Attention is drawn to the fact that the copyright of this thesis rests with its author. This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with its author and that no quotation derived from the thesis may be published without the author's prior written consent.
THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D (CAMBRIDGE).

BY

HAMISH R. M. WILSON
ENMANUEL COLLEGE

STUDIES IN THE LYSISTRATA OF ARISTOPHANES

"He (Aristophanes) finds that the only way of teaching men the truth about themselves is to invent impossibilities about the world they think they know."

D. J. STEWART, Antioch Review XXV (1965) 203

1975
The idea of a study of one of Aristophanes' plays first occurred to me while I was an affiliated student at Emmanuel College. It seemed that here was an author who offered scope for research into so many different aspects of literature and its background. Almost more than any other surviving Greek poet he presents plays which require detailed study not only of the dramatic form which the plays take and the language in which they are written, but also of the sociological, historical, political, religious and literary background of Athens at the end of the fifth century B.C.

I took the opportunity of a visit by Professor K. J. Dover to Cambridge to ask his advice on which particular play to study. Most of Aristophanes' plays were being edited for the (then) comparatively new Oxford series; no-one, however, was doing *Lysistrata*. This, coupled with a natural liking for the play, persuaded me to undertake the research of which this thesis represents some of the results.

Having decided on Aristophanes and the particular play, I had to look carefully at possible approaches. The advice I received was almost unanimously in favour of a commentary; by looking at every line of the play and discussing it in detail I would cover all the aspects mentioned above. However, it was clear that, to keep within the limits set down by the Board of Graduate Studies, I would not be able to write a commentary on the whole play but only on the first half. I felt it important to preface any commentary (or in this case part of a commentary) with certain narrative sections which would attempt to draw together some ideas on characters, plot, production, language etc. These sections would be by no means definitive expressions of truth, merely ideas set down to draw the attention of any reader to the problems encountered in the study of one play.
The study of Aristophanes and Lysistrata in particular has been going on ever since the play was written. I attempt to set down what seems to me the more important results of these studies. Sometimes old problems were looked at afresh only to find that the "new" solutions were in fact very old. Hopefully, by drawing upon the labours of the scholars of old and by adding to them more recent attitudes towards Greek drama and comedy in particular, this study will serve to bring a new slant to the Lysistrata of Aristophanes.

For three years (1969 - 72) I was enabled to undertake my research at Cambridge by the kind offices of Aberdeen University and in particular the Croom Robertson Fellowship which I was awarded. I must record my gratitude here to Professors Watt and Cormack (the latter sadly no longer alive) who ensured that I had the financial security and continuing encouragement to undertake this work. It was with great sadness at the end of those years that I was forced to withdraw from the academic life with my thesis unfinished (the commentary on lines 1 - 613 had been drafted and many of the ideas for the introductory sections noted on paper). I entered a new career which entailed its own professional requirements and training and this has of necessity taken precedence since October 1972. But a classicist (especially one who has come under the influence of some of the finest teachers in the country) cannot give up his first love so easily. I returned, therefore, fitfully and with some trepidation to the completion of the thesis. The Board of Graduate Studies allowed not only an intermission but also an extension of time. The results have finally appeared in published form and my sincere thanks are due to Miss Elizabeth Weir for her patience and skill in transforming my illegible manuscript into typescript.

To return, however, to my years of research at Cambridge. I was privileged to undertake my work under the supervision of Dr. Colin Austin of Trinity Hall. Not only did he encourage me in every way to proceed with
the work but was of inestimable value in curbing my foolishness and directing me to more careful consideration. If this present thesis abounds in flaws these are the result of my own stubbornness in not removing them; Dr. Austin must take the credit for expelling many which would otherwise have appeared. Not only has he been my guide through Aristophanes, he has been a good friend. Universities and Classical departments in particular will always be places of good standing if they encourage such as Colin Austin to remain within them to guide and tutor students.

At the same time it would be churlish of me not to mention the stimulus received from many other members of the Faculty of Classics. Their encouragement and help came in many ways but it was always profitable. The unique atmosphere of the Faculty that at once accepted you and urged you to inquire and progress is one that I shall not forget. And it stems not only from the teachers but also from one's fellow students. Among the former I should wish to mention a few of those whose kindness and helpfulness extended even beyond what one came to expect at Cambridge, Dr. F. H. Stubbings, Mr. R. G. G. Coleman, Mrs. P. E. Easterling, Prof. F. H. Sandbach and Dr. J. C. Bramble. Among my fellow students one is pre-eminent, Edward Metcalf. His name is not well known but his learning was surpassed by few; he did not choose to work within the confines of what was expected of him by his teachers and University and was eventually rejected by them. The loss has been great on both sides. I benefited enormously from his company and his mind; he was a true scholar sadly shunning and shunned by his University.

What follows owes much to others; its final form with all its shortcomings is my responsibility. It has not always been easy to keep up with the latest literature, but I have attempted to update sections and references where possible in the light of very recent work. I can only hope that what is here presented will serve to show that the study of Classical literature should not be static but rather dynamic and reflect the age when the study
is undertaken. No doubt another era will see this play in another light; I have only written what seems true to me today.

Aberdeen
September, 1975

Hamish R. M. Wilson

***

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.

A bibliography of Aristophanes naturally depends on the classic publications, Engelmann/Preuss, Klussmann, Lambrino, Marouseau and L'Année Philologique in particular. Critical surveys of some importance appeared in Bursian and more recently in Lustrum as follows:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bursian</th>
<th>iii (1874-5) 457-74</th>
<th>von Bamberg on 1873-5.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>xxx (1880) 111-176</td>
<td>von Holzinger on 1876-80.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>xxxi (1892) 1-128</td>
<td>Zacher on 1881-91.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>cxvi (1903) 159-326</td>
<td>von Holzinger on 1892-1901.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>clii (1911) 218-312</td>
<td>Körte on 1902-9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>clxxiv (1916/18) 105-254</td>
<td>Wäst on 1910-14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>cxcv (1923) 95-192</td>
<td>Wäst on 1914-21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>ccvii (1926) 91-154</td>
<td>Wäst on 1921-25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.</td>
<td>ccclxxi (1939) 1-99</td>
<td>Wäst on 1931-37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lustrum</td>
<td>ii (1957) 52-112</td>
<td>Dover on 1938-55.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This can be brought up to date, although somewhat selectively, by Dover's article in Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship ed. M. Platnauer (second edition 1968) and by Gelzer's recent article in Pauly-Wissowa.

I have compiled a card index listing nearly all books and articles relating to Aristophanes from the beginning of this century. While it is difficult to excerpt from this, I have felt it worthwhile to list below the most important. These are divided into the sections set down by Dover in his Lustrum survey. A number of works, especially journal articles, are cited at appropriate places in the commentary and introductory sections (in accordance with the abbreviations of L'Année Philologique).

1) GENERAL


P. Haendel, Formen und Darstellungswisen in der aristophanischen Komödie, Heidelberg 1963.

G. Knibel, Aristophanes, R. E. ii. 1 (1895) 971-94.

J. van Leeuwen, Prolegomena ad Aristophanem, Leiden, 1908.


W. Schmid, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, I., Munich, 1946.


2) FORM

(a) PRODUCTION

C. Anti, Teatri greci arcaici da Minosse a Pericle, Padua 1947.

P. Arnott, Greek Scenic Conventions, Oxford 1962.

W. Beare, The Costume of the actors in Aristophanic comedy,
CQ xlvi (1954) 64-75 (also CQ li (1957) 184-5 and ix (1959) 126-7).


K. J. Dover, The Skene in Aristophanes, PCPhS xii (1956) 2-17.


do. Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy, ed. 2 revised by T. B. L. Webster, Oxford 1962.


C. F. Russo, I due teatri di Aristofane, RAL Ser. 8a xi (1956) 16-27.


T. B. L. Webster, The Costume of the actors in Aristophanic Comedy, CQ xlix (1955) 94-5 (also CQ li (1957) 185).


(b) DRAMATIC STRUCTURE

T. Gelzer, Der epirrhematische Agon bei Aristophanes, Munich 1960.


W. Sfiss, Zur Komposition der altattischen Komödie, RhM lxiii (1908) 12-38.


O. J. Todd, Quo modo Aristophanes rem temporalem in fabulis suis tractaverit, ES 1915, 1-72.

T. Zielinski, Die Gliederung der altattischen Komödie, Leipzig 1885.

(c) STYLE AND LANGUAGE

J. D. Denniston, Technical terms in Aristophanes, CQ xxi (1927) 113-21.


do. Words for soul, heart and mind in Aristophanes, RhM xcix (1956) 205-25.
O. Lautensach, Die Aoriste bei den Attischen Tragikern und Komikern, Göttingen 1911.

H. W. Miller, Repetition of lines in Aristophanes, AJPh lxv (1944) 26-36.
do. Comic iteration in Aristophanes, AJPh lxvi (1945) 398-408.
do. Aristophanes and medical language, TAPA lxxvi (1945) 74-84.

C. T. Murphy, Aristophanes and the art of rhetoric, NSCPPh xlix (1938) 69-113.


C. W. Pepler, Comic terminations in Aristophanes and the comic fragments, Baltimore 1905.
do. The termination - Kós as used by Aristophanes for comic effect, AJPh 1910, 423-44.
do. Comic terminations in Aristophanes, AJPh 1918, 173-83; 1921, 152-61.

do. Studies in the syntax of Attic comedy, AJPh lxxxiv (1963) 359-76.

W. H. v. de Sande Bakhuyzen, De Parodia in comoediis Aristophanis, Utrecht 1877.

A. C. Schlesinger, Indications of parody in Aristophanes, TAPA lxvii (1936) 296-314 (also AJPh 1937, 294-305).
S. I. Sobolewski, De praepositionum usu Aristophaneo, Moscow 1890.
H. Steiger, Die Groteske und die Burleske bei Aristophanes,
    Ph. 1934, 161-84; 275-85; 416-32.
D. J. Stewart, Nous in Aristophanes CJ lxiii (1968) 253-5.
T. M. de Wit-Tak, The function of obscenity in Aristophanes
    Thesmophorizusae and Ecclesiæzusae, Mnem. xxi
    (1968) 357-65.

(d) METRE
H. W. Miller, Three-word iambic trimeters in Aristophanes,
    CPh xxxvii (1942) 194-5.
L. P. E. Parker, Split resolution in Greek dramatic lyric,
    CQ xviii (1968) 241-69.
M. Platnauer, Antistrophic variation in Aristophanes, Greek
    Poetry and Life, Oxford 1936 (pp. 241-56).
    do. Prodelision in Greek drama, CQ x(1960) 140-4.
O. Schroder, Aristophanis Cantica, Leipzig 1909 (ed. 2 1930).
S. Sudhaus, Zum Aufbau der aristoph. Lieder, RbM lxxv (1910)
    515-38.
U. von Wilamowitz - Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, Berlin
    1921.

3) COMEDUMENA
(a) GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS
H. W. Halcy, The social and domestic position of women in Aristophanes, HSCPh i (1890) 159-86.
H. F. Hase, Personalities in Aristophanes, G+R ix (1940) 88-95.
W. Süss, De personarum antiquae comicae atticae usu atque origine, Bonn 1905.
U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Lesefrchte 66 (on feminism and Aristophanes), Hermes 1900, 533.

(b) LITERATURE

(c) PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION
(d) **Politics**


4) **Editions** (post - Bekker only).

1829 Bekker, London.
1835 Dindorf, Oxford.
1844 Enger, Bonn (Lysistrata only).
1845 Bothe, Leipzig (ed. 2).
1860 Meinske, Leipzig.
1868 Holden, Cambridge (ed. 3).
1872 Bergk, Leipzig (ed. 2).
1880 Blaydes, Halle.
1903 van Leeuwen, Leyden.
1907 Hall-Gerldart, Oxford (O. C. T.).
1911 Rogers, London (reappears in Loeb Classical Library 1924).
1927 Wilamowitz, Berlin (Lysistrata only).
1928 Coulon, Paris (Bude; translation by van Daele).
1956 Cantarella, Milan.

5) **Translations**

Translations occasionally give rise to interesting interpretations  
(indeed van Daele sometimes translates a text that is different from  
and superior to that given by Coulon), and a number of the more  
important are listed.

1909 Romagnoli, Turin.
1919 Williams, Paris (with notes from RAB 1904, 597-645).
1925 Droysen/Woyte, Leipzig.
1933/1945 Alfonsi, Paris.
1955/1965 Fitts, London (Lysistrata only).
1964 Schadewalt, Frankfurt.
1964 Parker, Ann Arbor (Lysistrata only).
1968 Seeger/Newiger, Munich.
Note also an African adaptation of Lysistrata, Al' in Meta
(Ibadan 1966) by T. W. Harrison and J. Simmons.

6) **ADVERSARIA**

O. Bachamann, Coniecturarum observationumque Aristophanearum specimen
I, Göttingen 1878.

F. H. M. Blaydes, Analecta Conica Graeca, Halle 1905.

do. Adversaria Critica in Aristophanem, Halle 1899.

do. Spicilegium Aristophaneum, Halle 1902.

do. Miscellanea Critica, Halle 1907.

C. G. Cobet, Novaæ Lectiones, Leiden 1858.

do. Variae Lectiones, Leiden 1873.

do. Collectanea criticæ, Leiden 1874.

do. Miscellanea criticæ, Leiden 1876.

V. Coulon, Quaestiones Criticae in Aristophanis fabulis, Strassburg
1908.

do. Essai sur la méthode de la critique conjecturale appliqué
au texte d’Aristophane, Paris 1933.
R. T. Elliot, *Some contributions to the textural criticism of Aristophanes and Aeschylus*, Oxford 1908.


7) MANUSCRIPTS


C. Köhne, *De codicibus qui Aristophanis Eccl. et Lys. exhibent, Halle 1886.*
J. van Leeuwen, Codex Ravennae 137, 4A. Leiden 1904.
J. C. B. Lowe, The manuscript evidence for changes of speaker in Aristophanes, BICS ix (1962) 27-42.
J. W. White, The manuscripts of Aristophanes, CPh. 1906, 1-20; 255-78.

8) SCHOLIA
P. Boudreaux, Le texte d'Aristophane et ses commentateurs, Paris 1919.
G. Bünger, De Aristophanis Equitum, Lysistrateae, Thesm. epud Suidam reliquis, Strasburgh 1878.
G. Zuntz, Die Aristophanes - Scholien der Papyri, Brussels 1939.

9) TESTIMONIA
W. Kraus, Testimonia Aristophanea cum scholiorum lectionibus, Vienra 1931.

10) INDEX

11) SURVIVAL
P. Friedlandor, Aristophanes in Deutschland, Ant. 1932, 229-53; 1933, 81-104.
A number of books and articles relate to *Lysistrata* in particular:


K. Zacher, *Die Scholien zu Aristophanes Lysistrate in Codex Leidensis*, BPhW xiv (1894) 347-51; 379-84.
I mention here also a number of other important works which have proved indispensable in the study of Aristophanes:

J. D. Denniston, The Greek Particles, Oxford 1954 (ed. 2).
E. R. Dodds, Euripides Bacchae, Oxford 1960 (ed. 2).
A. W. Comme, Historical Commentary on Thucydides, Oxford, 1945 -
A. S. F. Gow, Theocritus, 2 vols., Cambridge 1952 (ed. 2).
K. Holzinger, Kritisch - exegetischer Kommenter zu Aristophanes’ Plutos, Vienna 1940.
R. Kühner - F. Blass, Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache
(Elementar - und Formenlehre), Hannover 1890-92 (ed. 3) = K.B.
R. Kühner - B. Gerth, id. (Satzlehre), Hannover & Leipzig 1898-1904 (ed.3)
= K. G.
H. G. Liddell - R. Scott, A Greek-English lexicon, ed. 9, revised by
Sir H. Stuart Jones, Oxford 1940 = L.S.J.
K. Meisterhans - E. Schwyzer, Grammatik der attischen Inschriften, Berlin 1900 (ed. 3).
D. L. Page, Greek Literary Papyri I, Loeb 1942.
L. Radermacher, Aristophanes' Früche, ed. 2 revised by W. Kraus, Vienna 1954.
O. Schroeder, Aristophanes, Die Vogel, Berlin 1927.
E. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik, 3 vols.; 1939-53.
J. Vahlen, Opuscula, 2 vols., Leipzig 1908.
U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Euripides Herakles, Berlin 1895 (ed. 2).
ADDENDA.

GENERAL

LYSISTRATA

OTHER WORKS.
J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, Berlin 1901-3.
PRODUCTION

1. DATE AND TITLE OF PLAY

Lysistrata (hereafter Lys.) was produced by Kallistratos in 411 B.C. in the archonship of Kallias\(^1\), the same year in which Aristophanes produced Thesmophoriazusae\(^2\) (hereafter Thesm.). It may have been known by other titles, Αἴλιαλίαλια\(^3\) or Ἀέρων Ἀέρων Ἀέρων\(^4\). It is uncertain at which of the two great festivals, Lenaea or Dionysia, it was presented or how successful it was, and the same information is lacking for Thesm. As always the lack of definite information has led scholars to speculate and it may be useful to set down some of the arguments used for placing this play and Thesm. at one festival or the other.

(a) Jaep's influential paper assigning Lys. to the Lenaea (January/February\(^5\)) and Thesm. to the City Dionysia (March/April) in fact serves only to place our play between the first and second sojourns of Peisander at Athens at the end of 412/beginning of 411 and end of May 411\(^6\). The reference at line 490 to Peisander is in general terms; a charge of venality was a typical attack by a comic poet on any politician. It might be argued, however, that a reference to Peisander in such terms would be unlikely in March/April, by which time there might have been signs of the coming oligarchic coup; on the other hand it could be stated that it was precisely this forthcoming event at which Aristophanes was hinting. The evidence, therefore, could be used for either dating. Again, the reference in 577 is best taken in a general way (v. note ad loc.) and tells us nothing, pace van Leeuwen, about the dating.

(b) Lines 1133f. have been cited as evidence for assigning Lys. to the Lenaea, e.g. by Dover\(^7\): "while enemies are at hand with a barbarian army, you destroy Greek men and cities". Dover points out that while the Peloponnesians were known to be receiving Persian support, the Athenians had
been supporting anti-Persian movements in Asia Minor; and it was only after the end of January when the Assembly had authorised Peisander and others to negotiate with Alcibiades that there was the possibility of Persian financial support for Athens. It might be, therefore, that these lines are an Athenian boast before they too became embroiled with the Persians, albeit very briefly. However, it was only a month later (end of February) that negotiations broke down and Sparta concluded a fresh treaty with Tissaphernes. The reference, therefore, would be as justifiable at the Dionysia. In addition Radt\(^9\) argues that the rebuke affects both parties (\(\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\kappa\) 1129; only at 1137 does Iysistrata turn specifically to the Spartans) and if Dover's suggestion in his note 8 as to the sense of \(\pi\alpha\rho\varsigma\iota\nu\kappa\kappa\) is right, (= be available, cf. Aesch. Eum. 864), then the sense could be - you have a common enemy in the Persians (and this was historically true, and it is Iysistrata's intention to remind both sides of their former ties against a common enemy), why not fight them instead of fellow Greeks? Such a general reference is appropriate in the plot whatever the realities of contemporary intrigues.

(c) At Thesm. 804 (and schol.) there is mention of the defeat of Charminus off Syme, an event which occurred in the winter 412/411\(^10\). It has been argued, e.g. by Geissler and Austin, that this is a good reason for placing Thesm. at the Dionysia (and hence, by implication Lys. at the Lenaea, unless one accepts that the plays could have been presented at the same festival, v. below). It is suggested that it would have been difficult to mention in a play produced at the Lenaea an event which happened in December - January 412/411. This discounts, however, the last minute changes possible in a comedy, a possibility supported by A. Ruppel\(^11\) and Dover\(^12\) among others; and Geissler's argument that the line forms a link in the construction of the whole parabasis detracts from Aristophanes' brilliance as an artist.

(d) Wilamowitz\(^13\) thinks Aristophanes still had in mind the "Frauenherrschaft" of Lys. when he displays the women in Thesm. debating what they will do to Euripides. But it is equally possible that the major female
uprising in Lys. stemmed from the lesser equivalent in Thesm.

(e) van Daele in his introduction to both plays argues that the light-hearted Thesm. is more suited to March/April, a time of foreboding, and the seriously political (his view, not mine) Lys. appropriate for January/February. Similarly Ferguson states that "the situation had by then (Dionysia) become too tense for politics". The two plays are not, however, so clearly distinguishable; there are numerous political allusions in Thesm. and, as Austin has rightly stated, "there is not much hope for those critics who cannot find gaiety in Lys."

(f) W. Schmid thinks that the panhellenic theme of Lys. is more suited to the Dionysia, when citizens of the whole empire were present, and the specifically Athenian theme of Thesm. to the Lenaea, when only Athenians would be present. The panhellenism, however, of Lys. embraces Spartans, Boeotians and others who most certainly would not be in Athens at the Dionysia or at any other time.

(g) Thesm. 336ff. contains a curse against anyone who makes overtures to the Medes or attempts to set up a tyranny. Some have attempted to relate this to Alcibiades' intrigues with the Persians and to the machinations of Peisander and the oligarchic clubs. But one should not take seriously what is essentially a joke on conventional items in a curse.

(h) The presence of the φευγάλος, represented as senile and half-witted, and a φαύλαντις from the weak φαύλοντις in Lys. reflects only the general political climate of the whole period and cannot be used to tie the play to one particular festival.

(i) Lys. 313 is a joke (v. note ad loc.) and need have no specific reference to the intrigues at Samos.

(j) Dover cites two passages of Thesm. (36ff.; 1143ff.) which, he feels, allude to the unhappy situation at the time of the Dionysia. But the former alludes in a general way to those who wanted to change the constitution
(as Phrynichus thought Alcibiades did, Thucy. viii. 48.4); the latter is more problematic and may reflect a feeling that conspiracy was in the air (although it might also refer back to 338).

(k) There remains the possibility that both plays were produced at the same festival; there is evidence that at the Lenaea of 422 Aristophanes presented *Wasps* and *Proagon*, at least one of which was produced by Philonides. Both Anti and Russo argue that the Lenaea plays were presented in a different location and under different theatrical conditions from the Dionysia plays\(^1\); Anti dates both plays to the Lenaea, Russo to the Dionysia. This is not the place to argue to archaeological and topographical evidence, but suffice to say that they are disputed. The possibility remains, nevertheless, especially if one of the plays (Lys.) and possibly both\(^2\) were produced by persons other than Aristophanes.

The evidence cited, therefore, (and it is by no means exhaustive) shows that the matter remains unsolved. In addition we have no real notion as to how long before the plays were produced Aristophanes commenced work on them; nor indeed do we know at what point they reached their final form (although, if the modern stage is any comparison, the actual performance is probably the best estimate). If we were able to date Lys. more accurately and relate this to a more complete picture of Athenian history of the time than we possess, we would be able to study more usefully the relationship between play and contemporary politics. In addition one should beware of painting too black a picture of the atmosphere at Athens in early 411; they had made a good recovery since the Sicilian disaster and even in 412 were regaining ground in Ionia. But we must remain ignorant of the precise details and their implications for the study of this play.

2. **NUMBER OF SPEAKERS AND ATTRIBUTION OF LINES**\(^2\)

While in tragedy the norm was three speakers, with extras playing silent
parts, Lysistrata is one of the important pieces of evidence that comedy could use four (or perhaps even exceptionally five). The prologue contains four major speaking parts, Lysistrata, Kalonike, Myrrhine and Lampito\textsuperscript{22}. Each speaker is named and clearly identified on entry or soon after\textsuperscript{23} and their names, especially Lysistrata and Lampito, repeated. While the precise relationship of the characters and their dramatic purpose is the subject of another section, it is clear that we should not regard the fourth actor as an "extra"\textsuperscript{24}. It is possible that five speakers are present in the scene where the women oppose the Proboulos' policemen (430ff.) and also in the scene where a number of women try to escape from the Acropolis (728ff.); these can be reduced to four by giving the lines of the fifth speaker to one who has already spoken. It is possible, therefore, to assign the parts to four actors as follows:\textsuperscript{25}

First Actor: Lysistrata; Spartan Youth (1242 - 1320).
Second Actor: Kalonike; Proboulos; 1st Woman (728ff.); Kinesias; Prytanis; Athenian (1216ff.).
Third Actor: Myrrhine\textsuperscript{26}; 1st Woman (439ff.); 3rd Woman (724ff.);
Spartan Herald (980ff.); Spartan Ambassador (1076ff.);
2nd Athenian (1221ff.).
Fourth Actor: Lampito; 2nd Woman (443ff.); 2nd and 4th Women (735ff.).

This, however, is very much a guess. But it does serve to show that the fourth actor, with over 30 lines, is hardly an "extra".

There are, of course, a number of genuine extras in the play:-

(a) Kinesias' baby, which could be played by a child or even a doll, the cry of \( \mu \rho \rho \rho \rho \) at 879 being mimicked by Kinesias.

(b) Women in the prologue accompanying Myrrhine (66ff.) and Lampito (77ff.), especially the Boeotian and Corinthian who are examined so carefully. All these with the exception of Lampito are shut up in the Acropolis at the end of the prologue (cf. 1186; 1274; the Boeotian and Corinthian are
forgotten apart from a passing reference to the former, named as Ismenia, at 697).

(c) Lysistrata's slave (at least one) - 184, cf. 199.

(d) Scythian policemen with the Proboulos (387ff.).

(e) Women who oppose the Proboulos' policemen (456ff.).

(f) Women who watch the arrival of Kinesias (822ff.).

(g) Kinesias' servant, Manes (908).

(h) Spartan and Athenian delegates (1072ff.).

(i) Διδυμός ἀργητής (1114ff.) 27.

(j) A crowd of slaves and revellers (1216ff.) 27a.

(k) A flutist (1242).

(l) A crowd of men and women in the exodos (1246ff.) 28.

One should mention in addition the presence of the two semi-choruses, one of old men, the other of old women. Such a distinct division of the Chorus into two for dramatic purposes (the details are discussed elsewhere) is unique in Greek Comedy, although we know that Eupolis in his Λυρικα, produced at the Lenaeon of 421, used ημερειανευρεταν of Τάλοντιον and Ράκειον, which, according to the scholia, sometimes combine and sometimes separate 29. There is no good reason to assume that the total number was not the usual 24 and that the division was equal 30. The two halves eventually form a single group (1042) and assume for a short time the role normally fulfilled in the parabasis.

The division of lines between speakers was the subject of discussion in antiquity 31, and the manuscript evidence is unreliable 32. As Suss in his influential discussion has pointed out, the problem begins as soon as there are more than two speakers on stage (in Λυσ. at 65ff.), and, of course, in our play we have the additional complication of a fourth and even fifth speaker in certain scenes 33. It is probably safe to say that no one edition of Λυσ. exactly corresponds with any other in its distribution of lines and
in the discussion which follows I make no attempt to catalogue individual scholars' views and attributions, except where they are of great import.

Any division depends to some extent on the relationship which any one editor assumes to exist between the characters of the play; this is especially true in the prologue, the part of the play in which most of the problems occur. For the purposes of my division I shall assume for the prologue, rather as Suss and Mureddu do, that Kalonike plays the \[\beta\omega\mu\alpha\delta\varepsilon\wos\] \(^{34}\), the kind of character who interrupts with witty and often obscene remarks, and that Myrrhine is a more emotional, sometimes serious character who is keen to please and appease\(^{35}\). Such a firm distinction is perhaps dangerous for Greek Comedy\(^{36}\), but unless one attempts it, the disentanglement of the lines becomes even more problematic.

The following comments, therefore, assume some such distinction and are made on specific lines or sections:

66: it is appropriate that Lysistrata (hereafter Lys.) should announce the arrival of the newcomers so that Kalonike (hereafter K.) then has the chance to initiate the joke about their place of origin.

74ff.: the instructions of 74-76a seem to come best from the instigator of the plot, rather than her witty companion. 76b fits in with Myrrhine's (hereafter M.) rather apologetic and appeasing tone. There is no reason to suppose that anyone else apart from Lys. knows that Lampito (hereafter Lam.) had been sent for, and 77 should be given to Lys. The address of welcome (as to the other characters, although for them the welcome had not been so friendly) should be from Lys. (78) and the description of Lam. seems to follow very closely in tone and should be given to Lys.; she is naturally delighted to see the Spartan women, because her plot can now get under way.

83: although perhaps the remark continues the admiration expressed by
Lys. at 79ff., the marvelling tone of the periphrasis with
\(\chi\nu\gamma\mu\) \textsuperscript{37} and the return to the sexually important parts of the
body seems more in keeping with what we have seen of K. The
prodding and poking of Lam. and the examination of her companions
is best left to K. and M.

85: Lys. takes charge again and points to one of Lam.'s companions.
87ff.: the comments on the Boeotian girl were traditionally given to Lys.
and K. While it is true that Lys. has previously introduced double-
entendres for K. (23; 28; 59), they are not as explicit as this.
We may then give 87b-88a to M., so that K. can continue in even
earthier vein in 88b-89. We must not always assume that K. will
speak first, despite her role as \(\beta\omega\rho\sigma\lambda\iota\chi\omicron\omicron\). The Doric
\(\tau\lambda\nu\) of the Ms. in 89 is clearly a slip; we do not wish Lam.'s
comments on her own companions; in addition \(\beta\lambda\eta\chi\omicron\omicron\) is unlikely
from a Laconian, and the correct Doric form \(\gamma\lambda\chi\omicron\omicron\) is found at
Ach. 874.

90: Lys. resumes the questioning.

91b-92: not Lys. for the reasons stated at 87ff. Either K. or M. could
have a claim; the latter because the physical/geographical joke
is similar to 87-88, the former because it is a clever obscene
point suitable to a \(\beta\omega\rho\sigma\lambda\iota\chi\omicron\omicron\).

95b-96: The Ms. give 95b to Lam. and 96 to M. But these words need to
belong to the same speaker. \textsuperscript{38} K. tends to confine her comments
in this section to the physical properties of the new arrivals.
M. has elsewhere shown her eagerness for the revelation of the
plot (73) and it seems appropriate to give her both lines.
\(\delta\phi\lambda\nu\gamma\upsilon\nu\) would be said in the same tone as her opening
words, an attempt to get herself back into favour with Lys. after
arriving late.
M. on the same principles as above, cf. 76 πολω συ κυλλον
λεγειες.

Iys. must speak all of 99-101; the asseverations of 102-3 and 104 can be divided between K. and M.39, and probably in that order, the witty reply first and the simple statement second.

These lines must also be related to 129ff., because the image of ἡμιθαλη is repeated. The Mss. divide in the order M. and K. and this has been upheld by most editors, except Wilamowitz (followed, as often, by Coulon). He reverses the order, giving 112b-4 to K. and 115-6 to M.; certainly the joke in ἓκπεπτον is more in keeping with K.'s wit and concern for the good things of life (cf. 36), and the more emotionally, if still amusing, asseveration of 115-6 might again tie in more closely with K.'s emotional and reconciliatory attitude.

Probably K. (cf. 12, 34, 51ff.)

Perhaps M. after the style of 115-6, although it may be K. continuing from 122b.

Whoever speaks 130 also spoke 115-6 and with my division, the order would be K. (129) and M. (130)

133-5 are normally given to K., but if it is the ἡμιθαλη who answers back, M. should be the speaker, and the words are appropriately emotional and dramatic with the repetition of the appeasing ἐφιλησε λιπος την παραμετρα 40. 136b, then, would be K. (Lam. does not speak until she has been addressed personally by Lys.).

A speaker is required to make comments, ask questions and be gradually won over; it is appropriate that this should be K. and to her we can give 146-148a; 157; 159-161a; 162a; 167. The extra change of speaker in the Mss. at 148 is a common mistake where
there is rapid dialogue, cf. Ach. 589; Ecol. 777. One small point is worth noting; Madvig suggests 158 is still spoken by K., presumably as a question, and 159 is Lys'. reply; this seems, however, less likely. It would be possible, with Mureddu to split the lines between K. and M., but this seems unnecessary; although it was suggested by Bergk that a line (or two) had fallen out before 167; he would have wished K. to agree first (in the missing lines) and then M. to affirm ( would then refer to Lys., Lam. and K. instead of only to the first two). However the transmitted text makes sense and it is not necessary always to have both of Lys.' companions agreeing to the plot; later K. will swear the oath on behalf of all the women.

186-97: Again if we assume that K. continues as interlocutor and encourager, the best line distribution is as follows:— 186b-187a K.; 187b-189a Lys.; 189b-190 K.; 191a Lys.; 191b-192 K.; 193a Lys.; 193b-194a K.; 194b-197a Lys.; 197b K. The suggestion of sacrificing white horses with its possible sexual overtones comes best from K., who, after being repudiated by Lys., repeats at 193b her general question from 187. The decisive suggestion must come from Lys. who solves the problem by accommodating the weaknesses of her companions in a parody of Aeschylus. However, it would be appropriate, as Dover suggests, for K. to make an unreproved interruption after : this arrangement has the advantage of Lys. making the final, important suggestion, and K. getting in her joke about adding water to the wine.

200-201: Editors normally give both lines to K., but it is tempting to assign (along with Hawker, van Leeuwen and Wilamowitz) 201 to M., so that while K. is taken with the size of the , M. is handling the with obvious pleasure, thinking of the
possible delights contained inside. It would be possible also to reverse the attribution so that K. is again the one to be excited by the thought of wine.

207ff.: The Mss. give 207 to Lys. and 208 to K. It is absurd that Lys. should be the one to push forward to get the first drink, and most editors now give 207 to M., who is then repulsed by K. in 208. Lys. then turns to Lam. in 209 (she is probably the only one of the three who has not yet put her hand on the cup) so that both Athenian and Spartan women are represented. Then one is asked to swear on behalf of all and this (starting at 213) is universally (except for Bokker and Brunck) given to K. To reverse the attribution of 207 and 208 (as Coulon) is unlikely because in this case K. is repulsed but a few lines later takes the oath on every-one's behalf.

237: \( \nu \lambda \Delta \omicron \gamma \) is said by all present; van Leeuwen refers back to 211. It is important that all agree to abide by the oath.

238-9: The normal attribution is 238a Lys; 238b-239 K.; the latter thus jokingly reminds all present that the oath they have taken is one of friendship over the 'cup of friendship' (\( \kappa \nu \lambda \xi \phi \epsilon \lambda \omega \mu \rho \omicron \delta \alpha \) ) which Lys. is rebuked for misusing. The contrast between the \( \phi \lambda \nu \) at the end of 238 and \( \phi \lambda \nu \nu \) at the end of 239 is better brought out if the words all belong to the same speaker, and not split up, as John Jackson\(^3\) has suggested, into 238b K. (interjection ignored by Lys.) and 239 Lys. Jackson feels "the last trimeter of the Solemn League and Covenant, ratified in a moment by the auspicious cheer from overhead, is spoken, as it ought to be, by the great-hearted leader, and not by the wavering follower whose knees had shaken 23 vorses before". But the oath has been about sexual abstinence and 239 is not the last trimeter.
of it, but a joking rebuke from K. The only possible way of letting Lys. have the last word would be to give 238a to K. (eager to get at the wine) and 238b-239 to Lys., who then delivers the joking rebuke.

435ff.: Lys., threatened by the Proboulos, returns a defiant threat to him and his policeman in 435-6; another speaker in 439-40 refers to Lys. as ὃς ὑπάλληλος, and the speaker of 443-4 similarly refers to the speaker of 439-40, and so with 447-8. The Mss. attribute the three utterances to Stratyllys, the supposed (by van Leeuwen) chorus leader; this is clearly wrong but may point to the view that the speakers are from among the crowd of women now occupying the Acropolis. The best indication of this is simply to style, the speakers Γυναίκες 1, 2, 3, except that for Γυνὴ 3 one could substitute Lys. It is perhaps appropriate for the leader to speak 447-8 and finally cause the Proboulos to call off his attack, thus bringing us back to the basic confrontation between Lys. and the Proboulos. It is not necessary to make the speakers old women; this age factor depends on 506 where the speaker of the previous line is addressed ἄρα γυναικῶ. But that speaker need not be the same as the two (or three) in this section. It does not matter particularly whether they are old or young, because presumably both groups (which had originally been separate at the beginning of the play) have now coalesced; they are members of the group which Lys. summons at 456, ἄρα ὑπάλληλοι γυναίκες. It has been suggested that Γυναίκες 1 and 2 should be identified with K. and M. Despite the Mss.' traditional inaccuracy about attribution of lines, it is surprising that there is no such indication in them. K. and M. have played their appropriate roles in the prologue and here we require merely two
women from the general crowd to join in rebuffing the Proboulos and his policemen.

505b: Someone interrupts the Proboulos and it is certainly not Lys.\textsuperscript{46}, because \(\sigma\omega\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\nu\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\) in 506 is addressed to her, as opposed to the addressee of the earlier part of that line \(\tau\varepsilon\tau\epsilon\ \nu\nu\ , \ \gamma\rho\alpha\omega\) etc.\textsuperscript{47} This should be given then not to K., who is among the younger women of the prologue\textsuperscript{48}, but to \(\gamma\nu\nu\iota\) 1, whether the same as at 435ff. is not certain. This same speaker will also utter 515b, possibly 535 (but see below), 556b (and perhaps also 557-8), 561-4, 603. \(\gamma\nu\nu\iota\) 2 will speak 604 (although van Velsen has offered a different solution).

532ff.: It is very difficult to say whether more than one speaker is involved here. Most scholars look to 602ff. and iron there presume that we have here at least one, if not two, extra speakers, and in addition some have assumed that there is a line missing which one of these two extra speakers must say. The latter is quite unnecessary, as exact response is not required in the Agon\textsuperscript{49}. While it may be right to give 535 to another speaker (\(\gamma\nu\nu\iota\) 1) it would not be fitting for her to close with the important words \(\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\mu\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \gamma\nu\nu\iota\iota\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\gamma\omicron\) : these come best from Lys. The simplest solution may be to give all the lines to Lys. (as in the Mss.), with perhaps a pause after \(\varsigma\omega\tau\zeta\).

556b-558: It is interesting that the scholia (supported to varying degrees by the Mss.) give two solutions to the attribution of these lines: (i) that \(\nu\) \(\cdot\cdot\cdot\ \Phi\rho\epsilon\psi\iota\nu\) be given to the Proboulos \(\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\) \(\epsilon\rho\omega\nu\epsilon\nu\) and (ii) that these words are to be joined with the following words, and given, presumably to a woman supporter of Lys. Most modern editors give \(\nu\) \(\cdot\cdot\cdot\ \Phi\rho\epsilon\psi\iota\nu\) to \(\gamma\nu\nu\iota\) 1 (or \(\rho\omega\) 5 or K.) and 557-8 to Lys. Certainly this is better
than an ironical reply from the Proboulos, which would be out of place with his answers and comments in this section. But even more satisfactory is the second suggestion of the scholiast (followed by Suss) to give the 2½ lines to one speaker; one then gets similar mythological comparisons in the mouth of the same person at 558 and 563, following an oath (556 and 561).

599ff.: The normal attribution is 599-602 Lys.; 603 θυνη 1 (or K.); 604 θυνη 2 (or M.). For van Velsen's ingenious, though perhaps unnecessary, change of order see my note on 602.

728ff.: The exact number of speakers is disputed; dramatically it would be appropriate if each new excuse was presented by a new speaker; but it is possible, for example, that 760-1 can be given to the speaker of 735-6. In any case one should label simply θυνη 1, 2, 3, 4 (if required). Again they are representatives of the women on the Acropolis, and there is no need to reintroduce K. or M. The encouraging remarks of the interlocutor of 769ff. can simply be given to one of these women.

982: Who replies to the Spartan herald? If we are to believe the MSS. it is the Proboulos; we do not, however, wish this decrepit old fellow here. We need someone young enough to be similarly affected by the sex strike. The scholia suggest a general appellation or, misguidedly, Kinesias who had probably gone off some lines before and who, if he spoke these and following lines, has rather changed his mood. Van Leeuwen suggested that the speaker is precisely what the Spartan herald had asked for, a Προτάνις, who must have appeared in response to the Spartan herald's request. If we wish to retain Kinesias for the role, then 1018 ἡ προτάνις θυνη μνηθής would refer to his recent treatment at the hands of M. The Prytanis may also be the speaker.
on behalf of the Athenian men at 1086ff., 1136ff., and 1216ff., although some would postulate a separate character, an Athenian (ambassador).

1216ff.: for a convincing explanation of this confused passage v. Dover, Ar. Comedy IIff.

It will be clear from the above comments, which do not touch on every single problem of attribution, that there is no easy answer. Any editor of a Greek Comedy at once assumes also the role of producer, and in such a situation one has to be guided as much by what one considers "good theatre" as by what we know of the strictures of Greek theatre production.

3. SOME DETAILS OF STAGING

Lysistrata is alone on stage at the beginning of the play; we are not told how she got there, and a Greek audience would not have asked. Her words indicate she has been in that position for some time; we only hear her in the middle of her complaints. She has not long to wait, however, for there appears on stage at line 5 Kalonike. The word which is used is ἐξέπληθαι, normally taken to mean "comes out of her house". On this interpretation we are meant to suppose that the paraskenia represent the houses of Lysistrata and Kalonike and the large central door is unidentified until later in the play (250). However no use or further reference to these houses is made in the scene (on 199 see below) and the word ἐξέπληθαι is also the correct term for appearing on stage. Thus it may be that Kalonike appears "from the wings", and the word ἐξέπληθαι serves merely to show the close friendship between Lysistrata and Kalonike. I do not think, therefore, that we need the three doors which I accept as normal for the comic stage at this time. The large central door may have been identified from the outset as the Propylaea, an appropriate setting if we accept the identification of Lysistrata with the priestess of Athena Polias (see section on characters). In any case
the stage properties appearing at 185 and more particularly at 199 can quite easily come from the skene as general storehouse, although again the Propylaea equation would not be inappropriate.

At 254 the chorus of old men enter, making their way up the slope towards the Acropolis. At 288 particular reference is made to the σύκαυ, the steep approach to the Acropolis. Pickard-Cambridge compares Eur. Herc. 120–1 for the chorus just finishing their climb; if the parodoi sloped upwards into the orchestra, this would help the illusion and Russo seems to agree. Arnott takes the text simply to mean: "the remainder of the journey, the climb, is still before them." He suggests that there is a barrier between them and the Acropolis (represented by the skene). He rejects the idea of sloping parodoi, not accepting the evidence for their presence in the Theatre of Dionysus and pointing out that in theatres outside Athens (where we may presume Lysistrata would also be performed) parodoi often sloped downwards. He tends to assume the climb fits in with the raised stage theory, the chorus advance right up to the skene. But need the climb take place at all? Would not the word σύκαυ by itself convey to the audience that the chorus was approaching the Acropolis and was therefore to be imagined as climbing?

There are a number of places in the play where reference is made to locations in the area of the Acropolis; one should not assume that any were actually represented. At 317 the chorus of old men address Διόνυσεως Νίκη; her temple stood on the right as one faced the Propylaea. The fountain Enneacrounos to the south of the Acropolis is mentioned at 328; the grotto of Pan on the north side of the Acropolis at 721 and 911; the Τύπος του Αρείου from the wall of Erechtheum; the sacred helmet of Athena at 751 (used by a potential escapee to feign pregnancy); the guardian snake which lived in the Erechtheum at 759; the owls of the Acropolis at 760; the temple of Demeter Chloe situated at the same Southern slope of the Acropolis as the Theatre of Dionysus at 835; the fountain Clepsydra near the grotto of Pan at
All this in addition to frequent references to the Acropolis and the gates of the Propylaea ensure that the locale is kept well in the minds of the audience.

