρονες κτλ.*), *Il.* 20. 467–8 *οὐ γάρ τι γλυκύθυμος ἀνὴρ ἦν οὐδ’ ἀγανόφρων, ἀλλὰ μάλ’ ἐμμεμαῶς*, Pi. *P.* 8. 1–2 *φιλόφρον Ἡσυχία, Δίκας ὦ μεγαστόπολι θύγατερ, βουλᾶν τε καὶ πολέμων ἔχοισα κλαῖδας ὑπερτάτας*, cf. *O.* 4. 16.

In invoking Hesychia Ar. conjures up a quiet, gentlemanly way of life that in the idealized past characterized the relations of Athens and Sparta (cf. 1128–56) but that lived on only in nostalgia. It was hardly a quality that would have been applied to Athens during the past fifty years or so, cf. the Korinthian’s characterization at *Th.* 1. 70. 9 (the Athenians) ‘are by nature incapable of either living a quiet life themselves (*ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν*) or of allowing anyone else to do so’. The quality of *πολυπραγμοσύνη* (opp. *ἡσυχία*) was one in which the Athenians took pride, cf. fr. 241, *Eq.* 1011–13, 1086, *Ve.* 684–5, *Av.* 978, 987, E. *Suppl.* 321–5 where Athens

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is contrasted with less successful cities: *ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πόνοισιν αὖξεται αἱ δ' ἤσυχτοι σκοτεινὰ πράσσουσαι πόλεις σκοτεινὰ καὶ βλέπουσιν εὐλαβούμεναι*. In 411, now that things had begun to go badly for Athens and her empire, the desire for peaceful times (expressed nostalgically) must have been gaining strength. In *Lys.* Ar. appeals to this feeling without implying that the 'busy' behaviour of the Athenians had been a mistake.

1290 The climactic reference is to Aphrodite who, working through the mutual desire of husbands and wives, has accomplished internal and external reconciliation, cf. the prayer at 551-4.

1291 As at *Av.* 1763. *ἦ παιῶν*: Cf. *Eq.* 408 *ἠπαιωνίσαι*. R's *παιῶν* is an epic intrusion (Fraenkel at *A. Ag.* 1248, Barrett at *E. Hp.* 1371-3). This cry, usually directed to Apollo, brings good luck and averts bad and is therefore appropriate in hymns of thanksgiving, success and deliverance from peril, *Th.* 295 ff., *A. Sept.* 267-8, *Th.* 2. 91. 2.

1292-4 Bidding the chorus to rise for a dance (cf. 539-40 n.) 'in the knowledge that we're dancing off to victory' (cf. Webster, *Chorus* 186-7, KG i. 472 n. 1), i.e. the victory of the play. The spectators probably expected the exit of the chorus here, but Ar. has one last surprise in store. For the interjections in 1294 see Schinck 20 ff.

1295 Now that the couples are in place and the chorus is poised for its exit, the Athenian ambassador requests a second display of his counterpart's skill: 'very well, give us a novel song (*μούσαν*, cf. *Nu.* 313, 1030) on top of a novel song' (i.e. 1247 ff.). The novelty was that a Spartan sings and sings for a couple-dance of Spartans and Athenians, cf. *Σ^R ἐπι νεώτερα πράγματα νέαν μουσαν*. It is natural that Ar. wanted the novelty-act (not an Athenian) to perform the final song, and the spirit of reconciliation is the more memorably expressed by having a Spartan orchestrate the exit (cf. 1316 ff.).

The request is expressed rather abruptly (for a more ample version cf. the koryphaios at *Ra.* 384-5 *ἄγε νυν ἑτέραν ὕμνων ἰδέαν, κτλ.*), but there is no real case for marking a lacuna or assuming major corruption. The line suffices for its purpose. Since the singer can be informally addressed (cf. 1216, 1242) MSS *Λάκων* can easily be removed (as Hermann saw) as simply an intrusive attribution of 1296 ff. *πρόφαινε*: Only here in Ar.

1296-1321. EXODOS

1296-1315 This song (unlike the first, 1247 ff.) is entirely Spartan, invoking a Spartan muse, evoking a Spartan locale (the banks of the Eurotas), and listing (cf. 1279-94 n.) only Spartan deities: Apollo at Amyklai, Athena Chalkioikos, the Tyndaridai, Helen. Although the Athenians were familiar with Alkman's poetry (cf. *Av.* 251) they had presumably had little recent exposure to Spartan music (hence the 'novelty', 1295). Thus Ar.'s version of a Spartan song probably relied on traditional poetry for

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61, 115 ff. (15) Unless this is a straight *ar* (σειόνται ∪ —) we have a dragged form of it (cf. (12)(14)). (16) (17) Anapaests, esp. in the form of a paroemiac (cf. West 53-4, *PMG* 856), were typical of Spartan parade- and battle-marches.