Where does Lysistrata appear at 829? From the use of the word κατασκίνη at 864, 873, 874, 883, 884, we should perhaps assume that the women are on the stage-roof looking down on Kinesias standing in front of the skene. This fits in with Lysistrata’s ability to see the Temple of Demeter Chloe from her high look-out (835). Eventually Myrrhine does come down and join Kinesias in front of the skene. The latter again acts as a general storehouse, this time more logically as the Propylaea has been the place where the women have been living; out of it Myrrhine fetches (916ff.) a number of items supposedly to make the sexual encounter with Kinesias more pleasant but in fact only to increase his frustration and sexual longing.

A number of the other details have already been touched on in earlier comments. What is apparent is our lack of sure evidence for fifth century Greek comic production. The modern editor necessarily has to assume certain criteria and attempt to make the play work as a dramatic production. He cannot, of course, strike out some of the boring lyrics, but he is free to introduce whatever buffoonery and stage antics he feels appropriate. One should beware, however, of ascribing any of this to Aristophanes; our appalling ignorance of the Greek stage allows us only to guess at most of the detail.
NOTES


2. Thesm. 1060 and schol. ad loc. with schol. Ran. 53; schol. 190, 304, 841. This date is convincingly upheld by Austin in his unpublished dissertation which should be read in conjunction with Wilamowitz, Ar. und Ath. II, 343ff.

3. Schol. 1114; Index Ambr.

4. Schol. 389 - οὖ κινδυνεῖ : there is no need to assume a second Lysistrata pace Mensching, Mus. Helv. xxi (1964) 41.

5. Dover, Ar. Comedy 169 is worth noting about the difficulty of equating Athenian calendars with our own.

6. For the detailed chronology of the period Hignett (268ff.; 356ff.) is a useful guide.

7. Ar. Comedy, 169f.

8. Reading ἔμπλησε with Blaydes to give what Dover (loc. cit.) calls "a more normal phraseological and rhythmic balance".


10. Thuc. viii. 39-42.


14. CAH V, 325.

15. Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur I iv, Munich 1946, 205.

16. Croiset 237; Μῆδερες is coupled with Ἐὕρησις and Ἔκφυς ἔστω γυναικῶν.
17. Austin's commentary quotes the parallels; cf. Iys. 618ff.; 630-1.
20. Austin states that it is likely that Thesm. was produced by Philonides, since he produced Aristophanes' plays directed against Euripides.
21. Among the most important recent discussions are those by Russo, Dover (Ar. Comedy, 10ff.; 26; 155ff.), Pickard-Cambridge (Dram. Fest. 152f.), Mureddu and primarily Suss (RhM xcvi (1954) 237ff.); it is on the important discussion in the last cited that the others depend for the most part.
22. It is interesting that Lampito has more than twice as many lines as Myrrhine; dramatically she is of greater significance. The stage is, of course, dominated by Lysistrata and the comic relief of Kalonike.
23. Lines 6 (Lysistrata; Kalonike), 70 (Myrrhine), 77 (Lampito).
24. Both Russo and Pickard-Cambridge give this impression.
25. This is basically the division as suggested by Russo and Pickard-Cambridge; it begs certain questions about the attribution of lines but will serve as an example.
26. This assumes that the Myrrhine of the prologue and of the later scene are one and the same; she is the only one from the prologue (apart from the heroine) to reappear on stage.
27. Wilamowitz (on 1114) suggested that women, appearing naked, undertook certain parts like άισ. ι.γ.ν. e.g. the girl flute players in Vesp. 1374; the girl in Thesm. 1175ff.; the girl flute player at Av. 209 and Basileia at the end of that play; Dicaeopolis' female companions in Acharnians; Theoria in Peace. To this list Pickard-Cambridge would add Ε.π. νδ.χε in Knights and the Muse of Euripides in Frogs. Most modern scholars accept the theory (e.g. Suss loc. cit. 129, Newiger 106f.,
Fraenkel, Beob. zu Ar. 167); Willems had also suggested the same.

Holzinger, however, (Erklärungen 37ff.) maintained that these parts were played by male extras, wearing suitable masks and exaggerated female ψυχήν with painted genitalia; he suggests the weather might be too cold for a naked female and that the important parts might not be discerned clearly enough from the back row of the theatre.

27a. Dover's exposition of this small scene (loc. cit. 11f.) is very convincing.

28. If Lysistrata is still represented on stage, we should probably assume an extra if the first actor takes the part of the Spartan youth who ends the play.

29. P. Oxy. 2741, fr. 1B II 5. 18ff.; fr. 5 I 12. See Pickard-Cambridge loc. cit. 245 for examples from tragedy and satyric drama.

30. However, Schol. Eq. 589 says that, where there is a division of a chorus into men and women (as in Birds where the chorus consisted of cock-and hen-birds) or adults and children, the men or adults were in a majority of 13 to 11.

31. Schol. Lys. 1014; Suss 240.

32. JCB Lowe, The Manuscript evidence for changes of speaker in Aristophanes, BICS ix (1962) 27ff.; and cf. Eccl. 30 - 284 and Av. 809 - 36 for lively dialogues with three or more speakers and no indication often of change of speaker.

33. Only the Doric of Lampito saves the situation becoming too bad in the prologue, although the Mss. occasionally give Doric to an obviously Athenian speaker e.g. 89, 116.

34. It is not necessary, however, to assume with Suss that wherever a βαρεόνος character appears in the play (439ff.; 505 etc.) Kalonike plays the role. She is needed to sustain the part in the prologue but later, comparatively isolated examples, can be taken by other speakers.

35. I ignore the Myrrhae of 837ff. in this connection; although my
description does not contradict her later appearance, Aristophanes is
concerned with individual scenes and would be prepared, I am sure, to
show different traits in scenes 600 lines apart. This also assumes, of
course, that it is meant to be the same Hyrrhine.

37. See Gov on Theocr. 18.4 and Austin on Men. Asp. 244.
38. Cf. Eq. 725f. \(\pi\nu\alpha\) \(\omega \gamma\nu\mu\varepsilon\), \(\delta\varepsilon\omega\rho\,\varepsilon\xi\varepsilon\lambda\varepsilon\chi\) — \(\Lambda\varepsilon\nu\iota\Delta\iota\) \\
\(\delta\omicron \pi\omicron\nu\rho\,\varepsilon\xi\varepsilon\lambda\theta\iota\varepsilon\omicron\omicron\tau \); and see note on 96.
39. \(\upsilon\omicron\mu\iota\nu\) of 101 evokes the replies from \(\kappa\), \(\mu\) and \(\lambda\).
40. \(\omicron\tau\iota\beta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\lambda\iota\) also reminds one of 98b which I gave to \(\mu\).
42. Lustrum II (1957) 93; followed by Russo.
43. Marg. Scaen. 129.
45. Another way of reducing the number of speakers, though dramatically less
satisfactory, is to identify Lys. with \(\gamma\nu\nu\iota\) 2 and \(\gamma\nu\nu\iota\) 1 with \(\gamma\nu\nu\iota\) 3.
46. Although the older editions give this attribution and even recently
F. M. Cornford, Origin of Attic Comedy (1934) 174 n. 1.
48. We can make no inferences about \(\alpha\)\(\gamma\) from the address \(\delta\omega\,\tau\varepsilon\kappa\nu\nu\alpha\nu\) at 7,
v. note ad loc.
50. In addition, \(\nu\iota\varepsilon\) ... \(\alpha\phi\rho\sigma\delta\iota\gamma\gamma\nu\) is a woman's oath.
51. This seems to be confirmed by the address \(\delta\iota\kappa\rho\sigma\varphi\iota\nu\iota\). 
52. See note on line 1.
53. I do not intend discussing the Greek stage in the late 5th century B.C.
I accept as normal a wooden raised stage with 3 doors (see especially
Dover PCPhS 192(1966) 2-17 against A. M. Dale-JHS lxxvii(1957) 205-11)

54. Av. 512; Ach. 240.

55. It is used as such regardless of its dramatic function, cf. Ach. 1109; 1123; Hub. 19; Thesm. 930; 1007 etc. On the Myrrhine/Kinesias scene, see below.

56. Theatre of Dionysus 58.

57. Aristofane Autore di Teatro 109f.

58. Loc. cit. 28ff.

59. Russo would assume some rocky landscaping on stage; again the mention of the location may be enough for a Greek audience.

60. Cf. IG 2.374, 142; JH Jonkees, Mnem. ix (1956) 224.

61. Or some sort of balcony - see Wilamowitz on 829.

62. I cannot believe that even a hardened Greek audience could be entertained by 1049ff. and 1189ff.
1. GENERAL

We have seen elsewhere in our discussions about attribution of lines how certain presumptions have to be made about the characters who speak them. In comedy, even more than other drama, one should beware of expecting the poet to produce a character which is consistent and obvious; too often the individual dramatic moment will have more to do with the way a character reveals itself. Nevertheless it is possible to identify certain broad principles underlying most of the characters presented in Lysistrata and this I shall attempt to do in relation to the main characters.

Before doing so, however, it is worth mentioning some comparatively recent studies of the individual names, in particular Lysistrata and Myrrhine. Papademetriou published in 1949 a grave-inscription relating to one Myrrhine, the first priestess of Athena Nike. We know that this post was first filled about 450 B.C., and the gravestone can be dated by its lettering and dialect to about 400 B.C. Thus when our play was produced in 411, with a character called Myrrhine, and having close associations with the Acropolis, such a name was borne by the contemporary priestess of Athena Nike.

Furthermore D. M. Lewis has shown quite convincingly that in 411 the name of the priestess of Athena Polias was Lysimache. This name and that of the heroine in our play have very similar meanings, "dissolver of battle/ armies", and line 554 proves the point: εἶμι παρὰ Λυσίμαχην Ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνὶς καὶ ἑδύναι (cf. 1103–4). It is now known that Lysistrata is not a name manufactured for the occasion, but Aristophanes has the knack of using names to good effect.

We must now ask if identification was intended or not. If the former, why change the name of the heroine? The answer may be simply to get a name that would fit readily into iambic trimeters (significantly the reference to
Again there must be support from the play itself for any such reference to contemporary priestesses.

Certainly at the beginning of the play, if the central door is already identified in some way as the gates of the Propylaea, then Lysistrata is shown as associated with the Acropolis. Whether she would be further identified by mask is unknown. She begins by indirectly criticising the new cults of Athens; her position as priestess of Athena Polias is as upholder of the traditional religion of Athens. When Lampito arrives she is "handled like a sacrificial victim" (84), appropriate if Myrrhine and Lysistrata are priestesses. At 174ff. mention is made of the treasury of Athena and the plan of the women to capture the Acropolis to ensure its proper use - the venerable priestess of Athena would be in a good position to organise such a scheme; indeed the women who capture the Acropolis "pretend to sacrifice" (179). The whole oath scene from line 181 onwards is made much more amusing if its participants reflect contemporary priestesses (especially 202-4). The call by the chorus of old men to Δεσποτική Νίκη (317) becomes ironical if her priestess is one of the leaders of the rebelling women. 64ff. reflect the position of the old women as upholders of traditional Athenian society and they are the supporters of Lysistrata. At 751 a woman is caught by Lysistrata concealing the sacred helmet of Athena in order to feign pregnancy; even more amusing if Lysistrata was Athena’s priestess. The oracle cited by Lysistrata at 770ff. would be comically appropriate. Kinesias accuses Myrrhine at 898 of not practising the rites of Aphrodite - more amusing if Myrrhine is a priestess of Athena (cf. 912). Myrrhine, in addition, gets various items from the Acropolis (just as Lysistrata had done in the opening scene for the sacrifice) which she treats as her home. The religious language of 1123ff. fits well with Lysistrata as priestess (cf. 1162ff.).

Of course, there is much in the play which can be attributed to any
heroine, but there are a number of places where some point is made by accepting the equation of Lysistrata as priestess. Such an identification would add to the grandeur and seriousness of the character. In addition, Aristophanes has used the name to point to her role in the play as dissolver of war, although this becomes clear only as the plot is unfolded. Thus the character may function in different ways to suit the dramatic context.

Such identification with historical people can be continued with some of the other characters, and this is noted below.

While on the subject of historical reference, it is worth looking briefly at how these forceful female characters of the play reflect Athenian society of the time. The myth of the Athenian woman of the fifth century as little better than slave shut up in her own house was exploded effectively by A. W. Gomme⁹. But our play goes much further than that; it represents the take-over of all the manly functions by women who adapt their home management to state management and prove also their physical superiority. Clearly this is the reversal of reality and is meant to be seen as a comic distortion¹⁰. The quotation by D. J. Stewart on the title page of this dissertation suggests an educative function in such distortion. Some¹¹, however, have seen a reflection in the figures of Lysistrata and her counterpart Praxagora in Ecclesiazusae of the highly cultured foreign women in Athens at the time, and most especially Aspasia. Bruns in particular upholds the social and historical significance of Aspasia¹², and sees in Lysistrata and Praxagora a comically distorted emancipated woman, fighting for women's rights. Aspasia is cited as the upholder of education (including rhetoric) for women and the serious traits in the portrayal of Lysistrata reveal her as an instructor of her fellow women. Her words of 1127 Μηδέλος Ἰκοῦσασ are compared to the words of the Corinthian women in Eur. Med. 1084ff. Ξτιν ἐν ὑπὲρ καὶ ἐμὲ, ἔπειτα προσκινεῖν ἐνθέρε][13. Bruns feels they reflect a new trend in Athenian
society, the desire and ability of women to enter public service; after all, they already acted as priestesses.

I am not convinced, however, that one can argue from the comparatively rare case of Aspasia that such a movement was afoot in Athenian society as a whole. This does not preclude reference by Aristophanes to such as Aspasia in the characters of Lysistrata and Praxagora; any person or idea at all novel was worthy of a comic poet's attention. But this play is essentially about the reversal of roles and what that reveals about attitudes to war and peace; it is not a serious exposition of the women's liberation movement, although some modern feminists would assume Lysistrata as an ally. After all, the end of the play restores the traditional roles; the only change is that the men's attitudes have been reversed. There is no attempt (as in the later Ecclesiazusae) to set up a state ruled by women. Aristophanes may have felt that women had a useful role to play in politics or he may merely have felt sympathy with the lot of women during war. But his prime purpose was to write a comedy to win a prize and we can only assume that to the mass of his audience the idea of women taking over the management of the state was funny.

2. PARTICULAR

It is worth examining briefly the portrayal of the individual characters in the play. Consistency, of course, is not a hallmark of the comic poet and dramatic convenience will override where necessary. Nevertheless some details can be noted.

(i) Lysistrata: as the leader of the women and contriver of the plot (or rather plots) she is head and shoulders above the rest. She has a serious mindedness lacking in all the other women, except perhaps Lampito. She becomes annoyed with the frivolity of the other women, notably Kalonike in the prologue or sometimes ignores it. She is not averse to castigating her own sex in the hope of winning the women over to her great cause. Her
power of persuasion is evident in the prologue, where all the women eventually agree to abide by the oath and at the end of the play, where, with the help of Diallage, both the Athenian and Spartan men settle their differences; Lysistrata chooses to ignore or not to understand their scurrilous comments. She is firmly established as the leader in the prologue and continues to occupy that role throughout the play. She is the brave and clever one who shows men the folly of their ways. When she reminisces of the past, it is not in the way of the old men of the chorus who glory in the past and pretend to act similarly in the present, but rather to point the contrast between the ability of ages past to unite against a common non-Greek enemy and the current inter-Greek strife.

Her name is expressive; although this will not be clear at the beginning of the prologue the significance of "army-dissolver" becomes obvious with the revelation of the plot and is expressly referred to at 554 and 1103f. She is almost the symbol of the whole play; she herself is above sexual desires and yet is the one who puts into words the pathos of being a woman during war. It is appropriate that the play bears her name.

(ii) Kalonike: she appears only in the prologue and her part is clearly that of 

\[ \beta \omega \nu \chi \nu \chi \lambda \chi \delta \] 

she acts as comic relief with the interjection of witty, often obscene, comments. She is seen as obsessed with sex and drink and would represent all the characteristics of women which Lysistrata tries to subsume to the great cause. Yet it is precisely this person who swears on behalf of the other women - appropriately - if she can abstain, who cannot? Not only, however, does 

\[ \beta \omega \nu \chi \nu \chi \lambda \chi \delta \] 

interpose witticisms and delay the plot; the opposite effect can be achieved and Kalonike acts also as "encourager", asking for details of the plot and pushing the action on. The balance between the two aspects makes the opening scene of our play particularly vivid.

It is sometimes stated that she is older than the others of the prologue
because she addresses Lysistrata as ἔπικλεῖνα (line 7); but my note on
the line shows that this may be a mock-serm, almost patronising address
and need convey no difference in age. It is essential that all the women
of the prologue are young enough to make a sex strike work and the details
of 149ff. refer best to young women.

(iii) Lyrrhina: there may be a connection with the word μύργιον (pudendum
muliebre23) especially in the light of the scene with Kinesias. She would
certainly be young and attractive and a suitable foil for Kinesias. In
the prologue her tone is rather apologetic and her outbursts emotional; she
does not lack an interest in wine and sex24, but she is far less enterprising
than Kalonike. Süss may be overstating matters when he says: "I am afraid
to assign to her too much wit and intelligence", for this rather ignores the
Kinesias-scene; but in the prologue she is certainly put in the shade by
Kalonike. She represents the bulk of Athenian women, keen to please but
quick to falter.

(iv) Lampito: this name was borne by the wife of King Archidamus, mother
of King Agis II25; the latter had occupied Deceleia in Attica since the
Spring of 41326. Again it is impossible to say whether we are supposed to
make a definite identification or if the name merely represents (as Wilamowitz
suggests) a noble Spartan name. It would, of course, be ironically suitable
if this particular woman was the leader of the revolt on the Spartan side,
but her age might make her literally unsuitable for the part.

She displays a typically Spartan pride in physical perfection, and we
must presume the figure of the actor would have been appropriately padded.
She is generally of a fairly serious disposition, although her liking for
wine is typically female27. She is the first to give support to Lysistrata
after all have turned away in disgust from the original proposal and as such
is seen to be a dramatically important ally, ensuring that the opposition
which she represents will also surrender. Even so, she displays a certain
mistrust of Lysistrata's ability to handle the Athenian side of affairs (170ff.), although this mistrust is used dramatically by Aristophanes to introduce the second element of the plot, the seizure of the Acropolis by the older women. Her key role is reflected in a mention later in the play by the Spartan herald at line 998.

(v) Proboulos: after the disastrous end to the Sicilian expedition in 413, a committee of ten probouloi was appointed that autumn from men over the age of forty; their appointment, as far as we know, was for an unlimited period. For the purposes of our play, the probouloi were the leading constitutional figures, and one of their number, accompanied by Scythian archers, comes to investigate the seizure of the Acropolis. Whether our proboulos was meant to represent any particular holder of the post we do not know.

As representative of the state he is portrayed as a half-witted senile dodderer; he is not quite a ἱππέω, but is rather the foil which Lysistrata uses in the Agon to make listen to her exposition of the women's great cause. He strikes the occasional grand almost tragic pose, but his grandiloquence is no more than pomposity, and is undercut by his sexual inuendos at 404ff. He is not portrayed in this speech as perverted, merely as an old man whose interest in sex can no longer be active but regretfully and enviously reminiscent. His lack of sexual ability is demonstrated at 598 and he is portrayed as a corpse with no further use. He is the first male to encounter Lysistrata and at 530ff. is the first to succumb to the reversal of roles which the women have brought about, when he is forced to assume the dress and functions of the female sex. While not fulfilling quite the same role, he, like Kalonike in the prologue, lightens and enlivens the long scene of 387-613.

(vi) Kincias: the name may have been chosen for its association with Kινεῖν (often used of sexual intercourse) and his domotic Παροιμίας.
for its association with ἱπποῖα (similarly used); this is certainly appropriate to his needs and desires in the scene with Lyrrhine. Would an Athenian audience have immediately associated the name (a rarity) with that of the famous ἀθυρμαμμος poet satirised in Birds? Again this leads us into imponderables, for we do not know how the character was represented or indeed anything of the historical reality. His famous name is only so because his wife has spoken it so often. As far as we can see nothing is made of any reference to the poet and there may be no such significance. His sexually excited state (869) does not prevent him from using law-court tricks such as the presentation of a weeping child (877ff.). He is at fever pitch with frustration and his one aim is to get Lyrrhine to bed, to practise his name.

(vii) Chorus of Old Men: they represent the Demos and as such have expectedly traditional views on the seizure of the Acropolis by the women. They are a complaining lot, especially about the burdens which they carry and the smoke from their torches and pans of charcoal. Their inability even to cope with their own weapons shows them up as rather incompetent. They are very good at threatening to set fire to the women or physically attack them but in the event not much good at carrying out their intentions. They glory boastfully in their victorious past but are treated disrespectfully by the old women as nothing but withered old plants to be watered. They reveal characteristics of the typical dicasts interested only in their pay. As old men they are not able to appreciate the sex strike, only the seizure of their hallowed place of worship. When the two choruses make up and unite it is in a tender and sympathetic not sexual mood.

(viii) Chorus of Old Women: they are altogether a calmer lot than the old men; they express violence less often and water is their main weapon in the parodos. They are given, however, animal characteristics, which they are ready to assume when appropriate. The attributes which they give
themselves at 545ff. are the kind which the men's chorus claimed in their
defence of Athens against Cleomenes at 274ff. — again reversal of roles.
Although their reminiscence of the past at 640ff. is directed towards
female activities, they soon turn the tables on the old men's "glorious" past.
Although old they still have a pride in their appearance\(^{45}\). They eventually
show their sympathy for the old men and the two choruses unite.

(ix) Other Characters: no other character has an important enough part to
be depicted in great detail. All bearers of office on the male side are
represented as weak and incompetent, and, if young, sex obsessed; even when
the strife is settled the ambassadors confess their incompetence (1225ff.).
The men generally are seen by the women as an evil force\(^{46}\) and admit their
own foolishness\(^{47}\). Eventually they see the error of their ways and the
reminiscence of the past by the Spartans at the end of the play is done for the
right reasons, the unification of Greeks against the common enemy.

The women, too, are regarded by the men as evil, hateful objects\(^{48}\),
as drunken debauchees\(^{49}\), or as potential tyrants\(^{50}\). But, in addition, the
women see themselves as always in comedy as fond of food, sex and drink;
their self-awareness, however, allows them to gain the upper hand. They
become the true fighters, just like Amazons\(^{51}\), with a pride in their freedom
and their solidarity\(^{52}\). They assume the traditionally male part, and only
resume their proper role when the men have surrendered. One final point —
all the women who appear in the play are assumed to be married, a fact which
is discussed elsewhere in relation to the plot.
NOTES

2. IG 12 24.
4. As Schmid IV, 2, 1, 206. The name is found before the middle of the fifth century (SEG X 321) and about the time of the play v. J. D. Beazley AJA LIV (1950) 319, who draws attention to a late fifth century red-figure lekane which has on it the names of Lysistrata and Nyrrhine; unfortunately it cannot be dated accurately enough to state whether it precedes or follows our play.
5. Cf. Paphlagon Eq. 919; Strepsiades Nub. 88; 434; 776; 1455.
6. Lewis points out that Μουσαράτις would have been equally effective if Aristophanes had wished to avoid Λυσίστρατον completely. It is difficult to know if an Athenian audience would make any association between the name Lysistrata and the well-known Lysistratus, ridiculed elsewhere by Aristophanes (cf. 1105; Veep 787) as a debauched and cowardly fellow.
7. Cf. the Proboulos remarks at 367ff., which are ironical if Lysistrata in fact represents the old religion.
8. We do not, of course, know anything of Kalonike's status.
10. Articles such as that by H. W. Haley, HSCh I (1990) 159ff. illustrate the dangers of a literal interpretation of Aristophanes' female characters.


14. It is, of course, very dangerous and frequently disastrous to attempt to discern Aristophanes' own personal views in any of his plays; see, for example, A. W. Goame, OR LII (1938) 97ff. - Aristophanes and Politics.

15. Sadly there is no conclusive evidence either way for the presence of women at the performance of these plays; one suspects, however, that even if they were present there would not be a large number of them.

16. I do not cite individual lines for this; the whole of the prologue is particularly relevant.

17. See especially 94b.

18. See 432 ὑ γὰρ μοίξων δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ νῦν καὶ θανᾶτος; 572; 1124 for her wisdom and 549 ὡς πεπνυόμενη ἀνδρειότατη; 1103 ὡς πασχόν ἀνδρειότατη for her bravery/manliness (again reversal of traditional roles).

19. 1129ff.; 1133. She even cites one of the old men's reminiscences at 1150ff. but with rather different purpose.

20. Especially 588ff.

21. Wilamowitz' change to ΚΑΣΑΚΗ is unnecessary; he argues that the name is un-Attic (the Attic form being ΚΑΣΗ). E. Fraenkel (Kl. Beitrd. i. 442f.), however, defends the Nss. version by quoting from Beazley (AE xci/xciii (1953-54) 203f.): "I note, however, that ΚΑΛΗ is written above the head of a woman on a cup-fragment, by the Attic painter Makron, about 480 B.C., from the Acropolis of Athens (324: Langlotz pl. 21: ARV p. 309 no. 132). The end of the word is missing, but the name was probably ΚΑΣΗ. Personal names often preserve extinct words; and in this case the name may have preserved an alternative form of compound which was not un-Greek and may have once existed in Attica as well as elsewhere". Russo (p. 64) also sees
an expressiveness in the name; with line 6 Χάρφε κόλλινικε he compares Eq. 1254 Ἰδ Χάρφε κάλλινικε.

22. See especially W. Suss RhM xcvi (1954) 237ff. (and his earlier work — De personarum antiquae comoediae atticae usu atque origine, Bonn 1905) and also D. Grene, Hermathena L (1937) 106ff.

23. Cf. 1004; Poll. ii. 174; Phot. i. 433; Blaydes, Anal. Com. Graec. 159.

24. Again the difficulties of line attribution make matters difficult.


27. At lines 198 and 206; typically female at least in Aristophanean terms.

28. Thuc. viii. 1. 3; Ar. Ath. Pol. 29. 2. Hignett 269 sees these features as oligarchic in tendency and the existence of the probouloi as facilitating the revolution of 411.

29. The poet Sophocles was one and Hagnon, the father of Theramenes, another (Ar. Rhet. iii. 18. 6; Lys. xii. 65).

30. On entry at 387 (see note ad loc.) and 424ff. as leader of "army".


32. So P. Maas, P. W. xi. 481.

33. ἐδὼ is used at 876; 888; 936; 952; οὐκοῦσε at 845; 967.

34. Καθαλίνωs becomes the key word (compare its domestic use at 19) - 904; 906; 910; (Καθαλίνιδε 916); 918.

35. 254-5; 291; 312; 314; 336ff.

36. 294ff.; 304-5; 312.

37. 267-70; 293; 308ff.; 315-6; 339f.; 348; 357; 360-1; 364; 373; 376; 381 et.

38. See note on 273.

39. 384f.; they recall their watering at 400ff.; 469-70.

40. The comic viewpoint; see 624-5 and cf. 270; 350; 537 (of the Proboulos); 690; 698; 703.

41. See 661; this does not prevent them trying to kiss the old women at 797,
although this turns out to be only the prelude to violent threats; presumably their phalli were suitably limp (1020ff.).

42. 262ff.; 480ff.

43. But see 363; 367; 636; 705; 821ff.

44. 353; 468; 475; 476; 684; 695; 1014f.

45. 825ff. - cf. 151.

46. 326; 336; 350-1; 555ff.; 1017; 1035.

47. See the Proboulos' speech at 403ff. The old women at 1020 say "εὰν γὰρ ἦμι κατ' ἐξαπόδημοι Εἰ.

48. 261; 283; 340; 371; 433; 622; 635; 961; 971ff.; 1039.

49. 387ff.; 405; 425; 466.

50. 664ff.; cf. 274ff.; 619ff.

51. 192; 253; 453ff.; 674f.; 678f.

52. 379; 463f.

53. 435ff.; 549f.; 891f.
In approaching any Greek play one tends to assume unconsciously that the plot will be well-structured and unified, so carefully has Aristotle done his job. But Old Comedy is delightfully different and its finest representative happily ignores logical developments and concentrates on the comic moment. Although *Lysistrata* has been regarded in the past as reasonably logical in its dramatic structure, there are in the plot some basic inconsistencies to which it is worth drawing attention.

The plan of the women as outlined in the prologue is that the men can be forced through sexual refusal by their wives to give up war. In reality this is as absurd as blackmailing the gods in *Birds* by refusing them the smell of offerings. Aristophanes picks out one relationship between the sexes, the normal domestic scene, and concentrates on it to the exclusion (sometimes illogical) of others. We have to assume that there are no prostitutes, no homosexuals, no masturbation for the men; the women in the play are all assumed to be married and the men accept their marital bonds and look no further afield for sexual satisfaction.

Not only this, but only a few minutes before the great plot was unveiled by our heroine, there had been complaints (99ff.) from all participants that their husbands had been long separated from them by the war. Here the dramatist has his cake and makes a good meal of it; he wishes both ideas to be present, the separation of husband and wife to build up the pathos of the current historical situation, and its effect on the home and the temptation and refusal of husband by wife as one of the main strands of the plot. It is conveniently ignored that Myrrhine's husband appears as the frustrated representative of the Athenian men when earlier he was supposed to be at Pylos. In addition, even if the men had returned home, we are to assume that five days of frustration in Athens can do what several months in the field
In the detail of the plan (149ff.) the women are to taunt the men at home; a hundred lines later they lock themselves up in the Acropolis and thus deny themselves this opportunity. A new theme is developed and the sex strike motif not fully resumed until the scene between Kinesias and Myrrhino. Here the two themes are almost merged, as if the seizure of the Acropolis were the means of achieving the sex strike; but in the circumstances it was perhaps the best way Aristophanes could represent on stage the sex strike theme of the prologue, and the Acropolis becomes a bedroom.

At the base of this last inconsistency lies the fact that in the plot there are two major themes, one domestic and one civil, one negative and one positive - the former the sex-strike, the latter the seizure of the Acropolis. These I shall term Plan A and Plan B respectively and relate to the development of the plot.

The first scene of the play starts with a long and detailed build up of tension until the final bald announcement comes at line 124. The previous lines had started off in the vaguest way, with the women quizzing Lysistrata on why she has summoned them together or the heroine dropping hints. One important theme had been stated, that it was the whole of Greece that was to be saved, and this is reinforced by the appearance of women not only from Attica but also from the enemy states of Sparta, Boeotia and Corinth. This salvation, too, is to rest upon the women; they will be the ones to put an end to the war. The means of achieving this end have only been hinted at in the details of the attractions of women at 43ff. Only after careful preparation does the heroine dare reveal her great idea, a sex-strike (Plan

This brings about an immediate revulsion on the part of the other women; until then the unity of the women had been stressed by the use of the first person plural - now, it is "you" and "I" as the individual objections are voiced. It is only after Lampito is appealed to by and agrees with
Lysistrata then proceeds to illustrate in vivid detail the means by which the sex-strike is to be effective.

It is Lampito's mistrust of the Athenian women's ability to force peace upon their husbands which leads to the introduction of the second main theme, the seizure of the Acropolis (166ff. - Plan B). Its purpose is to ensure that on the civic front the men are denied the money necessary to make war. As Hulton points out, it is almost seen at this point as an extra, "insurance" policy, and is introduced in a much more casual way than Plan A. At this time there is no evidence that the women on stage are to be associated with Plan B; only the older women are mentioned as the executors. It is only after the oath-scene, which still reflects the domestic aspect of Plan A; that a cry is heard (240) which signifies the capture of the Acropolis by the older women; and at this point instead of going off home to tantalise their husbands the women on stage go into the Acropolis to help their friends bar the gates. Plan A is dropped and not properly resumed until 706ff.; instead Plan B predominates. While the prologue has established the domestic theme, the civic aspect is the one which occupies the parados and the first episode. There are however references back to Plan A and these are noted below.

The entry of the Chorus of old men is anticipated by Kalonike's and Lysistrata's remarks at 247ff. But these old men know nothing of Plan A; they know only that the women have committed the heinous crime of seizing the Acropolis. In turn the Chorus of old women make no reference to the sex-strike, but merely state their overall purpose, to stop the war and save Greece.

With the entry of the Proboulos and the scene of confrontation between him and Lysistrata, while Plan B is still uppermost, there are references to the domestic or sexual scene. It is ironic that the Proboulos'
opening remarks (387ff.) completely misconstrue the women's action; for
him their revolt is symbolic of their wantonness, whereas, in fact, it is
precisely the opposite. When the Proboulos asks (426ff.) why the women have
barricaded themselves in the Acropolis, the reply is in keeping with the earlier
notices of Plan B. But soon the domestic parallel of women as managers of
their homes is drawn and the two ideas merge, most significantly in the long
wool-working simile of 567ff.18, where the domestic task becomes the solution
to the civic problems. But while there are links to the domestic situation
in the episode and later in the parabasis19, there is no clear reference to
Plan A20.

However, at 706ff. Plan B in its turn is dropped21 and Plan A is
resumed and we are shown scenes which reveal the effect of the sex-strike on
the women, on the Athenian men, and on the Spartan men. The details of Plan
A as expounded earlier by Iysistrata are vividly presented on stage in the
Kinesias-Ilyrrhine scene. Although some motifs serve to link these scenes
with the previous scenes22, in essence no mention is now made by the women
of their second plan; all they are concerned with is the "restoration of
normal relationships between husbands and wives"23. There is, however, a
certain confusion which creeps in from time to time; it would almost appear
in the scene of the escaping women and the Ilyrrhine-Kinesias scene that the
women have only retired into the Acropolis to get away from their husbands.
Thus Plan B would seem to be a method of achieving Plan A, although, of course
the latter was originally designed for the home. At the same time Plan B
had expanded from merely stopping the men getting hold of the state funds to
a complete take over of state management by the women.

In any event the theme of reconciliation is gradually developed from
its first explicit mention at 93224 until the two semi-choruses unite at
1043ff., and the domestic themes of the odes symbolize the return to the normal
From there it progresses to the full reconciliation scene between Spartans
and Athenians with Lysistrata performing the role of diplomatic, ably assisted by the beautiful Αισθήσεις whose physical charms overcome any objections which the men might express. Here the two themes, domestic and civic, are again linked - what was essentially a domestic sex-strike is now transformed into the broadest political sphere and their combination is effected by the physical presence on stage of what had been in Acharnians merely a figure of speech. The Acropolis then becomes the scene for the public feasting to celebrate not only peace but also the restoration of domestic harmony. The women have succeeded in their aim; they need take no more part in public affairs; their triumph is complete.

Thus it is clear that the two main themes interrelate throughout the play, albeit at times uneasily. The sex-strike was a magnificent notion and worthy of the comic stage; so also was the presence of the Acropolis which not only allowed glorification of the magnificent surroundings but also dramatically enabled the transformation of a domestic theme to civic level.

It is difficult not to ask whether all this is meant to be taken seriously. Certainly this comedy does not reveal the selfishness of say Dicasopolis in Acharnians; the pathos of the women's situation in war is real enough. Historically, too, we know that the Athenians were regaining their position, and peace on honourable terms was not an impossibility. At the same time Aristophanes never lets the seriousness dwell too long. Indeed the idea of women having any say in such matters might have seemed ridiculous to an Athenian audience, and there is a great deal of mockery (and self-mockery) of women. While it is perhaps dangerous to assume a didactic purpose to Aristophanic comedy, it has the disturbing habit of showing us truths about ourselves by so distorting reality as to jolt us into self-awareness. It has already been stated that we are sadly ignorant of the relationship of this play to its historical background, but this play's timeless popularity surely reflects something deeper than fifth century scurrility.
It is not a pacifist document any more than a manifesto for the liberation of women, but it does have important things to say about how people conduct their lives and if it does no more than make us view our attitudes to such conduct more critically than before, then it has succeeded in gaining a very special "first prize".
NOTES

1. Some recent useful comments are made by:-
   A. O. Hulton, G+R xix (1972) 32-6
   J. Vaio, GRBS xiv (1973) 369-80
   P. Handel, Formen und Darstellungsweisen in der arist.
   Komodie (1963) 190f.; 221ff.

2. Gilbert Norwood (Greek Comedy 1931, 249) was a notable exception.

3. There are references to these matters in Iys. - masturbation 109f.;
   158 (for women only); prostitution 725; 956ff.; homosexuality 622;
   1092; 1105; 1148; 1174 (nearly all directed against the Spartans who
   were traditionally so disposed).

4. Dover, Ar. Comedy 160, suggests that this may reflect the reality of
   Athenian life and the other comedies of Aristophanes the roguish fantasy
   of the genre.

5. Beside it a minor point like the Boeotian and Corinthian: women of the
   prologue being forgotten in the reconciliation scene pales into in-
   significance.

6. On this motif in Greek literature, paralleled in Hesiod, Josephus, and
   Philo, v. Rademacher, BPhW xxxvi (1916) 764-5; Grenz, Hermathena I
   (1937) 113. It is also known in Old French and Mediaeval Literature v.
   J. Grimm, Kleine Schr. V (Berlin 1871), 408ff., and in Old Irish, v.
   W. A. Muller, Nacktheit und Entblossung in der altoriental und älteren
   Griech. Kunst, Diss. Leipzig 1906, 6ff. Its theme would be more striking
   to an Athenian audience than to a modern one used to freer expression
   of views by women. It should be remembered, however, that the weapon
   is still used by women not to improve their overall position vis-à-vis
men in a permanent way, but to gain temporary victory over them to restore the status quo ante bellum.

There is no need to probe deeply into the Panhellenism of Aristophanes; as in Peace it was a natural Greek tendency to assume that peace would mean the restoration of the ties that once bound the Greek states together, v. Rau's review of de Wit Tak, Gnomon, xl (1968) 568. The dangers of over-sophisticated interpretation are seen in W. M. Hugill, Panhellenism in Aristophanes, Chicago 1936 and well noted by Gomme in his review for CR LI (1937) 14. The theme recurs in our play - 29-30; 41; 343; 525; 554; 1006; 1110; 1129ff.

The widespread origin of the women taking part is stressed - 40-1; 58-9; 62; 67; 75-6; 85-7; 90-1.

On the heightening of tension in this opening scene and the careful art of Aristophanes here v. Handel 190f.; 214f. The neat symmetry of lines 99ff. and 112ff. is worth noting.

14 (cf. 118); 116; 154; 169.

Most notably ὅπειρος and τὸ ὑπέρ (249) neatly sum up what we are to see in the parodos.

The division of the chorus enables Aristophanes to bring them closely into the action of the play; this is true also in the parabasis.

The passing references in the parodos to domestic or sexual matters at 261; 327ff.; 362f.; 364 are not important.
17. Quite unmotivated, and with no real consequences for the plot; it may be that the episode is meant to bridge with a character who because of his age is no longer subject to sexual desires the time until the other means of pressure is effective. It also allows the heroine in the one-sided Agon to state her case with pathetic clarity.

18. Anticipated perhaps by the references at 532ff., where the Proboulos assumes the role of a woman and attributes appropriate to that role.

19. Vaio p. 374ff. cites the following: 387-419 (sex); 493-96 (home); 510-20 (home); 551-4 (sex); 567-87 (home); 643-55 (home); 676-8 (sex); 700-2 (home).

20. 551-4 come the nearest but they are a bit obscure; one might have expected some reference at 525f. where Lysistrata talks of the meeting of women in the prologue.

21. Five days have now passed, v. 881 and cf. 720ff.

22. Vaio p. 376ff. cites 726-41 (household tasks reminiscent of 567ff., although containing sexual innuendo); 742-57 (childbirth - cf. 583ff.; 648ff., a significant change of attitude); 830-97 (domestic role of the women neglected, because they are on the Acropolis); 893ff. (the entrance to the Acropolis becomes a bedroom).

23. Hulton p. 34.

24. Cf. 951; 984; 1006; 1009; 1040; 1091; 1101; 1104.


26. The ending of the play may not appear very exciting to a modern audience, but the Greek theatrical tradition was different v. Dover, Ar. Comedy 155. It is difficult to know whether the correct ending is, in fact, preserved in our texts; some have suggested 1273-94 was the original ending and got misplaced or that the original ending is now lost (presumably an Athenian equivalent to the Spartan solo). It is in my view, however, daringly appropriate that a Spartan should end a play
whose final scenes had concentrated on reconciliation, and in the common worship of Athena there can be seen the hope that Greeks will once again unite in friendship.

A similar timelessness can be observed in what I consider to be a very close modern parallel to Aristophanes, the film comedies of the Marx Brothers, and in particular their 1933 film (produced, significantly, in the worst year of the Depression) "Duck Soup". To quote Allen Eyles (The Marx Brothers - Their World of Comedy, London 1966, 86): "The end of 'Duck Soup' is a comment on all wars: that they are pointless, tending to arise from trivialities, to be rejoiced in by men as a kind of super-game, and won by chance and luck". Their films bear a remarkable similarity in a number of respects (including use of language) to the plays of Aristophanes. The heroes of both are somewhat superhuman who take on the world and beat it. The only subject the Marx Brothers ignore is religion - all else is the target for their humour. They have an exuberance and at times rude vulgarity which recall the same features in Aristophanes' characters; at the same time their surrealistic (they themselves preferred to call it lunatic) comedy has a constructive element in that "the distortion of ordinary reality makes us more aware of what it is; the eyesight and hearing are sharpened to images and words we have come to take for granted". (Eyles 155). As well as Eyles' book, that by Joe Adamson (Groucho, Harpo, Chico and Sometimes Zeppo, London 1973) is worth reading for a close examination of the Marx Brothers' work.
1. GENERAL

In relation to Aristophanes' plays there have been various attempts to identify the different strata of language. Sadly our knowledge of Greek dialects (even Attic) of the fifth century B.C. is such that to assign words or forms or expressions to one particular style or genre is a dangerous activity and one likely to lead the reader astray. In his review of Rau's Paratragodia Dover identifies three major linguistic strata as follows:

(i) words appropriate to all occasions
(ii) words of which the stems are restricted to particular cultural situations, "high" (e.g. $\nu\lambda\gamma\varsigma\varepsilon$) or "low" (e.g. $\eta\varepsilon\zeta\omicron\varsigma$).
(iii) words of which stems are unrestricted, but the formatives (e.g. $\varepsilon\zeta\delta\lambda\varsigma$, $\nu\lambda\gamma\sigma$, $\tau\omicron\varsigma\varsigma$) exemplify conscious, educated manipulation of language for purposes, whether artistic or technical or both at once, which go beyond the daily round.

Particular studies have been attempted with this or similar distinctions in mind. Their danger lies in over-rigidity or sophisticated analysis. While it is possible to identify from the fairly extensive contemporary evidence some formations and words which belonged exclusively to one stratum, it is impossible to generalise from the particular. The technical or educated word has a habit of entering the common speech remarkably quickly and of losing its original overtones.

What we know Aristophanes does do is to juxtapose the "low" and "high" or "educated" words in such a way as to have a humorous effect. To this generality one can link the often studied aspects of parody and obscenity, the two features of Aristophanes' language which have attracted more attention.
than any other.

2. OBSCENITY.$^5$

There has been an attitude prevalent in certain commentators, otherwise reticent about this subject, that the obscenity (not only in language, but also, we must assume, in stage action and gesture) was only introduced by Aristophanes as a concession to certain classes of the public who would be well represented at the festivals. This would be, if true, a rather damning indictment of a playwright, who in other respects is extolled.

There are, in fact, other ways of interpreting the use of obscenity. The fact should not be undervalued that the festivals at which these plays were performed had their origins in cult activities which contained in their more primitive forms ritual, sexual elements. We know from the fragments of other Old Comedy plays that obscenity was a standard element, and there is also a reflection of this in the costumes.$^6$ Such festivals may have been the opportunity for the Greeks to break the taboos associated with the sexual or excremental sphere; thus the tension produced by these taboos could be relieved within the fertility associations of religious cults. This is rather different from pornography; the latter is stimulating and introverted; obscenity in Greek comedy is extrovert and liberating.

The obscenity is not sustained and its integration into the context of a play allows it to produce differing effects, e.g. facetiousness, humour, coarseness, sensuality, perversity etc., appropriate to the action at any one point. Its presence in Old Comedy reinforces one of the latter's greatest features, the breaking of society's rules. Not only does the play free the characters (and by its influence, at least temporarily, also the audience) from the constraints of everyday life, it allows them to conquer such constraints. As well as the psychological effect within a play, obscenity can serve to shock the audience, to bring home a particular point
with emphasis. It can also help relieve the pathos of a scene—
Aristophanes never lets us dwell too long on the serious.

Obscenity also appears as part as the build-up of a particular
character e.g. a βαινωδς'χος (Kalonike in our play, the κοσμοφόρος of
Euripides in Thesmophorinzae). Different characterising effects can be
brought about by the particular use of obscenity e.g. aggressiveness, anger,
sexual stimulation etc.

Thus to reduce obscenity in Aristophanes' plays to simply a method of
raising a laugh is to miss a number of important implications in the historical
and dramatic development of such plays.

3. PARODY.

Although paratragedy is perhaps the most widely studied form of parody
in Aristophanes, it is by no means the only form. Religion, rhetoric (the
language of the law court or the political assembly), lyric and epic poetry,
and philosophy (including the sophists) are all suitable targets for parody.
It is not my intention to cite individual cases, but merely to make a few
general comments.

There are occasions when Aristophanes wishes the type of language to
be recognised for the style it reflects and no parody is intended; such a use
may further the plot or identify a character. In addition he may wish to
use high-flown language seriously e.g. in choral lyric, again with no
parodistic outlook.

But on a far larger number of occasions the poet wishes to use another
type of style as a weapon or as a target and the two aims are different. In
the former case there is a humorous effect because of the incongruous
collocation of language and action e.g. in a βαινωδς'χος who at one
moment uses the language of tragedy and in the next breath utters an obscenity.
In the other case a style or genre is exaggerated and criticised for its lack
of importance and relevance in the real world.

It is particularly in connection with the latter that we again see the liberating effect of Aristophanic comic language. He can do on stage what every man in the audience would wish to do, prick the pomposity of pretentiousness and demonstrate its irrelevance. The audience joins the comic hero or heroine in the overthrow of what society, through its polite structure, has to accept in the normal course of events.

Aristophanes' parody also assumes a depth of awareness and knowledge on the part of the audience, not only in relation to tragedy or epic which may be parodied, but other fashionable styles. It is impossible to say how much of his parody was appreciated by the audience, but I feel it would be dangerous to underestimate the feeling for words which seems to be associated with a basically non-literate, oral-biased society. But it is also obvious that Aristophanes' own interest in language and its varied uses was a keen one; parody does not necessarily imply disrespect and although one should not attempt to ascertain the poet's own views, he was an innovator in his own art and quite probably admired innovation in other genres. The comic medium afforded the perfect opportunity to exploit his interest and at the same time to reflect (as comedy often does) the attitudes of the average citizen to such novelties.

4. **DORIC.**

Lysistrata is unique among surviving Old Comedies in presenting a large number of lines spoken in Doric and the question arises as to their accuracy either as transmitted in our texts or as intended by the author. The sources, both literary and epigraphic, which remain allow us to reconstruct with some degree of accuracy the Doric (or to be more precise Laconic) dialect of the fifth century B.C. It is surprising to note how closely the forms in the transmitted text correspond to what we know to be
the spoken Doric of the time, although there are a number of places where scribes have not appreciated such Doric peculiarities as the retention of the digamma. Again I shall not discuss individual cases; they have been discussed at the appropriate line or at greater length and with more linguistic expertise in the standard books on Greek dialects.

We must ask what a comic poet would wish to achieve in his presentation of a non-Attic dialect on stage. We cannot expect complete accuracy (even such constraints as metre might have an influence on this), but the Greek states were close enough (even in war) for people to have a good knowledge of the principles of the various dialects. Certain key features of Doric would be especially apparent - the replacement of intervocalic sigma by an aspirate; the use of sigma for Attic theta; the infinitive ending -ην; the apocope of prepositions; the aorist in -ξεως. In addition certain words or phrases were peculiarly Doric and would identify any speaker as such, e.g. οὐχί, ην, κυρσάνιος, ικωρ, νηπίως etc. These are precisely the features which appear in our play, and to the modern observer the effect would seem accurate. How much exaggeration there might be in the use of Doric it is impossible to say; but the Spartans were at that time the enemies of Athens, and even the dramatic necessity of cooperation between the two sides (initially the women) might not have prevented Aristophanes from poking fun at the idiosyncrasies of the Doric dialect.

But in the main what Aristophanes had to establish was a recognisable Doric presence, initially among the women and later among the men, and this, as far as we can see, he achieves by an accurate use of the Doric dialect. The ravages of time and scribes may have diluted this and there are occasions when modern commentators have been too purist in their restorations, but it is still remarkable how close our manuscript texts are to fifth century Doric. It is sad to report that modern translations are not so effective as the original.
NOTES

1. The most useful study, although not always presented in the order one would wish, is that by J. Taillardat, Les Images d'Aristophane, Paris 1965.


3. For example the various articles by Denniston, Handley, Miller and Pepler cited in the bibliography.

4. This is what makes me suspicious of such articles as that by H. W. Miller on Aristophanes and Medical Language, TAPA lxxvi (1945) 74-84.

5. Some interesting points are made by de Wit-Tak in her book on Lysistrata (Groningen 1967) and an article in Mnem. xxi (1968) 357-65; the latter relates primarily to Thesmophoriamusae and Ecclesiastae, but contains a number of general observations.

6. I am not convinced by attempts to get rid of the phallus from the Greek stage; it surely is evident in Lysistrata on a number of occasions e.g. 598 (the Proboulos probably unable to raise an erection); 815ff.; 967 (Kinesias miserably erect); 985ff. (the Spartan herald in similar straits 1020ff. (the old men's phalli are probably small and limp - they can no longer enjoy the pleasures of sex). In addition the sexual parts of the women (the actors would be suitably costumed and padded; Diallage may have been a real naked woman) are explicity referred to e.g. 86ff.; 1148ff.

7. See, for example, 124; 715; 869.

8. See 598; 1112ff. (the interjecitions on the sexual delights of Diallage do distract from the "serious" reconciliation).

9. For paratragedy and parody of other poetic genres, see the works cited in the bibliography under the names of Rau, Prato, de Sande Bakhuyzen and Schlesinger; for religion Hewitt, Horn and Klein-Knecht; for rhetoric...
Murphy, Gelzer and Long; for philosophy Denniston, Handley and Pepler.

10. Along the lines of Dover's review of Rau's Paratragodia in Gnomon (see note 2). While this relates primarily to paratragedy it has relevance to other types of parody.

11. Again the Marx Brothers' use of language is very similar.

12. Other comic fragments e.g. from Eupolis' Helots and Epilykos' Koraliskos also have Doric lines as do the Athēnaios.

13. Thumb-Kieckers sect. 86ff. is a useful guide. Other studies with relevance to Lysistrata include E. Bourguet, Le Dialecto Laconien; H. L. Alirens, De Dialecto Dorico; Bechtel; Wilamowitz, Textgeschichte der griech. Lyr. 88ff.

14. As a Scotsman, I cannot tolerate the attempts of some to translate the Doric into what they consider "Scots", a mixture which makes most people north of the border squirm.
COMMENTARY

PROLOGUE: The Women's Plot (1 - 253).

The prologue, although conceived as a unified whole, can be divided into three sections (so Mazon, Essai p. lllf.).

(i) 1 - 96 set the scene. There appears on stage alone Lysistrata (so identified at 6); she is clearly very annoyed and upset about the fact that no one else has yet put in an appearance (cf. Eccl. 19ff.), although it is quite probably early morning (see 14ff.; 72). Calonike soon appears, however (5), making excuses for her fellows; she acts the part of interrupting Lysistrata with jokes mostly obscene. Even amid the hilarity Lysistrata manages to impress the serious nature of what is proposed - the saving of the whole of Greece by the women (29 - 30) and the stopping of war (49 - 50). Eventually other women arrive (65) including the named Nyrrhine (70). Not only, however, do Attic women appear, but representatives of Athens' enemies Sparta, Boeotia and Corinth, led by Lampito (78ff.). After more exchanges, the women wish to hear why Lysistrata has brought them all together.

(ii) 97 - 180 serve as the exposition of the plot. Lysistrata gradually reveals (after building up the tension) exactly how she intends to put an end to the war; in the end she blurts out in one line (124) the key to the solution, a sex strike. Immediate revulsion ensues on the part of the women; only Lampito (142ff.) is willing to support Lysistrata and together they attempt to persuade the others that it is the only solution. Eventually, despite all counter arguments, they agree (167). Lampito seeks
assurance from Lysistrata that the men will be incapable of carrying on the war, and Lysistrata tells her that the older women have instructions to seize the Acropolis and prevent the men from gaining access to the treasury. Lampito is satisfied (180).

(iii) 181 - 253 form the parodistic oath-scene. The form of the oath is decided (after the usual jokes), suitable to the bibulousness of women and Calonike undertakes to swear on behalf of the women (210), repeating the words of Lysistrata. As soon as the oath is sworn a cry is heard, a signal that the Acropolis has been taken. Lampito goes off to ensure that the Spartan situation is taken care of (243) and the Athenian women retire into the Acropolis along with the hostages from the enemy states (244).

For the production details, discussion of the characters, development of the plot and the attribution of lines, see the appropriate introductory sections.

1. \( \dddot{\lambda} \lambda \lambda \varepsilon \): The abruptness of the opening scene seems to imply that we have come in, as it were, half-way through Lysistrata's thoughts. For the opening with \( \dddot{\lambda} \lambda \lambda \varepsilon \) cf. Men. Aspis 97 (\( \tau \omega \chi \eta \) begins her prologue). Fraenkel (Beob. zu Ar. p. 103) compares the opening of Menander's Eunuchus (fr. 161) - \( \dddot{\lambda} \lambda \lambda \varepsilon \, \gamma \varepsilon \omega \varepsilon \gamma \omega \gamma \) (there a conversation supposedly begun off stage and continued with these words - cf. Lowe, JHS lxxiv (1964) 167). Here we have the continuation of Lysistrata's own thoughts of anxiety and impatience which would have been expressed in gestures visible to the audience. The contrast to \( \dddot{\lambda} \lambda \lambda \varepsilon \) comes in line 4; it is this reversion of the normal order of expression ("no-one here yet; but if...") that throws emphasis on Lysistrata's annoyance. It also provides Aristophanes with an excellent opportunity right at the beginning of the play to make fun of the
women (recurring again and again).

Βακχικὸν : a Bacchic rite or festival, cf. Ra. 357, Eur. Phoen. 21, Plut. Mor. 758E. Some (notably Brunck, van Leeuwen and Rogers) have taken it to mean a shrine of Bacchus on the analogy of ὘ησίον, Ὀμιλεοφερίον (cf. also schol. Eur. Phoen. 21 Διηετὲς Βακχικὸν καὶ ὁ Διονύσου νυσὶς; Hesych. Βακχικὸν, ἡ Ἡσυχότης τυράννος; Sobolewski p. 45). This is in anticipation of line 2 and the most obvious way to interpret the word here is as rite or festival. For convenient information on the subject of Bacchic rites (rather more restrained at Athens than those represented in the Bacchae) v. Dodds, Eur. Bacch. xi - xxv; their features were drinking and dancing. The drunkenness of women is a stock motif in Old Comedy - cf. Oeri, Typ der komischen Alten, 13ff.; 39ff.; Athen. 10. 440c; Thesm. 628ff.; Pl. Com. 174; Pherecr. 143 etc. But drinking was only one of the attributes associated with Bacchus; sex was also prominent (cf. Ra. 740) and it is this idea that is continued in line 2.

2. - ἐν ἀνακοπῇ : For the prodelision of ἐν (ἐνος-) v. Flattanuer CQ x (1960) 143. The only certain cases in Greek drama that he lists are: Aesch. Th. 208; Ar. Iys. 605; Ra. 186 - 7, although he accepts as likely Eur. Cyc. 240 (Ruhnken's ἐν ἀνακοπῇ μινανής) and Eur. Ion 1562 (Verall's νομισμαζός ἐν ἀνακοπῇ).

Πιθανὸς : For the omission of the word for shrine or temple with ἐν v. Schwyzer ii. 120; Starkie on Vesp. 123; and Sobolewski p. 45ff. On the shrine v. R. E. suppl viii s.v. Fan. Pan is closely associated with Bacchus (cf. Lucian, Bis Acc. 9; Dial. Deorum 22); the orgiastic and sexual connotations are well attested, v. Handley on Men. Dysc. 433f.; Ovid Met. iii, 356 - 410 etc.

 subsidiās : For the prodelision of ἐντίς cf. Ra. 186 - 7 and Flattanuer CQ x (1960) 142 - 3.

Κώδων ἐν : The reading is Wilamowitz' for the Mss. subsidiās; the
latter separates Κωδικός from Γενετυλλίδος. Bentley kept the separation by reading (cf. schol. Nub. 52 Ἕτερος Κωδικός) ή 'ς Κωδικός, ή 'ς Γενετυλλίδος. von Daele translates the Wilamowitz text, adopted by Coulon, "ou à la pointe Colias chez la déesse Géneüllis". It is worth looking more closely at the names involved. At Nub. 52 Κωδικός = Aphrodite Kolias and Strabo (398), Pausanias (1.1.5), and Photius (196, 15) tell us that her sanctuary was on the promontory of Kolias in the deme Anaphlystos. Wilamowitz draws attention to a passage in Herodotus (viii.96) which talks about wrecks from Salamis being driven onto the promontory of Kolias. Later passages such as Lucian Amor. 43 and Alciphr. ii.8.3, which combine the names in the plural (Κωδικοίς, Γενετυλλίδοις) do not help us; they probably owe much to this passage and Thesm. 130 (Δ' τοι ναι Γενετυλλίδεσ). Pausanias says that the "goddesses named Genetyllides" were sited at Kolias along with Aphrodite Kolias. Hesychius is our most interesting source for Γενετυλλίδεσ. θυσίνες Θεός, πεντιηρίου τού θεύκατος πρότί τις θυσίνες, ζοικιά τὴν Ἐκάλη, διό καὶ τὴν κόμο Πρωτήθεσαν, ἐστὶ δὲ γενικῇ η γεές καὶ η ἐκαλὴ τῶν γυναίκων. The part about the sacrifice of dogs looks like a later confusion; but the important facts are that she was a woman's goddess who dealt with procreation (Pausanias identifies Γενετυλλίδεσ with the Gennaides of Phocaea). The variation between singular and plural with minor deities is not uncommon cf. Eileithyia (Π. xii. 270; Pi. 0. 6. 42; Cat. 3. 1 - "lugete, o Veneres Cupidinesque" - Εἰλεθία θεῖ). If we accept Wilamowitz' text and treat Ἕτερος Κωδικός as local, then we have a natural progression: first, Bacchic rites are mentioned (thoughts of wine and dancing); then Pan - mischievousness and sex; then the common result of the two, offspring (Γενετυλλίδεσ). Aphrodite's presence would be hinted at by the reference in Κωδικός, as well as by the close association of Pan with that
godess (Paus. v. 15. 6 says they shared a common altar at Olympia and we know of a Hellenistic erotic group of the pair from Delos—v. Lawrence, Later Greek Sculpture pl. 23). With this reading there is no repetition; first we have a festival, then a shrine in Athens, then a temple outside Athens. The fact that the women would have had to travel further to the last of these shows how much effort they would put into getting their pleasures, whereas when a meeting is held in Athens they cannot make the effort to come.

2. \[\text{\textit{Tumidun}}\] : 'tambourines' or 'kettledrums'; on their origin v. Dodds on Eur. Bacch. 59 and 120—34. Along with the flute, they are traditionally associated with orgiastic cults and in particular with Dionysus and Rhea (= Cybele). Dodds makes the point that in vase-paintings the tympanum becomes common only with the vogue of oriental cults at Athens late in the fifth century, and that then it had no place in the official Athenian worship of Dionysus, which was not orgiastic. Thus there is probably no specific reference meant in \[\text{\textit{Tumidun}}\] ; it merely extends the idea already expressed of women's interest in orgiastic cults.

\[\text{\textit{Utro}}\] : for this use (English "for"—cf. Latin "praes") v. Sobolewski p. 216 and cf. 328; Eq. 803; Nub. 855 etc.

\[\text{\textit{Ev}}\ldots\text{\textit{Ev}}\] : for the repetition of \[\text{\textit{Ev}}\] for the sake of emphasis (here on how difficult it would be to get through the crowd) v. Goodwin p. 73 and cf. Ra. 96f.

4. The complaint is like Praxagora's in the similar dramatic situation at Eccl. 19—\[\text{\textit{Eudemus}}\, \text{\textit{Perestin}}\, \text{\textit{Es Nektin}}\, \text{\textit{Exphon}}\].

\[\text{\textit{Evtauvel}}\] : in Aristophanes it can be used, like \[\text{\textit{Evtauvel}}\] , both of position (cf. Ach. 152, Nub. 814, Vesp. 1442, Thesm. 225) and direction (cf. 568, 570 infra). Elmsley's \[\text{\textit{Evtauvel}}\] is, therefore, a needless conjecture.

5. \[\text{\textit{Palin}}\] : has the sense of \[\text{\textit{Lalia}}\, \text{\textit{Evnow}}\] , and \[\text{\textit{N}}\] never goes
with it in this sense; therefore any reading with ἦ e.g. Kuster's ἦ ἐγώ is wrong.

Κωμητίσ : schol. ἦν τῶν γείτων κωμητίς ὡς τὰ ὄψιν κατ' ὄψιν. cf. Isocr. vii. 46 for the ὄψιν of κωμητίς (districts) into which Athens was divided. In Nub. 965 κωμητίς is used of boys from the same district of the city. Ehrenberg (p. 215) makes the point that the deme was a political division, whereas the κωμητίς was a residential district.

For this feminine formation cf. fr. 274.

: on the implications of this word for the production v. introductory section on production.

6. Kλεονίκη : the Mss. version of the name, Ἐλλονίκη, has been adequately defended against Wilamowitz' change by Fraenkel v. introductory section on characters.


as ἡκτην : as Wilamowitz points out this vocative is normally found in Aristophanes with paratragoedic overtones e.g. Ach. 891; Thesm. 1181 (in the mouth of Euripides). Both Ταμήσως (used of troubling the mind) and σκυλφωπίας are common words in tragedy. Thus there seems to be a rise in the level of speech with Kalonike's entrance. Kalonike is perhaps being a bit patronising towards Lysistrata.

On the relationship of the characters in the opening scene v. introductory section.

8. τοσοπολίων ὃς ὀφρός : The normal phrase for expressing discontent and anger with the eyebrows is ὃς ὀφρός συνάλγειν (v. Nub. 582; Pl. 756). The image here seems near, referring to the arching or knitting of the eyebrows. Taillardat (p. 216), following Bergler, suggests that the image may come from σκυλφωπίας, which sounds like ἐκυθην. The Scythians certainly had a reputation for being archers
(in Aristophanes a policeman - τεχνησ - is always a Scythian cf. 451; Thesm. 1018; 1026) and for being rather rough and choleric (Com. adesp. 801). The only other places where the expression occurs are Alciphr. ii. 16. 2 (σφημερ και τεχνησ τις ἐφρώς) and Long. iv. 20.1 (σφημερ τὴν ἐφρών εἰς δίδυμος τοὺς οἴκους), no doubt both reminiscences of this passage. Alciphr. too, is the source of a parallel for the general advice: iv. 7. 8 - ὡ τρεῖτε σκληρότεροι ἔννοια τοιευτέρες ὑμεῖς, again probably probably drawing from Aristophanes. Cf. in English, Shakespeare, King John iv, 2, 90: 'Why do you bend such solemn brows on me?'. For this type of verb formation v. Coulon, RhM ciii (1960) 124.

2.- καρδία τὴν καρδίαν : for the words for 'soul', 'heart', and 'mind' in Aristophanes v. E. W. Handley, RhM xcix (1956) 205 - 25. Here καρδία is the seat of the emotions. The phrase is unusual; normally καρδία denotes passion in the sexual sense e.g. Pl. P. 4. 219; Pl. Lg. 783a; Hermesian. 7. 37. But there is a parallel for the general idea in Aesch. Ag. 481 πεπείροντα καρδίαν ; v. also Albini on Andoc. de Red. 2 δεινός των πεπείροντα περικλαυμα. Taillardat, sect. 348ff., compares φλεγεσίμι for the "fire" of anger (there are similar images at Ran. 844; 859). Handley suggests the phrase may have been made for the alliteration (cf. Prato p. 29; Ran. 726; 555 infra with ττ).

10.- ὑμων : the reading of ττ, ὑμων, would have the effect of estranging Lysistrata from the other women, which is against the whole point of the play, cooperation to achieve an end. It would not help her case to exclude herself from womanly foibles, while accusing the others.

11 - 12.- The clue to the meaning of these two lines lies in the interpretation of τινανήσεις. Both Rogers and Wilamowitz, against some older commentators (e.g. Enger, who translates the word by 'nequam'), take it to mean 'cunning', in a bad sense. Rogers quotes Arist. E. N. 1144.Α 26, who talking about θεώμεν, says δὲ μὲν σε ὅστις...
The word is used a great deal in the Knights to describe the Paphlagonian (45, 56, 247, 249, 250, 450 etc.). It is used of Dicaeopolis in Ach. 311, and of Euripides in Ran. 80 (v. Stanford, who compares Rabelais's 'Panurge'). Thus the run of the sense must be: "we are thought cunning creatures by the men (Kalonike jumps in with pride to defend her sex 'yes, and by Zeus we are'), but when they have been told to meet here, they sleep and do not come". This gets the contrast between the μεν of line 11 and the οὖ of line 13. For the sense of καί γὰρ meaning 'yes, and' or 'and further' v. Denniston, p. 109 - 110; in this same play cf. 1181 and often in Plato e.g. Crat. 400b and Euth. 6d.

12.- Εἰρημένον: for the accusative absolute v. KG ii. 88f.;

Schwyzer ii. 41f.; Stahl p. 717f.; 726f.; Goodwin, Syntax p. 33f.; and for Εἰρημένον in particular cf. Aesch. Ag. 1620 etc.

14.- Βεβαιοσχέτουσιν: the accusative would also have been possible cf. Eq. 1312; Thuc. vi, 67. For the dative cf. Lys. 179; Av. 712; Eccl. 705 etc.

For χάλας cf. Av. 1413 - Εὐαρσί τῆς κακᾶς οὖ βηθίαν Εἰρημένον

(the opposite idea to the one here expressed, where the women literally sleep; for an evil which is asleep cf. Eur. Suppl. 1147; Simonides 13, 18).

15.- Εὔθυμοι: sleep is not one of the stock complaints about women, although we find it with reference to servants cf. Theocr. xv, 23; Herodas vii, 6; ix, 4 and 9 (if the restorations are right).

16.- Τε: for Τοι with proverb or general reflection v. Denniston p. 543. He notes that it is far commoner in serious poetry than in comedy or prose; the only other Aristophanic passage he quotes is Thesm. 1130, which is spoken by Euripides. Here again, we may see a rise in the level of speech with Kalonike.

The complaint is a commonplace (cf. Eccl. 54 - 6) and for those who see in
it a reflection of the downtrodden position of Athenian women, it is worth remembering that women in our very open society would find it difficult to get to a meeting first thing in the morning (v. N. V. Dunbar JHS lxxxix (1969) 132).

17. - Κυντασφυνότατα: the scholiast on this passage takes Κυντασφυνότατα as 'to busy oneself with', and this is the sense of the verb in Plat. Rep. 469d, Sophron 39, Nub. 509 (with suggestion of 'up to no good'- v. Dover ad loc. and Taillardat, Images sect. 536 and n.2.) But, while this is clearly the primary sense of the word here, perhaps we should see a slight double-entendre. The word is derived from Κυντασφυνότατα, to bend forward, which can be used in a sexual sense e.g. Hippon. 22. If there is this suggestion, then "is engaged with her husband", is perhaps the best translation, or more colloquially 'does for her husband'. The aorists here express the general truth of these events, that they happen every time and will occur again (v. Goodwin, Syntax p. 53ff.).

18-19. - For the duties of the Athenian woman v. Ehrenberg p. 204. Where children were not placed in the charge of nurses (cf. Eq. 715 - 8; Lys. 958) the mother would care for them herself. (cf. Thesm. 691).

20. - The Mss. read Λ.Λ. Επιστέπχαν γυμνά την γυν. The γυν is presumably a metrical correction of some scribe. Some wish to keep Λ.Λ. γυμνά and so change the order of words e.g. Porson Λ.Λ. την γυμνά γυμνά Επιστέπχαν (followed by Dindorf at one time, van Leeuwen, Rogers). Denniston p.101: "but, as a matter of fact", is the meaning in the great majority of cases. The sense conveyed is that what precedes is irrelevant, unimportant, or subsidiary, and is consequently to be ruled out of the discussion, or at least put in the shade'. (cf. Eq. 328; Vesp. 1271). The objections to this are first that the word order of the Mss. must be changed (not a serious matter but some of the emphasis is lost), and second that την then looks odd. What we expect Lysistrata to say is: 'But there are more pressing
tribrach of the second foot is divided \( \ih / \). White (Verse of Greek Comedy p. 41) accepts the possibility and puts this line in his miscellaneous section. As parallels for this rhythm in the second foot cf. Nub. 88\(\text{a} \ \tau \text{e} \Gun \ \text{a} \text{e} \text{y} \text{i} \nu \nu \) and Lys. 52 \( \mu \nu \text{g} \text{e} \text{p} \text{r} \text{i} \text{a} \ \text{A} \text{e} \beta \text{e} \text{r} \text{e} \text{i} \nu \). Thus it seems that the rhythm is at least possible, if rather rare. E. Fraenkel, however, disagrees (Kl. Beitr. i. 442f.). He objects to this rhythm and first looks at Meineke's conjecture (Vindic. Ar. 1865) \( \nu \nu \nu \ \Delta \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \n
things'. The solution seems to lie in Hermann's and Elmsley's. The construction then becomes imperfect (v. Denniston p. 36) denoting the sudden appreciation of the real state of affairs (often translated in English by 'after all' with the present tense): cf. Pac. 566 and Av. 513.

\[ \text{then, as Denniston says (p. 548) 'brings the point home to the person addressed, while the other particle retains its normal force'.} \]

Demosthenes seems to have had this passage in mind (xix, 228) with the present tense):

\[ \text{as Wilamowitz points out, the phrase seems to indicate that every woman had been invited, a hint at how far-reaching Lysistrata's scheme will be.} \]

22.- \( \hat{\eta} \mu \dot{e} \iota \hat{\tau} \dot{s} \gamma \nu \nu \dot{a} \dot{i} \dot{k} \dot{e} s \) : for similar confusion in the Mss. cf. Pac. 566; Eq. 417; Plut. 920. Nauck and Meineke objected to the first half of the line and sthetised it (Meineke later in Vindic. Ar. retracted). The problem is partly metrical. With either of the readings of the Mss. the
with B νὴν Τῶν Δίκαῖον Παρξέως. For καλ' with an interrogative indicating surprise, indignation or sarcasm v. Denniston p. 309ff. and cf.
Nub. 210; 717; Vesp. 665; Eq. 1044. For Καλόταλλον and Καλότητα in particular (very common in Euripides and Aristophanes) cf. Ran. 203; 647; 786; Ach. 126; Av. 963; fr. 345; Eur. Ion 548; I. A. 894.

25.- Lysistrata brings us back to the situation in hand, with another hit at the propensity of women for sex, in Ταξιδέως ἔλεγεν Ἰάμφιδας. The snappiness of her reply, εἰς Χρόνος Ἐποτός, shows that she is a bit annoyed with Kalonike's one-track mind (for the phrase cf. Ran. 563; Plat. Soph. 216b.).

26–27.– For the idea of staying awake and thinking cf. Eq. 1290ff. (with verb ἐκχειρεῖν) and Ran. 930ff. (with verbs ἐκθεῖναι and ἔκβολος). Both these passages and our own owe something to Eur. Hipp. 375ff. The tone may therefore be mock-tragic, befitting the annoyance of Lysistrata, and the supposed importance of the scheme she is about to divulge. The paratragedy is strengthened by the 3-word trimeter in line 27 (for these v. H. W. Miller - CPh xcvii (1942) 194); 3-word trimeters are a stylistic trait of tragedy (v. W. B. Stanford - CR lix (1940) 8 and 187). The comic poet uses them to point to the incongruity of the impressive form and the unimpressive thought. (Not, of course, that every 3-word trimeter need be paratragic cf. Men. Aspis 252). The dative plural in ἔκτες is not used in spoken Attic, but is normal in choral lyric (v. Barrett on Eur. Hipp. 101).

Σήμερον is a word often used in philosophical contexts cf. Plat. Ap. 230; Men. 79d.; Thaet. 201a (for ἔκτες in particular cf. Pl. Ig. 693a; Ap. 18b.). The 'intellectual' nature of the imagery is kept up in the words ἔκτες ἐνίκαιον and ἠπφελθεῖσαν. For the former used both in Plato and especially in Hippocrates, cf. Pl. R. 460d.; Hp. Acut. 42; for the latter, a more specifically medical term for 'tossing about in bed', cf.
Hp. Epid. 4.31; Morb. 2. 69. (here applied to the thought, rather than the person). Thus both form and content show an elevation of tone in these two lines.

28.- Kalonike's reply is couched in the same 'intellectual' terms, with added sexual overtones. Denniston, discussing technical terms in Aristophanes (CQ xx1 (1927) 119), notes that \( \lambda \epsilon \tau \tau \rho \sigma \) as an 'intellectualist' term (= subtle, refined) is never found in Aeschylus or Sophocles; it occurs three times in Euripides (Med. 529; 1082; fr. inc. 924), is found in Hippocrates (Aer. 24), Antipho (3. 8. 2), and fr. Iamb. Adesp. 16. Otherwise it occurs only in satirical passages, almost invariably with reference to philosophy or Euripides, and often coupled with \( \pi \pi \kappa \nu \kappa \omicron \) or \( \tau \alpha \chi ' \) (cf. Taillardat p. 264; 294ff.). Plat. Rep. 607c quotes \( \lambda \epsilon \tau \tau \rho \sigma \mu \rho \sigma \rho \mu \nu \tau \nu \tau \iota \tau \iota \) as a typical sneer of poets at the philosophers cf. Alexis fr. 221; Ach. 445; Eccl. 571; Nub. 153; 230ff.; 320; 359; 1496; Ran. 876; 956; 1108 - 11. Here the whole stress is thrown on the adjective by the repetition (cf. Ran. 96 - 8 for the same technique). While the technical aspect of the word is uppermost, there is also the contrast between \( \lambda \epsilon \tau \tau \rho \sigma \) and \( \tau \alpha \chi ' \) (23 - 4); just as \( \tau \alpha \chi ' \) referred to the phallus there, so there is a reference to that in this line; if the phallus has been tossed about during many sleepless nights, far from being thick (\( \tau \alpha \chi ' \)) it will have become thin (\( \lambda \epsilon \tau \tau \rho \sigma \)). For \( \lambda \epsilon \tau \tau \rho \sigma \) as thin of body cf. Eccl. 539; Nub. 1013; Hp. Art. 8 (opp. \( \tau \alpha \chi ' \)).

For \( \eta \) \( \pi \nu \upsilon \) = I suppose, v. Denniston p. 286; cf. Lys. 1089.

29 - 30.- The \( \gamma \omicron \) would be said with a wry, ironical smile. We get the first hint of what Lysistrata's scheme is about. The idea of national unity( \( \epsilon \lambda \gamma \omicron \omicron \nu \tau \omicron \; \epsilon \lambda \lambda \omicron \iota \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \delta \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \) and its rescue( \( \iota \; \sigma \iota \nu \tau \iota \iota \iota \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \) is one of the stock motifs of the play cf. 41, 342, 525 and introduction.

For \( \tau \nu \) = "in the hands of" cf. Hdt. viii, 118. 3 \( \tau \nu \; \gamma \iota \iota \iota \nu \) ... \( \epsilon \mu \epsilon \iota \eta \; \sigma \iota \nu \tau \iota \iota \iota \) and Sobolewska p. 21f.
31.- The Mss. have either ἐδίγειν γὰρ ἐκέπο or ἔδιγεν γὰρ ἐκέπο. One problem concerns the construction ἐκέπο + genitive = depend on, be balanced upon; there are, however, parallels - Hdt. vi. 11 ὦτοι ἔφηλο γὰρ ἄκμας ἐκέπ ὡς ἡμῶν ἀρχικὲς and the rather more doubtful Soph. Ant. 1141 ἐστὶ βεβαίας ἐκέπῳ πάντως πόλεις ἐπί νόσου. Accept these and Dobree's tempting emendation ἐδίλησο γὰρ ἐκέπ,' ἤτοι (an image from the technical term "to ride at anchor"; found elsewhere in Aristophanes with ἐδίπτυς, Eq. 1244; fr. 150) is unnecessary. ἐδίγειν with the imperfect would mean little; ἔδιγεν would be the ἐκέπ + imperfect construction of line 20 with ἐξει as an exclamatory particle (v. Dennistone p. 126) and the word stressed (ὁ.δ.γειου) immediately preceding (v. Dennistone p. 128). But the parallel of line 20 tends to point to the more usual τ' ἔρ' (Bergk, followed by Keineke, Wilamowitz, van Leeuwen and Coulon) and this should probably be accepted.

Self-deprecation by women is a comic commonplace v. introduction.

32.- ὁδινα : = "know that", cf. 499; 1018; Ach. 333 (and van Leeuwen ad loc.). For the general run of the sense of the line cf. Eur. I. T. 1056ff. ἀνάφησάν γενέσθαις, ἐς ἔπειδα ὕπειρατο καὶ τὰ ἐν ἄριστῳ ὢν ὡς, ἐκέπο τῇ ἐκέπο ἐξειν/αν ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖν καὶ στρατηγὸν πατέρας / φίλου τ' ἱδαίρον φιλητής τῇ σοφήσων; and for other examples of ἐκέπο in situations like this (i.e. after ἐπειδὴ ἐκέπο or the like) cf. Hdt. vi. 11; vi. 109; Plat. Prot. 313a.

ς χάραξ τῇ πρόκρινα : = "state affairs", "fortunes of the state", the sort of political phraseology one meets more in Thucydides, Herodotus and Demosthenes than in drama (v. L. S. J. s. v. πρόκρινα iii.3).

33.- Kalonike interrupts this line of Lysistrata before she can finish, the sense being continued (in varied constructions) by line 35 and lines 37 - 41. Logically, Lysistrata would have continued, μὴ τε (R's μὴ εἴ perhaps prompted by a scribe who thought of one line only at a time)
as the typical representatives of the Athenian enemies cf. 40; 75; Ach. 623f.; 720f. (in both places the Megarians are also mentioned).

26.- For ΤΩΝ in a rejoinder conveying a comment on (or sometimes, a criticism of) the previous speaker's words v. Denniston p. 572 and cf. Soph. O. T. 1067 (with ΤΩΝ ΰπνεύοντα being the words picked); Av. 511; Nub. 1236. Here the ΤΩΝ strengthens βίοιοστός (cf. the common καλὴς ΤΩΝ = excellent, then - Vesp. 856) = 'Well, that's the best that could happen'.

βίοιοστός : on the predicative adjective in the neuter plural instead of the singular v. K. G. i. 66f; B. L. Gildersleeve, Syntax of Classical Greek (1900) i. 16f.; and cf. line 142.

26.- Mention of the Boeotian's leads to a jibe on the gluttony of women. The Copaic eel was a great delicacy and associated with gluttony (cf. 702; Ach. 881ff.; Pac. 1005ff., Vesp. 506ff.), greatly missed by the Athenians since the outbreak of war.

For μὴ χελώνα, in a passionate command or wish v. Denniston p. 276. The γὰρ is very common in this type of phrase and should be read with ὑπέρ -cf. Nub. 696 and Dover's note. (add also Thesm. 540).

ζητεῖ = 'omit', 'except' - cf. Pax. 454 - ζητεῖς τὸ πάθειν .

27.- Lysistrata, being an Athenian, cannot bring herself to mention the same fate for Athens as for the Peloponnesians and Boeotians. ἡ Κράτις is not simply ἡ κράτις as Pollux ii, 109 says, but seems from the glosses in Hesychius and Photius and from the scholiast (ἐπεμοὺς ὡς οὐ βλασφημήσων ) and from the two passages in
Aeschylus where it occurs (P. V. 929; Cho. 1045) to have overtones of speaking words of ill-omen. There is a parallel compound ἐπὶ φατέρες φιλὰρετοί in Hdt. iii, 124. For similar unwillingness to talk of dreadful things that might happen cf. 590; Dem. xx, 12 ἐσὶν πάντως τῇ γένοις γέγον' ἤν πάντως ἔσθιν Ἰταλία, ἢ νυν μηδὲν εἴπην φιλὰρετοι; Lucian Harm. 4 ἡ ἡρώων καθα παντεῖον ἕτερον νερίζατο εἴς γε δοξαν ἢ πάντων... εὐθυμίαν εἰς Χρῆ πρὸς ἐός μέγαν Ἰουνοῦσα. 

38.—Lysistrata refuses to say the words, and so tells Kalonike that she must supply them mentally for herself. For ὑπονοεῖν in the sense of 'surmise' cf. 1234; Eq. 652 (again things unsaid). Brunck's ἄλλα, which he translates 'aliud te suspicari velim', makes no sense in the context. As Wilamowitz says the ethic dative μετά replaces a more specific object τῇ.

39-41.—These three lines sum up what Lysistrata has been trying to tell Kalonike in this scene, and also point the way to the arrival of the Spartan Lampito, and the final revealing of the exact nature of the scheme. Line 39 picks up the ideas of lines 4, 15, 25 and extends them to include not only Athenian women (Ῥήμας τῆς) but also the enemy as well. For the saving of the whole of Greece cf. lines 29–30, here with the addition that this will be done by the women from both sides (Ῥκίνη reinforced by the repeated τῆ); cf. line 525 for a reminder of these same principles enunciated again by Lysistrata. The repetition of line 40 in a slightly different form at line 75 helps stress the important dramatic element of the involvement of all Greece. (for similar repetitions cf. line 44 and 219 and v. H. W. Miller — AJPh lxv (1944) 34).

42.—For the self depreciation cf. line 31. The Mss. read ἐγερεῖσθαι (for the history of this form v. Chantraine — Morph. Hist. p. 305ff.); the form is used mainly in epic and tragedy, and, as the whole of Kalonike's speech is mock solemn, there is no need to change.
the reading to Clement's ἐρυθωνιτε (a normalising which does not scan)
or ἐρυθωνιτε (influenced by the following Κἀσθενε ).
Rutherford points out (N. Phr. p. 50) the similarity between this passage
and Av. 1147 - τι δείθα πάντες ἓν οὐκ ἓν ἐρυθωνιτε ; and
suggests that both are based on a proverb - τι δείθα Χειρίπην
οὐκ ἓν ἐρυθωνιτε . This would account for the grand - χίλιον-
form. ἐνδένειος seems to be used only in mock-solemn or lyric passages
in Aristophanes (cf. 547; Eq. 1364; Av. 1333) but is common in Plato and the
tragedians. We have seen the level of tone rise before when Kalonike speaks,
and line 8.

For the general sentiment cf. Soph. Ant. 61ff.

43. - ἀνεκτρόσ : of action, seems also a word of high-flow
origin - cf. Hdt. iii, 72; Soph. O. C. 1144; Trag. Adesp. 9 (not, I think, the
same image as at Eq. 430, 760, where we have a wind-metaphor - v. Taillardat
p. 180, 184); see also νίκη μιν θυγαδες.

There is a dispute in the reading at the end of this line. The Mss. and
schol. give ἐγιήνθενεια , Clement in one of his quotations
ἐγιήνθενεια (although Wilamowitz says this would have been conjectured,
even if it had not been found in Clement). The objection to the reading of
the Mss. is that it would be the same thing as ᾶχεῖσθενθενεια .
(for this meaning of ἐγιήνθεν - to paint in various colours - cf. Philem.
79. 6 and Hdt. i, 98 [simple verb] ). ᾶχεῖσθενθενθενεια need
not, however, be a narrow term applying only to the face (as it should by
derivation), it can have the sense of adornment or beautification in general
cf. Pl. Smp. 174a. (the word καλλωπιστης is used in Isoc. i, 27 for a
'dandy'). If one changes the reading to ἐγιήνθενθενθενεια , then one
must see a reference to the dyeing blonde of hair. Wilamowitz quotes Bekk.
An. 284. - ἐγιηνθενθενεια τη της τρίχας κοσμιεθεία λακυνες. Αποκλη
τι βελτιστητι της τρίχας . Clement had just quoted from Monander
It is noticeable, however, that all of these examples contain words for 'hair', which our passage does not; also, in the only other passage in Aristophanes where the word occurs, Ach. 1047, it means 'to brown' of meat. It seems to me that the reply of Lysistrata settles the question. She picks up all the ideas related by Kalonike and repeats them; for ξινομενων and Κοκωοπομενων we find θείρα ... χιτωνα, unguents and rouge. Thus we should accept the Mss. reading, and if there is any repetition of ideas, it is merely for the sake of emphasis. As Rogers points out, Κοκωοπομενων is often used in a bad sense, 'sit about idle' cf. Il. 24, 403; Hdt. 3, 134; Dem. 11, 17; Xen. Oec. x, 13 (with reference to women). Again this is self-depreciation for comic effect.

44.- For this compound cf. line 219, where the repetition reminds us of the early action of play, the self-depreciation turned to good use. For the Κροκωντος, the saffron-coloured robe, worn by women and effeminate men. cf. Thesm. 138; Ra. 46, and the references in Headlam-Knox on Herodas 8, 28.

The three-word trimeter continues the mock solemn note of Kalonike's speech (v. on line 27); again the humorous contrast between impressive form and unimpressive content.

The rhythms of lines 42-4 sustain the high tone.

45.- δροσωταιος Χίτων = δροσωταίος Χίτων (Eust. 1166, 55; Poll. 7, 49) = στατος Χίτων (Call. fr. 293 with Pfeiffer's note; Suda s. v. στατος, στατες Χίτων, δ' ηεβύρις δ' τέλεως) = στατες. (Duris ap. Plut. Alc. 32 = 70J; Arr. Epict. 2. 16. 9), a chiton that was loose and ungirded (normally the chiton was belted beneath the breasts, the top being gathered into loose folds), and which thus hung straight

Κυμβερικ': the reading of S; R has Κυμβερινκ preserving
perhaps two readings κυμβερίκ and κυμβερν - cf. schol.);
Γ has κυμβερίκ. The epithet seems to come from a place-
name (v. schol.) and from Lysistrata's reply (line 48) would seem to imply
transparent (cf. Pollux vii, 49 ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ κυμβερίκον εἰς-

φυσὲς ξηπωνίκος - derived from our passage?).
περιβαρίδας: some sort of women's shoe cf. Poll. vii, 87 where a
quotation from Cephisodorus νῦν δι' ἱστερήματος ἡ ἐκφυσέως τοῦ περιβαρίδας
seems to imply that it might be worn by a servant girl. This need not mean
that it was a cheap type of shoe, simply that it was popular with all women.
It occurs also at Theop. fr. 52. It is possible that its name comes from
its shape, that of a flat-bottomed boat (βάρις) - cf. Hesych. βαρίς:

ὑπερήματα, ὡς ἡμέν ἐσμένας ἔγορεν. The accusatives
can be explained as being governed by the implied verb in κρακώτε σφοδρὰ,
or perhaps better by saying (with Wilamowitz) that Lysistrata interrupts
Kalonike.