1296-7 Ταῦγερον: 117 n. αὐτ': 66 n. At *Nu.* 595 it appears in a quotation from the Spartan poet Terpandros. **Μῶά ... Λάκαινα:** Identifying the purely Spartan character of the song; for the specialized muse cf. 1248 n. **μόλε:** 1263, 743 n. **πρεπτόν ἄμιν:** i.e. *πρεπόντως ἡμῖν*, elsewhere in this sense only at A. *Eum.* 914 τῶν ἀρειφάτων πρεπτόν ἀγώνων.

1298 κλέα: Σ^R glosses ὑμνούσα, cf. *Pax* 774-9 μούσα ... χόρευσον, κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους, κτλ., which was quoted or adapted (according to Σ) from the *Oresteia* of Stesichoros (fr. 33). **τὸν Ἀμύκλαις σιόν:** For the poetic dat. (only here in Ar.) cf. *KG* i. 441; for the intrusive gloss *Ἀπόλλω* (in Lak. it would be *Ἀπέλλω*) cf. 1262-3 n. The Apollo sanctuary of Amyklai, twenty stades from Sparta on the banks of the Eurotas (Paus. 3. 18. 6), was the site of the Hyakinthia festival, a yearly gathering of the clans emphasizing purification and the passage of epheboi into manhood (Burkert *GR* 144-5). At the Hyakinthia and the Athenian City Dionysia the terms of the treaty of 421 were annually renewed (Th. 5. 18. 10, 23. 5). The Dorian Apello (a pre-homeric form of the name) preserves many distinct and archaic features. The Cretan paian arrived on the mainland via the Hyakinthia in the early seventh century (Plu. *de mus.* 1134BD, 1146C), and Amyklai perhaps derives from the name of the Semitic Rešep (A)mukal who was worshipped on Kypros, cf. W. Burkert, *Grazer Beitr.* 4 (1975) 51-79.

1299 Athena of the Bronze House, like Athena Polias at Athens, was the pre-eminent citadel-goddess of Sparta, located on the fortress hill (Paus. 3. 17. 1-3, *Wide* 48 ff., Nilsson 90-1). Since Athena Polias looms so large behind the action of *Lys.* (see *Introd.* III), it is appropriate that the triumphant reconciliation be dedicated to her Spartan counterpart, 1316 ff. Omission of the article is normal in epikleses when the deity's name is given, cf. E. *Hel.* 245 Χαλκίοικον ὡς Ἀθάναν μόλομ' (with Kannicht's n.). The gloss in R is a banalization of Ἀσάναν.

1300-1 Kastor and Polydeukes were twin sons of Zeus (Dioskouroi) and brothers of Helen; the Spartan name Tyndaridai (Tindaridai in inscriptions, e.g. *CEG* 373) is older than the mythical foster-father Tyndareus who was invented to explain it. At Sparta they represented the corps of young men capable of bearing arms and are invoked before battle; their relationship to the dual kingship is revealed in the custom of leaving one of the Tyndaridai at home if only one king goes to battle (*Hdt.* 5. 75. 2). The foot-race along the Eurotas referred to here was a well-known event (cf. E. *Hel.* 204-11 with Kannicht's n., Theokr. 18. 22-3, 39) and probably initiatory, cf. Burkert *GR* 212-13. Although in mythology the Dioskouroi are native to Sparta, they had an Athenian cult in the Anakeion, on the N slope of the Akropolis below the temenos of Aglauros