46. - γὰρ τοι - v. Denniston p. 88 - "following a demonstrative
pronoun, sometimes conveys assent, while adding something to it. ( A colloquia
idiom).": cf. Ran. 73 - τῶτο γὰρ τοι καὶ μόνον ἐτ' ἐστίν λατινὸν ἄγον;
especially Thesm. 81 - τῶτο οὖτο γὰρ τοι καπολέιν μὲ προσδόκις
Eq. 180. For καί v. Denniston p. 307 - "the particle here denotes that
the words following it add something, and something important, to the content
of the demonstrative"; cf. Thesm. 81; Eq. 180; Ra. 73.
The use of personal attractions to gain their end is one of the main motifs
of the plot; cf. 149 - 54; 219 - 22; 551 - 4; and the whole scene between
Myrrhine and Kinesias. (see introduction).

47 - 8. - Lysistrata repeats the various attractions which Kalonike has
mentioned.
47).
Σύνος : alkanet (Anchusa tinctoria), used as rouge by Athenian women (cf. Eccl. 929; fr. 320; the whitening effect is achieved by χυμός, cf. Xen. Oec. x. 2; D. C. lxxxix. 14).

δεικτικὴ χάρις : cf. Men. fr. 653 ἐδεικτικὴ χάρις καὶ διειθέσθαι χαρισμότατον έξουσία; similar to τοὺς χαρισμούς τῶν ἀμφοτέρων of 150 below.

49. The MSS. read μηδένα. This can be defended by two parallels -
Pl. Phaed. 97a - Οὐκ ἐκεῖνον γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνον ἑσύνετοχαῖρις ἠλέησεν ἡν, ἐν ὧν ἐκεῖνον ἔν καὶ ὧν ἠσύνετο τοῦ δύο; and Aeschines c. Tim. 137 ἐδοξῶν δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις διειθήκε καὶ ἵπτοι διειθήκε, ἐν τοὺς ἐνθέσεις ἐμᾶς περισσοτέρας λόγοις διειθήκε (v. V. Coulon - RhM cv (1962) 19 - 20). Peppler (CPh. 1928, 74) adds Xen. Holl. ii. 2. 3 ἐκεῖνης τῆς ποικίλης εὐθύς ἐκτοιρήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἰδίοις νόμοις πεποίητος, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐὰν ἴνα ἐπιτόνευσ, πιστεύοντο χαρίσματε. (his examples of τῶς in Nub. 1135, Av. 526f. followed by a plural are obviously easier).

The plural ἐλεήμονων is prepared for by τῶν νῦν ἀληθῶν.

Thus there is no need to change to μηδένα (Meineke).

50. - For ἀπεκτάσει ἑαυτῷ cf. Eur. Her. 313 καὶ ἀπεκτάσει ἑαυτῷ ἐκεῖνον ἐξακολούθησιν ἐπὶ τῆς; Soph. O. C. 424 ἐπιλεγόμενοι δόρυ. For the more normal ἔλεος cf. Av. 1188; Ach. 913.

51. - For this sort of interruption cf. Euelpides at Av. 598ff. For the middle meaning 'to have something done', cf. Thesm. 425 πεισμόνιον ἐκτείνουν προσβολέας; Pax. 69 κληρίκα τυφώνειον etc.

Herwerden (Jnem. xxiv (1896) 286) and Rogers object to οὐκ ὡς ἢ ταῦτα, that it is not parallel to the other verbs ἔνδοκσειμα and κηρίζομαι.

Rogers says that the eager Kalonike 'is not likely to suggest the tedious
process of dyeing'. Herwerden's suggestion is νάφομεν cf. Nu. 72;
Av. 1250; Eccl. 80; fr. 253. This is possible, although it may be that
Kalonike even in her excitement does not forget her vanity and remembers that
her robe needs dyeing.

νὴ τῷ Θεῷ : a female oath "by the two goddesses", Demeter and Kore
cf. Vesp. 1396; Eccl. 155 - 8. But the Doric ναί τῷ σου is
unrestricted in use cf. 81; 983.

52.- There are parallels for the very unusual rhythm, υ.υ- at
Nub. 884 ές ζείκυλα ξεγλυς (Fraenkel, Kl. Beitr. i. 440 considers
it possibly spurious) and fr. 320, 14 ἐμιδριόμει, ἐλικημέας (uncertain).
For the phrase, cf. Pax. 438 θίνων θεο η ύμη ἄβειν ποι ἀποικόν.

53.- ζέθεδιον : the diminutive may emphasise the possible success
of her scheme: 'not even a little dagger'.

54.- διητά : v. Denniston p. 271 - ' Saúde not infrequently
follows interrogative particles, while retaining its own logical force; cf.
Nub. 1094 - ἄπλεν διητά γυνωκός ...; etc.
Her question repeats her complaint of line 4, 15, 39.

55.- γαρ : Denniston, talking about assentient γαρ , says
(p. 88): "A slightly different turn is given to the idiom in the following:-
Ar. lys. 55 ("No, more than that, they ought to have flown here on wings long
ago". ἄνευ expects a positive answer: it gets a negative answer,
which rejects the expected affirmative in favour of a stronger one. οὐ γαρ
... ἄλλα thus corresponds to μήν οὐ cf. Soph. El. 1453)."

τέτομένας : τέτομαι as an image of rapid motion is found
from Homer onwards; see the references in Taillardat sect. 228; it is used
below: 106, 321, 1013.

56.- νομέω : This vocative is used of both sexes - cf. 157; Eccl.
120 etc.

Τού : for Τού bringing the point home to the person addressed ν.
Here again the motif of self-deprecation seen before.

There seem to be two references in the words Παράλος and Ελυμίνας. The first is to location (a contrast with the women of Athens) i.e. those living on the coast (cf. Hdt. i, 59) and those living in Salamis (the scholiast gives the details of Pandion's division of Attica into four parts). Secondly we know that the Παράλος and Ελυμίνας were the two vessels in the Athenian navy especially reserved for state-service, whose crews consisted of free citizens (v. Thucy. iii, 33; viii, 73; Ar. Av. 1204.).

The crew of the 'Paralos' was later to oppose the oligarchs in Samos (Thucy. viii, 73); thus perhaps they were renowned for their democratic views. But it is yet another reference that Kalonike picks up, the fact that in Athenian opinion, the people of Salamis were highly-sexed (cf. 411; Eccl. 38). She combines this with a metaphor from Κέλυφος (literally 'riding-horse' or 'skiff'); the second of these meanings is literally appropriate to the passage as Salaminian women would have had to cross the straits in boats to reach the mainland; the first gives rise to the common sexual metaphor of a woman being ridden like a horse (cf. Pax. 900 and the references in Taillardat p. 105 for this οξύρα μεν υπεοικας). The image is a common one in the play, cf. 192; 231; 619; 675ff. The same idea is kept up in the words ἐκθέσθηκας, literally 'to stand with legs apart', and ἔφοβοι (for sexual urges early in the morning cf. 966; 1089; Ach. 255;) which are also appropriate to the dramatic context of the women crossing over early in the morning.

It was understandable that Lysistrata might expect the Acharnians to come first, as they had been especially harassed by the Spartans (cf. schol., reading ηις την ητο with van Leeuwen - Mnem. 1903, 16; and Thucy. ii, 21), and thus would be especially desirous of peace.

For the repetition of the negative (which perhaps strengthens her surprise and annoyance), a colloquial feature, cf. Thesm. 49lf. ἐνει ἦσσεν ἐνει.
The attraction of into the accusative again strengthens Lysistrata's surprise and annoyance; for this type of construction cf. Av. 652f. etc.

63-4. A much debated problem. Theagenes (I am inclined to accept this spelling, v. Platnauer on Pax. 928) is often maligned in comedy (cf. Vesp. 1183; Pax. 928; Av. 822; 1127; 1295; Eup. fr. 110a); he is identified with the prominent politician Theagenes mentioned in Thucy. iv, 27, 3; v, 19, 2; v, 24, 1; Xen. Hell. ii. 3. 2 by D. MacDowell (RhM civ (1961) 229 - 36 and on Vesp. 1183); this is a much more convincing article than those by S. Srebrnj in Eos xxviii (1925) 79 - 86 (he tries to isolate this reference from all the others in Old Comedy and distinguishes two different men) and by A. Andrewes and D. M. Lewis in JHS lxxvii (1957) 78-9. Theagenes seems to have been resident at Acharnae although his deme was Peiraieus, his tribe Hippothontis. The important point here is that it is not he but his wife who comes in for ridicule. It seems best to accept ἑκάτειον ὑπέτειον with van Leeuwen and Coulon. Here, we get a continuation of the metaphor of line 60; for ἑκάτειον ὑπέτειον ὑπέτειον ="to raise the small, auxiliary sail", in a metaphorical sense, cf. Plut. 2, 1094d; 2, 15d (v. Taillardat sect. 210 and Willems pp. 417 - 9). There is also a play on words with the diminutive of ἐκάτος , "a cup" (cf. Ant. 4 μεθαίνειν Αἰώνιος σωτήρος ἐκάτος η' τες ὕπερ χάμα); so we have another reference to the common comic motif of women's bibulousness. There seems no point in accepting the reading of the gloss of the Souda ( Θερεχινεῖς Ἐκάτειοι. ὦ τοὺς δεῖδας ἠν, ἐγένευ ἐκάτας ἔμυλα , οὐ ἐπιεύησε τῶν νῦν ; as Wilamowitz and Süss, unless we assume a lost joke about a superstitious woman. The scholia have both interpretations and the first mentioned fits the context better.
65. - καὶ οὗτος : used to mark the entrance of a character on the stage v. Denniston p. 251 and cf. line 77.

στέ : cf. 909.

66. - διαφέρων ἐπιμελεί: Dobree and Enger object to this reading on the ground that ἐπιμελεί is an epic and Aeschylean word, used only in comedy in dactylic and anapaestic passages in epic reminiscence. But Wilamowitz counters as follows: "Aber gerade mit ἑκείνος hat es Sophokles einmal Trach. 1010 und so Kratinos ἐπιμελεί I M. Da ist es hier gesichert". We need not change, therefore, this set-phrase to διαφέρων (in any case the corruption would then be rather strange).

67. 8. - Anagyrus was one of the demes of Attica and the site of a marshy and smelly swamp (βορβορακός τόπος κάντευς δυσώδης). It became proverbial - ἔλεγον κατείν was used of people bringing trouble on themselves (Zenob. ii, 55). There may also have been a plant of the same name (stinking bean-trefoil) that possessed the same quality as the swamp (v. schol., Suda and Hesychius) but the reference here must be topical.

69. - Enter Myrrhine and others, full of apologies for being rather late. Lysistrata is very annoyed. On Myrrhine, v. introduction on characters.

70. - The tone of τί δή ς ; τί σιγής , seems solemn cf. other passages where it occurs - Thesm. 144; Soph. Phil. 805. It would be most suitable therefore for Lysistrata to reply in similar tone. This is not achieved in Halbertsma's ὐς κ' ἐπιμελεί, Μυρρίνη , the σε would draw her too close to Myrrhine. One should therefore read simply οὔκ ἐπιμελεί , Μυρρίνη (cf. for this type of address Thesm. 1213, οὔκ ἐπιμελεί, γέμισε); this despite Quincey (JHS lxxxvi (1966) 154 who in his article on Greek expressions of thanks, accepts Halbertsma's reading.
71. ἕντον = 'nunc demum' cf. line 1008; Eccl. 40.

72. ἰσώνην : neither it nor ἰσώνη is found elsewhere in the comic poets according to Blaydes.

For the excuse cf. Blepyrus at Eccl. 315 - 7.

73. For the phrase cf. 1219 ἓ ἐ ἔπνυ ἔκ τῶν τοῦ ὃπλην.

74ff. On the distribution of lines, see introduction.

74. ἡδίγου γ' ἐνεκά = "for a short time". On the forms ἐνεκά, ἐνεκά and εὐνεκά v. Barrett on Eur. Hipp. 456; he argues convincingly for εὐνεκά (a vernacular form?) against ἐνεκά (a form from epic-Ionic and later Greek, unsuitable to fifth century comedy and tragedy).

For the phrase cf. Nub. 803 ἡδίγησεν μι ἡδίγησεν ἐπέλευσεν Χρόνον.

75. The repetition of line 40 (in a different case) serves to remind us once again how important dramatically the presence of the Spartan and enemy women is to be.

76. Myrrhine, eager to please, agreed that Lysistrata's suggestion is a good one. For the phrase cf. Men. Sicyon. 350 πολὺ σοῦ βέλτιστον ἄγεις; Plat. Phaedr. 277a; Theset. 161b; Plaut. Mil. 1422 - "magi! sapis".

77. Κλῆς ἔτη : v. on line 65. Lysistrata would be the only one to know of Lampito's identity, as she has planned the whole affair.

78. Lampito now appears along with delegates from Boeotia (v. line 86) and Corinth (v. line 91), Athens' principal enemies. These Lysistrata greets with great joy.

79. φανεται : as Wilamowitz says, in the sense of φανερώ ἔσται. On the vocative without ἢ (σοι seems more necessary than ἢ here) v. KG i. 48f.

The beauty of Spartan women was traditional from Homer onwards v. Od. xiii, 412 and H. Mitchell, Sparta (1952) p. 46. This address, however, also serves the dramatic function of making Lampito feel welcome. She is the only one to arrive so far who has been greeted with enthusiasm, a foreshadowing perhaps
of the part she will play later.

Both ἀλκροίως and σφηγαῖς seem to have been mainly medical words (v. L S J s.v.); the former is indeed very rare outside medical writings. For the same sort of compliment cf. Nub. 799 - ἐξουμπαῖς ... καὶ σφηγαῖς; Eur. Andr. 196 - νέω τε καὶ σφηγαῖς συμμετείχει. σφηγαῖς is used in Hp. Mul. i, 71 of the fulness of women's breasts. This may point forward to line 83.

The description veers away from mere beauty to strength, especially in line 81, and it is this idea, pleasing to a Spartan, that Lampito picks up in her reply.

81. - The article seems to be necessary everywhere with the phrase νέω τε συμμετείχει (cf. Att. νέω τε συμμετείχει), cf. 86; 90; Ach. 905; Pax. 214; Xen. Ann. vi, 6, 34; Hell. iv, 4, 10 etc. It is therefore necessary to read with Heisig γ' for Mss. γ' (cf. Coulon, Essai p. 125).

γείσον γ': for γε in affirmative answers to questions and statements v. Denniston p. 133ff. From similar usages in Aristophanes and Plato, this seems to be perfectly good Attic.

οίκος: parenthetic οίκος seems to be a specifically Laconic trait; it recurs in the play at 156, 998, 1256.

Τίς σύν in the mouth of a Laconian (male or female - cf. 983) refers to Castor and Polydeuces; at Ach. 905 in the mouth of a Boeotian it refers to Amphion and Zethos; cf. 51 for the Attic oath.

82. - The Mss. have γέ, which is very unlikely for a Doric speaker; the corresponding form is γέ. This is the form which Denniston (p. 145) accepts, as an example of quasi-connective γέ (where one expects γένον or γέρον). If he is right, Halbertsma's γέρον is unnecessary and the sense: 'I take plenty of exercise, anyhow'.

It was a traditional feature of the Spartan way of life for women that they indulged in exercises as much as the men (v. H. Mitchell - Sparta (1952) p.
Presumably, in the caricature of a Spartan woman which Lampito represented, there would be various external signs of her broad and muscular build by padding etc.

Kai peri twn hliouc gives an example of Lampito's athletic prowess. From Pollux iv, 102, the phrase seems to refer to the $\beta \iota \theta\varepsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, a strenuous form of exercise ('dance', as Pollux calls it), in which the girls leaped up and down in such a way as to touch their buttocks with the feet (cf. Mitchell page 197). As Mitchell suggests, perhaps Lampito gave an exhibition of it at this point.

There is no reason for identifying this exercise with the 'Mothon' of Eq. 697 as Pickard-Cambridge, D. T. G. p. 169., or with the $\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\iota\alpha$ of 1243. Herwerden (Mnem. xxiv (1896) p. 286) cf. Hippocr. Nat. Puer. 13, where $\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha\kappa\iota\kappa\iota\kappa\iota\kappa\iota\kappa$ is advised for a pregnant woman for abortion.

83ff.- Again the attribution of lines is not certain, see introduction. For emphatic $\epsilon\iota\gamma$ with exclamations cf. Ach. 1 $\delta\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$ $\delta\gamma\iota\delta\gamma\gamma\kappa\iota$ and Denniston p. 212.

With one exception (Ach. 150), the genitive after $\tau\omicron$ $\chi\iota\nu\mu\mu\alpha$ invariably takes the article in Aristophanes:1085; Eq. 1219; Sub. 2; Vesp. 933; Av. 826; Thesm. 281; Ran. 1276; fr. 67. It seems best therefore to accept Scaliger's $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\tau\iota\theta\omicron\nu\nu$ for R.'s unmetrical $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\tau\iota\theta\omicron\nu\nu$.

$\tau\iota\theta\omicron\varsigma$ is used at Th. 640 of a woman's breast. The diminutive could only be retained if we accepted it in a wheedling tone, for in its literal sense it would be inapposite (Lampito is presented as a very sturdy woman), and the diminutive does not seem strong enough to warrant a laugh by its incongruity.

84.- $\delta\iota\iota\omega\rho\varsigma$ is the reading of R, which may imply Bergler's $\delta\iota\iota\omega\rho\varsigma$ (cf. Ach. 730, where a Megarian is speaking); cf. 1000, 1003, 1255, 1312 where the Mn. differ again.
lends a certain impatient note to Lampito's words (v. Denniston p. 541).

The word implies the feeling and handling that a sacrificial victim would get to check that it was fat and fleshy enough to be sacrificed (cf. Taillardat sect. 198).

the true Doric is probably \( \text{δρήνεώ} \) (v. LSJ s. \( \text{δρέφεω} \ )); but this could be a modified Doric form as proposed by Herwerden.

Lysistrata takes charge again and points to one of the women with Lampito.

is read by the Mss. here and at 90; also Soph. O. C. 494 and supported by inscriptions IG 2\textsuperscript{2} 1498. 76; 1615. 14, 87 (cf. Meisterhans sect. 25. 3 and KB i. 223 n.2); so why change to Dindorf's \( \text{επηρεάζεω} \) ?

For \( \text{Tτη} \) in general statements = 'you know', v. Denniston p. 539f. and cf. Pax. 511 - \( \text{οὐ τοι γεννυεὶς κύρ宣传片 ζεύλην κοινων} \)

\( \text{πρόφητερα} \) occurs also at Ach. 883, in the mouth of a Boeotian. Elsewhere it is found in the Hymn to Aphr. 32 and Eur. I. T. 963. Perhaps then a rather fine-sounding word, meant to contrast with Lysistrata's description \( \text{\( \nu \varepsilon \ \varphi\nu s \)} \). From 697, it seems that her name is Ismenia.

The difficulty with the Mss. \( \text{Ω ρεκατηλά} \) is the participial in line 88, which suggests that the speaker is not addressing the girl, but merely making a comment on her. Two suggestions deserve attention: Meineke's \( \text{να ἢς Μικρά \ ρεκατηλά} \); this is not palaeographically obvious, and would require the verb \( \text{ἐντιμέω} \) to be understood. Easier is Bothe's \( \text{ὁς} \) (cf. Thesm. 143 \( \text{κύρῳ ἵνα} \ )); palaeographically very simple (v. Coulon, Essai p. 76 and Austin CR lxxx (1966) 275) and it makes Kalonike continue better with the same formula \( \text{νη Διὰ} \).

Nyrrhine and Kalonike have turned from Lampito (cf. 34) to the Boeotian and have started examining her.
88.- κυμον... πεδιον: as the schol. says δέγατε γαρ
η βοεωτιδα επιπτεις ειναι (cf. Hdt. ix, 13; Plut. Arist. 10),
with a play on words with πεδιον in the sense of 'Pudenda muliebria'
(cf. Av. 506f.); cf. δ' δεμνων Eur. Cycl. 171; δ' Ἰρωστιος
κηπες Archipp. 2 Dem. and Latin - "hortus". Taillardat sect. 119
suggests that the metaphor is connected with the metaphorical usages of
ζρων, σπιρέιν etc.

89.- Kalonike continues the double-entendre, but makes it even more
explicit. βλη κυν - pennyroyal - was obviously a well-known product
of Boeotia cf. Ach. 861; 869; 874. For the use of plant-names to denote the
'Pudenda muliebria' or the pubic hair as here cf. ἱδον, εἰλινον etc.
(v. Taillardat sect. 111ff.). Depilation was practiced by Greek women (cf.
151; Ra. 516; Eccl. 13 etc.), either by singeing (ἀφετειν ) or plucking
(ἀπο-, παρὰ τι. ἐστελε). v. Austin's note on Thesm. 216.

90.- Lysistrata's points to the other woman Lampito has brought with her;
Lampito explains who she is.
Χατία : glossed by the Schol. as ἐγκαπάν; cf. 1157 Χαπατὶναν;
Theoc. vii, 5 (with Gov's note); Hesych. Χατίς ἐκβος, Ἡρηστὸς
(hence some wish to spell Χατία, which is possible). Metrically the word
varies (v. Gov), but here it is certainly trisyllabic.

91.- Lampito's compliment is followed by the girl's place of origin
(cf. 86). Στιν v. if anything, refers back to 86; but it seems to be one
of the phrases with which Aristophanes caricatures the Spartans cf. 93, 144,
171, 990, 1266.
Kalonike picks up this foreign word and shows by her actions exactly where
the Corinthian girl is 'good'. Again it would be dramatically effective if,
on Lysistrata's questions Kalonike and Μυρρινε moved over to the Corinthian
girl, and started giving her the same treatment that they had given to Lampito
and the Boeotian. Wilamowitz is surely right in rejecting the scholiasts'
interpretation that there is a play on Κή κηνέιαι ; as he says 'So
As Wilamowitz suggests, Kalonike will reveal σειρικος the relevant parts of the Corinthian; perhaps she was specially padded around belly and haunches, in contrast to Lampito's large breasts and the Boeotian's flat πέδισιν. This would give point to τιμηθη Κατεχιν (Bentley's emendation is very attractive); as Suss says, like the "bimaris" Corinth she is in front and behind disposed in the best way. For the attractions of the backside cf. Plut. 149 - 152 (of Corinthian girls); Pax. 876.

92. - συνάλλαξε : cf. Hdt. i, 176 - συνιδασκεν ες την Υπέρ-πολιν τες γυναικες (Δαλλ = assembly of people, in Doric states = Attic ἐκκανσία ). There is no evidence for the spelling ἕν- in Doric.


The question might seem to our ears pointless, but dramatically it reaffirms Lysistrata in the commanding role.

24. - ἀνέγρω (the Doric ἐδοκεῖ of the MSS. is impossible): cf. Plut. 868 - ἐκεῖ τουτον ; Ach. 313; 911.

μυσιδεῖ τοι: Bentley's emendation of MSS. μοισιθείην is almost universally accepted: certainly the 3rd sing. imperative is far too formal and could not be followed by ἄναίρεσι which R reads in 95 (although the Schol. implies ἄναίρεσι ). For the construction cf. 1076 - τι σεί ποιεῖμε πολλα μοισιθείην ἐπίσιν ;

25. - μέος, one of the commonest Doric words in this play: cf. 981; 1105; 1162; 1163; 1188. From Ach. 766, 776; Epich. 170. 7; 172. 4; Theoc 1. 12; 4. 14 etc., it can be seen that this was a stock Doric word that Athenians would recognise as such.
26. — For \( \xi\xi\tau\alpha \) endorsing and restating the purport of the words of a previous speaker cf. Denniston p. 277. As he says (p. 276), in Aristophanes it is often reinforced by an oath cf. 836; 972; a reason for giving 95b - 96 to the same speaker. J. C. B. Lowe (B. I. C. S. ix (1962) p. 39) suggests that the structure of the sentence often misled scribes into inserting a false change of speakers, e.g. where certain particles appear which are characteristic of the opening of replies. He compares 100 with \( \gamma\varphi\) (where \( \zeta\) has change of speaker) and Eq. 1196 (R.\( \text{F}\)).

\( \sigma\nu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\alpha\gamma\lambda\iota\nu\) perhaps reminds us that there is supposed to be an important matter to discuss, which has been a bit forgotten since the arrival of Lampito. But again, Lysistrata builds up the tension by side-tracking (97ff.).

27. — \( \lambda\varepsilon\gamma\varphi\iota\varepsilon\nu \lambda\iota \eta\delta\gamma \) : cf. Eq. 40 (where Neil explains \( \eta\delta\gamma \) as "now that the time has come").

\( \pi\rho\iota \lambda\varepsilon\gamma\varepsilon\iota\nu \delta \) : Coulon (Essai p. 108) argues against Küster's \( \pi\rho\iota \lambda\varepsilon\gamma\varepsilon\iota\nu \) that Aristophanes does not like to form an anapaest beginning with the monosyllable \( \delta\varepsilon \) (cf. 160 where \( B \) has \( \varepsilon\varpi \delta\varepsilon \lambda\gamma\beta\iota\nu\varepsilon\varsigma\)\( \)); he compares Eccl. 576 for the loss of \( \delta\varepsilon \) after a word ending in "\( \nu\)". However the loss of \( \delta\varepsilon \) before \( \lambda\varepsilon\gamma\varepsilon\iota\nu \) would be a simple case of haplography \( \langle \Delta E\rangle \Lambda \varepsilon \), and split anapaests are common in Old Comedy.

Bothe's comma before \( \tau\iota \mu\iota\kappa\rho\iota\nu \) seems pointless, and as Fraenkel points out ("Bolot. zu Ar." p. 89), if anything spoils the expression: 'Die liebenswürdige Boshart der Lysistrata liegt gerade darin, dass sie das wonach sie zu fragen wünscht — die entscheidende Frage folgt erst 111f. — in allor Unschuld als \( \tau\delta\varepsilon \tau\iota \mu\iota\kappa\rho\iota\nu \) bezeichnet. Macht sie dazwischen auch nur die leichteste Pause, so ist es mit dem Schein der Harmlosigkeit vorbei'.

28. — The reply \( \delta \pi\iota \beta\varepsilon\iota\theta\varepsilon \gamma\varepsilon \delta\iota \) is probably made by Myrrhine (as \( R \) gives); she has previously whon herself ready to please Lysistrata at line 76 \( \pi\varepsilon\lambda\lambda\iota \delta\iota \kappa\iota\lambda\iota \nu \lambda\varepsilon\gamma\varepsilon\nu \).
22.- θυ : the position adds extra stress to the question cf. 464; Av. 1147; Ran. 190; Eccl. 445.

100.- For the wrong change of speaker in the Mss. v. line 96. Cf. 592 for the same idea, expressed even more emphatically. For the contemporary truth of the statement cf. Thucy. viii, 69, 1: ἡδον Ἀθηναίοι πάντες ἔστε μὲν ἂν τις ἔγεν τὰς ἔν ἁπρόκλητα πρὸς ἕν ἔνεκα.

έστι οὐσίας: cf. Thesm. 495; 1168; Vesp. 354; 557. For 55 6 77 cf. 154; 764, and A. C. Moorhouse CQ liv (1962) 239ff.

101.- As Blaydes says, translate: 'for I know well that you all have a husband abroad'. While the line adds little to the preceding comment, it would be wrong with Hamker to delete it. (Meineke is certainly wrong in saying that one cannot have ἄνθρωποι without the article). Lysistrata takes the opportunity to drive home her point, in order to get the other women in the right frame of mind to accept her proposal.

102.- For the rare rhythm θυ — cf. note on 52 and Nub. 884; Fraenkel (Kl. Beitr. i. 440 n. 3) observes "deutlich 'una pars orationis', also legitim". Lenting's θυ is therefore rhythmically unnecessary and would lose some of the stress which the sentence has with θυ. θυ : the neuter form is only used by women (as generally the adjective θυ ) in Greek Comedy v. Wilamowitz on Men. Epitr. 258 (p. 74), Dedoussi, Studies in Comedy, Hellenika xviii (1964) 1 - 6; elsewhere it can be said by men (v. Gov on Theocr. 5. 137). Here, as often, it has no particular reference to the addressee but, as Rogers says, "a general exclamation at the pitifulness or wonderfulness of the situation". (cf. Dedouss — "tender sympathy with reproof").

πετεί : = half a dozen, v. Starkie on Nub. 10 and cf. Nub. 758, Vesp. 717, Pax. 171; similarly ἡκά can be used as a round dozen.
The historical circumstances behind this line are obscure, as is the joke about Eucrates. From Thucy. viii, 2, 2 we know that Athenian subjects showed a readiness to revolt (εὰς οὖν ᾿Αθηναίων ὑπὲρκοι ἐτοιμα ἦσαν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν εὐτύν ἔφιλασθέν) after the disaster in Sicily, and that the Athenians decided τὰ τόν συμμαχίαν εἰς ἔστιν ἐπαφής τοῖς ὑπερασπίσθη ποιήσοντες (viii, 1, 3). Probably then, Thrasea was one of the places given attention.

The joke at the end of the line is surely a τὰ παρὰ προσδεκτίαν. One expects the name of a place after φυλαττόμεν but instead we get the name of the commander (probably). The schol.'s information (Εὐκράτης Ἀθηναίων ὁ Ἐυκράτης, καὶ κεκρέσθης δὲ ὡς ἐπουροθέος καὶ προδέης καὶ ἔφεσ) is probably no more than inference from this passage, or confusion with the demagogue of Eq. 254. Quite possibly he was the brother of Nicias (Kirchner, Prosop. Att. 5757), who had been accused of impiety in 415 and acquitted on the testimony of Andocides (i, 47 and v. MacDowell ad. loc.), and was put to death under the Thirty (cf. Lys. xiviii. 4ff.) after he had been elected a general in 405/4. The Suda has preserved the correct ending cf. Ἐιδεκράτης Av. 1077, Λυσικράτης 513.

The supposed incongruity when Myrrhine's husband Kinesias appears at 845, is surely unimportant for Aristophanes, who does not worry about such things, as long as they are dramatically suitable; as Dover says in Lustrum ii p.60 (on Süss): "what is dramatically suitable at one moment in a play may be rationally irreconcilable with what is presupposed at other moments in the same play".

The repetition of ἔτεκεν έφεσ lends emphasis and a certain pathos (cf. ἔτεκεν) to their miserable position, and also serves to unite both sides (Athens and Sparta) in common feeling, which is dramatically necessary if Lysistrata's plan is to succeed.

Pylos was still in the hands of the Athenians, and was to remain so until 403
(Diod. xiii, 64). Its importance is revealed at line 1163.

105.- Ahrens' \( \kappa \lambda \ tau \) restores the Doric to the simplified reading of the Mss. \( \eta \ tθ\gamma \mu \), 'the front', is supported metrically by Aesch. Eum. 296 \( \tau \gamma \chi \epsilon \chi \) (cf. \( \tau \gamma \chi \epsilon \)). The Attic, as the schol. implies, would be \( \tau \gamma \chi \epsilon \).

106.- \( \pi \sigma \pi \tau \kappa \xi \) would be the correct Doric form; perhaps Ar. bowed here to the exigencies of the metre. From \( \pi \sigma \pi \tau \kappa \xi \), 'the handle of a shield'; from Eq. 849 and schol. and Crit. ap. Lib. Or. 25. 63. (= fr. 37 in Diels-Kranz), it seems that the handles of Spartan shields were detachable; if so, then perhaps Rogers is right in taking the verb to mean 'having fastened the shield-strap to the shield'.

On \( \delta \rho \epsilon \zeta \delta \omicron \sigma \mathrm{os} \) in Aristophanes v. Dover's note on Nub. 718; \( \delta \rho \epsilon \zeta \delta \omicron \sigma \mathrm{us} \) would be the strict Doric form, if it existed. For the phrase cf. Eur. Andr. 1219 \( \delta \mu \iota \tau \mu \iota \nu \epsilon \alpha \nu \) \( \delta \rho \epsilon \zeta \delta \omicron \sigma \mathrm{us} \). Perhaps then, Lampito closes in tragic tone.

107.- Wilamowitz's note on this line and its relation to the next three seems wrong. The \( \rho \epsilon \iota \chi \epsilon \) (admittedly a rarity in this play) reappears in the oath of line 212. Wilamowitz has mistaken the use of \( \gamma \lambda \rho \) (which had troubled many; Herwerden proposed \( \delta \varepsilon \gamma \)) , and made \( \mu \rho \alpha \chi \omega \delta \phi \epsilon \theta \iota \lambda \psi \iota \sigma \) anticipate the \( \epsilon \lambda \zeta \sigma \beta \mathrm{os} \) of line 109: " \( \mu \rho \alpha \chi \omega \delta \phi \epsilon \theta \iota \lambda \psi \iota \sigma \) ist also der \( \epsilon \lambda \zeta \sigma \beta \mathrm{os} \). Das folgt aus der Begründung". Taillardat sect. 252 has given the right answer. The \( \gamma \lambda \rho \) is anticipatory (v. Denniston p. 68ff.): it does not look back to line 107; it looks forward to the question in 111-2; cf. Eur. Bacch. 477 \( \tau \nu \omega \delta \epsilon \nu \) \( \theta \iota \iota \sigma \iota \) \( \gamma \lambda \rho \) \( \phi \rho \chi \) \( \sigma \rho \chi \) \( \tau \omicron \lambda \nu \zeta \). For a shorter example of this use of \( \gamma \lambda \rho \) . This being the case, we can take line 107 on its own; Lysistrata, instead of talking of husbands, goes one stage further and complains of the lack of paramours (they too despite Thesm. 493-6 would be off \( \epsilon \iota \iota \sigma \iota \iota \). She then says that they have even been deprived of artificial means of solace
since the revolt of Miletus. I prefer this also to van Leeuwen's ellipse which is rather drastic.

- the diminutive (the full form $\phi\sigma\gamma\mu\lambda\omega$ is found at Ach. 279; 668; Vesp. 227) brings a certain pathos to her speech, but the collocation with μακαρ is humorous. It is unique in this connection but see the passages quoted by van Leeuwen on Vesp. 91 and Latin "scintilla".

$\lambda\lambda\lambda\rho\epsilon\zeta\zeta = \text{why, not even...}, \text{v. Dover on Nub. 1396; Denniston 23f.}

108.- Miletus had revolted from Athens in the summer of 412, at the instigation of Alcibiades (v. Thucy. viii, 17). From Diod. Sic. viii, 20 it appears to have had the reputation of being Sybaritic. Here, at least for the purposes of the joke, it is implied to have been the place of manufacture of δλισθον, or at least the place where they were used most.

109.- δλισθον : cf. 158; fr. 320, 13; fr. 969 (O.C.T. = Page G.L.P. no. 44); Cratin 316, a leather dildo; it is called του κοκκίνου in Herodas vi, 19; v. Headlam – Knox ad. loc. for full references.

Wilamowitz' note to this passage and Körte, P.W. xvii, 2480ff. δκτυλον : R preserves the older Attic spelling (cf. $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omega\nu\nu\nu\nu$ in Cratin. 77; $\zeta\kappa\tau\omega\nu\nu\nu\nu$ in Philem. 212) v. Suppl. Epigr. 3. 137. iii.11; IG 2. 1627. 123; Meisterhans sect. 62, 5; Rutherford, New Phryn. p. 489. As a measure of length δκτυλος was "a finger's breadth", i.e. about $\frac{7}{10}$ of an inch (v. L S J s.v.). This would make the dildo about $5\frac{2}{3}$ - 6" long.

110.- δκτυλον $\pi\kappa\omega\rho\iota\alpha$ : a pun on the proverb δκτυλον $\pi\kappa\omega\rho\iota\alpha$ (v. Hesych.; Macar. 7, 83) = feeble, useless help. The same pun seems to be used by Strattis fr. 54 of Sannyrio – ξανυφρεών δκτυλον $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omega\nu\nu\nu\nu$ $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omega\nu\nu\nu\nu$. Cf. Nub. 538 δκτυλον καθέρεταν.

111-2. - ουκέτερεν ουφ follows on from the previous statements, and in particular that introduced by μρ (line 108). Lysistrata now repeats the idea that she had previously hinted at (line 41 $\kappa\nu\iota\iota\iota$, cf. μετ' ελκου; line 50) of putting an end to the war. Kαταλείπει; perhaps
contains a passing reference to the name of the character Λυσί-στρατης. μὴ ἔχειν is a key word, for it is the exact means on which the discussion now centres.

112.- νὶς τῷ Ὑπνῷ: v. on 51 and 81.

113.- The Mss. have unmetrical readings. Three solutions are possible: ἐγὼ δὲ γὰρ γυν. vulg.; ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν Bentley; ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῖν Lenting. The first of these is unsuitable for the respondent who speaks first; it seems to have arisen from line 115. We are therefore left with a choice between Bentley and Lenting. Both are possible; for γέ τοι (a colloquial idiom) v. Denniston p. 550; for μὲν balanced by δὲ γέ cf. line 373. Χρηνίν is Dawes' necessary emendation of the Mss. Χρην ἕν and the Suda's Χρείν ἕν. For the construction cf. Ran. 585 καὶ εἰ μὴ τῶν τοῖς, ὅπερ ἐν ἀντίθεσιν ὑπάρχειν.

ἐγκυκλάω — cf. 1162; Thesm. 261; Eccl. 536; a woman's upper garment; from its name apparently round in shape.

114.- Κατατιθέμεν used here in the sense of 'paw', 'pledge'; cf. Antiph. 26, 8 οὐδεὶς ἐσὶν μὴ Κατατιθέμεν τὰ συμβολάς; as if ΤΕΙ ΕΓΚΥΚΛΑΤΕ were a valuable piece of property. Ἐκπιέσθαι continues the same metaphor = consume (cf. Pl. Com. 9 with τὰ Χρηματά), but with the obvious joke about women's bibulousness. As Dover points out (Ar. Comedy p. 59) Kalonike utters words that someone else might say about her. The scholia take Κατατιθέμεν in a different sense, that of literally putting down one's cloak i.e. in order to fight, and they see Ἐκπιέσθαι as a προσωποκατέρρεια for μὴ ἐξετασθεί. This is unlikely because "to put off" of garments etc. is usually Κατατίθεσθαι (cf. Plut. 926 etc.).


Coulon's text (and his explanation at Essai p. 125 — ἐγὼ ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν
(ἐξέλεγκς) δοῦναι ἐν ἐμνησθής Θήμερος πατητήρος
(ἐμνησθής) κἂν ἐπιτρεπῇ Ψιτταν (τῆμεν ἐμνησθής)
δοκεῖ is parallel to ἐγὺ ἑγ δ' ἔμεν is naturally depends on δοκεῖ and with Ψιτταν you understand easily τῇμεν. (cf. van Leeuwen who cites also Ran. 303 where ἐπέκα] is supplied in the phrase ἐκεῖνοι ἤσσους Ἡδονής ἥπαν ἄγειν; see his note on Ran. 303 for further parallels). On the repetition of ἔν see note on 3.

Ψιτταν: a kind of flat-fish, probably a sole or flounder v. D'Arcy Thompson, Glossary of Greek Fishes p. 294; they were popularly conceived of as being one fish cut in two halves cf. Plat. Symp. 191D ἔκαστος ἐὰν Ἰάῦν ἐοτίν ἄνεργον Συμφελον, ὅσα τεταμείνες ἢσσου ἀπ' Ψιτταν, ἐξ ἐνος ἐνοῦ; Luc. Pisc. 49 ἡμίτονος ἱκέος ... Ψιτταν ἱσ. The image is repeated at 131.

Παρατηρεῖν: Elmsley's emendation of the Mss. Παρατηρεῖν. The spelling with λ is Ionic and Doric, not Attic; perhaps the scribe was influenced by the Doric elsewhere in this section, as perhaps at 89.


R. Y. Tyrrell's joke (if such it can be called - see CR vi (1892) 301-2) about the speaker cutting her name in two and giving up half of it i.e. νίκι falls with our attribution to Myrrhine (γ. introduction). As they stand the words are of the emotional type used already by Myrrhine to convince Lysistrat how eager she is to participate.

... Lampito now speaks for her side, and what she would do to bring an end to the war.

ἔγυν restores the Doric (cf. 933; Ach. 754, where some Mss. have the Doric form).

Καὶ Καὶ = Καί, as in 113, 115.

It is probably best to omit Ρ's ἔν; it has no function here, as Coulson
(Essai p. 124) points out. It is quite likely that the scribe has mistaken the prosody of \( \text{Τη\(\bar{\gamma}\)ε\(\bar{t}\)ν} \); from Hom. Od. vi, 103, \( \text{Τη\(\bar{\gamma}\)ε\(\bar{t}\)ν} \), we know that the first syllable is long. Coulon notes other places where \( \gamma\varepsilon \) has been inserted by scribes who thought a line unmetrical e.g. Vesp. 446; 480. \( \delta\nu\lambda\omega \) (surely \( \delta\nu\lambda\omega \) is the better spelling) is defended by Coulon (Essai p. 125) against Wilamowitz' \( \delta\nu\lambda\omega \); he understands \( \delta\nu\lambda\omega \) (= \( \delta\nu\lambda\omega\delta\nu\delta\nu\)) from \( \varepsilon\lambda\delta\nu\mu\lambda\prime \), and takes \( \mu\delta\varepsilon\nu\lambda\delta\nu\) as equivalent to 'perhaps' (cf. Od. 4, 94 etc.). Wilamowitz's \( \delta\nu\lambda\omega \) (= \( \delta\nu\lambda\omega\delta\nu\delta\nu \)) is therefore perhaps unnecessary. \( \lambda\nu\gamma\nu \) again restores the Doric infinitive ending.

The point of Lampito's words is that Mt. Taygetus in Lacedaemonia was traditionally high and inaccessible; it is called in Od. vi, 103 \( \text{πα\(\bar{\gamma}\)κ\(\bar{\gamma}\)π\(\bar{\gamma}\)π\(\bar{\gamma}\)π\(\bar{\gamma}\)} \); cf. Strabo vii, 5, 1 \( \text{κ\(\bar{\gamma}\)π\(\bar{\gamma}\)π\(\bar{\gamma}\)π\(\bar{\gamma}\)} \). Lampito again returns to the purely physical activities and cites something that was probably proverbially extremely difficult. Note therefore the contrast of interests in and what is held dear by the three women; first clothes (and drinking), second body and life, third robustness and strength. It is interesting that the first two asseverations are humorously undercut, but Lampito's words are left as the most sincere.

119. - The final short build-up to the revelation of the plot (line 124). For the postponement of \( \gamma\varepsilon\prime \) in Aristophanes ("rather commoner and more violent") v. Dennison p. 96f. \( \gamma\varepsilon\prime \) here forms practically one word.

122. - On the construction of the verbal adjective of necessity and the use of the neuter plural form in \( \text{τ\(\bar{\gamma}\)λ\(\bar{\gamma}\)} \). v. J. W. Poulney AJPh lxxxiv (1963) p. 375.

123. - \( \text{κ\(\bar{\gamma}\)λ\(\bar{\gamma}\)} \ldots \text{δ\(\bar{\gamma}\)\(\bar{\gamma}\)} \) : for this sort of asseveration cf. 133; Eq. 1307; Ran. 265; Plut. 216 etc.

124. - Lysistrata, after a great deal of hesitation and apprehension concerning the reaction of the women, finally reveals what she has in mind;
she thinks no more of tact, but blurs out the essential fact in one coarse word. de Wit-Tak (Mmem. xxi (1968) 359) cf. Kinesias' outburst at 953

\( \text{κατ' δε'ρως' ε'χεται} \). Bentley's correction of R's unmetrical

\( \text{ημιν εστιν} \) is normally accepted; it would also be possible to write

with some \( \text{ημιν εστι} \), although this form is not certain for comedy.

Transposition of words is very common in manuscripts.

125.- The reactions of the assembled women are of disgust and dismay; they turn and walk away, compressing their lips, shaking their heads, changing colour, even crying.

126.- \( \text{μεγαλων} \) seems to be the correct form (v. Hesych.; Poll. ii, 90); it is glossed in Hesychius \( \text{το τα χειλη πρως αθηνα προς λγειν} \).

127.- Appropriate to the dramatic situation, Lysistrata's words take on a tragic (or at least solemn) aspect; this is perhaps seen in \( \text{διναιστε} \) (common word in Homer), and is certain in the phrases \( \text{Χριστι τετραπταν} \) (cf. Il. 13, 279; 284; 17, 733) and \( \text{δακρυν κατειβατε} \) (cf. Il. 24, 794; Od. 21, 86); for similar language cf. Eur. Hipp. 245f. - \( \text{Κατ' ους} \text{δακρυν μω βλειν και ε'ιν διεκυνην εμμι τετραπταν} \).

128.- The question reflects the confusion on the stage and the worry in Lysistrata's mind. For the form of the question (again probably continuing the solemn and tragic note) cf. Aesch. Sept. 202 ἡκονας, ἦ ε'ι, ἡκονας; ἦ κατηκε α'ειν; Soph. Ο. Ο. 316 δρ 'εστιν; ἦ ἐφικε α'ειν; ἦ γνωη τανδε; Eur. I. Τ. 577 δρ 'εστιν; ἦ δρ 'ευκ εις τας ἡμας εν ∑ν;

129.- \( \text{ο πεδημος επεθυσ}: \) that this was a familiar cry v. Eq. 673 (cf. H. W. Miller – AJPh lxxv (1944) 26ff. on other repetitions in one play from another); Rogers describes the phrase as 'expressive of a reckless indifference'. For \( ζυξων \) in its particular usage here v. Taillardat sect. 636; it may be continuing the solemn tone set by Lysistrata in the preceding
Latin has the same image with 'serpo' cf. Flor. i, 25, 4: 'serpsit tamen latius in proximos bellum'.

130.— Reisig's έγών 'αύτων for the Mss. έγών γάρ is probably unnecessary. For οὐδέ· ... γάρ v. Denniston p. 111: "Like the corresponding use of καί γάρ, this is confined to answers, and is associated with έγών and with word-echoes"; (add to his examples Plut. 99). οὐδέ· is here connective and γάρ ancillary.

131.— Lysistrata mockingly picks up the words used by Ῥυρρήνη at line 115 and throws them back at her derisively. For other examples of this technique v. Miller AJPh. lxxvi (1945) 403.

On καί μέν in this adversative sense 'and yet', v. Denniston p. 357.

133.— R's ΔΙΛ , ΔΙΛ i.e. ΔΙΛ, ΔΙΛ seems more forceful than ΔΙΛ 'ΔΙΛ' (but cf. Vesp. 353). For ηicianει cf. 98 (again Ῥυρρήνη speaking).

For καί μέν Χρηστή v. note on 123.

Εἰδὲ τῶν πυρέων : a proverbial phrase for the greatest possible danger cf. Soph. Ant. 265 ἵ μένος δ' ἔπειρεν καί μέγερος μίρειν Χρηστή, καί πῦρ εἰρήνειν ; Xen. Symp. 4, 16 ἕ γών γενέ μετὰ Κλείνιον καί διὰ πυρὸς ιοίνην ; Oec. 21, 7 ἀκαλωθείτον εἰναι καί διὰ πυρὸς καί διὰ κυνόνου ; Dem. 54, 40 ΔΙΛ 'ο — ὦν ἐνιαυτὸς τὸν οὐκ οἱ οἱ πιστοίτεροι τῶν κατὰ τὴν παῖδον ὀμνύετος καί διὰ τῶν πυρῶν.

134.— Τῶτο μέλλον τῶν πείσιν : the phrase has bothered van Leeuwen (he wants πᾶν τί for Τῶτο ) and Herwerden (Mnem. 1904 p. 262; he wants πᾶν τί μέλλον τῶτο;); but in the context of the drama, it is perfectly intelligible and to the point.

Τῶν πείσιν is enough to recall Lysistrata's words of 124.

135.— οὐδέν γάρ σιόν : "there is nothing like it"; seemingly a colloquialism cf. Av. 966 ΔΙΛ 'οὐδέν εἰσίν εἰσ' ὁκόμεσιν τῶν εἴπαν ; Plat. Corg. 447c; 461b; Dem. 21, 46 etc.
136. - τί εἶ δι' σ' ; cf. Av. 136 τί εἶ δι' σ'. Πε. Τένευμαν ἐριῆ κάθει. δι' is especially common in Old Comedy. For the ellipse of the verb cf. Ran. 1279 - εἰς μὲν ἄλλο εἶς τῷ βαλλέοντι βαζόμενον.

137. - For the self-deprecation cf. 31. It seems best to follow Reiske and print παγκατατυπὸν as one word (in either case the double use of παγ- and πε τυ stresses Lysistrata's disappointment and anger). For such compounds cf. 588 παγκατατυπότατος, 969 παμβοσκόλυπός, παμμυστρός, 970 παγκατατυπότατος, Ran. 166 παμμυστρός, 106 παμποτενυρός, and for κατατυπών strengthened cf. Ach. 664 άκατατυπὸν. κατατυπών, like the English 'bugger', can be used as a general term of abuse, and applied to either sex, cf. 776 and see Dover EICS xi (1964) 34 and Fraenkel, Kl. Beitr. i. 147ff.

138. - οὐκ ἐτός; probably a colloquialism, very common in Comedy. The sentiment is rather different from that expressed in the other play of 411, "Thesmophoriazusae".

139. - Keeping up the idea expressed in 138, Lysistrata alludes (according to the scholia; cf. Soph. fr. 657P) to the "Tyro" of Sophocles; Tyro, having been seduced by Poseidon, exposed the two sons she had had by the god in a tub or ark (δραπέτη : cf. Arist. Poet. 1454 b 25). For the legend v. esp. Apollodorus i, 9, 8 (with Frazer's notes). According to the scholiast, these were catch-words for δευεύει χιλι 'καὶ τιτέρι; if he is right, then Lysistrata is saying: 'it is not surprising that we are the subjects of tragedies; we are only interested in (or good for) one thing and that is having sex and intrigues and children'.

Ran (Partragodia p. 198) seems to imply that the phrase εἰς εἴπερ ταῖς ταλίν may be paratragic cf. Eur. H. F. 229; fr. 25; Soph. Aj. 125; fr. 945, 2P.; van Leeuwen quotes comic parallels (e.g. Ran. 227); the line is perhaps
literary reminiscence rather than paratragedy.

140. - Lysistrata now turns to Lampito in the hope of support.

141. - Some Mss. give the compound verb ἐνωποφόρων, and this seems certain (R's reading is unmetrical); it will be used in the same sense as ἐνωποφόρως (cf. Dem. 9, 76 ἐνωποφόρως καὶ νῦν ἔτι, ἐνωποφόρως ἐν τῷ πράγματι τούτῳ γινομένων). διάφορος would be less forceful. From similar constructions elsewhere in Aristophanes, cf. e.g. Thesm. 134, ἐν νῷ γῆ ... ὑπερανακρίβεις μοι, ὑπερανακρίβεις γῆ; Eccl. 209 ἐν νῷ ἔμοι πληθυσμεῖ, σωσθήθε, ἔτι; 240 ματα δ' ἐν νῷ πληθυσμεῖ μοι, ἐδυσμενωτέρος τῶν βίων δυνητέρα, the simple future seems to be the normal correlate to ἐν νῷ subjunctive. It is possible therefore that the optative here transmitted may be false, due to a misreading with ἐν (for ἐνι -) as in R, which led to the change of mood: thus ἐνωποφόρως ἔτι (Blaydes) may be the right reading. But if one thinks that this would be too bold in the mouth of a tentative questioner, Brunck's ἐνωποφόρως ἔτι ἐν should be read; for the optative cf. 527 - 8; Eccl. 415 - 7.

142. - Καλοπρέπη ἡ Κύνη: the action assumes an air of real debate, and Lampito has to show which side she is on, as in an assembly. (cf. συναλαξαῖς 93).

χάλεκτα - the plural for the more normal singular is quite common in Aristophanes and the tragedians cf. 34; 69; Eq. 73; 609; Ach. 1079 etc. For the sentiment cf. Aesch. Choeph. 920 λίγος χυναίειν ἐνδρός εὔγεςθει.

143. - The order of the Mss. τῆς νῦν ἐστι normally defended on the grounds that Doric would allow μούτε+ liquid to count as one consonant. It is true that early choral lyric follows Homeric practice in counting them as two (though there are exceptions in Alcman); but it may also be that Lampito is elevating her language here: Mnas (Greek Metre p. 76): 'But in
Attic Comedy they [mute + liquid] regularly count as one, so much so that whenever they are found counting as two we can conclude that tragic manner is being parodied'. If this is so, then ἐπίπλασις will undercut the elevated tone.

ἐπίπλασις is literally 'the penis with the prepuce drawn back'. (cf. 979; Av. 560).

144. For γάρ (here Doric γάρ) μήν (Doric μήν) is adversative, answering μήν cf. 170 and Denniston p. 348.
For ἐτέρας γάρ μήν cf. Nub. 631; 822; Ran. 61.
The ellipse is easily understood (although not apparently by the scribes of the Mss.) - "but nevertheless (I will vote with you)."

-strokes γάρ ἐπίπλασις μείναι; for the genitive with ἐπίπλασις cf. 596; Pac. 870.

Denniston (p. 96) comments on the 'curious order', and suggests that it may have been adopted 'metri gratia' cf. Alex. p. 146. 6 ᾗ τὰν γαρ. γαρ is common enough in third place in Aristophanes (cf. 119).

διώ need not be doubted; as a Doric catchword v. on 91.

145 - 53. These lines appear in a recently found papyrus fragment of the 4th century A.D. (P. Colon. inv. 3 - v. A. Heinrichs and L. Koenen: Zeitschr. f. Pap. u. Ep. i (1967) 117 - 20); a significant reading is perhaps found at 153 q.v.

146. The end of the line looks like a parody of some tragic μενέας τόπων ἄνηπτος (cf. E. Bacch. 962 - μενέας γὰρ οὔτων εἰπόν τόπων τόπος); as Wilamowitz says: 'Nur ἄνηπτος hat pragnant die hier erforderte Bedeutung? But see Austin's note on Men. Asp. 243 and cf. Ach. 77f. ἄνηπτος ἐς ἡγουνται μενέας.

146. Kalonike is not at all sure of the possible efficacy of Lysistrata's scheme.

ὥσπερ μέλανον = "quam maxime" cf. Theoc. 493 οὔτε είσ' ἐστ' ὡτερ μέλανον.
96

The prospect terrifies her — δὲ καὶ γένοντο, a common aside in both tragedy (e.g. Aesch. Sept. 5; Eur. Her. 714; Ion. 731) and comedy (Men. Sam. 723; Misum. 264 (P. Oxy. Vol. xxxiii)).

The repeated ἐὰν may emphasise the tentativeness of Kalonike's question: it is purely hypothetical.

The suggestions that Lysistrata makes in the next few lines are not in fact carried out; after all, in practice they could not be, as all the men are away on military service. Dramatically, however, they later come into effect in the scene between Myrrhine and Kinesias, which helps to tie together the two strands of plot, the enticement and refusal together with the seizure of the Acropolis (v. introduction). We need a form of verb in this line to balance the verbs in lines 151, 152, 153, 154; these are all optative mood, and R's rather too direct ἱππήμεθα is now replaced by Dobree's ἱππήμεθα (for the form cf. Xan. 919 and KB ii. 228).

For the same ideas of beautification to aid one's ends cf. 43ff.

- 96 -

... is especially common with pronouns (v. Denniston p. 207ff.). Here Kalonike cannot bring herself to repeat Lysistrata's words.

The island of Aegina (as follows):...
96), it may well be connected with the island of Amorgos (as Pollux vii, 74), although there is no contemporary evidence of this connection. It is uncertain whether there is any link between these words and ἄμηράγύκητος (from ἄμηράγυκητος), which is the watery remains when olives are pressed, although the scholiast on our passage finds one in the colour (presumably some sort of purple) of both.

\[\text{Ε\v_{λ\text{ηκένε}} : there are two possible interpretations of this phrase (i) with groin plucked (ii) plucked delta-fashion. The former is defended by M. Mayer (PhW xlix (1929) 91 - 4, citing S. Italian/Sicilian influence from statuary), Taillardat sect. 120, citing Eccl. 624 as a parallel for the lack of a definite article and Willems (BAB 1904 pp. 606 - 12) who scorns the idea of fashions of depilation. In this case Ε\v_{λ\text{ηκένε}} ("pudendum muliebre" - so the Suda and Eust. 1539, 33; cf. Aus. Epigr. 128, 4) refers to the shape of pubic hair on a female, an upside down \(\Delta\). The second view (of shaping or fashioning the pubic hair) is defended by Wilamowitz and Sibbs (p. 151f.); they compare Av. 806 ἄμηράγυκητος, and Eccl. 723 - 4 (although the reading is uncertain); also cf. Ach. 849 for a style of beard- (? hair) cutting.

The problem could be solved if there was a definite rule about an article with the accusative, but, as Willems shows, the accusative in expressions of this kind can play different roles; however, if Ε\v_{λ\text{ηκένε}} meant (as the scholiast says) "the groin", the article would be more usual with it. This lends support to Wilamowitz and Sibbs, and there would be a strong parallel for them if Eccl. 723 - 4 were certain. Another point to bear in mind: if Greek women regularly depilated themselves, would the phrase "with groin plucked" add greatly to their charm; but if they could pluck their groin in a certain "mode" perhaps this is something that could add to their attractive-
ness.

152.-- Bothe's correction of the Mss. seems certain. The apodosis surely does not come until line 154, \( \sigma κ_{ν} \nu_1 \) From Plut. 1082 and the grammarians (Pollux v, 93, Suda, Hosychius), \( \sigma πεκτων \) would seem to be the correct form. (or \( \sigma πεκτων \) with metathesis of 'A').

Iysistrata's description of the men's reactions is just as vivid as that of the appearance of the women.

153.-- While there is nothing wrong with the Mss. \( \pi ροσιεγμεν \) (it is a reasonable correlate to \( \lambda \pi_{ν} \chiυακισμουλ οπείς \)), Wilamowitz thinks the reading was influenced by \( \pi ροσιεγμεν \) in 151, saying that it is not a question of "meeting" but of "yielding". He accepts Halbertsma's \( \pi ροσιεγμεν \)' (which Coulon, with only one weak metrical parallel, changes to \( \pi ροσιεγμεν \), the tense one might expect); but this verb is not found elsewhere in Aristophanes in this sense. Herwerden (Mnem. xxxii (1904) 263) also felt the need for change and suggested \( \pi ροσεχυμου κεν \) = "pay attention to" (he had, in fact, been anticipated by Naber) or \( \pi ρε\chiυακισμου κεν \) = "submit oneself" (cf. 162; 227). The papyrus, however, gives \( \pi ροσιεσ\deltaιsigμεν \) ; this gives good sense (like Herwerden's \( \pi ροσεχυμου κεν \)) and, although the verb is not found elsewhere in Aristophanes, the reading should perhaps be preferred.

154.-- \( \gamma ς\deltaιξιον \nu_ν \) v. 100.

155.-- Lampito now adds an illustration of the powers of female charm: a Spartan illustration, suitably enough. The scholiast informs us that this story of Menelaus throwing away his sword at the sight of Helen's beauty (breasts) appears in Ibycus and in the 'Little Iliad' by Lesches, as well as in Eur. Andr. 628ff. \( \epsilonυκ ς\kappaικες \gammaυςι\kappaικα \chiυι\kappaικα \lambdaε\betaινον/ιοιον, \) \( \alphaς \epsilonι\ι\kappaις \muοη\kappaιν, \epsilon\kappaιδι\kappaιν \sigmaι\φο\iota\kappaιν/φι\iota\kappaιν, \) \( \epsilon\delta\iota\kappaιν. \)

Cf. also Vesp. 714 for another reference to the same story (and the schol. ad loc.). There is no doubt, therefore, that this was a common literary motif,
but the problem revolves around \( \mu \tilde{\imath} \lambdas \) and \( \mu \tilde{\imath} \sigma \tauov \) (Eur. Andr. 629). It is suggested by Wilamowitz and E. Löwy (NS xlvi (1929) 58 - 60) that we have here (and presumably also in Eur. Andr.) a comic extension of the normally represented situation, whereby it is merely the general beauty of Helen rather than the breasts in particular, that makes Menelaus drop his sword: 'so zeigt die Malerei öfter und selbst eine Metope des Parthenon'. If true, then Lampito is making a specific reference to something dear to her own self, beauty of breasts (cf. 83). Eur. Andr. 628ff. could only be (as Löwy suggests) explained on the ground that this was a common joke of the Athenian people. However, in an article on the Portland Vase (JHS lxxxvii (1967) 13) B. Ashmole produces a good deal of evidence from vases, from 7th century B.C., to suggest that the breasts were the principal attraction which made Menelaus drop his sword (v. loc. cit. for references). It seems, therefore, that the motif is not only literary, but common also to vase-painting. While there may be some amusement in Lampito's dwelling on the breasts, it is probably not a conscious corruption of the other type of Helen/Menelaus confrontation (as in the Metope of the Parthenon), where general beauty is the cause of the falling sword.

No doubt, the audience would feel some elevation in the tone of language (in the reminiscence of an epic or tragic passage), contrasting with the more earthy details of Lysistrata's speech.

For breasts being referred to as fruit v. Taillardat sect. 82; for \( \mu \tilde{\imath} \lambdas \) cf. Crates fr. 40; Eccl. 903; and the joke below at 1169; Theoc. xxvii, 50 (with Gow's further references).

\( \pi \delta \nu \) (\( \pi \delta \nu \) surely is the better spelling cf. Ahrens Dial. Dor. p. 370) for \( \pi \delta \omega \) as \( \zeta \iota \nu \lambda \nu \) (\( \zeta \nu \lambda \nu \)) for \( \delta \nu \nu \) in line 118; cf. Ach. 732 (a Megarian speaking) \( \zeta \iota \lambda \nu \zeta \nu \lambda \nu \zeta \nu \lambda \nu \) \( \pi \lambda \) (\( \pi \lambda \)).

\( \pi \delta e f o v \) used here, as elsewhere in Aristophanes (Av. 454 cf. Ran. 409) for 'to notice'. The actual spelling of the form here is a problem. \( \overline{F} \) is attested for Doric from the earliest inscriptions down even to the 1st century B.C.; it was obviously an accepted part of the Doric speech, and would be
recognised as such by an Athenian. It seems likely, therefore, that Aristophanes would have tried to represent this if in a word such as ἔπειρον; this is implied by the MSS. Παρενιέται and the Suda's Παρενιδιόν (with v for if as often in the late grammarians). How Aristophanes would have actually written this is anybody's guess; perhaps Bergk (Commentat. Crit. Spec. 1844, p. 28) gets nearest with Παρενιέται, although strictly speaking this is an Aeolicism.

157.- Kalonike, ever practical, sees possible objections to the scheme, but she is soon squashed by Iysistrata's enthusiasm. On this type of colloquial expression, τότε ἐξ ἐγκυρείς used elliptically, v. P. T. Stevens CQ xxxi (1937) 184 and cf. 366. For ἐπειροῖς v. on 56.

158.- Seemingly a parody of some words of Pherecrates, Aristophanes' contemporary. The paroemiographers explain the proverb (if proverb it be) as τότε τὰν ματὶν πονεύτων = 'to flog a dead horse'; the scholia say the same, but add: ἔφεσταν ὀλίβρως ξηρασθεὶς καὶ ἀπείριν τὰ ἀπεδειγμένα σκῦμα. Most commentators, therefore, take κώνιν διεβαρμένη as ἐφεστεῖς (cf. 109 - 10); Wilamowitz cf. Vesp. 231 for the toughness of dog-skin: ἔφεσταν has the sense of 'praeputium rostrare' (cf. 953 and Timckles 5 Page q.v. = τὸ μαλλιόν) (Ach. 592): v. Taillardat sects. 90 and 103. Willems (EAB 1904 p. 612 - 3) objects to the scholia as being in contradiction to lines 108 - 110 (the lack of ὀλίβρων); followed by van Daele he takes κώνιν ἔφεσταν ἐκείρωμένη as ἔφεστεῖς, 'to masturbate', Iysistrata using the feminine because she is addressing women; Willems suggests that Pherecrates had written the masculine, and he says that here lies 'une malice du poète'. But does the reply in line 159 really suit this interpretation better, as he says? τὰ μεριμμένα look like the σκῦμα πακούρικ of 110.
159. - *φλωρις* : cf. 860 *απρες ἐντ' ἔμαχο τίμαν τίμες κυνοτόν*; Nub. 365 *τίμαν *ἐντ' ἐστι *φλωρις*; Ran. 809.


For the postponement of *δ* v. Denniston p. 187f. and cf. line 97. Kalonike now suggests the other extreme to that of line 157.


162. - Note the different ways Lysistrata has of replying; first, the simple infinitive in the quotation from Pherecrates; second, the imperative; third, the infinitive with Χρῆ : Aristophanes' colloquial language is never tedious. For the expression κακίς κακίς cf. Eq. 188f. οὖν μου σκίνιν ἐπίστημι πλὴν γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν κακίς κακίς (cf. Handley on Men. Dysk. 195f.). Radt (Mнем. xxvii (1974) 7f.) argues that there κακίς is not adverbial but predicate to τῶν, and that this is the case in expressions of this kind except Hegemon 9 ἄν κρίνων, ὅν νῦν ἐκ τῶν κακίς κακίς ἐξερεύνατον. He suggests παράκλητον κακίς (or κακίς) κακίς, with Χρῆ as a marginal gloss which entered the text to explain the "infinitivus pro imperativo" and κακίς as an attempt to restore the metre. Similarly Wakefield suggested κακίς κακίς. I find the change unnecessary and the Greek (although perhaps slightly unusual) perfectly intelligible. The idea itself returns in the oath-taking, line 227 κακίς παρὰς : Lysistrata finally quells Kalonike's doubts.

165. - *ὑπερήφανος* : cf. 778 μὴ νῦν ἄμφειρες (schol. ἰδιορεφείον καὶ πονοείς τοῦ πολέμου).

166. - There is no need to read ἄννηρ ; the sense is: "Never will a man have pleasure, if he does not comply with his wife (unless it suits his wife)". Note the antithesis of ἄνηρ and γυναικί by juxtaposition as far as possible.

For *ὑπερήφανος* in this sense cf. Soph. O. C. 641; El. 1465; Eur. Med. 13. (schol. ἄνηρ τῶν ἄμφειρες .)
167. — οφείλεται: refers to Lysistrata and Lampito, the only two who have so far supported the scheme.

For this type of sentence structure when someone gives in to the point of view of the other side v. Barrett on Eur. Hipp. 507f. (p. 253f.); Freenkel on Aesch. Ag. 944 and Beob. zu Ar. p. 83; and cf. esp. Av. 1630 (Poseidon giving in to Heracles and the Triballian): εἰ τεν δέκα ὅριν τἀδε, κἂν δὲν ὄντασι; Thucy. viii, 92, 10 (Theramenes giving in to those who wishes to destroy Eetionia): ξύππερ καὶ ἔκκινον δέκα καὶ ἔκκρησιν, καὶ ἐκνυφὲς ἔφη ὑπὸδεκές. With ἔκκρησι, Kalonike speaks for all the Athenian women, just as Lampito had spoken for all Spartan women and their allies.

is very common in this type of expression v. Denniston p. 546.

168. — Lampito, confident that they (Spartan women and their allies) will be able to make their husbands keep the peace, throws doubts, in a rather haughty fashion, on the Athenian women's ability to do the same. With ἐμεῖς and ἔμισ, Lampito stresses her side of the picture, which Lysistrata reject with similar stress (ἡμοί, ἐμίν — line 172). For the Mss. ἐμίν, Blaydes suggests, with plausibility, ἐμεῖς (= ἐμιτέρως); cf. 1180f. Τεσσάροι γὰρ καὶ θὰ σώζῃ ἐμεῖς. If this is correct, it adds yet another '5' ending to the words of this line; they serve to add emphasis to Lampito's confidence about their own position.

169. — (or παρὰ τῇ) is the likeliest reading (cf. Homeric παρὰ τῇ); Attic παράτης = in every way, altogether.

ὁλίκας ἐκεῖνος: stock words in treaties cf. Av. 632; Thucy.v, 13, 3; 4; 9; 47, 8 etc.

(Ahrens) restores the strictly Doric form.

170. — For γάρ μεν v. note on 144.

The Mss. give the word at the end of the line as ἐποιχίτευς or ἐποιχίτιν. Photius and Hesychius give the form ἐποιχίτευς, which is normally accepted
by editors. The scholiast and the Suda explain by Θόρης and ητητον; Hesychius and Photius by Θόρης ἑ τὸν ἡ ἕληστον, the latter a vain attempt at etymologising. What we need is a rude word describing the Athenian people. Taillardat (sect. 678), noting how often a crowd of people can be compared to surge or sea (e.g. Ach. 26), connects the word with Ῥμαν, a torrent, or lava-flow. He wants to read (as did Elaydes) Ῥμαν with digamma (rightly rejecting van Leeuwen's Ῥμαν adopted by Coulon; for whatever the etymology, there was never an original intervocalic 'S'; cf. 980 for a real case of intervocalic 'S'), which is possible (v. note on line 156). He sees the difficulty of 'X', but explains it as a "popular" aspirate (v. his note 4 for references) or as an analogical aspirate after the -φ- of άυπέτος.

O. Lagercrantz in Eranos xvii (1917) 113 - 9, suggests that the word should be written Ῥμαν (as in R) and be taken as a compound of Ῥμαν 'snout' and ἑτοις 'clattering' (a word which he supposes from Ῥμαν Dor. ἑτος, on the analogy of ἑτοις from ἑμαν, ἑτοις from ἡμαν; ἑτος Dor. ἑτος is found quite often). It is also just possible to take Ῥμαν from ἡμαν and ἑτοις, as Prellwitz does. While these explanations have the advantage of the presence of 'X', they seem far less likely from the point of view of metaphorical language. Taillardat's parallels for the image of 'flow' and 'torrent' are quite strong.

171.— As usual, the Mss do not recognise all the Doric forms; they see the need for ἱ and κα becomes κα; Dobree and Ahrens restore the original.

Τᾶγαδην: connected with Attic Τᾶγαδιν, through an unattested Τᾶγαδιν (the suffix -ιν describing an illness, as often cf. ἐκθαλαμῶν etc.). Lagercrantz (loc. cit.) saw the connection with -ιν verbs, but went astray and wanted to connect Τᾶγαδην with Τᾶγαδιν to be
flaccid'. The word therefore means, as Taillardat (sect. 678 n.3) has shown, 'to go astray mentally'. (the schol. interprets παρεμθρονίν; cf. Hesychius π.(λ.δ(ε) iην, μητιςείς, σοβαρέωςείς). πάλισσός, can be a fairly violent word v. L. S. J. s. v. I., 2., and thus fits in well with the violent notions of ἐπικτήρων.

172.- If Lampito had any doubts about Athenian reaction (which she implies was rather stupid and impetuous), then Lysistrata has none. The repeated ημίσις and παρα ημίσις reaffirm the confidence she has in her side of the bargain.

172.- Lampito is still not convinced, troubled by the fact that the Athenians have got ships at the ready and money at hand. Sense has to be made of the MSS. ἣπειρονοῦσις or ἃς ὑποῆρυς. This is not gained by keeping ὑπεῖρος (if it were possible, it would mean: "Not while the triremes have so much attention paid them"); the evidence for this spelling is very weak; Laconians used οὐ for οὐ (e.g. Hesychius: Τέουν for Attic οὐ), but not ο for Attic οὐ. ὑπεῖρυς is no better; the form is at best doubtful. Schneider's τοῦλες (τούλας) = cushions, needs no comment. (Also ἴχνειν + genitive = ἐιςαε is not recognised v. Jebb on Soph. O. T. 709). The emendation adopted by most editors is Valckenaer's ἴς πεῖρας ἴς = Attic ἴς, and ποῦρας = feet; for the metaphor cf. Timotheus Pers. 101: ὅρισσος πούρας ρής. As van Leeuon says: 'certum autem navium partem aliquam si quis intellegere velit, "remos" significare dicat, cui explicationi favet Hesychii glossa: ποῦρας ρής οι τοῖς ποιῶν ἔφεσενεν, ταῖς κέντως'. Timotheus elsewhere (at Pers. 7) used ἴχνειας ἐρατίνας of a ship. For additional metaphors of this kind attached to a ship v. Taillardat sect. 646ff. and his references. It seems best to interpret πεῖρας like this, rather than to take it in its technical sense of 'sheets'. (v. L. S. J. s. v. ii, 2.).

Willems (BAB 1904 p. 614 - 5) will have none of this and, in one of his less
convincing notes, suggests ὁ δὲ ἐρχόμενος ἐξ τῶν = "tant que les trières auront leur impétuosité." The Greek here seems rather weak for the sense which he wishes to extract.

There is also the point with πέταλος that wood was difficult to get for the oars cf. 422.

R omits the γε which is read by Coulon and Wilmotz from Σ. While γε would make a point here: "No, not at least while ..., there is doubt as to whether the omission of ἀν with the subjunctive (κα in Doric) is allowed in comedy v. Platnauer on Pax 32. If this is the case, then Bergk's κα is needed (although I can find no parallel for the separation thus of κα from Λ).

174.—πεποιθόντω: also used of wealth at Aesch. Sept. 950 πέποιθος.

παρ τῷ συνῷ: i.e. in the temple of Athena on the Acropolis: cf. Plut. 1191ff.: ἱδρυσώμεθα, οὖν αὐτήκα μὴ!—δὲ περίμενε,—τὸν Παλαιῶν, συνήρ πρότερον ἢν ἱδρυκές, τὸν ἄντος ὀδομον, εἰς πυλήν τῆς Θεοῦ. The scholia explain thus: καὶ γὰρ ἐπήθης ἵππευς, ἴππεως ἵπποι τῆς Παλαιᾶς, ἐπὶ γὰρ τὸν καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖ Καλλίου ἱπποτος, ἐφ' οὖ περὶ ἐποικήθην τὸ ὅρμα, ἢς φησὶν ἱπποκόρος ἐν Αἴθων.

The reference is to the 1,000 talents set apart by Pericles in 431 for use only in the case of dire emergency (Thucy. ii, 24, 1); this emergency came in the shape of the revolt of Chios in 412, and it was decided that this reserve could now be used (Thucy. viii, 15, 1) to build ships. From the scholiast who quotes Philochorus, we know that this must have been decided some time after July 412. (when Callias became Archon), before this play was produced. This is the lead-up to the other important part of the plot, the capture of the Acropolis.

175ff.—Lysistrata finally convinces Lampito that everything has been taken care of, down to the last detail.
The fact that the Acropolis is elsewhere in this play (e.g. 245; 758; 288) sometimes called \(\textit{πολίς}\) and that this term is used exclusively in the rest of Aristophanes (cf. Thucy. ii, 15, 6; \(\textit{καταλήκται \ δ’ \ εὐκλάδες πελάτων \ δανίας κατοίκησιν} \)), \(\textit{καὶ \ η’ \ ἀκρόπολις} \ \textit{μελέτρον \ τῶν} \ \textit{ἐπὶ \ Ἀθηναίων \ πόλεσιν}\) does not mean that the term \(\textit{Ἀκρόπολις}\) cannot be used. It recurs in 179, 241, 263, 483, always with \(\textit{καταλήκται} \), so that the phrase becomes a stock one in the play. \(\textit{Ἀκρόπολις}\) makes Lysistrata's meaning quite clear, as it should be, for the Spartan. Thus Cobet's changes throughout the play are quite unnecessary.

As Rogers points out, the seizing of the Acropolis was the stock way of starting a revolution; so Cylon (Thucy. i, 126, 5), Peisistratus (Arist. Ath. Pol. xiv, 1), and Cleomenes (Hdt. v, 72,2).

Bergk, followed by Willems (BAB 1904, 615 - 6), deletes this line as tautological and serving no purpose. Willems rightly points out that \(\textit{πόλις} \) \(\textit{ἐπί \ Ἀθηναίων \ πόλεσιν}\) will still have something to refer to viz. 179 (van Leeuwen did not see this), and he argues that there are strong parallels for summing-up notes getting into the text; but as Coulon (Essai p. 184 - 5) says, surely a commentator would have paraphrased by \(\textit{καταλήκται} \ \textit{πελάτων} \ \textit{πάλαι} \) etc. Wilamowitz is right to point out that 179 gives more precise details of the instructions to the old women. The repetition is not useless 'parce que l'occupation de l'acropole est le point essentiel' (Coulon, loc. cit.) The first person plural - \(\textit{Ἀντιγόνες}\) also serves to involve those on stage with the action taking place off-stage, providing a close link between the two sets of women, which one sees on stage in the next act.

Herwerden's idea (Mnen. xxxii (1904) 263 - 4) of deleting 179 is even less likely.

There is much to be said for Lenting's \(\textit{πρεσβύτεροι} \); the comparative and superlative endings are often confused (cf. line 20) in the
Mss. (cf. Men. Dyse. 128 and see the papyrus of Men. Misum. in ZPE ii (1970) 3 and the note to lines 4 - 5 (on p.4)); it seems far more logical to talk about 'the older women', for it gives a more effective contrast between the two sorts of women, each with their own purpose to carry out; there is a good parallel in Eccl. 1019. Van Daele's translation implies the comparative, but Coulon's text has the superlative.

172. - δικένωλος: 'pretending to'; normally in this sense δικένω is with a negative (e.g. Fac. 1051; Eq. 1146; Plut. 837), but occasionally it is found positively e.g. Ran. 564; Eupolis 159, 10.

On the dative case cf. line 14.

180. - Lampito accepts Lysistrata's reassurances, and they can now pass to the oath-taking.

The Mss. offer an unmetrical line πάντα χ' (γ') εξομ. καὶ ταῦτα γαρ λέγεις καλέσ. The simplest correction is that of Bentley πάντα κ' εξομ. καὶ ταῦτα γαρ λέγεις καλέσ, with καλέσ taken ζε νο κοινοῦ with both halves of the line (cf. Wilamowitz on Eur. Her. 237). Many want to keep the neuter plural πάντα because it is often found in this type of phrase e.g. Eccl. 272; Eur. Med. 756 etc., and follow Schaefer, printing πάντα εσό κ' εξομ. καὶ παῦτε γαρ κτλ. Coulon also seems to imply from his critical note that the scholia suggest the missing σοῦ with their note: πάντα σοῦ εξομ. καλέσ. καὶ παῦτε γαρ λέγεις καλέσ εξει; but perhaps they saw that the construction is ζε νο κοινοῦ, and that καλέσ goes with both halves.

For παῦτα (παῦτα) cf. 169.

παῦτα (παῦτα): 'on this subject'.

181. - Lysistrata now suggests the taking of an oath to make their agreement inviolable.

Τά' εὐθυς + aorist indicative is the usual idiom; cf. 906; Vesp. 213; fr. 466 (but cf. 599; 1103). The question can be of various kinds, from polite to imperative, although there is very often a tone of impatience. (v. P. T.
Stevens, CQ li (1937) 185). For the vocative without ἐν in an impatient address v. K. G. i 48f.

182ff.— 182 - 199 appear in a fragmentary state in the papyrus referred to at 145.

183. — μὴ ἐν used here, where in Attic one would expect ἐν : v. Denniston p. 331: 'This very rare use is confined to Epic and the Doric (mainly choral) parts of drama'.

ταφρώντες : as Wilamowitz says, used here for the simple ἐνδοειν or the technical ἐνιψάοιτο . He compares προφαίνειν which is used of the gods bringing something to light; cf. also the Spartan phrase ἄραψαν φαίνειν 'to call out the ban'. (v. L. S. J. s. v. ἄραψαν ii, 2).

The Mss. have preserved what seems to be another genuine Laconism; with ὑμιέσθε cf. Herakl. μετρεῖες , Hesychius' gloss χηριέσθεν ἠκατερεῖες (but cf. μοιέσθε 1002) — v. Thumb-Kieckers sect. 92, 2. The sense is "how we are to swear".

184. — ἐκθέσιν : the female counterpart of the Scythian archers employed to police the assemblies. (v. Ehrenberg p. 175). The same comic turnabout occurs in 'Ecclesiazusae', where the women have suitably feminine titles; Praxagora herself is ἑκάτην (635; 870), and she has κηροκαίνειν ἐκθέσιν τινα (713). For ἐκθὲς as a comic feminine ending v. C. W. Poppler AJPh xxxix (1918) 179; Fraenkel, Kl. Beitr. i, 147ff. (cf. άλκτρομάνα in Nub. 666). Often the word is feminised simply by changing the article v. Austin on Thesm. 432 (ἡ γνῶριμος ).

From Photius, it appears that Alexis (fr. 331) also used this comic form. The normal feminine is ἐκθές - Aesch. c. Ctes. 172.

ποί ἦσθε : the charge of doziness or inattentiveness is a comic commonplace with regard to servants in general (v. Headlam-Knox on Herodas iv. 42 and Austin on Men. Sam. 105; Kolax fr. 1) and the Scythian policemen in particular (cf. 426; Thesm. 1176 etc.).
185.— Lysistrata gives her instructions to the servant, instructions which lead to Aeschylean parody (v. line 188) and much amusing discussion thereafter.

Θέσ ... τὴν ἀπίδα : cf. for a similar command, but with different end in view, Ach. 583 (Dicaeopolis to Lamachus) πάρξεις νῦν ἐκπολείερι ἐτόνν [τὴν αὐτὴν] ὀρνί.

186.— Ἡ Ῥώμη: the cut-up parts of the victim over which the most solemn oaths were taken; magistrates, on taking up office, swore over Ἡ Ῥώμη that they would observe certain duties (v. Arist. Ath. Pol. 55, 5); on the Areopagus, an accuser would swear οτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ Κρεῖν καὶ Πελοπόν (Dem. 23, 68). Cf. the Homeric phrase εἰκίθη τομάμενον.

187ff.— In the papyrus fragment (v. on lines 145 and 182), there has been an interesting change made in this scene. The run of the lines there given is 187, 197, 199, 198 with 200 presumably following straight on. After this shortened version, the papyrus gives the normal text starting at 188, but unfortunately stops after only that one line. In the shortened version, the Aeschylus joke is omitted altogether, so that we get to the actual oath much more quickly, passing over points and details which may have been thought of no interest or amusement by some producer. For similar occurrences in tragedy v. D. L. Page, Actors Interpolations in Greek Tragedy, Oxford 1934, 42. As Koenen and Heinrichs point out, two different ways of handling a scene are again apparent at Frogs 151 – 3 (v. Radermacher/Kraus, ad loc.; H. Erbse, Gnomon xxviii (1956) 275; Wilamowitz Eur. Her. i, 148 n. 45).

188f.— The Mss. divide between φιλοίν Αἴσχυλος and φιλός ἐν Αἴσχυλοι : for what it is worth, the papyrus has Φίλος ἐν Αἴσχυλοι. Preference should probably given to the "lectio difficilior", φιλοίν Αἴσχυλοι : as Wilamowitz says, the verb omitted is ἐρηκώσεν i.e. ἐφυγέων ἐποιήσεν (cf. Ran. 303). The reference is to Aesch. Sept. 42ff. (the messenger reporting the heroes
activities) ἄνθρωπος ἡμῶν Θεαρίων διαλαγήται ύπερο-
σφαγεωτές ἐστιν μελάνδετεν σάκας καὶ θερμαίνοντες
χερσὶ πορείαν πένοι / ... ἐφεκτήσασθαν. Lysistrata
here substitutes sheep for the more heroic bulls, the whole idea becoming a
comic destortion, when one remembers the situation in our play (v. H. Klein-
knecht, Die Gebetsparodie 1937 p.49). She clearly did not know the play
(cf. Av. 1232).
Rogers' suggestion that "the substitution of μηλοσφάγεωτες for
ταύροσφαγεωτές", if not a mere inadvertence, is probably due to
the double meaning of ταύρος (cf. schol. on 217) and μηλα (v.
on 155) and Elderkin's far-fetched notions (CPH xxxv (1940) 387f.) will not
do; μηλα - here means sheep, not apples.

For this method of pledging faith cf. Xen. An. ii, 2, 9: τῷ τάρα ὁ
Ἀμασίαν σφαγεωτές ταύρον καὶ λύκον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ
κρόνον ἐστι δοσιαί, οἴ μὲν Ἑλληνες βασιλείας ἔγινος, οἱ σὲ
βάλοντες δούλων. As van Leeuwen points out, Timotheus (fr. 22), remember-
ing the above habit, called a shield φιάλα Ἀρεώς, φιάλη — being
the broad, flat dish used for drinking or pouring libations.

190.— Any difficulty over the construction εἰς ἱδίῳ ὁμόσπος
is soon forgotten, if one remembers that Kalonike wants to repeat the two
important ideas side by side, 'shield' and 'taking an oath', to stress how
inappropriate this would be when the women want peace.

191.— From Hdt. vii, 113, 2 and Lucian Scyth. 2, we know that white
horses were sacrificed by the Scythians, and it is presumably of this that the
scholiast is thinking when he says: ἤ παίζει κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν
Ἀμασίων. γυναῖκεσ ἧφι οὖν λευκῶς ἵππους ἑυφών (white is a woman's
colour v. L. S. J. s. v. λευκός ii, 1, c). We also know from Hom. Il.
21, 132 etc. that white horses were sacrificed to Poseidon. Wilamowitz says
that all white horses signify here is a costly and strange offering. The
scholiast goes further and sees a reference to the ἕχῃ μα δουνοῦν.
mentioned in line 60 (q.v.): τοῖς τὸ μείζον τῷ 

λευκῷ ἵππῳ. λευκῷ ἵππον, οὗ θάλης τὸ μείζον 

ὁδέησι, όδόν δ' τῷ λευκῷ ἵππῳ δ', ὑπερὶ κεῖν ἰδῆσι 

λευκῷ. 

The straining that the scholiast has to do to get this explanation makes it unlikely. The Amazonian reference may be there, however, for they crop up again in our play, in connection with horses, at 678 (after a clear piece of double-entendre, which may have influenced the scholiast here). Elderkin (v. on 188f.), following a reference given by van Leeuwen, connects white horses with the horse upon the τῷμε of which Tyndareus administered an oath to the suitors of Helen (Paus. iii, 20, 9); also with the Tyndaridae, Castor and Pollux, who were called Λευκίκτιτορ, and the sisters whom they seized, who were called Λευκίκτιτορ at Sparta. Elderkins finds these connections appropriate to the Athenian women dealing with a Spartan. Again his ideas seem rather far-fetched.