- (Paus. 1. 18. 1-2), which in 415 was designated as the Assembly Hall of the Athenian Knights (Andok. 1. 45). In addition, they were breakfasted in the Prytaneion: vase-paintings and reliefs show them galloping through the air toward the two klinai prepared for their meal, Burkert *GR* 107 n. 84, Brommer *Vasenlisten*² 360.
- 1302-4** εἶα: *Pax* 459 ff. ἔμβη: Σ^R ἐπίφθεγμα παρακελευστικόν, cf. *Ra.* 377, *Ek.* 478, Fraenkel at *A. Ag.* 1650, J. A. Haldane, *CQ* 14 (1964) 208. κοῦφα: A cliché, *Th.* 953, *Ra.* 345, 1317, 1358, Anakr. 72. 5 κοῦφά τε σκιρτώσα παῖζεις, *B.* 13. 89-90 κοῦφα... θρώσκουσα).
- 1305-6** Reflecting Spartan pride in her music and dance, a stereotype truer of archaic than of classical times.
- 1307-8** χᾶ τε πῶλοι ται κόραι: 'and (where, cf. τᾶ 1305) like colts the girls...', collapsing the epic use of relative + τε (Denn. 521 ff.) in geographical descriptions (e.g. *Od.* 4. 85 Λιβύην, ἅτα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσιν) and similitudes (*Il.* 3. 23 ὡς τε λέων ἐχάρη), cf. Σ^R ἦ τε, ὅπου ἢ ὡσεὶ τε, ὥσπερ. MSS † τε (in effect) resulted from the removal of connective καὶ as redundant. This use of τε is occasionally found in tragedy (Denn. 523-4), only here in comedy. Comparing girls to fillies is traditional (e.g. *Krat.* 94, *Epikr.* 9. 4, Anakr. 72 = 78 Gentili with n., *E. Ba.* 166-9) and derives from theriomorphic maiden-dances (like the arkteia, 645 n.). These were a famous and ubiquitous feature of Spartan culture, *Pi. fr.* 112 Λάκαινα παρθένων ἀγέλα, C. Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Rome 1977) i. 350-7. Here (after mention of the Tyndaridai) the reference is to the Leukippides (Phoibe and Hila-eira), twin sisters carried off by the Tyndaridai (riding white horses, *leukopoloι*, *Pi. P.* 1. 66, Burkert *HN* 188) after a race, cf. *E. Hel.* 1465 ff. ἦ που κόρας ἄν ποταμοῦ παρ' οἴδμα Λευκιπίδας ἦ πρό ναοῦ Παλλάδος ἄν λάβοις χρόνῳ συνελθούσα χοροῖς.
- 1309-10** ἀμπάλλοντι: Intransitive (contrast *Ra.* 1358), like πᾶλον 1303. Add this usage (Lakonian?) to LSJ. ἀγκονιώαι: 'raising dust', compare (ἐγ)κονίω; hapax.
- 1311-13** The long, flowing hair of Spartan women is praised in Alkman's Partheneion. The posture described here is common in vase-painting and in literature (cf. Pfeiffer at *Kall.* 193. 35), *Pi. Dith.* 2. 13 ἀλαλαί τ' ὀρίνεται ῥιμαυχένη σὺν κλόνῳ, *E. Ba.* 150 πλόκαμον εἰς αἰθέρα ῥίπτων (cf. 865 with Dodds' n.), *Hel.* 1364-5, J. G. Griffith, *JHS* 94 (1974) 40. Compare *Autokr.* 1 οἶα παίζουσι φίλαι παρθένοι Λυδῶν κόραι, κοῦφα πηδῶσαι κόμαν, κἀνακρούουσαι χερσῶν, 'Ἐφεσίαν παρ' Ἄρτεμιν.
- 1314-15** The leader of the maiden-chorus is Helen, sister of the Tyndaridai and daughter of Zeus. The epithet here shows that we are to think not of the unfaithful wife of heroic myth but of the maiden-goddess of Spartan cult, cf. *Bethe, RE* 7. 2824-6, M. L. West, *Immortal Helen* (London 1975). She represented girls on the threshold of marriage (rape): her mythological alliance with Alexandros may in its origins be connected with the Alexandra worshipped at Amyklai (1298 n.), cf. R. Stiglitz, *OeJh* 40 (1953) 72-83.

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The couples onstage are suitably represented by the Tyndaridai and the Leukippides, and Helen suitably echoes the climactic mention of Aphrodite at 1290: Helen was pre-eminently the human symbol of the power of love over warriors.

1316-21 The Spartan ambassador orchestrates the exodos (the change to tetrameters indicates that he refers to the chorus), cf. 1273-1321 n.

χερί: This short form also at *Ve.* 1193, *Ra.* 1142. **ἔλαφος:** Of agile dancing, cf. *Th.* 1172, 1180, *E. El.* 860-1 *ὡς νεβρός οὐράνιον πήδημα κουφίζουσα*. **χορωφελήταν:** Σ^R *ᾠφελούντα τὸν χορόν*, hapax.

1321 τὰν δ' αὖ σιάν: These words are authentically Lakonian and therefore unlikely to be intrusive: Σ^R glosses *καὶ τὴν θεὸν Ἀθηνᾶν*. Rearrangement of the paradosis is easy. **τὰν παμμάχων:** 'toute guerrière' (van Daele) ~ *μάχομαι*, to be distinguished from *πάμμαχος* (~ *μάχη*), which always refers to the victor in the pankration. For this accentual distinction compare *ναυμάχος* 'fighting on ship' and *ναύμαχος* 'pertaining to ship-fighting', *Athen.* 154EF, KB i. 526. This adj. (only here: add to LSJ) was perhaps a Lakonian epithet. MSS *κρατίσταν* is clearly an intrusive gloss explaining it, as *πρόμαχον* has ousted it in B. **τὰν Χαλκίοικον:** 1299 n. The article is necessary when the deity's name is not given, *E. Hel.* 228, *Th.* 1. 128. 2, 134. 1, *Lykourg.* 128, *Paus.* 4. 15. 5; contrast 1299 where the name appears.

That the exit-hymn was traditional (not composed by Ar.) is indicated by its not being preserved in copies of the text (1273-1321 n.).

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