Τῷμεν: v. on 186.

ἀντερείμεθα (cf. ἀντερίμα) is the 'mot juste' not ἐκ - (v. L. S. J. s. vv.). There is no need to change with Coulon and Cantereala) to

Hamaker's and Römer's ἦ ... ἀντερείμεθα - v. van Leeuwen.

1936- τῷ 

λευκό 

ἵππ 

νο 

: "white horse indeed!" With these words Lysistratarejects with contempt Kalonike's suggestion. As H. W. Miller says (AJPh lxvi (1945) 404): "Aristophanes uses several formulae to express comic irony, scorn, or contempt. One of these devices is an elliptical question, introduced by 


, and repeating the word or words of a former speaker in the same form. There is no interrogation here, but either the terminology or the thought of the speaker is ridiculed. Ach. 61 - 2; 109; 157; 761; Nub. 367; 1233; 1337; cf. 247; Eq. 32; 162; 1082; Vesp. 1202; 1369; 1378; Av. 134; Lys. 730; 922; 1178; Thes. 30; 874; Plut. 1046. The use of 

in Lys. 193, 383 is exactly the same. For the abbreviated form, cf.

Vesp. 1369, where 

is monosyllabic.
195. - The parody of Aeschylus (v. on line 188f. - μελανων κυλικα | μελανετον σακεσ) leads to the traditionally comic connection between women and wine. The κυλικα is to be placed επι τινα like the shield (185). Wine was traditionally used to bind oaths (cf. Hom. Π. iii, 269f.), but again there may be a reference (as in Kalonike's suggestion 191-2) to the Scythian way of making treaties: v. Herod. iv, 70 - δρκα εξεπετευσαν εκθεσιν προς τας αν πετευσαν τη κυλικα μελανετον κερματιαν ειναι τηκεντησ ευτιμοτυσιαν την τη δρκα ταμφονιαν... και θεοι διαιτησανον. The 'black' κυλικα as opposed to the 'white' horse, perhaps.

196. - The wine jar becomes the victim (added humour being given by the repeated Aeschylean parody), the wine the blood of the victim: for similar interplay cf. Thesm. 754ff.

Thasian wine was famous for its fine 'bouquet' v. Hermipp. fr. 82, 3 - και θασιον, πις δε μπαλων επι την οδηγησεν (Blaydes thinks that κατασφυγον contains a reference to this); Eccl. 1119; Plut. 1020 - 1. This would explain Lampito's comment at 206.

Elderkin (v. on line 188f.) suggests that in ουμιλινων, there is a play upon the word ουμιλινων, a bowl in which the blood of victims was caught (Od. 3. 444).

The stamnos-type of jar had a special connection with the Lenaean rites (v. Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals 28ff. and Figs. 11ff.).

For the hypallage cf. Pax. 155 Χρουχιλεεν παταγων ψηλων; Vesp. 838 τυφαιδεα τυροε Εκελεκινην; Dem. xxxv, 34 ουνου κυοε κερμαι.

197. - If Dover is right (v. introduction), then perhaps Kalonike interrupts Lysistrata with a thought dear to her heart (cf. 112 - 4). One might have expected something like ἵππη Χρουελεεν την πειραυ (cf. 124; 153), but Aristophanes inserts the traditional joke about women's bibulousness and how they like to drink their wine neat (cf. 235 - 6; Gratin. fr. 273.
It was also true, of course, that it was unmixed wine that was used in oath-taking (schol. ad. Hom. II. iii, 269f.).

Lampito thoroughly approves of the latest suggestion, and there-upon it is generally accepted.

is simply an exclamation used in tragedy: Aesch. Ag. 1072; Eum. 842; Sur. Phoen. 1296; here with comic exaggeration. Wilamowitz is wrong to say that the word is Doric for ; there is no evidence for this v. Fraenkel on Aesch. Ag. 1072.

(this is the correct Doric spelling): cf. 1148 δακτός προκτός κιβον ίης καδός; Av. 428 Κιβον ίης ροννος.

: the usual vague reference for the appearance of necessary stage properties (v. introduction).

Kalonike exclaims with delight at the size of the wine-jar. (van Leeuwen cf. for the sentiment Eubulus fr. 43 ἡ παύν καταφέρεται τὴν γυναίκαν φίλον / ἵ σεκε μυκές ἡ ἐνείλη ποτηρίος). Κερμίν: cf. πόθε (cellar) from πόθες (wine-jar); it had a later form πόθεν, which might account for the Mss. Κερμίν. is found in Herodinan fr. 1, 32, 40 in the sense of 'store for pottery'. Kalonike is so carried away that she calls the wine-jar a 'veritable pottery-store'.

For used in exclamations without a verb v. P. Monteil, La Phrase Relative on Grec Ancian 1963, p. 222; he cf. Pax. 239; Nub. 2; Rn. 1278.

: sc. κύθηκα

Lysistrata rebukes Myrrhine and tells her to get hold of 'the boar'. Again reality mixes with fantasy; it is a sacrifice and the blood must be spilled, only here the victim (often a boar cf. Hom. II. xix, 251; Xon. An. ii, 2, 9 cited at line 138f.; Dem. 23, 68 cited at line 186) is a wine-jar, and the blood wine (cf. line 196). It was quite usual for those
about to swear on oath to take hold of the victim.

203f.- As Lysistrata appeals to Ἄλκιτη and the Loving Cup for their propitiousness, the wine is poured into the cup from the jar. As before (and as will continue to happen), the appeal is done in a parodistic style; δεσπόινα, ἀφάγηκα δεξίως, and εὑρένης are all stock words and ideas in the appeal that accompanies an offering, here spoken by Lysistrata in mock-solemn tones - On this v. H. Kleinknecht - Die Gebetsparodie p. 49ff.

Ἄλκιτη is appealed to not only as the rhetorical power by which Lysistrata has already persuaded the other women to adopt her plan, but also as the handmaiden of Aphrodite (cf. Paus. i, 22, 3 for their close association in cult on the west slope of the Acropolis; also v, 11, 3: Pindar fr. 122), the power by which the women hope to persuade the men to stop fighting.

θέλεσθαι ἑομνῷον : "the loving-cup", which each guest was given in turn to drink from, to pledge peace and friendship. It is appealed to here as a symbol of the unity which links all the women of Greece in their struggle to stop the war. Just as Ἄλκιτη refers not only back to the unity of the women but also forward to the future unity of the men and women, so 'the loving-cup' is a symbol of the hope for peace that is to come.

For further references to "the loving-cup", v. Rogers on Ach. 985.

τὰ ἀφάγηκα : 'offerings', here the wine which is poured from the jar into the cup. (cf. 202).

τῆς γυναικείαν : the words go with δεξίως, as well as with εὑρένης cf. Eur. Hec. 535 δεξίως κοιλὸς μετὰ πάση κυλημέρας Σοφ. El. 442 - 3 σκέψις γῆρα εἴ σοι προσφυγῶς ἄνταλθε δεκτή γῆρα ταῦτα οὐν τάφοισι δεξιοςοθε νέκυς.

205ff.- Kalonike admires the colour of the wine (again the comparison to a real sacrifice is kept up with the word δίμα), Lampito the 'bouquet', and Myrrhine wants to be the first to take the oath i.e. drink from the cup. Neil (Aristophanes, Knights p. 211) points to the metre of these
three lines: "Tragic rhythm in comedy is sometimes a point in religious
ceremony and phrase, serious or parodied, as Ach. 259 - 60, Vesp. 862, 268,
Fax. 868, Iys. 205 - 7, Thesm. 331 etc."

205. - Εὐχρισμὸν ... Καλώνικα: words that might properly be applied
to the colour of blood and the way it gushes forth propitiously (cf. Pax.
1054; Av. 1118 etc.), here said with great relish by Kalonike about the wine:
cf. Schol. Τόσα δὲ λέγει μιμημένης τοὺς θεοκρίτους,
Τούτοις τοὺς ἰπρείς. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπιθέμων τοὺς Θυμισίων
ἐνθυμεῖται Χάριν. Αὐτοὶ πυτίζειν, lit. 'spits out', undercuts
the tone of εὐχρισμὸν γε Θήλυκα and points the parody. The
word is used of spitting out wine elsewhere: Alexis fr. 141, 12 καὶ
τὸν μὲν ὅσον οὖν ἐπιθέμων ἔπωτίζεις; Arched. fr. 3, 12 ἐπι-
τιτίζουσα ὅπουν δὲ τοῖς Ἐλημέρις. Cf. Viirr. 7,4,5 and Duff
on Juvenal xi, 175 ('quï Lacedaemonium pytismate lubricat orbem'): "A man
is said 'pytissare' (πυτίζειν), when he takes a little wine into his
mouth and then spits it out, by way of testing it. For this unpleasant habit
cf. Ter. Heaut. Tim. 457 'nam ut alia omittan, pytissendo modo mihi / quid
vini absumpsit "sic hoc " dicens; "asperum" / pater, hoc est: cliud lenius
sodes vide". The word was possibly then a technical one of wine-tasters, and
Kalonike is revealed as an expert by her use of the term.

206. - For the renowned fragrance of Thasian wine v. on line 196. Some
editors wish to omit the γε before δὲ, arguing that it is the remnants
of a misunderstood digamma. While it is possible that Aristophanes allowed
the digamma into the Spartan's speech (v. on line 156), as Denniston (p. 351f.
shows, γε is very common with progressive καὶ μεγάλον : 'In Attic,
the emphatic word or phrase, following immediately upon the particles, is

Λόγον: the neuter adjective is very common with ἄσθέω and its compounds
cf. Thesm. 254; Plut. 1020 etc.

Καλώνικα: a suitably Doric oath cf. 988.
207. Nyrrhine wants to be the first to take the oath, so that she may be the first to get a drink from the cup. (cf. 238).

208. Rogers cf. Ovid Ars. Am. i, 561 for a lot being used to determine the order of drinking at a symposium, the 'arbiter' of which was also chosen by lot (Hor. Od. i, 4, 18; ii, 7, 25). Cf. Thesm. 269f. μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρere for the form of the sentence.

209. Lampito is addressed, because she is the representative of the enemy. The plural verb is often used with singular addressees to denote the person along with his or her companions: cf. 549; Ach. 259; Av. 850; Ran. 1479; Men. Sam. 252; 301; v. further Headlam-Knox on Herodas iii, 87. This fact was pointed out long ago by G. Dunbar, Class. Jeurn. xiii (1816) 80. For laying hold of the cup cf. line 202 and the passage in Aesch. Sept. quoted at line 168f.

\[ \lambda \delta \sigma \theta \epsilon \] the only time in Aristophanes for \[ \lambda \mu \beta \zeta \upsilon \varepsilon \delta \zeta \] ; a word common in tragedy, it may have been the stock word for such sacrificial occasions.

210. Kalonike, in all probability, is the μικρετεν μικρετεν μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικρere μικrę

211. ήμαρέτεο is seemingly a rather formal word for the commoner λεγόμενοι : it occurs again in the oath at lines 233 - 4.

212ff. All stand around and prepare to take the oath through their spokeswoman, Kalonike. As Wilamowitz points out, the effect of the repetition would be much greater on stage, than on paper, for the tone of voice in which each reply comes and the reaction of the others to each line would be different; there would no doubt be a strong contrast between the solemnity of Lysistrata's pronouncements and the way in which Kalonike replies. As Kleinknecht (v. on line 203f.) points out, there is parody here still, this time of the sort of conditions that are laid down in inter-state treaties and this applies equally to lines 235 - 6, what will happen if someone breaks the oath. For actual treaties on inscriptions v. Kleinknecht. In the
literary sphere this type of oath is common (see another parody in Euripides' oath at Thesm. 266ff.) e.g. Hom. Il. iii, 268 - 301 (at 298f. the imprecation on either party should it break the oath); Soph. Trach. 1185ff.; Eur. I. T. 743ff.; Med. 746ff. These "swearing scenes" tend to follow a pattern: A asks B to swear; B asks for details; A gives them; B swears; A asks B to stick to his oath (often by asking what punishment suffer if he breaks it). In Latin a similar parodistic scene occurs at Plaut. Rud. 1331ff.

212.- That Bekker's correction of the Mss. εὐκάτεροι ... εὐκάτεροι here and at 249 is right, v. Denniston p. 193 and K. G. ii. 294.

214.- Kalonike shows obvious unwillingness to go on. στρυκω : cf. line 152.

216.- After only two repetitions, Kalonike finds the whole affair too much for her; just thinking about these promises makes her weak at the knees, partly through pleasure at the visual images of lover or husband, partly through fear of losing these very things.

εὐτοιδέωτα μὲν τὰ γονάτα : a Homeric expression (cf. II. xx1, 114, 425 etc.), presumably said with suitable comic exaggeration. μὲν seems to be guaranteed by the Homeric parallels (Cobet's μόνος is unnecessary).

217.- Ἵταυρίστων : the word occurs elsewhere only at Aesch. Ag. 244, referring to Iphigeneia (the form is ἱταυρίστως). Although the Suda and scholia explain its meaning correctly : ἰτών τὰ ἱμάκτος, they add ἵταυρὶν γι' τὸ μινόσον ἱεροσίν. While it is true that ἵταυρος can be used as a vulgar metaphor (for either male or female genitals or the perineum v. Taillardat sect. 91), the fact that the word is used in "Agamemnon" to describe Iphigeneia makes it unlikely that there is a reference to that here. Taillardat (loc. cit.) suggests that ἵταυρος here simply means 'a man', and compares the use of other words in similar senses, ἰτὼς, μεσχαρ, πόρος etc. Wilamowitz calls the word 'hieratic', and he
is probably right. Words like 

\[ \text{τάφρος}, \ \text{βοῦς} \]

etc. are used often in oracular language v. Fraenkel on Aesch. Ag. 1125. Wilamowitz further suggests that the word becomes more high-flown through the feminine ending as in \[ \text{ἀμάξις}, \ \text{λεοντίς} \].

Thus, into the midst of the parody of oath-taking, Aristophanes introduces parody of high-flown epic (line 216) and tragic words (line 217).

219.— The parody of high-flown words is kept up. This line is repeated in substance from line 44, where the three-word trimeter, as often, denoted a mock-solemn tone (v. on line 27).

221.— \[ \text{ἐπί τυφλοῖς} \]: schol. \[ \text{ἐπί τυφλοῖς καὶ πυροφόροι ἐπὶ ἑμοί}. \]

For the image of the fire of love, found throughout Greek literature v. Taillardat sect. 302. \[ \text{Τύφλειν, τύφλοσθαι} \] is used later in the Greek Anthology in talking of desire (v. L. S. J. s. v. ii, 2). Some have doubted Mss. \[ \text{μέν} \], wishing to read \[ \text{μετ'} \] after \[ \text{ἐπὶ} \] —; but as Wilamowitz points out, \[ \text{ἐπὶ ὁμέριν} \] and \[ \text{ἐμί} \] take the genitive, a type of causal genitive cf. Pac. 989 \[ \text{οἱ δὲν τρυχόμεθα} \]. The only classical parallel for the metaphorical use of \[ \text{ἐπί τυφλοῖς} \] is Plat. Phaedr. 230a \[ \text{ὅριον} \]

\[ \text{Τύφλον} \text{ πολυπλοκότρο}ν καὶ μέλλον ἐἰς - τὴν ὁμίλον}. \]

222.— cf. 153.

225.— cf. 160ff.

\[ \text{βαλσάτω} \]: the stock word for the use of physical force in amatory affairs cf. Plut. 1092.

227.— cf. 162.

\[ \text{προσκινώμαι} \]: \[ \text{κινεῖν} \] is used frequently of sexual intercourse v. Taillardat sect. 189; \[ \text{προσκινώμαι} \] is used of the woman's reaction: cf. Pac. 902; Eccl. 256; Xenarch. fr. 4, 23.

229.— \[ \text{ἐρεύς} \]: not 'roof' (as L. S. J.) but 'ceiling' v. Dover on Nub. 173.
The dual form (τα) is not used for the feminine dual: Meisterhans sect. 48, 17 (e)). Περσίκαι are women's shoes cf. Nub. 151; Thesm. 734; Eccl. 319; like the Λακωνικαὶ worn by men (Thesm. 142; Eccl. 74; 269), they were doubtless made in Athens, despite their name, which probably indicated the origin of their shape v. Ehrenberg p. 137.

As Dover says (on Nub. 151), "the feminine plural noun underlying both terms is ἔμβατεσ"; cf. Eccl. 342ff. The dual here underlines the slight πέρα προσφέκτων for τις σκέδεα cf. Av. 1253-4 τοῖς ἔλθον τὴν πρώτην ἀνάτινας τῷ σκέδες; Eccl. 265 ἐνθεμενός γὰρ ἐσμέν ἄριστον τῷ σκέδες; cf. Latin 'pedes tollere'.

The reference is to a position of sexual intercourse, the opposite of the one mentioned in line 231; Wilamowitz refers to Furtw. Reichh. iii Text p. 252. Πλ. 119

This means the same as Pax. 896 τέρμανοσθεν ἐστίνας i.e. the opposite position of sexual intercourse to that mentioned in 229, the woman bending forward κύβος (cf. Pac. 897; Thesm. 489 and Latin 'inclino', 'incurvo.'), in the position of a 'lioness on a cheese-grater'. For illustrations of cheese-graters, and the position of sexual intercourse that this phrase represents v. P. Jacobsthal, Mittl. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst. (Ath. Abt.)lvii (1932) 1-7. The lioness, a figure on all fours, would form the handle of the cheese-grater (if the scholia and the Suda are right, perhaps made of ivory).

Elderkin's suggestion of a reference to the statue of a lioness near the Propylaea with a resulting πέρα προσφέκτων is rather far-fetched.

233. ἔμβατεσ: the formal word (as in 211) cf. Eur. I. T. 758; 790.

235. It is usual in oaths for the person to determine what his reward
will be for keeping the oath, and his punishment for breaking it (v. Klein-
Trach. 1189; Lysias 12, 10; Dem. xxiv, 151. Here, as in the rest of oath, the
emphasis is on drinking, and the normally very severe penalty for oath-
breaking becomes merely the cup being filled with water, instead of wine, cf.
197.
Dawes' correction is certain cf. Ach. 476; Eq. 694f. (with Neil's note); Pax.
1072: v. Goodwin M. T. sect. 531; 558; K. G. i, 255.

237.— van Leeuwen rightly refers back to 211, and makes everyone say
' νεή διὰ της '. To have simply Myrrhine or Kalonike again would be pointless;
dramatically, all have to agree to abide by the oath.

238.— νυμβεγισω : again the correct technical term, 'consecrate',
devote', used as such at Ar. 566; here, as at Plut. 681 ( ἐκτε ταύτα εἰς τινά
νυμβεγισω εἰς σικτυ τινά ), the word has a comic twist; because the
victim is a cup, and its blood wine, the process of consecration will involve
drinking the wine.

Τη νυμβε : sc. Τη νυ καλικα, cf. 201.
Kalonike objects to the possibility of Lysistrata drinking all the wine, and
asks her to share to prove that they are all friends.

Το νιρεσ γαρ : the Mss. Τα means little or nothing, and γαρ is certainly right: 'ta part seulement' (van Daele).

239.— Spoken by Kalonike despite John Jackson (Norg. Scaen. p. 129) v.
introduction.

240.— As matters turn out, probably no-one gets to drink from the 'cup
of friendship', (unless one assumes a pause while they all drink) because
they are interrupted by cries from the older women who have captured the
Acropolis. Lumpito anxiously asks what is going on, and Lysistrata calmly
explains.

ω μέλε γαρ : Doric crasis of ὦ μέλε. ˌολεμέλε is a
cry of hope or triumph v. Neil on Eq. 616.

Τοῦτο ἔκειν ὄγυς ἀνέγοι: i.e. at 175 - 9; the same reply occurs at Ach. 41; cf. Fax. 64; Nub. 26 and van Leeuwen on Ran. 318.

243. - cf. Eur. El. 648 καὶ μῆν εἶκειν γ᾽ ἐνίκησεν καὶ Ἀρκ. with the genitive implies 'issuing from', and Rogers accepts the genitive (cf. Thesm. 1170) saying: "Lampito's work is not to be confined to Sparta, but is concerned with Sparta's contribution to the common weal". But Lysistrata here is telling Lampito to go back to Sparta and organise things there; only later will this become Sparta's contribution to the common weal. Therefore ἀρρῆν ἐκείνῳ should be read (παρὰ with the dative denoting 'rest by the side of') cf. 172; Plut. 1149; Sobolewski p. 187.

244. - τὰσδε: the Boeotian and Corinthian women (lines 85 - 92). Exit Lampito to see to her side of the affair at Sparta.

245. - εὖ πέλει v. on 176; when ἀνὰ is used for the Acropolis it is normally used without the article (v. Sobolewski p. 4ff.; but cf. 487).

246. - ἐποιεῖται: present participle, as is usual, in this type of phrase; cf. Nub. 780; 1213; Ach. 828; Fax. 828 etc.

The women are to retire into the Acropolis, on which the audience's attention is being fixed more and more from 240 onwards and especially at 250 - 1. ἐποιεῖται is the normal word used in connection with the closing and barring of doors; cf. Vesp. 200 καὶ τῷ βοῶν ἐμβαθηνεῖ πόλιν καὶ τάν μοχλον; Xen. Anab. vii, 1, 12 συγκατείσιν τὰς πόλις καὶ τῶν μοχλῶν ἐμβαθηνὶ; Theoph. Char. 18, 4. τὸν here stresses the communal effort involved to make their plan work.

247. - Kalonike answers with suitable compound ἄμεσην ἐπισέων: already the two sides are clearly seen lined up against each other, the men and the women.

242. - θυτί... θυτί v. on 212.
Whitman (p. 203) sees in the gates of the citadel "an analogue to the gates of love ... the Acropolis was the shrine of virgin Athena, goddess of war, indeed, but one of the three who resist Aphrodite. Athena and her rock thus become a complex motif embodying generally the women's position. Somehow the total symbol of the Acropolis is felicitously expressive of feminine sexual attitudes (sexual overtones are clear in the bolt and lock imagery of 408f.; cf. also 246, 264, 424f. where μοχλός could have two kinds of secondary meaning corresponding to the two meanings of 'crowbar' and 'bolt')." Despite the way he expresses it, Whitman is right, I think, to see the analogy.

Kalonike "swears by Aphrodite whom she has just forsworn" (Rogers); cf. Eccl. 7:8 μὴ τὴν Ποσειδώνα οὐδέποτε γε ...  

What Wilamowitz calls 'einer klangvollen Sentenz'; he suggests the influence of Euripides cf. 369; 1014; Eur. fr. 432 ἴνα τὴν Πυρὲς γὰρ ἀνθίζειν ἐπὶ κλέπτειν γυναῖκας πελώ δυσμακάτατον; fr. 548 ἂν ἄρ ὅ ἐπὶ πάντων δυσμακάτατον γυνῆ ... Med. 407 - 9 etc.

The women all retire into the Propylaea.
Formally the structure can be analysed thus:

254 - 255  - 2 iambic tetrameters
256 - 265  - strophe A iambic
266 - 270  - 5 iambic tetrameters
271 - 280  - antistrophe A iambic
281 - 285  - 5 iambic tetrameters
286 - 295  - strophe A iambic-trochaic
296 - 305  - antistrophe B iambic-trochaic
306 - 318  - iambic tetrameters
319 - 320  - 2 iambic tetrameters
321 - 334  - strophe C chorionic
335 - 349  - antistrophe C chorionic
350 - 386  - proacon in iambic tetrameters

chorus of old men
chorus of old women
both choruses.

The chorus of old men enter slowly from the right. They are carrying logs of wood on their shoulders, and in their hands pans of charcoal and torches. They have heard that the women have seized the Acropolis and they are on their way to liberate it by smoking the women out. With mutual encouragement they make their way up the steep slope (338) towards the gates of the Propylaea, rekindling their fires and smarting their eyes with the smoke in the process. However, before they can make it to the gates, the chorus of old women enters (319), coming either by the same parados as the old men, or from the opposite side, so that the two choruses can meet in opposition in the orchestra (so Milianowitz, Hermes xxxiv (1890) 638-9). They have been to fetch water to put out any possible fire, because they have heard that the old men are threatening to set fire to the Acropolis; on their return from the fountain (see on 322, 376), they can see the fiery
smoke, although it is not until 350 that they actually see the old men.
Again, after mutual encouragement, the female chorus sees and opposes the
male chorus. Threats of violence are exchanged with increasing furor; the
male threat to set fire to the women's hair (381) results in a soaking for
the old men and victory for the women.

For details of production, including the split of the chorus, and the
development of the plot, see the introductory sections.

254f. — The coryphaeus addresses two lines of iambic tetrameters (the
KATAXEDEΣWMOΣ v. T. Gelzer, Der eirrhmatistische Agon bei Aristophanes,
München 1960, 22-3; 176; for the metro the latest study is F. Forusino,
II tetr. giaub. cat. nella con. grec., Roma 1962) to the chorus struggling
behind him. There is no need to identify him with the Strymodoros of 259;
for the chorus need not be addressing the coryphaeus (v. note ad loc.).
Similar encouragement is given to a chorus of old men at Vesp. 230ff. Χώρει,
πρόβηλιν ἐπιμένειν. Δράκης reappears as a member of a chorus at Eccl. 294.
Προβηλις: οἱ ἄνδρες: cf. Hdt. ix.57.1
Ei kal: "even if your shoulder does hurt you" (Dennistor, Particles, 300).

255f. Δικτοὺς: from Κεῖνων v. Soph. Trach. II·951. Πολὺν μὲν ἔλημεν τῆς
βαθύρρησιν ὅρνος/Κείραται: as Rogers says, "a piece of wood chopped off a
larger piece". The word seems to be a favourite of Euripides (Hec. 575;
Hec. I691; Herc. 242; Cycl. 355; frag. 1002), and it is probably used here
intentionally as a word of high poetry, the elevation of tone continuing
in the strophe of 256ff. Aristophanes may have had the passage from Eur.
Herc. especially in mind: 240ff. ἄγ', οὐ μὲν Ἐλικών, οὐ δὲ Πάρν
ἀπὸν πτυχῆς/Τέμνειν ἕνωθεν ἔλαβον ὑπομάκει δρυὸς/κορμοῦς
ἐπικεφάλα ἐστὶν ἐκτὸς ἀναγκάζοντας ὑποκεφαλικά/πέτελον/καθισμάτων ἐνθύσεων ἰδίως.
In Χάινες ἔλευς also there may be an elevation of tone, if Aristophanes is reminding the audience of the description of the Cyclops' great club at Hom. Od. i.x. 319-20 Κύκλωνες γάρ ἐκεῖτο μέγας ὁ πότιον τοῖς οὐκ ἔλευς. Perhaps, then, the chorus of old men is already being raised to lofty heights, making them look ridiculous.

256ff.- The first strophe and antistrophe are iambic in metre, and iambic of such a kind, as will be shown, as is typical of the rhythm of tragedy rather than comedy.

256-65 ~ 271-80:

\[ \text{ia in ith} \]
\[ \text{ia in ith} \]
\[ \text{2 ia} \]
\[ \text{2 ia} \]
\[ \text{2 ia} \]
\[ \text{2 ia} \]
\[ \text{2 ia} \]
\[ \text{ith} \]

I have adopted in the main the sigla of C. Prato, I Canti di Ar., Rome 1967, viz. / = word end; // = hiatus or period end; /// = strophe end; \( \text{\textdegree} \) = elision; \( \text{\textdegree} \text{\textdegree} \) = word end in strophe, elision in antistrophe. This metrical scanion follows Coulon's text, although I have my doubts about 264~279 (v. infra).


256-9 ~ 271-/: this opening both Platnauer and Prato compare to Eq. 756-
60 836-40. This seems to be in the manner of Euripides; cf. Alc. 573-4; Supp. 822-3; Here. 116-7, 417-3, 1053-4; El. 1196-7 etc. In Aristophanes cf. Nub. 1114; Vesp. 243-72; Pax 939; Bac. 395-6, 411-6. 262-3~277-8: the strophe has always been accepted as genuine, and the antistrophe has been changed by some in order to get some kind of iambic dimeters to correspond with those of 262-3. This is usually done (as Hilmovitz) by accepting Boeth's Θωπηκτο ταξιδευν έματ and Heincke's ημηκριν 
Ταμν πρεβλειν εκ ων. These are rejected by Donistion and L. P. E. Parker (C.Q. 18 (1966) 251) in her discussion on split resolution in dramatic lyric (so Κατά Τισκτελίν; cf 329). A.H. Dale (Lyric Metres ed.2 (1968) 78) seems right in taking this passage as one of the examples of what she calls syllable-counting ("not a regularly admitted principle but merely a rare licence"); as she says: "here the syllable-counting equation has produced εντοξαν, an inversion of the usual νν-." For this phenomenon cf. 766ff.~310ff.; Vesp. 274ff.~232ff.; Nub. 1304~1312 (where v. Dover), etc. T. C. H. Shinton (C.R. 15 (1965) 142-5) less plausibly suggests anacolus as the explanation. 264-5~273-8: as this stands in Coulon's text and Prato's metrical schema, syncopated iambic dimeter followed by ithyphallic clausula. As Prato says, "tragica ed erupidea, in particolare la clausola dell' itallico soprattutto a metri giambicì"; cf. Eur. Alc. 597; Med. 132, 634, 995; Andr. 1019; Herc. 776, etc.; in Aristophanes, Ach. 1160; Eq. 1273; Vesp. 1522; Thesm. 1055; Bac. 685, 1377; Eccl. 580, 959. For the resolution of the long in the itallic of 265 cf. Ran 442 (where the second long is resolved), again in a piece of parody. The resolution of the long is frequent in tragedy cf. Aesch. Sept. 142, 420, 668; Ag. 146; Eur. Supp. 823; Here. 117, etc. With this scansion, we do get a rather unusal response in the second iambic meter of 264~279. If we are not prepared to accept this (and if we do, we must take Schroedder's ροία in 279, and Brunck's μεθαλαισ in 264) then the best alternative might be that of Hilmovitz, who reads...
at 264-5 καλλίστος δέ ένηι;) καὶ μουσκάι/α τα προσώπα τικτόν responding with the manuscripts' text at 272-30. This gives us iamb + erotic (i.e. syncopated iambic dimeter) in 264, and iambic dimeter catalectic in 265. His inversion of the manuscripts' order is influenced by Μπρ. Ανδρ. 961 καλλιστος και μουσκα/ι δυσταν πηλας (v. note on 264). But he loses the ithyphallic clause, which seems likely in this parodistic passage, and introduces a δι which, despite his assertion (Gr. Vers., 431), is "nullig". Others have offered solutions, e.g. Flatmauer wishes to read πινον δεισίτιθεσ φύνων and exend 264 to get an extra syllable e.g. by reading with Heincke and van Leouwen μουσκα/ι κα καλλιστος μου. He concludes, after admitting that the "whole of this system is full of irregularities", by saying, "there is little doubt that the concluding lines (265-268) are trochaic." But an ithyphallic clause equally well to an iambic system, and it is surely the latter that we have in 256-65-272-30. Heincke's μου is unsuitable; the Acropolis can be described by the old men as "mine", but can the Propylaea (a much more concrete thing) be so described? Sudhaus reads μουσκα/ι δε κα καλλιστος in 264, and omits φυνων in 272 as a gloss; again we have syncopated iambic dimeter.

Whatever the exact metrical scheme, the important point about this ode is its mock-tragic rhythm. As White (p.37) well puts it: "The lyric is 'tragic', that is, it has tragic form with comic intention. The form admirably expresses the sentiment, - indignant but unavailing complaint of querulous old men in the strophe, and exultant but buffoon reminiscence of past glory in the antistrophe".

256. - In Archilochus fr. 749 are found the often quoted words Χρυσατων
 λειτοφ ουδεν έστιν (cf. Soph. Aj. 648 κουκ 8η γνωριτον ουδεν); here the chorus express the opposite sentiment, cf. Ἱρ. fr. 356 η πολλα γ' έν μεγαρ Χραν χρυσατων μεταληγή πραγματω & μεν δε Χρυσατων ουδεν έν τωτου ρυθμοι. The uncertainty and unhappiness of human life was to become
a well-used "topos" in Middle and New Comedy. These querulous old men remind one of the chorus and their complaints in Ach. and Vesp. (e.g. Vesp. 44.1). The chorus in Euripides often finishes the tragedy by including (τόπος) ἰδίωμα in its final words, e.g. Alc.1160; Med. 1416; Hipp.1463; Andr. 1285; Hel. 1639; Bacch. 1339; (ὑπέρπτοσον in I.T. 1492). Parrett on Hipp. loc. cit. thinks these tail pieces are not genuine.

252. - η' πετά: picks up the ἰδίωμα of the previous line; incredulity is the keynote. For the construction cf. Thesm. 526-6; Soph. Aj.430.

-Τρυμόῦρσ: the name appears also at Ach.273 (with the variant Τρυμοῦρος - ) and Vesp.233 (one of the chorus). There is no need to make him the coryphaeus; it is quite usual for the chorus to address each other by name, e.g. Vesp. 230ff.

260. - ἐβότθεκομεν: originally used of feeding animals, already in Homer it is used of men (Od.xi.355; ἱππ.559). As Taillardat says (Images, sect.126 n.3), in Attic, the word supposes an inability on the part of the person fed to provide for his own needs; cf. 1204 (οἰκετής καὶ οὐκ ἐπεμιστά συνίον τῶν ἰδίων); Eq.256 (ὑπερντεῖσ; cf. Thesp.675 ὑπερβοκάμνοσον); Thesm. 448 (Ἡλίον γεύσατε;); Jub. 331, 334. See further Neil on Eq. loc. cit., Headlam/Knox on Herodas vii.44, G. Moussey, Recherches sur τρέφων et les verbes grecs signifiant "nourrir" (st. et Comm. li.1.), Paris 1969, 11-25. In Latin "pascere" has the same overtones, cf. Liv. iii.111.

-Kινός: the same word is used several times in Thesm. to describe women, e.g. 394 and esp. 735ff.; cf. also Eur. Andr. 273. For the phrase ἐμφύρας Kινός cf. Ach. 737 ὑπερπάν βασιλέα. The same low opinion of women recurs infra 1014-5, 1037-9.

262. - βῆτας: the old wooden statue (φιλος) of Athene Polias in the Erechtheion; cf. Eq.30ff.; Aesch. Nux.90, etc. A special reverence was attached to this and similar very ancient statues. This makes the women's seclusion all the more criminal in the eyes of the old man.
263.- The repetition of κατ᾽, especially in tmesis, emphasises the strong feelings of the old men.

- μὴν ... τε: "often needlessly altered by editors" (Denniston, Particles 375); cf. Hub. 563-6; Thesm. 352-3; Pox 162-3; Plut. 655-7. Here the two ideas of seizing the Acropolis and getting hold of the statue are presented together, and the contrast comes with the barricading of the Propylaea (σα in 264). As Wilamowitz points out, we have here a "hysteron proteron" construction; the old men state the present emergency (κατ᾽ ... ἐκεῖν, present infinitive), and then the action that allowed the emergency to take place (κατ᾽ ... ἀπὸν, aerist infinitive).
- έμὴν: the Proboulos also claims the citadel for the men, ἄλλ᾽ θεν Πελινοὺς.

264.- Whatever the correct reading (v. metrical commentary), this is probably a reminiscence of Πρ. Andr. 950f.

265.- τάκτουν: may also continue the mock-tragic tone; cf. Ach. 177.

cλη τις πληκτέω διωκήτω: Soph. Aj. 579 καὶ οὕρμη τάκτου ὄγρῳ.

266.- μελοψυχα: a well-attested Attic name, v. Kirchner, 1475 ff.

267.- τὰ πρότρυμα: the two logs of wood each man was carrying (cf. 231, 307, 312, 313, 336).

268.- ένεστίσατε: often used of unpleasant things, cf. Dem. x. 32; xvii. 4; 193; Polyb. 1. 52. 9; Plut. Caes. 32; Lucian, Charid. 18.


270.- πάλιν: "all of them", stressed by being placed at the beginning of the line, and contrasted with μὴν and μηδὲ.

- ἵνα φύσον μηδὲ: schol. ἵνα μηδὲ γυνὴν καὶ κρίσεως. Rogers of the fate of the generals after Arginusae μὴ γυνὴν ἔπαντας κρίνειν (Xen. Hell. 1. 7. 34) and the behaviour of the Thirty in throwing 300 citizens into prison καὶ μὴ γυνὴν λυτῶν ἐπάντων οίκατον κατεψυφίστα (Lys. xii. 52).
The wife of Lykon (he was later one of Socrates' accusers v. MacDowell on Vesp. 1301) was the infamous Rhodia, mother of Autolykos, the victor in the Panathenaea of 422 B.C. Eupolis had attacked this family: schol. Εὐπόλις Τὸδε εἰν (fr.215): ἀκτίνες τῇ πάση Αὐτόλυκος ἕρει καὶ πᾶς ἄντρο
He even produced a play called "Autolykos". We do not know why Rhodia should be mentioned at this time; perhaps merely because of her renowned immorality, as one who should be burned first. For this type of irrelevant πάντα Προσβολαί τοι cf. Ran. 588.

- ἐυχανεύται: μοί is easily understood. ἐυχασκέιν τιμή is often found in the figurative sense of "scowling at one" (because one has got away with a dirty trick) in Aristophanes: Ach.221, 1197; Eq.1313; Nub. 1436; Vesp. 721, 1007, 1439; Thesm. 1089. It seems to be found elsewhere only in Soph. Ichn. 314 in the classical period. Probably, therefore, it is a colloquial metaphor (v. Taillardat, Images, sect. 578).

273.- ἐπὶ τὴν κτά : the construction is the same in both strophe and antistrophe; a general statement is made, and the particular reason is then given.
- Κλεομένης: v. Nat.v.72; Ar. Ath.Pol.20. Cleomenes, the Spartan king, had been invited by Isagoras to help against Cleisthenes' new reforms; but when they tried to dissolve the βουλή, the people rose against them, and they were forced to take refuge on the Acropolis. There they were besieged for two days before being allowed to leave ἐπὶ στρῶνδοι; all this took place in 508 B.C. It is significant that these exultant old men omit one or two details which would necessarily put the expulsion of Cleomenes in a less glowing light: Cleomenes had expelled the Peisistratidae (cf.1149ff.)
the Spartans were allowed to leave ὑπὸσπῶνδοι, and therefore with no loss of honour; after a very short siege; also, if the scholiast is right, the Spartans were able to take Eleusis on their way home. These old men take care to present the details in the best possible light for themselves. It goes without saying that it is quite impossible for anyone alive in 411 B.C. to have taken part in the events of 503 B.C. But the old men who glory in the distant past and ancient honours of the city are a stock motif in Aristophanes (v. Ehrenberg, 238ff., Dover, Clouds, 1xi). Usually these men are "Marathonomachai", cf. Ach. 172ff., 637ff.; Eq. 133ff.; Soph. 285ff.; Vesp. 71ff., 1050ff.; Fr. 413; but, in Lysistrata, the old men go even further back into Athenian history (cf. 665, where they claim to have taken part in the battle of Leipsydron in 513 B.C.), although Marathon still gets a mention (255). These old men, as with other choruses of old men in Aristophanes, are depicted as rather comic representatives of the "good old days". There is no straight contrast in Aristophanes between glorified past and corrupt present; both are laughed at, but it is often the defenders of new ideas that are victorious. By comparing Lysistrata's seizure of the Acropolis to that of Cleomenes, the old men try to elevate their own status as traditional defenders of the city.

275. - ἀφίδακτος : ἡποθής, ἠτιμώρητος (schol.): "unscathed". The word occurs elsewhere only in Soph. fr. 750ε., and Crates Com. fr. 46. But at 1.34 of our play, the verb ἀποφαίδακτος occurs in the mouth of the Spartan Lampito. It is possible, therefore, that the old men are here using a word of Doric origin to describe the Spartan king.

276. - ὄμως Λακωνίκευρ Τυέων: "notwithstanding his Spartan arrogance". On Τυέω in Aristophanes v. H. van der Valk, Κυκλοσειράμενα (1967); 131-43. Expressions like this and ran. 1016 Τυέως δορυ καὶ λούκας, where Τυέω + n. acc. indicates violent suction of some kind (cf. also av. 1123 Ἀλφείον Τυέων), ultimately go back to the Homeric μένειν.
They are Cnians, common in Pindar and the tragedians, and undoubtedly we have a mock-solemntone here; cf. Eur. Bacch. 640; Andr. 150, 327; Aesch. Ag. 376 (although the reading is not certain there, v. Fraenkel). For the exact opposite to our passage cf. Pind, Pyth.xi. 30 Ἱερήν Πνέων ("a man of humble aspirations"). Cf. also Tailladat Images, sects. 123, 312.

277.- The old men now begin to be as pejorative as they possibly can about the Spartan king, in order to elevate their own importance; but in so doing they only make themselves more ridiculous.

278.- Milonowicz cf. Thuc.ii.70.3, where the people of Potideaia, who had just surrendered, had to leave Ἀν ἐν τῷ ἑρμηνίᾳ. This leads the way for the description of the filthiness of the Spartan. Milonowicz suggests the original may have been ἱματίων τῷ πάντω Νειβίων, and the filthy nakedness of the Spartan was thus emphasised. For the disparaging diminutive v. MacDowell on Jesp. 33.

279.- If we accept Schroeder's Πνέων ἄπτο, the sense is, as he says, "sordibus madens"; cf. Plut.266, 297; Av. 1222.

280.- Λαμπαδικός: only in Lucian, Salt.5 elsewhere. For the same ideas cf. Pherecr. fr. 195 ἵματις, Λαμπαδικος.

281.- Λιούτος: cf. Hüb. 836f.; Plut.85. Exaggeration is the key to much that is humorous in Aristophanes.

282.- Καθεσισίων: not a Παραποσκίων for θροποινν etc., as some think (Bergler and seemingly Blaydes). The old men are extolling their achievements, not belittling them. The point is that they watched day and night, taking turns to sleep, so great was their vigilance. The construction of ἐπὶ... ἵππας has been well explained by van Leeuwen: "Military locutio est Καθεσισίων, Καθομα, Τέταχθη, ἔσταιν ἐπὶ... ἵππας (item Thuc.ii.90.1; vii.79.1; Ken. Hell.II.4.II; vi.4.13; Anab.v. 2.6) vel Τέταχθη, ἔσταιν ἐπὶ... ἵππας, ut in nostri quae..."
De ordinem cognitvm, de consistentibus accusativum dici videmus; et ipsa id fert ratio." One could add to his examples of the genitive Isocr. vi. 99; Lucian, Zeux. 8. Again the exaggeration is present in ἐν τῷ ἱδέακε, a figure not heard of in any real military venture.

233. - Euripides is the traditional misogynist in Aristophanes, cf. 366-7; Thesm. 312; 336ff.; 378ff.; 466ff.; 544ff.; 1160ff., and indeed the whole plot of the play; Ran. 1044ff.; 1077ff. Rogers, on p. xxi of his introduction to Thesm., says: "His (Stobaeus) Anthology (not to mention his other works) contains citations from about 350 authors; and yet, out of sixty four passages collected under this particular heading (Τοιχας γυναίκας), no fewer than thirty five (if not thirty six) are contributed by Euripides alone; Sophocles supplies two; Aeschylus not one; and most of the remaining twenty seven (or twenty six) are taken from professedly satirical or comic writers". See further I. Bruns, Die Frauenemancipation in Athen (Vorträge & Aufsätze 1905), 54: Euripides und die Frauen; Wilamowitz, Kl. Schr. 4v. 126ff.; D. W. Lucas, The Greek Tragic Poets 1959, 242.

- Θεος ... ἔχρις: a common phrase of contemptuous dislike (the word Θεος ἔχρις was even formed).

234. - Τῇ Τεραπόλει: the same word is used of Trygaeus' plan (Pax 94) and the scheme of the women in Eec. (106, 236).


235. - Τῇ Τεραπόλει: (the article is always present; it could easily have fallen out by haplography): ἦ καὶ Μαραθῶν τῆς Τεραπόλεως μέρος. Τῇ δὲ Λοιπῇ Οἰνῷ, Τριφλὰ νθῶς, Τρικόρυθος (schol). The "tropaion" is also mentioned at Pq. 133i; Vesp. 712; fr. 413. It was excavated at Marathon by E. Vanderpool and M. M. Van Mildert in 1965 (v. report by the former in Novum, 1966, 93-105). It was an extremely important symbol.
of Greek superiority over the barbarian, and was perhaps the first victory monument to be put up in stone (v. W. C. West, Class. Phil. lxxiv (1969) 7-19, and esp. 12f.). For such reminiscence v. note to 273.

\[ \text{μη νυν: cf. 531 μη νυν ζην; Vesp. 758; and on this and similar expressions of emphatic donial in Aristophanes v. J. C. B. Lowe, Herm. xcv (1967) 65ff.} \]

286ff.-- The second ode is iambic-trochaic, and again owes much to the metres of tragic lyric. It is the only antistrophic iambic-trochaic ode in Aristophanes.

286-95~296-305:

\[
\begin{align*}
-\text{v} & -\text{v} -\text{v} -\text{v} -/ \\
-\text{v} & -\text{x} -\text{v} -/ \\
\text{x} & -\text{v} -\text{x} -\text{v} -\text{v} -\text{v} -/ \\
-\text{v} & -\text{v} -\text{x} -\text{v} -/ \\
-\text{v} & -\text{x} -\text{v} -/ \\
-\text{v} & -\text{v} -\text{v} -\text{v} -\text{v} -\text{v} -\text{v} -\text{v} -/ \\
-\text{v} & -\text{v} -\text{v} -/ \\
-\text{v} & -\text{v} -\text{x} -\text{v} -/ \\
-\text{v} & -\text{x} -\text{v} -/ \\
\text{v} & -\text{v} -\text{v} -\text{v} -/ \\
\end{align*}
\]

Again this scansion follows Coulon's text (but v. note to 289). Full scansion in White (p.156), Schroeder, Prato, Sudhaus. Discussion in Wilamowitz, Gr. Vers. (v. on 256ff.).

286-7~296-7: the same rhythm is used as a clausula at Eq. 331-2; this collocation seems originally to have been used by Archilochus (fr. 119D. cf. Sappho fr. 148) and adopted by the tragedians, cf. Aesch. Supp. 794-5; Sept. 740-1 (claus.); 838-9 (claus.); Choeph. 46-7; Soph. Aj. 866-7; O.T. 198-9; Ant. 585-7; Eur. Alc. 213-4; Fl. 479-80; Hel. 233ff.; 330ff. Phoen.
688-9 (claus.), etc. In Aristophanes, Nub. 1307-8; Av. 1755-65; Thesm. 1022-3; Eccl. 289. The association in general of iambic and trochaic metres is especially common in late Euripides (cf. Hel. 167ff.; 233ff.; 330ff.; Phoen. 1036ff.; 1728ff.; 1747ff., etc.), and Aristophanes parodies this in Av. 631ff.; Thesm. 1015ff.; Ren. 209ff. Again its antecedents can be seen in Archilochus loc. cit., in Sappho fr. 152, and in Pindar Ol. ii.1; other examples in Aesch. Pers. 676; Sept. 740-1; Eum. 923ff.; Soph. O.C. 1015ff.; 1219ff.; 1683-4; 1729-30.

291-301: Sudhaus would scan these lines as lekythion + iambic dimeter. This shows how difficult it often is to distinguish between iambic and trochaic metres (the lekythion is an obvious bridge).

294b-5: χω χω is taken as "extra metrum" by Prato and Sudhaus (Prato gives many examples of this in Aristophanes in his note on Ach.43; Wilamowitz (in his note on 294) treats them as syncopated trochaic dimeter + cletic. Schroeder takes them as spondeae + paeon + cletic. Schroeder takes them as 

For the prosody (which is perhaps not necessary here) he cf. Nub. 320 (where v. Dover for further Aristophanic references), and for the exact of this final line he cf. Eur. I.T. 400.

Again, therefore, we may see a certain tragic form to this ode, and we shall find linguistic details which reinforce this idea.

cf. Eq. 1063; Ach. 738 (Denniston, Particles, 102f.).
288.- οιμόν : ἐντὶ τοῦ πρόσωπος (schoI.); the word is used for any steep thing to be climbed or got over (cf. Xen. Hell.iv.3.23 πρὸς τὸ σιμόν διώκειν; Dionys. Com. fr.4 πρὸς τὸ σιμόν ἀνατρέκειν).

The scholiast implies that it was a term especially used for the approach to the Acropolis (Τὸ σιμόν ὠνημε Χωρίου περί τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν), and he quotes a fragment of Aristophanes from Babylonians (fr.74) μείαν τοῖς προς τὸ σιμόν, and of Plato's NIKΛ (fr.79) ΤΟΤΙ ΠΡΟΣ - ἀναβαίνει τὸ σιμόν ἰδι. 

On exactly what this term implies for the production on stage of the chorus' approach v. introduction.

289.- John Jackson (Marginalia Scaenica, 1955, 74f.) calls the ἅρμινια - clause "obviously inept", and he is right. He errs, however, in saying: "for some reason or other the passage seems to arouse little suspicion". In 1909, Herbert Richards (in Aristophanes and Others, 41) wrote: "There is no clear meaning for ποτὲ here, nor for the causal ὡς. Should we not read ΚΑῚ ΠῚ ΠῸ ΠΟΤΕ as a question? They are stating the difficulties; and this gives ἅλλ᾽ ἴματις more point." Richards saw the ineptitude of the clause, but his omission is not quite as neat as that of Jackson. The latter proposes πῶς (.DrawLine 139) ποτ' , the ἅρμινια - having arisen by dittography from the Εὔκλεις of 288 (lyrics were written as prose in early manuscripts), and the ΚΑ孛 then being omitted as seemingly redundant. Fraenkel (Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes, 1962, 104f.) agrees with Jackson (except that he suggests πῶς (.DrawLine 153) ποτ' might be better; but for ΚΑ孛 v. Denniston, Particles, 312), and reminds us that πῶς (sic) appears in Phot. B.95.10 (v. Kraus, Test. Ar. 1931, 39, who following Reitzenstein devalues this evidence by writing (.DrawLine 139) πῶς ). Thus there may be ancient evidence for Jackson's emendation, which seems to me right.

Radt (Knom. xxvii (1974) 9) now suggests πῶς πῶς ποτ' - less likely.
καὶ ἵππον (ἵππον;?) τῷ δίνειν σχοινίον (schol.). ἵππον, then, is the rope by which the draught animals (often asses, hence the complaint here) were tied together; cf. Arist. H. A. 577b31 (of a mule) ἰμφειρέως ἦν σιδ, τῷ γῆς συναμφερείν καὶ παραποθεοῦνες παρασύνε τῷ ζεύγο. For further references v. Pfeiffer on Call. fr.272.

290.—Τοῦτο: sc. τὸ φορτίον vel sim.
—ἄνευ κανθηλίου: κάλυσις is the usual word in Aristophanes (Vesp.179; Pax 82). Cf. Hermipp fr.9; Xen. Cyr.vii.5.II; Plat. Symp.221e, where κανθηλίας is always joined with ὀνος. As with other words of this kind, it was used as a term of abuse, implying stupidity: Lysipp. fr.7,3 (cf. Taillardat, Images, sect. 450ff.). The word comes into Latin, "cantherius".

291.—τῷ ἄγλω: not, as Brunck, Enger and Dindorf say, equivalent to τὸ λάφορον (Ran.8; Eccl.833), a carrying-pole, but the two logs each man was carrying, one on each shoulder (cf. 255, 257, 336, and esp. 307, 313).
—ἐξείπωκατον: ἱππος, ἱππὼς seem originally to have been used of fulling or a mousetrap (Pollux vii.41; x.155); yet they were also used seriously by Pindar and Aeschylus (e.g. OI.iv.8; P.V.365) in the sense of "press down": so Eq. 924 ἱππόμενος ταῖς έσοφορίς (cf. Taillardat, Images, sect.592). Probably, therefore, it was a word of high poetry, which would be typical of the mocks-tragic tone of the passage.

292.—τῷ πῦρ: this was the burning charcoal that they were carrying in a κύτρα (cf. 297, 303, 315); they are afraid that the fire will go out before they reach their goal; so they blow furiously on the charcoal, causing a great deal of smoke which makes them choke (294-5).
For φιλοσωμικαν with τῷ πῦρ cf. Pherecr. fr.60; Dionys. fr.2, 16; with τον φανων, Philippid. fr. 16; with τὴν ἀληθείαν Ran. 1098 (v. Stanford ad loc.).

294.—ὁ νιφ, νιφ: correctly explained by schol.: νιφαὶ τῷ στόματι;
Theodos. p. 79 Ἄν ὅν ὅν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄφθονων πῦρ; not as LSJ "an exclamation of disgust." The latter here is ἵνω ἵνω; ἅν ὅν the representation of the old men's blowing on the fire (Rogers. cf. Lucian Philopatr. 2). The scholiast says, in fact, that his note was an actual stage-direction (ποιητὴ ἔπαινα). The cry of disgust would be ἅν (cf. 312; Thesm. 245, where Dindorf's ἅν is surely wrong).


296.— ἰωσίς Ἡράκλεις: on the invocation of Heracles v. Dover on Nub. 184: "a normal reaction (sometimes without ἱστ, sometimes with ἰωσίς instead) to a sudden, extraordinary, or frightening sight; cf. Ach. 284; Av. 93." V. also MacDowell on Vesp. 143.

297.— προσκέςσων: not to be changed to προσπνσαί as Bleydes; the reference is not to the smoke (τὸ κόπσα 295) but to the fire in general (τὸ πῦρ 299). For carrying fire in a pot cf. Xen. Hell. iv. 5. 4 πέμπει ὁ Ἀγαθόμας οὐκ ἐδίδον δέκα φέροντας πῦρ ἐν Χυλρείς

298.— ἃκνέει: this word had been used of both moral and physical suffering for a long time; indeed one wonders if it struck Greek ears as a living metaphor (for references v. Taillardat, Images, sect. 296). It is used of smoke at Plut. 822 ἃκνέει γῆ τῷ βλέψαρν μου. But Aristophanes makes the metaphor come alive again by the comparison to κοίνον ἀτταλίσα: as Taillardat (sect. 3) says: "Il n'a pas davantage pour nécessaire de séparer systématiquement, dans ce travail, l'étude des métaphores et l'étude des comparaisons: les unes et les autres sont très souvent indissociables. Il arrive, en effet, que, la langue fournissait une métaphore plus ou moins usée, l'écrivain la renouvelait par une comparaison: si le feu qu'on allume est comparé à une chienne enragée (Iys. 298), c'est parce que la métaphore ἃκνέει, faire souffrir (physiquement ou moralement), est usuelle." Another example of the same kind of thing can be found at Av. 401.
292.—Λήμνιον τὸ πῦρ: again Aristophanes uses a comparison for more than one effect. Τὸ λήμνιον πῦρ was proverbial for "a fierce fire"; cf. Soph. Phil. 799ff. ἦν τέκνον, ἦν γυναῖκον, λήμνιον ἔπεισεν ὁ Μόσκυλος, ἥ ἡ γυναῖκι; the volcano Μόσκυλος, on Lemnos, was where Hephaistos was believed to have his workshop; cf. Lykophr. 227, 462 (v. Jebb on Soph. Phil. 800 and Appendix p. 243ff.). Hesychius has the following gloss: Λήμνιον βλέπειν ἐπείσετο τὸ πῦρ λήμνιον. Λήμνιον is also here used for the pun on λήμας; as Rogers says: "The fire has bitten my λήμας, it must be a λήμνιον πῦρ τοῦ.

302.—Πόσις μῆχην: as Taillardat (Images, sect. 296) translates, "à tous égards"; cf. Iys.-xix. 53 Πόσις τέχνη καὶ μῆχην; Plat. Leg. 713e; Xe. Anab. iv. 5. 16; cf. the use of simple Πόσις τέχνη at 412; Ran. 1235; παντὶ τοῦτοι at Av. 549; and T. Neil on Eq. 591, and Dover on Nub. 885. The opposite is found at Hdt. vii. 51; Thuc. v. 18. 4; 47. 2, etc.

302.—οὐκ ἔπρωκε: continues the image of οὔκ ἔβαλε; it is used literally (of a κορώνη) at Av. 26 (cf. 367 infra; Pax 1315). Like οὔκ ἔβαλε it is also used in the figurative sense e.g. Soph. Phil. 745; Trach. 987, of a physical pain. Again, οὐκ ἔπρωκε takes the image that much further, relating to the literal κύνη λαυτώσσα.

—Λήμα: literally rheum that forms in the eye (H. V. 3, 19; Prog. 2; v. H. W. Miller, T. A. P. A. lxxvi (1945) 61-2; cf. Nub. 527 εἷς ἰμαῖς κολοκύντας (παρὰ προσοψόκως for ἰμαῖς); Plut. 581 οὐκ ἐκ τοῖς κρονικάις ἰμαῖς ὀντας ἰμαίωσε τὰς φένας ἰμαῖς. Blindness or blear-eyed is a common Greek (and, later, Latin) synonym for mental blindness (v. Taillardat, Images, sect. 481 for further references). Aristophanes also uses the word γιλάμανν for the same physical condition (with obvious side reference to the mind) at Ran. 588; Eccl. 254; 398. Here ἰμαῖς is slightly misused for the pun with ἰμαῖον, but the
audience would not miss the joke in Άμας itself, that the old men are virtually confessing themselves bleary-eyed (both literally and mentally).

202. - ἰπτεύς ἔρχεται: picks up the words of 288 (οὗ ἱπτονάμεθεν εἴχω), and reminds the audience of the old men's purpose.

204. - Cf. Vesp. 402 (Philocleon asking help from his companions) τοίτε δ', εἶ μὴ νῦν, ἐπαρήγιστέ μοι, πρόν μ' εἴσω μᾶλλον ἰέσθαι. ἰπτεύς is a word of high poetry (v. LSJ s.v.), used by Aristophanes in mock-tragic passages, e.g. Vesp. 402; Thesm. 696; Plut. 476.

- Λάκης: Coulon (Essai, 113) takes this as follows: "Le choeur appelle Strynodoro οἱος Laches, c'est-à-dire 'son général', 'son chef'". The general Laches is referred to at Vesp. 240, but there the context is very clear, especially as Cleon, Laches' arch-enemy, appears two lines below. Again, however, there is no need to see the coryphaeus (whatever his name) being addressed, and Laces is a very common Attic name (v. Kirchner 9009ff.).

205. - The old men again blow on the fire to keep it going, with the same unfortunate result.

206. - By a very common metaphorical usage (v. Taillardat, Images, sect. 27; to his examples add Ran. 340 ἀγερεῖς θεούς ἀμφαλάοις ἐν ξερσί'); the fire is said to have been awakened and to be alive; cf. 315; fr.281.

- θέλω ἔκατε: "by the favour of the gods"; ἔκατε is a poetical word, and suggests that this line (and Pax 699, the only other place where it occurs in Aristophanes) is paratragic; cf. Archil. fr. 104B; Pind. Isthm. iv.1; Aesch. Choeph. 214; 436-7; Eur. Ion 1357, etc. θέλω ἔκατε is now also found in a fragment of Strattis' Λημνομεία v. P.Oxy.35, p.81 (fr. 3.11.17).

207ff. - Some very small fragments of Lysistrata have been found recently on papyrus, belonging to 5th-6th centuries A.D., viz. P.Antin. 2. 75; 3.211, comprising a few letters from the following lines, 307-313, 318-20, 342-6, 353-62. Practically nothing of note has come from these papyri.
307.- Wilamowitz' explanation is probably right: ὤκουν ἄν starts a question, the questioner having something like ἐμπρόσθης ἦτος in mind, but with the long intervening conditional clause, he forgets the original construction, and says ἐμπρόσθης ἔρι (311). Anacoluthon is often a mark of strong emotion, and would be very much in place here for the old man. Previously Wilamowitz (Gr. Vers., 483) had sympathised with Blaydes' dislike of the manuscripts' ὤκουν ἄν, and, while not accepting Blaydes' rather bold τί ἐστὶ ἄν (cf. 359; Vert.-155; 769; Thesm.773), suggested τί ὁμ ἄν. This is shown by his later explanation (in his edition) to be unnecessary. The papyrus, rather tantalisingly, gives us ά ὁμ ἄν, but seems to confirm ὤκουν.


308.- τὸν φῶν: a torch, here made from vine twigs (τῆς μυτέλου); cf. schol. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἑπτάδες ἦτος ἀμαρτάσας κατ- εσκελιζόν εἰς ἑξάψιν, ἂς καὶ ἐν Ληστήνιοι φησί (fr.375). Cf. the ἱματίας which the women collect to burn the κηρυκτής of Euripides at Thesm. 728, 739.

Photius has the following gloss: Πάνος ἐσόμην ἱματιάν ἢ ἐς νεώτερον Ἀττικοῖ φῶν ἢ Ἀριστοφάνης. Dindorf (on his fr.666 of Aristophanes) thought Πάνος ought to be restored, but perhaps Photius was classing Aristophanes with the νεώτερον Ἀττικοῖ. Athen.xv.700 gives examples of both forms; Φάνος - Alex. fr. 87,3; Anaxandr. fr.18; Men. fr.56; Nicostrat. fr.22; Philipp. fr.16; Πάνος - Men. fr. 55 (from the same play as 56, Ἀνεψείοι); Diph. fr. 6; Aesch. Ag. 284; Eur. Ion 195, 1294. Φάνος also occurs at Xen. Lac. 5,7. The genuine form of this word was probably Πάνος (v. Boisacq, Dict. Etym., s.v.), which was later confused with the adjective Φάνειος, Φάνος, and got its aspirate therefrom. Cf. W. Bühler, Quaderni dell' Istituto di Filologia greca (Università di Cagliari) ii, 1967, 93f.
309. - Τὴν θύραν : in reality the Propylaea had five doors (cf. Heliodorus ap. Harpocr. s.v. Προπύλαια); cf. τὰς θύρας (311).
- Κριθέων : at Ran. 38f., Heracles complains ὅσι κενταύρων ἐνικηθείς ὑπὲρ ὁποίος ... of someone who had knocked at the door. The -ος termination is found elsewhere in Aristophanes; Τύρηθέν (Ran. 204), Πινακιδέον (Ran. 824), both parody of Aeschylus' use of -ος forms (Supp. 431; Sept. 328; fr. 39), ἑπιηθέν (Pax 81), κυνηθέν (Nub. 491; Eq. 1033).

310. - H. van Horwerden (Menem. xxxi, 1904, 264-5) suggests reading ἔμπλοτεν for what he calls the rather weak κλείνεται. This is quite attractive, with ἔμπλοτεν picking up ἐμπτέομαι (cf. Phryn. praep. 80.3 Κριθέων ἐμβάλλειν); ἐμβάλλειν is the technical term for striking a ship with the ram (e.g. Hdt. vii.84, etc.), and ἐμβαλός was the word for the ram or brazen beak of a ship (Hdt. i. 166, etc.). This would certainly add a vivid touch to the language of the old men.

311. - Brunck's ἐμπτεράκας is confirmed by the papyrus; the same misspelling occurs in the manuscripts at Nub. 1484; Eur. Herc. 244.
- Τὰς θύρας : there is no need to change the manuscripts' reading; the old men have in mind to burn all the doors of the Propylaea, and smoke out the women, if need be. Hamaker's Τὴν θύραν is accepted by some, but this would be an unusual word as object to ἐμπτεράκας (elsewhere in Lysistrata the word is νέω; 269, 373); the repetition of θύρα serves to direct our close attention to the coming scene of activity; and the implied "impiousness" (v. van Leeuwen) of the action of burning the doors of the Propylaea is seen by the old men as the only way of getting the women out (269).

312. - Τὸ φόρτιον : i.e. τὸ ξύλον (291, 307), the two logs of wood each man was carrying on his shoulders.
- Τὸν κυκνῦ : I may be accused of being too logical for Greek comedy, but I tend to agree with van Leeuwen: "Fini motio hinc aliena"; the word may have come in from the line above. The men here are complaining about
the load they have had to carry (cf. 254-5; 289-91; 312-4), and a word like ἄνατον or Ἰονιοῦ would express this well, with exaggerating their complaint. The idea of fire and smoke is irrelevant after 311 until its return at 315, where indeed the pot is asked to reawaken the embers, implying that in the meantime these have died down again.

- μῆλαις : on the comic ending -άς v. Neil on Eq. I; C. W. Peppler, A. J. Ph. xlii, 1921, 158: "The termination -άς was coarse and vulgar in interjections as well as in nicknames. This was due in part to the feeling in antiquity that ας was a harsh and ugly sound."


- τῶν ζεν Σέμπις ἐκτόθαι: a much discussed reference. The scholiast quotes Dicymus and Craterus as taking this as a reference to Phrynichus, the son of Stratonides (mentioned by Aristophanes also at Vesp. 13C2; Ran. 689). He had been one of the generals who had arrived at Samos at the end of the summer of 412 B.C., and who had helped to defeat the Spartans at Miletus (Thuc. viii. 25ff.); but he had been the one responsible, immediately thereafter, for the decision not to fight but to return to Samos, when he heard about the possible arrival of the Spartan fleet from Leros, a decision which Thucydides applauded (viii. 27). It did mean, however, that Iassus, the base of the rebel Persian satrap Amorges, was lost to Athens. Phrynichus is mentioned shortly after this, as the only general at Samos to distrust the approaches of Alcibiades, again to the approval of Thucydides (viii. 47ff., esp. 48, 4). In viii. 50ff., Thucydides describes how Phrynichus then sent a secret letter to the Spartan admiral Astyochus about Alcibiades' intrigues; betrayed, however, by Astyochus, he was eventually accused by Pisander on a charge of betraying Iassus and Amorges (Thuc. viii. 54. 3). Thus Phrynichus at this time was a recently deposed general, charged with the loss of an ally and of blunting the edge of the
victory at Miletus. His career at this time is typical of many of the Athenian commanders who were intriguing in various ways at Athens, and especially Samos, without ever actually accomplishing very much in the way of victory or advancement for Athens. And this may very well be Aristophanes' point here; these generals, e.g. Phrynichus, are not doing very much good at Samos; why don't they come and help us with these logs of wood? Some have suggested that the reference here is to the democratic coup at Samos in 412 B.C., when the people rose against the aristocracy μετὰ Ἀθηναίων, οὔ ἐν τρισον μαυσο πηγοτέσ (Thuc. viii.21), and that the old men are asking the Samian commanders for similar help against the women. There is no reference, surely, to the forthcoming political conflict, as Wilamowicz has suggested: "Der Gegensatz der Parteien, der bald akut werden sollte, macht sich fühlbar; we cannot expect Aristophanes to be clairvoyant about something that has not happened yet.

314.- Θείποτα: Xanthias in Ran.20 complains about his shoulder οτι Θείπται (cf.5; fr. 327 ἐστι γε τοῦτο ἐκτὸς οὗ δύναμις οἱ σκέυη τῶν ωμῶν Θείπται). Trygaeus at Pax 1239 complains about a breastplate which Θείπται τῶν ὑπνοι.

315.- σὸν δ' ἐφρον: a common phrase, and quite possibly colloquial! cf. 381; 839; Hüb. 1345; 1494; Av. 826; Ran. 590, etc. (v. LSJ s.v.iv.I.a and P. T. Stevens s. Q. xxxi (1937) 189); Gomme/Sandbach on Men. Dysk. 630, however take the phrase as a solemn one saved here by the addition of ἐστι. 
- ἐς εὐερείν: v. on 306.

316.- The manuscripts give various readings, all unmetrical either in the second or third metron. Various solutions have been suggested, the most reasonable being Bothe's Πρῶτῳ γ', Reisig's Τροφαν' , and Enger's and Blaydes' Πρώτιστ', adopted by e.g. Hall and Geldart, and Rogers. John Jackson (Marg. Scaen., 125) suggests πρὸ τῶν' "in exactly the same sense as that of the vulgate", but his text makes little sense to me.
We need not discuss the wilder emendations of van Leeuwen (καλῶς ὁπως ἐμοι παρεξείς) or Herwerden (Mнем. xxiii, 1904, 265 ὁπως Τῶς Τῷς Τῷς Προς Προςίσισ; his suggestion in Herm. xxiv, 1889, 622-3, προς Τῷς Τῷς (sc. Θύμων) εἴμι προσίσισ is a little better); neither explains how the manuscripts read what they do, and Herwerden introduces a form found only in Hesychius. Wilamowitz rejects the manuscripts' readings on more than metrical grounds; he objects to the pot (Χυτρα) providing the burning torch, something which the ἐνθαρ should do; and for προσίσιν he suggests παροίν, a word which, he says, is often used superfluously, e.g. 284; Av. 548; 1215, "und oft auch in der Tragodie". He quotes Soph. El. 634 ἦ παροίνι μοι, where Clytaemnestra so addresses a προπολέος; he suggests that we take ἔμελε with both participle and verb, and that the ἐνθαρ is seen as a servant providing the match for the torch. It is the most likely solution to the problem offered so far.

217. - δέσσωνα Ἀλκη : most appropriate, because the temple of Athena Nike stood on the right as one faced the Propylaea. For Athena Nike cf. Eq. 589 with Neil’s note, and Jebb on Soph. Phil. 134. The old men ask for the assistance of the goddess to whom the whole Acropolis was sacred, but by calling her Ἀλκη they look forward hopefully to the victory they believe will be theirs.

- ἴπυγενοῦ : an impressive word, when invoking the gods; cf. Soph. El. 411.

- ἰδινταὶ : there is no need to omit Τῇ (as Bergk and Wilamowitz) or to change it to γῇ (Beethe). The infinitive + accusative δέσσων ημᾶς is common in entreaties to the gods, either in the sense of the third person of the imperative, or for the optative of a future wish (v. Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, sects. 784-5); this construction is often explained by the ellipsis of ἶς, "grant"; cf. Ach. 247ff.; 816f. An imperative may be
followed by an infinitive as at Hom. II.vii.78 ὑπὲρέσεως ὀλιγοφρέτικα, ἀλλὰ δὲ οἴκια ἐμὸν ὁμοιαία ταλίν; similarly an optative may be paralleled by an infinitive, e.g. Hom. Od.xvii.354 ζευ, ἡ αἵματρολόμου μοι ἐν ὑπερήφανῳ ὀρπιον εἶναι, καὶ οἱ πάντες γένοις ἀοδόν ὕπερεστίμονα μένοι. Here the old men make their demands very direct; no optative for them.

218. — Τοῦ νῦν παρεστάτως Θρήσκος: a rather bombastic phrase; cf. Eq. 399 Τοῦ Χρόνως Τοῦ παρεστικτούς; Soph. Ο.ο.1030 ταξίν παρεστάτωςς Ταῦν; Phil. 734 Τῆς παρεστάτικος γάζου Θέου βασιλεία, Τροπαίον: a common metaphor; cf. Thesm. 697; Plut. 453; Eq. 521; it is found often in tragedy, e.g. Soph. Trach. 1102; Aesch. Sept. 277; Eur. Andr. 694; 763; Suppl. 647; Hel. 1380; Or. 713; Phoen. 572; v. W. C. West, Class. Phil. lxiv, 1969, 13.

G. W. Elderkin (Class. Phil. xxxv, 1940, 394) sees a further reference in Τροπαίον: “When the chorus of men appeals to Nike to grant a 'tropaion' after the defeat of the women, Aristophanes has in mind the recently carved frieze of the balustrade of the temple of Nike, below which the men passed on their way to the Propylaea. In this frieze ringed Victories set up trophies. Such intention would give a comic turn to the command of Mikodike to fly, since the first part of her name is Nike (321).” This would certainly add to the humour of the passage.

219. — As with the entry of the old men, the coryphaeus pronounces two lines of encouragement (the ΚΑΤΑΙΚΕΛΕΥΟΜΑΣ; choriambic tetrameters catalectic); again we are not justified in taking (as Mazon, Essai, 113) Nikodike as the name of the coryphaeus, any more than we were in so treating Strymodorus (cf. 254ff.), or Stratyllis (as van Leeuwen), who appears at 365; again those are members of the chorus, as is Rhodippe (370).

- λύγυν: fiery smoke; cf. Av. 1241; Thesm. 281; Soph. Ant. 1127; Trach. 794; Aesch. Sept. 494, etc.
320. ὁδεῦστεον: the same word as had been used by the old men at
266. ὁδεῦστεον is important; the whole movement of the women's chorus is
much quicker and lighter, not only in words (e.g. ἵκτου, ἵκτου), but
more especially in the metre of the ode.

321ff. The ode is choriambic, described by George Thomson (Greek
Lyric Metre, 1929, 57) as "a rapid, lively measure suitable to restless or
animated motion".

321-335-49 (again following Coulon's text):

345 scans òò — ò — òò — , and has no responsive line in the strophe.
There is no problem with the sense, and, because there are parallels for
this phenomenon in Aristophanes, it seems best to accept this "approximate
response" (the term is A. M. Dale's, Lyric Metres, 207; there she gives
other examples, Nub. 1309; Ach. 231; Vesp. 309; 469; 647 Pax 491; 585; Ran.
592; 993; Eccl. 487; as she says: "Such instances of omission, where the
sense runs on perfectly, are far too numerous to admit of wholesale
amendment, and they do suggest a somewhat different type of music for these
There is no need to alter this line (with Bentley) to τὰ παράλληλα; parallels for the anapaest in the first metron can be found at Eccl. 940; Vesp. 1461; cf. White, 231.

Discussion and analysis can be found in Wilamowitz, Sudhaus, Prato, Schroeder, White (250).

323~337: the dodrants is found elsewhere (e.g. Av. 1724-5; Eur. El. 174; 234; Alc. 984-5) as a brachycatalectic form of choriambic dimeter (v. White, 231). Here, then we have what amounts to a brachycatalectic choriambic trimeter.

324~338: 324 as it stands (with or without Ocri's emendation) is quite acceptable; for the resolution in the first metron cf. 325; 328; Vesp. 1445-6 (according to Prato on the latter, a tragic and lyric feature, cf. Anacr. fr. 52; Soph. El.823; Eur. Herc. 640). But the corresponding line (338), as it stands in the manuscripts and Coulon, gives a very odd response; Prato quite happily says: "Il dodrants associato al coriamb equivale qui a un alcmanio; cf. Thesm. 1151-8"; unfortunately that passage is astrophic and textually very uncertain (v. Dale, 166). Various emendations have been attempted to get round these anapaests (they cannot be explained in the same way as 277-8, q.v., for here even syllable-counting cannot help, pace Schroeder and Denniston, Greek Poetry and Life, 140-1). Only Wilamowitz by deleting ἄνως as a gloss on τρίταλαντον, which a scribe or commentator did not realise could be a noun (as it is at Poll.vi.165), and by transposing the line thus: ἐν τρίταλαντον εἰς πολιον, has come up with something worthwhile. This would give choriamb + iamb corresponding with iamb + choriamb, which is possible, cf. 326~340 (for this type of anaclasis v. Maas, Greek Metre, 26f.). This seems to be the best solution yet proposed.

326~340: as we have seen in the previous note, there is no need to change 340 to make it correspond exactly, although van Herwerden (Mnem. xxxii (1904)
265) made the attempt by suggesting that γυναῖκες be deleted as a gloss, and the following read: ὑπ' Τυρι' κρη' τάς μυστα'ς (τάρτας) κατανομαζέων (he cites τα's κατανομαζέων as lending some support to this); but the verb is unattested, and his emendation metrically unnecessary (cf. Platnauer, Greek Poetry and Life, 253).


221 - Νικοδίκη: for the possible joke here, v. on 318.
- Πέτον: v. on 55.

222 - Κηδύκυν τε καὶ Κριτιλδαν: two of the women still inside the Acropolis, whom the others fear may be in the gravest danger. The name Κηδύκυν recurs at Athen. 619D, and Κριτιλδαν at Thesm. 898.
- Πρεσπαντίτων: "blown upon from all sides"; the word has only been suspected because the reading of the manuscripts at 324 is corrupt.

224 - The emendation that is now generally accepted is ὑπὸ τὸν ἄνεμον ἄργαλεον, attributed to Oeri; it was also suggested by A. Roemer (Bāy. Akad. d. Wiss. xxii, 1905, 604), and J. B. Bury (P. C. Ph. S. (1910) 7). All cite the Homeric phrase ἄργαλεον ἄνεμον (Π. xiii. 795; xiv. 254; Οδ. xi. 400; cf. Οδ. xxiv. 110). Wilamowitz (Gr. Vers., 482) cf. Phrynichus Bekk. An. 401 ἄνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος (Eupolis fr. 376), explained by Phrynichus as ἄφεσμον. Here Aristophanes uses the phrase because the winds that fan the flames come from the ἄνθρωπες ὄλθροι (the θυσίαρχοι of 335); all they are able to do is blow and make wind. Thus the high-flown epic phrase is immediately undercut by the reference to the pitiful old men and their attempts at blowing.


225 - ὄλεθρον: cf. Eup. fr. 376 (cited above); Μεν. 612, 13; Dysk. 366; Sam 348 Austin; ὄλθροι at Thesm. 860; Eccl. 934; cf. ὄλθρος at
Eq. 1151; Thesm. 535 (cf. Latin "pestis"); v. A. Müller, Philol. lxxii, 1913, 331.

326. - ὀστερότευσ: a compound typical of the style of tragedy, cf. ἐπιστόλεος Eur. Hipp. 54; ὀστερό Ποδί Eur. Hipp. 1243; Phoen. 148; Herc. 1040; Rhes. 412 ὀστερος ἤμορφης (cf. 333); Phoen. 1432 ὀστερός ἤμορφης πάρεις. Again, elevation of tone in this passage.

327. - νυνί (Coulon) for Μασ. νῦν 

νυν: as Denniston (Particles, 206f.) says: "νῦν coalesces closely with νῦν. Hence the order in the following: Eur. Hipp. 233 νῦν νυν μὲν ... νῦν οὐ 

; Ar. Lys. 327 (Pl. Rep. 528a). The words are, in fact, often written as one, νῦν ὥν (cf. οὐ νυν)." For this emphatic 

νυν with νῦν in Aristophanes, cf. Pax. 5; Av. 923; Ran. 412.


328. - The vivid description of the woman getting water from the fountain no doubt owes much to what happened every day at Athens, with suitable exaggeration.

- άπειρος: the identification of this fountain has long been disputed, and is even now uncertain. Most of the early editors took it to be the Clepsydra (mentioned at 913 below); but it is objected that it is "difficult of access", and that its waters were ἀληυρός (schol. on Av. 1695), and good only for washing in (913). Other editors take the reference to be to the Enneacrounias (also known as Kallirrhoe), referring to Thuc. ii. 15.5, where he mentions this fountain and adds καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ ἄπειρο τοῦ ἀληυροῦ πρὸς τὴν ἱμηκίναν καὶ ὡς ἄλλα τῶν ἱμηκίων νουμβηκαί τῷ άδατὶ Χρήσθη (cf. Poll. iii. 43). This certainly ties in with 378, where the old women
threatens to give the old man a bath, καὶ τὰ ὕδατα νυμφικοῦ γε, with
the water from her jar. The exact site and identification of Enneacrounos
with known remains poses great problems; for the most recent discussion
v. Gomme on Thuc. ii. 15. 5, where he discusses the various pieces of
evidence as presented especially by Thucydides and Pausanias (i. 8. 5-6;
14.1.5). The theories of Dörpfeld, which are quoted with delight by
Wilamowitz (Herm. xxxiv (1899) 638) and Willems (B. A. B. (1904) 617-8),
are now discounted; v. e. g. Stuart Rossiter, Blue Guide to Greece (1967) 59;
88. Enneacrounos, according to Gomme, "was somewhere to the south (of the
Acropolis)" and that is about as far as one can go.

- παταγού : another high-flow word, cf. Pax 155 (v. Rau, Paratragodia
96f), undercut by the adjective by which it is accompanied, χυτρείου
(for this form cf. Hesych. ἔχειν; Choerob. in Lo. Ox. ii. 278).


331.- στιγμάτιζες : runaway slaves were usually branded (v. Ehrenberg,
People of Aristophanes, 186ff. for further references); cf. στιγματ. fr. 97

- ὀρπιάδες : again the high style; this word is found in epic and elegiac
poetry; only here in Aristophanes.

- There is no problem about an object to ὀρπιάδες; οὐριάν is only
four lines above. There is no need to suppose a lost line (v. Metrical notes).

333.- δημοτίσιν : cf. Theocr. xxviii. 22; as Ehrenberg (People of
Aristophanes, 215n.1) says: "The δημοτικὲς in Lys. 333 were hardly
members of the same dome (so Liddoll and Scott), but female fellow-citizens".

δημοτικῆς is found in the same sense (v. Ehrenberg, 82n. 3). Cf. κυριεῖν
in 5 supra.

335.- τυφλογεφέντας : cf. Nub. 903; Vesp. 1364 (τυφλός).
used as a term of abuse: "silly old men". These words are found only in Aristophanes, but the figurative use of \textit{τούφειν} is very common (v. LSI \textit{s.v.}, and Taillardat, Images, sect. 167).

336. \textit{εὔπρεπε} : this word is generally used with the sense of "going to destruction or harm", and hence carries overtones of "contempt or misfortune" (Neill on Eq. 4); cf. Ren. 1192; Eq. 533; Thesm. 1075 (v. Taillardat, Images, sect. 225). Wilamowitz well compares Eup. fr. 215 (quoted at 270) \"\textit{αστερ ἐπὶ τὴν λυκνὸς ἔρρει πᾶς ἀνήρ}\".

- \textit{οὔτεξη} : the two logs of wood we know each of the men are carrying.

The word is used by Lysippus (fr. 7, I \textit{εἰ μὴ τεθεῖσαν τὰς ἡθὰς, οὔτεξης ἐκ}) in the pejorative sense of "blockhead" (cf. Latin "stipes").

337. \textit{βαλανεύσων} : used here in the sense of heating the fire for the bath (cf. Pax 1103 \textit{καὶ χωρίων βαλανεύσω} : "I will be my own bathman", "I will help myself").

338. For Wilamowitz' emendation \textit{καὶ τριτάλαντον εἰς τὸλιν} v. metrical notes. For \textit{κῦς} and the traditional use of the number "three" cf. Av. 1136 fr. \textit{ὡς τρωμύριων γέρανοι}; Stesich. 5, I \textit{ἀκυριόν ὅσι ἱππαρχίαν ἐμετροῦν ὡς τρίαλαμνον, τριτάλαντα}, which Coulon claims as his own, was first suggested by E. Herkenrath, \textit{Der Enoplos}, 1906, 33 n.1.

339. Cf. Eur. Supp. 542 \textit{καὶ μὲν ἁλέσεις δ' εἰν ἀπελθὸν ἑπὶ} \textit{ἐπος} for "word" is poetic; a return to the high style.

340. \textit{μυθάρας} : cf. 969 \textit{ταφυμυθαύς}; only here in comedy, the usual word being \textit{μυθάς}. Again a word of the high style, it is found at Eur. Med. 1393; El. 1350; Or. 1624.

\textit{341ff.} - The woman's prayer is a parody of the strict prayer-style e.g. \textit{ὁ θεός, θυσίμαθος, Χρυσόλιθος, Πολυεὐχε}, repetition of pronoun \textit{δας ... ὧν, τριτόγενες} (v. notes to the following lines), ending up with the final request \textit{ἄφην ἔμπροσθεν ἐμοῦ}. 

"μην ἔστω: all the fine language leads up to is this rather naive request to help carry the water (v. Kleinmkecht, Die Gebetsparodie, 1937, 69f.).

341- ὢ ὦ θεί: for this solemn address cf. Pax 816; 974; Theogn. 14. Here it is Athena that the women call on, normally simply Ἀθηνά.
- ματρόπαρε: this is the only place where Aristophanes uses the simple verb; some editors would wish to follow Bergk and read 'ματρόπαρειον. The simple verb may, however, be in place, as being more solemn (the simple form is used by Homer and the tragedians, v. LSJ):

- θείοντας: only here in Aristophanes, (and in Attic prose only in Thuc. v. 63. 3); very common in epic and tragic poetry, v. LSJ s.v. ἐπών (B), 5.
- Ἐλισάδα: once again the panhellenic theme; the whole of Greece is to be rescued.

344- Χρυσοτόξα: "with golden crest", an appropriate epithet when one remembers Phidias' statue in the Parthenon (cf. the parodic epithet Υφτυόπτωθα applied to Lamachus at Ach. 567, and its correct use at Eq. 1181).
- σάς ... σέ: the repetition and stress on the pronoun is common in prayers, cf. Orph. H. vi. I; xi. I.

347- Τριτόυγενε: a name of Athena, found from Homer (II. iv. 515, etc.) onwards; cf. Nub. 983; the form Τριτογένειος is also found, e.g. Eq. 1189 (v. further Kruse, R. E. viiiA, 244-5, and West on Hes. Theog. 895). While often the epithet seems to be associated with Athena's warlike prowess (e.g. Scol. i. I; v. Bouma, Greek Lyric Poetry, 388: "The word had militant and patriotic associations"), here and at Eq. 1189, Aristophanes probably looks to the association of this name with water (Τριτόυγενε was usually explained by the ancients as "born at the stream or lake Triton"; for further explanations, v. Neil on Eq. 1189, and LSJ s.v.), and makes the
women call on the water-born goddess to help them carry water. Again this not only underlines the pious intimacy between Athenians and Athena (cf. Eq. 1169, 1171), but rather humorously undermines the grandeur of the appeal. - ἦν ... ὑπὸ προμῆθειον: one expects the more indefinite ἦν after the invocation of a deity, and the misspelling in some Mss. would be due to ignorance of this unusual form. But it could be argued that εἰ ... ὑπὸ προμῆθειον is more vivid, and, as Wilamowitz says, "ὦν, ἀφεὶ ἦν schwärzen die späteren Schreiber für εἰ ein, weil sie nur noch ἦν als Bedingungsartikel sprechen".

349.- Note the verbal echo here from the end of the strophe, ἐπέρευς, ἐσθρεφθή. Not only does this tie the two odes together, but reminds the audience of the importance of the water which these women are carrying.

350ff.- The two choruses now catch sight of each other. 350-86 is the Proagon, v. Pickard- Cambridge, Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy, 1962, 240ff.: "The business of this scene is to single out and present the disputants in the coming Agon to the audience, to calm them down to the debating point, and generally to arrange the terms of the debate, to which, often after a violent beginning, the scene leads"; in iambic tetrameters (350-81) with "paiges" (362-6) in iambic dimeters and closing with an iambic tetrameter. On this and similar "Streitszenen" in both Greek and Roman comedy, v. A. Perkampus, W. S. xlv (1926-7) 29ff.; 202ff.

350.- ἔσδον: the coryphaeus tells the women to stop singing.
- ἅ τοῦτον τί δ' ἦν: on the difficulties of distinguishing ἅ from ἦ, v. Fraenkel on Aesch. Ag. 22. Here the exclamation goes closely with the interrogative phrase, which is itself expressive of surprise, cf. 445, and v. H. W. Miller, G. W. xxxviii (1944-5) 163.
- ὑπὸπριὸς: it seems unnecessary and overburdening to have another exclamation with ὑπὸπριὸς (Ἐνδρῆς ἦν), and an address to the man seems premature. ὑπὸπριὸς is the reply to the question τοῦτο τί ἦν.
- τονωτορφιοι: an intensifying form, cf. Vesp. 466 ἔτι τονωτορφιος
(on the correct spelling, v. J. Wackernagel, Kl. Schr., 1098 = Progr. zur
Rectoratsfeier der Univ. Basel (1893) 29); cf. ΠΟΛΗ ΤΕΛ-ΛΑΚΙΣ (Thesm.
287), ΚΑΛΗ ΚΑΛΩΣ (Ach. 253), etc., a feature of "sermo cotidianus".

251.- For the form of the sentence cf. Ran. 488 οὗ ταῖν ἑτέροις
γὰς εἰργάσατ ἄνιν.

253.- ἔφιπος: "swarm"; the image is a common one in Greek, v.
Taillardat, Images, sect. 662, and cf. Nub. 297 μέγα γὰρ τι θεῖν
κινεῖαι σφόνες λοιπᾶς
- δὖ: the men have now two groups of women to deal with, those within
the Acropolis, and those who have just arrived unexpectedly.

254.- This line has been detected in a papyrus of 1st century B.C.
(P. Oxy. 15. 1801) by S. Kurz ap. O. Weinreich, Sitzb. Wien. Akad. 1942,
Tübingen, 1947, 168; W. Luppe, Philol. cxi, 1967, 90f.).
- βούλικον: cf. Eq. 224; Hesych. βούλλειν. συνεκέρ, πρέσειν.
From βδέω, one of the physical manifestations of fear (cf. Plut. 693;
Lucian, Lex. 10), with the popular suffix - ὑλειν (v. Neil cr. Eq. 224, and
C. W. Peppler, A. J. Ph. xlili (1921) 152-3). Cf. the use of ἐγκτρεω
at Vesp. 627 (v. Taillardat, Images, sect. 309).
- For οὗ τῇ περὶ, οὗ περὶ in incredulous or reluctant questions, v.
Denniston, Particles, 492.

255.- Cf. Thesm. 555 μὲν ἄλ' ὑδεῖσιν τὴν μυριστῆν μοῖραν ἐν
ποιοῦμεν; Plaut. Mil. 763f. "hau centensimam partem dixi."
- Note the placing of the negative for stress, v. A. C. Moorhouse, Studies
in the Greek Negative, 116.

256.- ἀποδηλίκα: a common Attic name, v. Kirchner 13933ff. Yet
another of the members of the chorus of old men.

257.- The men make menacing gestures, and the women lay down their
pitchers, and confrontation is complete.

- περικατάγειν τὸ ἕλκων: "to break the wood about their backs".

With all the talk of ἕλκων before, this surely cannot refer to a stick (Blaydes' "baculum"; cf. Pax 1121) which they were carrying, but to the logs of wood, of whose weight they had previously complained. At first they were going to use the wood to set fire to the women, but now that the women are at hand, they see a better use for the wood, breaking it over the women's bodies.

- λύτες: for the dative with περικατάγειν cf. Alciphr. 3. 45; Athen. 1. 170.

- ἔχρην: on the two forms ἔχρην and ἔχρην (Aristophanes prefers the former; so perhaps Φ is right) v. M. Platnauer, C. R. 1v, 1942, 2ff.

358.- οὕμενθεί: R's obviously correct reading is confirmed by the papyrus.

- καλητιός: what had been called μοριάν at 327; cf. 370; 400; 539; Ran. 1339; Eur. Hipp. 123. The words are interchangeable, as E. A. Sparkes (J. H. S. lxxxi, 1962, 129 n. 73) points out.

359.- προσφέρειν τὴν κείμα: often a hostile phrase; cf. 435-6; 443-4; LSJ s. v. προσφέρειν

360.- For the repeated ἦ which does not convey accuracy, but is used in expressions of round numbers, cf. 1052; Ran. 50.

361.- ἐκόψει: for similar threats cf. 657; Ran. 572f. τοὺς γομφίους κοπτούμ' ἄν.

- Βούνιδι: the Chian sculptor whom, along with his brother Athenis, Hipponax attacked in his poems for having reproduced his ugliness in sculpture (v. O. Masson, Hipponax, 1962, 13; Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 5). The name appears often in the fragments of Hipponax, e. g. 1, 12, 15, 95, and especially 120 (all cited according to Masson's edition) ἄβετε χεῖ τιμίτις κόψεις Βούνιδι τὸν ὁδορκόμον. Αμφιδείρεσ γερ εἰμι κούκ ἀυρτάνων.
"acer hostis Bupalo". The old men are always threatening, but never acting; the old women always waiting for the men to attack before taking to violence themselves.

- θυμίνιον δὲν οὖκ δὲν εἶχον : Γ has the variant ἐῷρε and the second hand of B has ἐῷρον, which reminds one of Soph. Aj. 1144 ὅθεν τελατὸ

... ὥρας, where Jebb finds "sarcastic force" in the doubled ὥρα. Aristophanes may be parodying here, in which case ἐῷρον might be right. But ἐῷρον is certainly usable in this type of phrase, cf. Appian, B.C.i.95 οὔσι φύσιν ἐτὶ οὕδενος ἐχόντος ὡπ’ ἐκπάνθεσις.

For the repetition of ὥρα cf. Av. 1147 Τὸ σφιχα πόθες δὲν σου ἔγνωστο ; Ran. 96f. γόνιμον δὲν ποιήσων ὥρας ὡράσες ὡπ’ ἔγνωστο ὥρα ; Soph. O. T. 339; El. 697; Eur. Heracl. 721, etc.

362. - καὶ μὴν: as Denniston translates (Particles, 355): "All right, then", accepting the implied challenge; cf. Plut. 928; Thesm. 568.

- παρέχω: supply παρεύρεσθαι, as van Leeuwen says; cf. the amatory use of the word at 162; 227.

363. - John Jackson (Marg. Scaen., 107f.) wanted to transpose 363 to after 367; while these two lines go well together ("after which the thoughts of Χρ. γερ. "fly with more reason than ever to Euripides and his estimate of the σαξ"), F. J. Dover points out (Lustrum, ii (1957) 94) "364 is more intelligible as a reply to 362+363 than to 362 alone".

- κόλω: applied to a woman, the word had been used since the time of Homer "to denote shamelessness or audacity" (LSJ s.v.ii.l); cf. Vesp. 1402. It can also be used as a symbol of anger, cf. Pax 620; Lucian, Salt. 4 (cf. Taillardat, Images, sect. 377); cf. also δυτοδαύωρογρισσές at 687, a passage where the women in their anger again take on animal characteristics, e.g. 695 Λίστον Τίκτονια καλόντος οὐ μείσσως.

For similar threats to delicate parts of the body, cf. Eq. 365; 772;
"to peel an onion"; Wilamowitz explains thus: "Τὸ γνῖμασ ist also kollektiv ihr "Greisentum", dessen einzelne Stücke oder ausreisen will". The old man is seen as pulling out parts of their old age. Taillardat (Images, sect. 608) cf. the parallel development of ἐκβαλθῆσιν, "to peel an onion"; cf. Pax 1123; Com. adesp. 992 (in the sense of "destroy").

- Τὸ γνῖμασ : Wilamowitz explains thus: "Τὸ γνῖμασ ist also kollektiv ihr "Greisentum", dessen einzelne Stücke oder ausreisen will". The old man is seen as pulling out parts of their old age. Taillardat (Images, sect. 66), who also sees the close connexion between this use of γνῖμασ and that at Pax 336, where γνῖμασ ἐκσάς is described by the scholiast as μεταφορά ἀπὸ τῶν ὦτεν, i.e. a snake's sloughed skin, takes γνῖμασ here as "un autre synonyme pêjoratif de χρώμα", and translates: "Je t'arracherais le galuchat à coups de bâton". He thinks the metaphor is a vulgar one, which goes well with the popular metaphorical use of ἐκκοκκίζω.

Another suggestion which deserves attention is that of A. von Blumenthal (Herm. lxxiv (1939) 97); he cf. the use of ηῆθη at Nub. 976, which is used of the genitals (cf. Theop. Com. fr. 37, 2), and suggests that γνῖμασ is used unexpectedly here for the unsuitable (for old women) ηῆθη. This certainly gives a close parallel to the physical assault envisaged by the women in 363.

- ἐπιτυλίξατο : schol., rightly, ἅπτε ἐμου; cf. Thesm. 77 εἰς ἐμέτ ἐστι χων εἰς ἀποδώλω Ἐυριπίδης (Euripides pathetically speaking of himself in the third person).

For the same type of "you dare!" expression, cf. 435ff.; Nub. 933; Cratin. fr. 277; Plat. Com. fr. 123.

- τι ὅγιγν : cf. 157; on this type of colloquial expression,
Τι δ' ε' used elliptically, v. P. T. Stevens, C. Q. xxxi (1937) 184.
- σποδώς : a strong word "pound", "crush"; cf. Nub. 1376; Av. 1016;
Thesm. 560; Ran. 662; fr. 911b; 967. The old man uses much stronger words
in his threatening reply; σποδώς in contrast to the slight ἔγχυς,
and κονσύδεις (cf. Vesp. 254; Eq. 1236, etc.) "knuckles", as opposed
to δακτύλιον .
- τι μ' ἐγκέμεν πό δεινόν : = τι ἔστι τὸ δεινὸν ὁ μ' ἐγκέμεν;
cf. Eur. Bacch. 492 (Dodd: "The phrase belongs to the language of everyday
life") τι με τὸ δεινὸν ἐγκέμον ; Herc. 151 τι ἐν τὸ σφήνων σώ
κατείργωσαν πόσει ; Soph. O. C. 598 τι γὰρ τὸ μείζον ὃν
κατ' ἀνθρώπων νου ἐκεῖ ;

367.— The old women resume their animal-like qualities (cf. 363).
- βρύκοφσα : v. on 301.
- ἑξαμήνων : a metaphor from reaping (LSJ's division of ἑξαμήνων into
two separate verbs seems wrong); cf. Eur. Cycl. 236 τὰ ἐπιγύνσεν ἑρνακὸν
ἐξαμήνωσεν βίῳ ; in a grander context, Soph. Aj. 1178 γενός
is uncertain in text (v. Jebb ad loc., and Appendix p. 253f.).

For similar threats, cf. Eq. 708 ἑξαρτάσομι σοι τοῖς ὄνομα
ταύτηρι ; Ran. 473ff. τὰ ἐπιγύνσεν σου/διαπαρέσει. πλευμόναν
τ' ἐνάχυται | ἰστραίνα μέριμνα, τὰ νεφεῖν δ' σου/πτωτοῖς ἐντεροῖς
ἐμμηνίχνων/διαπαρέσει γεγένεσι τείρωσι ; cf. also Eq. 698ff., and
Taillardat, Images, sect. 617.

This is the end of the first verbal war of threats, and at 370 begins
the fire and water battle.

368.— On Euripides the misogynist, v. on 283.
- ἳνηρ ... ποιήσας : to be taken together; common in Aristophanes,
e.g. Nub. 545; Thesm. 149; Ran. 358; 1008; 1030; 1041; 1369; and the examples
collected by Playdow in his note to this lino.
369.— There is no doubt a line of Euripides that lies below this reference, but we do not know it. But we can see that this type of phrase was "materia tragica"; Soph. El. 622 ὀμ ὀμ', ἄνωκές (Clytemnestra to Electra); Aesch. Sept. 182 ὀμ ὀμ', οὐκ ἄνωκα (Eteocles addressing the women); Eur. Andr. 261 ἀ βίβαρον σὺ ὀμ (Hermione to Andromache).

The sentiment is common enough; cf. Thesm. 531f.; Hom. Od. xi. 427, etc. ὑδε : the Mss. offer ὑδι or ὑτε. One looks very much like a gloss on the other. ὑδι will not do if the language is tragic, and Wilamowitz (followed by Coulon) changes it to ὑδε (as van Leeuwen saw: "ὑδε dicere potuit Euripides"). As being the "lectio" that is slightly "difficilior" and used elsewhere in a similar context (1015), ὑδε is to be preferred.

370.— The women had laid their pitchers down at 358. They now pick them up again as attention is turned to the fire that the men have brought, the idea of physical assault now being rejected by the men.

ῥοδίτησιν : Blaydes comments: "Nomen fictum cum obscaena allusione ad voces ῥόδον et ἄτιτος. Cf. 677"; and G. Meyer, Philol. Suppl. xvi (1923) 178, agrees with him. If anything were made of this allusion, one could agree. But surely it is just another name of one of the chorus of old women.

371.— θ ἑσὶς ἕχερα : v. on 283.

372.— ἀ τομῆ : the same image is used of an old man at Eur. Med. 1290; Heracl. 167f. (cf. Plaut. Pseud. 412f. "ex hoc sepulcro vetere viginti minas ecfodiam ego hodie"); cf. τομῆ γερῶν fr. 55 Dem.; Com. adesp. 1172; Bekk. Anecd. 66, 13; Poll. ii. 16; Phot. s.v. θορός is similarly used at Vesp. 1365.

ἐπιπερεύσων : the only other example of the word in Aristophanes is at Pax 1137, where it is used of roasting edible acorns; Wilamowitz plausibly
suggests that the same sense holds good here: "Willst du dich braten?"

Van Leeuwen cf. Plut. 1053f. έσεν γαρ αὐτὴν εἰς μένος στινβύβι
λῃν/μισερ πελαῖν εἰρεσίων καϊσετει, and suggests that the
women are calling the men so old and fragile that if one spark lands on
them they will go on fire; cf. ἄδος (285)

373f.— For this mixture of moods in coordinate dependent clauses, (with
no detectable difference in meaning), cf. Men. Epitr. 547-9; Per. 42-7; and
v. J. W. Poultey, A. J. Phil. lxxiv (1963) 371f. (he suggests metre may
be a factor here).

374.— τὴν σὴν πίρπο: not only verbal contrast with τὰς ὀσὰς διόχες
but as van Leeuwen rightly says: "est contemmentis"; cf. 703; Av. 893.

- ΤΟΤΙΝ: the old woman points to the water.

375.— Τούρφον τὰκ ἀτὸ δείσει: cf. Ran. 1261 δεισείς ὅν
τὰκα; Soph. fr. 348P τὰκ ἀτὸ δείσει τούρφον; Eur. Andr.
265 τὸ δὲ ἐρφον ἄτο οἴμαινε τὰκα; Or. 1129 ἔτ' ἀτὸ
δηλοὶ τούρφον ὑπ' ἑλείνειν Χρείων, etc. (v. further the examples
collected by Bleydes, and Austin on Men. Sam. 444); cf., in Latin, "hoc
quod fecit, res ipsa indicat" (Ter. Eun. 658).

376.— The old man's reticence is shown by the way he expresses the
threat; far less direct than the use of δοκῶ + future infinitive, or
Τί οὗ with present or aorist indicative, to which van Leeuwen cf. this
type of expression.

- ὡς έχων: "without more ado"; cf. 610; Eq. 488; Eccl. 533; Soph.
Ant. 1103; 1235.

- οὐταθέεσσα: a culinary term, used of light frying; cf. schol. Κυρίως
δὲ οὐταθέεσσα τὸ µῆ ἓλαιν καταπταν, ἡλὰ τὴν πυρὶ ἑσύχαις Χλι-
δίνειν ἀτὰ ἄτο. It is used at Ach. 1041 τὰς σιτίδας οὐταθεεσ, and at
Eccl. 127 σιτίδας ... οὐταθεεσεραίνας in connexion with cuttle-fish.
Cf. 372 for another culinary term ἐμπυρεύσαν. At 844 ἐσταθέεσσα
is used (along with other culinary terms) to describe the passionate "roasting" that Myrrhine is going to give her husband Kinesias.

277.- The same joke returns at 469-70.

- ἐρήμωσις: from ῥήματα; cf. Ach. 17 ἔξ ὑπὸ, γεν ῥήματος; it is the same as Κοῦνας (470; Ach. 18; Ran. 711; Plat. Rep. 430B), "lye-soap", simply potash and soda (with no fats added, as in modern soap), v. Tucker on Ran. 711. Schol. ἔτο παρ' ἐκείνων ὑπὸ ἅπαξ ἑτοιμάζεται ἐπὶ νύμφην; on these terms v. Gov on Theocr. xv. 16; 30.

278.- ἐρήμωσις ὑπὸ λοιπὸν: sc. παρισσεῖς; for similar ellipsis, common in all Greek, v. Blaydes on 529.

- ὡ σατρός: σατρός is "rotten", and is used metaphorically (in comedy) to describe an old person (cf. Plut. 1035 καθαρσιέσθης, ὡς γεμάτη ἄκεις), a pejorative synonym for ἀρξάντες or γεμάνων, e.g. Pax 698 γεμάνων ὑπὶ καὶ σατρός; Vesp. 1380; Euph. fr. 221; and used also of an old woman (as here) at Eccl. 1093; 884; 926; 1025; Plat. Com. fr. 56; Philem. fr. 170; Hermipp. fr. 10.

- καὶ ταῦτα: cf. 470 καὶ ταῦτα ἄνευ Κοῦνας; 530.

- καὶ ... γε: v. Denniston, Particles, 157f.; Neil, Knights App. 1, 491: "The γε generally comes after some word which is meant to be emphasised".

- νυμβίκον: on this possible clue to the identification of the spring where the women got their water, v. on 328. The bridal bath is an important part of the wedding, v. Kerenberg, People of Arist., 193f.; cf. Pax 843; 848; Mon. fr. 52; 430; Sam. 124 (with Austin and Commenon/Zandbach). The old women are also laughing at the old men, as the schol. says: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίων εἰς γέροντα ἐπὶ τῆς νυμβίκον; the women now speak with what Wilamowitz called "scornful politeness".

279.- Ἕκουσας: the old man expresses his amazement at the old woman's daring; he addresses his comment perhaps to a companion, or to the audience, or to an imaginary witness; v. E. Fraenkel in Mus. Kelv. xxiv,
1967, 192f. for this type of phrase, and cf. especially Av. 1211, where Peisetairos turns and says of Iris Ἄκουσας αὐτῆς σίον εἴρωνεται.

- δ' ἐνυθέρα: there is a pride in being free and having freedom of speech and action (παρρησία); cf. 463; Nub. 1414.

380. - Σχῆνω: cf. 284; 425; Soph. El. 375 ὀ' ταύτην τῶν μακρῶν σχῆνοι γόνων.

- ἦλεάζει: Cobet's correction of the Mss. ἦλεάζεις (or ἦ -), ἦλεαζεις is certain. ἦλεάζομαι is always middle (cf. Eq. 798 ἦλεαζομοι), and its future is ἦλεάζομαι cf. Vesp. 772 ἦλεάζει.

The sense is: 'You are no longer sitting in the Heliaia', the implication being that that was all the power these old men could wield, being members of and voting in the Heliaia. For the close connexion between old men and their delight in being heliasts, v. Vesp. passim. The future tense is not needed (pace Rogers and J. Stanger, Philol. xxiii (1866) 272); this is not a threat, merely a statement on the old men's incapacity for action. If Dover (on Nub. 863) is right, then we ought to print ἦλεάζει, as being the fifth century Attic spelling (cf. MacDowell on Vesp. 195).

381. - The old men make to set fire to the women's hair, but the women are too quick for them, and pour water over them.

- ζ' άργυρον: v. on 315.

- ἦλεαζε: Achelous (in Aetolia), the only large river in Greece, was possibly at one time the supreme water-god (v. Wilamowitz, Glaube d. Hell., i. 93, 219; M. P. Nilsson, Gesch. d. Griech. Rel., ed.2, 1955, i. 238-9), and this metonymy whereby his name represents simply "water" is very common; v. Macro. v. 18: "Ita loquendi usus fuit ut Achelous commune omnis aquae nomen habaretur"; Bust. ad III. xxi. 194 ὥσ καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄχελαν καλοθείναι; cf. Eur. Bacch. 625 (with Dodds' note); Andr. 167; Hyps. fr. 753 (with Bond's note, p.86); Soph. fr. 5P; Achaean fr. 9; Verg. Georg. i. 9; Ov. Fast. v. 343. Aristophanes uses the expression again at fr. 351 (quoted by Macr. loc. cit.). Its use by Aristophanes would
seem to be paratragic.

383. — Πτείν: cf. 193; a word of contemptuous rejection, v. H. W. Miller, A. J. Phil. lxvi, 1945, 404: "Aristophanes uses several formulae to express comic irony, scorn or contempt. One of these devices is an elliptical question, introduced by Πτείν, and repeating the word or words of a former speaker in the same form. There is no interrogation here, but either the terminology or the thought of the speaker is ridiculed. Ach. 61-2; 109; 157; 761; Nub. 367; 1233; 1337: cf. 247; Eq. 32; 162; 1082; Vesp. 1202; 1369; 1378; Av. 134; Lys. 730; 922; 1178; Thesm. 30; 874; Plut. 1046.

The use of Πτείν in Lys. 193, 383 is exactly the same." One need hardly state the obvious, that the water which the women poured over the men was icy cold.

384. — The old woman treats the men as a plant that she is watering to make sprout up.

Various suggestions have been made to amend the unmetrical reading of the Mss Δυλαςτάνης (-...γις); Reisig's Δυλαςτάνης is accepted by Coulon and Wilamowitz. It has been objected that οὖς without Δυ is very rare in Aristophanes (but v. Vesp. 1525ff.), and οὖς + Δυ is "almost the only final expression found in the formal language of the Attic inscriptions" (Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, sect. 328); also that the shortening of the preposition is very rare (but v. Pherecr. fr. 22). For these reasons many editors have preferred Brunck's Δυ Βλαςτάνης. Wilamowitz' objection seems to me not valid: "οὖς Δυλαςτάνης muss es heissen: der Greis kann nur 'wieder' Sprossen treiben. Dazu passt die Antwort 'ich bin schon ganz därr und schlottere'." A final possibility is Meisneke's Δυλαςτάνεις; for the future with οὖς v. Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, sect. 324.

Δυλαςτάνω is used again at 406 (q.v.). (MacDowell on Vesp. 570 defends a short vowel scanned short before Δυ; while this is allowed rarely in
tragedy, the comic parallels (Eup. fr. 105; Thesopomp. fr. 5) are uncertain.

285.—The old man keeps up the same image by comparing himself to a dry leaf trembling in the wind; in other words, the watering process is doing him no good, he is getting no life-giving moisture.

- δύσιν : only here in quite this sense; Menander has the phrase (Epitr. 581) δύσιν εἰμι τῇ δέει : "parched, dried up with fear"; cf. Perik. 163; Sam. 515; also now a frag. of Old Comedy, P. Oxy. xxxvii, p. 29 (2809, fr. 9a, 6). Taillardat (Images, sect. 50) cf. the use of ἵσχυς quoted by Photius s.v.: ἵσχυς γὰρ οὐ ναίμιν, οὔτως Ἀριστοφάνεις (fr. 939); cf. Plut. 561. The word is again connected with cold at Lucian, Cat. 12 οὐκ ἔχων οὕτως ὑπάρχειν δύος ἡδή καὶ ψυχρᾶς ἁπαντησι αὐτοῖς.

286.—The old woman is now able to have the final laugh by suggesting a rather different use for the fire which the old men brought than that which the latter had intended.

- λάμινεῖς : for the prosody cf. Alex. fr. 149, 11; Hermesian. fr. 7, 89 A. P. ix. 224 (Apollonid.).

Wilamowitz sees the σύ as unnecessary (Gr. Vers., 483), "nicht als Gegensatz zu einem andern noch um hervorzubeheben, dass er sich das Trocknen selbst besorgt". His removal of σύ (which he does not in fact do in his text) would leave an ithyphallic as clausula; this is quite possible, cf. Nub. 1114; 1112f. But one feels a certain rocking emphasis in the repeated σύ ... σέραντα ... : "you are the one who has the fire, you can go ahead and get yourself warm".
EPISODE: The women's victory over the Proboulos (387 - 613).

A Proboulos (on his historical status v. introduction) arrives with a number of Scythian archers (policemen). A pompous and rather silly figure, he launches into an attack on women for their taste for the new cult religions and their general debauchery. As he attempts to break into the Acropolis to get the money he needs to build war ships (421ff.), Lysistrata comes out (430). She succeeds, with the help of a number of companions, in rebuffing the efforts of the Scythian policemen to arrest her. The route is complete (462) and the two, Proboulos and Lysistrata, now face each other.

There begins at 467 the Agon (debate, contest), which in reality is an exposition by Lysistrata of the women's right to take the action they have to save Greece. Such a scene is common in Aristophanic comedies and here can be formally analysed thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
467 - 75: & \quad \text{the two coryphaï - 9 (4 + 5) i.a. tetr.} \\
(476 - 83): & \quad \text{Ode (cretics and anapaests)} \\
(484 - 5): & \quad \text{Katakeleusmos - 2 an. tetr.} \\
(486 - 531): & \quad \text{Epirrhema - 46 an. tetr.} \\
(532 - 8): & \quad \text{Pnigos - anap. system} \\
539 - 40: & \quad \text{the coryphaeus of the women's chorus - 2 i.a. tetr.} \\
(541 - 8): & \quad \text{Antode (cretics and anapaests)} \\
(549 - 50): & \quad \text{Antikatakeleusmos - 2 an. tetr.} \\
(551 - 597): & \quad \text{Antiphirrhema - 47 an. tetr.} \\
(593 - 607): & \quad \text{Antipnigos - anap. system} \\
608 - 13: & \quad \text{Sphragis - 6 (3 + 3) i.a. trim.}
\end{align*}
\]

It is worth looking a little more closely at the two halves (v. Gelsé, Ep. Agon. 93f.):

Epirrhema: (i) 486 - 7 - the Proboulos asks why the women seized the Acropolis

(ii) 488 - 92 - Lysistrata replies to get hold of the
money which the men misuse.

(iii) 493 - 5 - the women will administer the money just as they would the housekeeping

(iv) 496 - 501 - they will save the men, even against their will.

(v) 502 - 516 - the women's complaints about the men ignoring them and not keeping them informed about what was going on

(vi) 517 - 22 - they had to suffer in silence stupid decisions by the men

(vii) 523 - 6 - when they heard that there was no longer "any man" left in the state, they decided to take it upon themselves to save Greece

(viii) 527 - 31 - how the men must listen to the women.

The Proboulos refuses and this leads to the Pnigos (532 - 8) where he is dressed up as a woman.

Thus Lysistrata reveals how the roles have been reversed and the capacity of the women to take charge.

Antepirrhema: (i) 551 - 64 - Lysistrata's plan whereby with the help of Aphrodite the men will be dissuaded from war and acting in martial, high-handed ways

(ii) 565 - 70 - the Proboulos' objection to women's ability to undertake the task is rebuffed by the comparison to disentangling a skein of thread

(iii) 571 - 86 - the comparison is clarified in great detail
\[ \phi' = \psi' = 0 \quad (11) \]

\[ \phi = 0 \quad \psi = 0 \quad (12) \]

\[ \text{or} \quad \phi = -\pi / 2 \quad \psi = -\pi / 2 \quad (12') \]

A. \quad \text{or} \quad \phi = \pi / 2 \quad \psi = \pi / 2 \quad (12'')

Another approach to analyze the... would... to...
(iv) 587 - 93 - the Proboulos states the women have no part in war, but Lysistrata reminds him that they bear sons to send to war and many remain maidens at home and grow old.

(v) 594 - 7 - the Proboulos objects that men also grow old, but Lysistrata points out that an old man can marry a young girl.

This leads to the Antipnigos (598 - 607) where the Proboulos is dressed up as a corpse.

Again, at the end, the Proboulos is reduced in farcical terms to a level which represents his status in the eyes of the women who have now assumed complete control.

The Agon is in no real sense a debate; it is virtually a one-sided exposition by Lysistrata spurred on by questions from the Proboulos (v. Gelzer, Ep. Agon 108ff.; C. T. Murphy, HSCP xlix (1938) 107ff.). The comparison of elements in the Agon to various styles of oratory prevalent at the end of the fifth century B.C. in Athens (v. Murphy loc. cit.) has been overdone. We are here dealing with a comedy, albeit in one of its seemingly traditional fixed parts (the "contest", real as that is in e.g. Clouds, Frogs etc.); the practicality is lacking and the episode serves to exaggerate or ridicule rather than persuade (v. T. Long, Persuasion and the Ar. Agon, TAPA ciii (1972) 285 - 99). Elements of the three traditional styles of ancient oratory, dicanic, symouleutic and epideictic have been identified from time to time in Aristophanic Agones (v. esp. Murphy & Gelzer loc. cit., and Burckhardt, Spuren der athenischen Volksrede in der alten Komödie, Basel 1924). Long stresses the major technique of epideictic oratory, auxesis, which he describes as "wonderfully compatible with Aristophanic comedy" (particularly the fantasy
and expansiveness of his work). While there is no doubt that Aristophanes will have been exposed to and influenced by the contemporary rhetoricians and their theories of rhetoric, it is perhaps over-subtle to identify his style too closely with elements of ancient rhetoric. Both comedy writers and orators were aiming at similar ends—both wished victory over their opponents; it is not surprising, therefore, that the techniques are similar whether the Agon is exposition (as here and Birds and Ecclesiazusae) or debate.

387.—With the Proboulus' entering words cf. Penteclus' angry entry at Eur.' Bacch. 215 ff. and Menelaus' at Or. 1554 ff.

\[ \text{\textit{ες ἐξελήμψε}: used in the literal sense at Pax 304; Av. 1712. Here it has a very forceful meaning, "burst forth", as at Plat. Gorg. 484A καὶ ἐφαίδευσε} \]

\[ \text{ἐξέλημψεν ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν δίκαιον; Symp. 175E ὥσει [σοφίαν]} \]

\[ \text{Διηράξε καὶ πέμψε ἐπίπεδον ἔχον, η ἔποια δὲν νέει} \]

\[ \text{εἴτε εἰς αὐτὴν ἑξελήμψε} \]

\[ \text{καὶ ἐκφυσε ἐγένετο ; Trag. Adesp. 500} \]

\[ \text{folios ἐξελήμψε θύειν φίλος} \]

\[ \text{Men. fr. 401, 4-5 ὥσει καὶ} \]

\[ \text{πόλιν/αὐτὴ τρυφὴ λημπτεί μὲν, ἐτο ὕδηγεν Χρόνεν.} \]

The same word can be used of a fever (Hp. V. M. 16) or a sound (Polyb. 15.31.1).

\[ \text{τρυφὴ: the word is combined with ἱκάλαια and ἐλευθερία at Plat. Gorg. 192C.} \]

388.—Τυμπανισμὸς: on τύμπανα and their association with the new orgastic cults v. on 3.

\[ \text{ἐξήθειν: on this Phrygian god, whose cult had only recently reached} \]
Athens v. MacDowell on Vesp. 9. Here the plural is used for Sabazian rites including the well-known cry άρηται. For further references to this and other Eastern cults in the comic poets (they were an obvious target for their wit) v. Ehrenberg p. 268.

289.- 'Αδωνευτος: the Άδωνις, in honour of Adonis and Aphrodite, were probably held in the summer (second half of July according to H. Weill, BCH 90 (1966) 664ff.); however it is possible that there was a subsidiary spring festival v. A. D. Nock, Gnom. 1934, 290 - 2, reviewing Deubner’s Attische Festes (p. 220ff.) and W. Atallah, Adonis dans la litterature et l'art grec (Paris 1966) 98ff.; 229ff. Deubner thinks that the Athenian women may have lost sight of the original meaning (mourning over the dead Adonis) and treated it as a case for jollification; v. further Pax 420; Men. Sam. 39-46 (with Austin and Gomme/Sandbach); F. Hauser JOEAI xii (1909) 90ff.; Gow on Theocr. xv (Vol. II p. 262ff.).

εύτη τῶν ἔγινων: the so-called "Adonis-gardens" (Άδωνευτος Κήπων) were either cultivated on the roofs of the houses or at least taken up there for the celebration; for illustrations v. Atallah loc. cit. p. 211ff.

391.- The Proboulos explains the particular occasion when he heard the wailing while in the Ekklesia.

μη λῆρος: this imprecation (equivalent to a strong ἀκριπας) is found in a fuller form at 1037 μη λῆρος (κολύμματα); so at Alexis fr. 266, 1; Luc. D. Meretr. 10.3; D. Deor. 6.4; Salt. 5, and possibly also at Men. Perik.l3l (Koerte ed. 3 prints μη λῆρος αυ γε ... (κατα, but in his critical note seems to incline to Schwartz’s λῆρος γε; and the latter is printed as a supplement at Phasm. 43, although Koerte ed. 1 had had λῆρος σου γε). It is true that λῆρος is later used in the same sense as λῆρος (the scholiast on Luc. D. Deor 6.4 accuses Lucian of a solecism in writing ἀβιδι, and says he ought to have written λῆρος)

ο.γ. Theophyl. Ep. 17, but this is due possibly to a sort of "contamination" with the well-attested εἰς λῆρος (from H. Hymn. xxvi, 12 onwards) v. Gow
on Theocr. xv, 74. For further examples of all these forms v. Haynes on this line, and the references there cited. The form ἔνωξεν is an old dative v. P. Chantraine, Morph. Hist. du Grec ed. 2, 1961 p. 51.

The hiatus in this phrase is explicable as being in a fixed phrase cf. ἔνωξεν εἰς, ἔνωξεν διό etc.

Δημοσθένεια: no. 3611 in Kirchner; Plut. Alc. 18. 3; Nic. 12, 6 give us this name for the man mentioned by Thucy. vi, 25, 1 as ἵππος γεγογγιότας, the one who goaded Nicias into a firm pronunciation on the forces he would need for Sicily (and, according to Plutarch, the one who was the author of the decree mentioned in Thucy. vi, 26, 1, that the generals should have full powers in the expedition; although that may be an inference from this passage of Aristophanes). Dover on Thucy. vi, 8, 1-2 (Vol. IV p. 223f.) shows that there were a number of assemblies connected with the Sicilian expedition: he adds: "Ar. Lyg. 387ff. shows that the Adonia coincided with one assembly, but does not tell us which, since ἔνωξεν ἔνωξεν etc. would be a natural way of saying in verse what might be more precisely expressed in prose: "Demonstrates proposed, in the course of the debate about the implementation of the decision to sail to Sicily, the enrolment of hoplites from Zacyntos". 

πάντως εἰς εἰς ἔνωξεν ἐν ὑπάρχειν is, as it were, the μεν - clause which restates what is taken for granted." We are here in danger of asking too much of a comic poet. It would be well-known that Demonstrates was a prime mover in the proposals for the Sicilian expedition; it would also be remembered that the Adonia celebrations had taken place at a time when these proposals were made, whether they were the first set (as A. D. Nock loc. cit. thinks, who wishes to date the Adonia to spring at this time) or the second (as Dover implies; so also A. Pignateli REG 50 (1937) 1 - 8). All Aristophanes is doing is associating these two things, proposals for the Sicilian expedition and the ill omens of the Adonia, to show the point of view of the Proboulos: "look what happened the last time women's celebrations coincided with important
decisions of the state; disaster followed". The latter naturally shares the
hatred of all like Demostratos who had anything to do with instigating this
fateful proposal, which was to prove so damaging to Athens. (cf. 397).

392.- η γυνή : schol. η ἐκ γείτων, wrongly, I think
(unless, as Rogers suggests, the article is used to denote the woman he was
picturing in his mind when he spoke of the Adonis-wailing on the roof);
η γυνή coming so closely after Ανησυχίας should refer to his
wife (μεν ... οὗ also makes this likely). It makes the point even stronger
when the accursed Demostratus' wife is also involved in bringing disaster on
Athens.

ὁ χορεύτης : dancing would be an integral part of the orgiastic cult cf.
Men. Sam. 46 ὁρχομαι (West).

392.- Αἰδή Αἴσιον : the mournful cry that formed one of the bad
omens for the Sicilian expedition: cf. Bion, Lament for Adonis, 32 αἱ
τὸν Αἴσιον, 89 - 90, αἰδή / αἰδή ... τὸν Αἴσιον

394.- καταλέγειν : 'to draw up a list', 'to enrol': cf. Ach.

katathēkēs was the official service-roster set up near the Statues
of the Eponymi v. Eq. 1369 (with Neil & Rogers' notes) and Pax. 1180ff.
περιφέρεις ... Ζακυνθίαν : we know from Thuc. vi. 22, 1; 25, 2 that
Nicias proposed to take a great number of hoplites with him to Sicily, from
Athens and the allies (not less than 5,000). In the list of forces which
Thucydides catalogues at vii, 57, we see that Demostratos' proposal was carried,
for the Zacynthians are there mentioned.

395.- ἡπὶ τοῖς πεπτωκοί : "half-seas over", the usual comic charge
against woman. Γ has πεπτωκόι; for the same corruption cf. Pax. 874
(R and V have ἡπὶ πεπτωκότες and ζέ RV Ald. have ἡπὶ πεπτωκότες)
and Eccl. 142 (R ἐπετειπτωκότες, τῆς ἐπετειπτωκότες, A ἐπετειπτωκότες).

κάλε κεκράγει ζεβίνειν; Eur. Tro. 627 ἐκροὺς πεῖρας
κεπάκο ψημυν νεκρόν.
ἐβιλέτο: "kept forcing his proposal" (Hlaydes), not put off at all by
the bad omen of the tailing women: so often in Demosthenes e.g. xvii, 3;
xxi, 40; 189; 205; xxv, 38; Prooem. xxviii, 1.
397. Θεσίην ἔχορος: v. on 283.
Χαλόζυπης: nothing to do with the deme Cholargos, as Bergler was the
first to suggest. The name is a comic distortion of Βουζύνης, a member
of the old and famous family from which Demostratus came (cf. Eup. frr. 96 -
7: (i) Α. βίτωρ γάρ ἑστε νῦν τις, ἐν γείσεω δέσειν; (ii) Β. ὁ Βουζύνης ἀριστος ἀληθηριος. Χαλάν and γείσευ -
Χαλάν are used as synonyms of madness v. Taillardat sect. 478; Austin on
Men. Asp. 306; H. Flashar, Melancholie und Melancholiker (Berlin 1966) 37f; W. Müri, Mus. Helv. x (1953) 34. VanDaele is better served by French than
we are by English in translating this name: "cet infame Fou-zigès". For a
similar comic distortion of names v. Ran. 429 (Hippóbinos for Hipponikos).
398. - The Proboilos has shown his obvious hatred for Demostratus and
now turns to the women.
Α'κολοθήματα: Coulon's reversion to Bentley's reading seems wrong.
Neither Photius 62. 2 nor Bekk. An. 367, 20 are certain enough to provide
evidence that Aristophanes used this form here, although, of course, the word
is a perfectly good one (v. L. S. J. s. v.). Indeed Bekk. An. 367, 20 has
Α'κολοθήματα, which may imply what the Mss. almost give, Α'κολοθ-
ὁματα, which Dobree was the first to propose. It is possible that this
form should also be read at Anaxandr. 73, and Alciphr. I, 38. At Thesm. 198
we have the form Τοῖς Τεκνάλαμαν (an Euripidean word); thus Α'κολοθ-
ὁματα would not surprise us here. Certainly this word is to be preferred
to Α'κολοθ - ὅματα which Hall & Geldart read (= Α') (although
Luc. Sall. 2 ἐσθῆτο μαλακῶς καὶ ἔμπωσιν ἀκολοθοῖς ἐφιππέγονος
would be a parallel). The verb \( διαλυτήνειν \) occurs at Av. 1227; Mnemos. 4, 19 etc.

\( \lambda π' \lambda ιτίν \) : this is read universally now; but R's \( \muτ' \) seems to me possible. H. van Herwerden (Mnem. xxxii (1904) 266) defends \( \muτ' \) on the grounds that a verbal noun in Greek sometimes takes a verbal construction, although he admits that one in fact expects no preposition at all here. Perhaps \( \lambda π' \) arose from the similar beginning of l. 406. For \( \upsilon \thetaο\) with a verbal substantive cf. Plat. Rep. 359a \( \tauο \upsilon \thetaο \nuκου \) \( \epsilonπί \tauα\gammaμα \) (= \( \epsilonπι\tauα\tauτοκενον \) ) and the other examples in L. S. J. s. v. A.

II. l. \( \ετιν \ διαλυτήνειται \) here may stand for \( \διαλυτήνειται \).

399. - \( \tauι \deltaητ \'ιν, ει \) : "what would you say if ... " v. Dover on Nub. 154 and P. T. Stevens, CQ xxxi (1937) 184. The old men claim an even greater outrage has been performed against them.

400. - \( \tauδαρ θ' \) : for the more usual \( \tauδ \tauθαρ \) cf. 353. This makes Dobree's \( \gamma' \) unnecessary.

402. - \( \epsilonνεορηκότας \) : incontinence is also attributed to old men at Eup. 45 \( \deltaρι \sigmaφόρ' \) \( \epsilonνεορηκότας \) \( \epsilonιωμένη \) \( \gamma\epsilonρν \).

The old men merely succeed in making themselves even more ridiculous by their comparison.

403. - \( \νι τον \tauον \ποσείδαν \ldots \) \( \epsilonικαλ' \) \( \gammaε \) : for the expression cf. Thesm. 85. and v. Denniston p. 128 on \( \gammaε \) in such phrases. Neil on Eq. 338 - 9 says: "The cath by Poseidon seems to be more powerful than one by other gods". It often expresses great surprise or disbelief v. Hillenwitz on this line and on Epitr. 142 for the same in Menander.

\( \tauον \) \( \λικέν \) : a comic epithet 'salty' for the more usual \( \epsilonλακτίκα \) (cf. Plut. 396), \( \epsilonλικέστα \) \( \tauο\nuτρα\τικεστα \) etc. The connection of Poseidon and water and the context here is most easily explained by the joke in \( \epsilonνεορηκότας \). It is appropriate to call on the sea god if you are addressing men who compare themselves to incontinents. Rogers is surely
wrong is saying that "the Magistrate is engaged in refitting the navy, and his mind is full of ships and seas:" this has not come up yet, and it would be out of place here. Elsewhere, at Nub. 83, Poseidon is given an epithet appropriate to the dramatic context: "Poseidon Hippios is the god naturally invoked by the horse Pheidippides" (Dover); cf. Eq. 551. The epithets and surnames of gods are a target for some humour at Plut. 1153 ff. (as at 396f.):

\[\text{εἰς ἐμπότις τὸν Ἐπινομίας Πολυάς ἔχειν}\]

says Cario at 1164 to Hermas. The Proboulos blames the male sex in general for indulging woman, implying that they have got what they deserved.

405. - ἦτερον : this is the Proboulos' key-word for describing the women's licentiousness cf. 387.

406. - \(\text{βλαστάνεις σουλόμενα} \): the words are taken from the famous lines of Aesch. Sept. 593f.:

\[\text{βλαστάνεις λεονταί διὰ θρίσιν καρποφοροῦν} \]

\[\text{εἰς ἤς τὰ κεφαλά βλαστάνεις σουλόμενα}.\]

There may be a conscious contrast here between the noble hero described in Aeschylus and the licentious women whose σουλόμενα are far from κεφαλά; or it may be that the metaphor was so common as to be used by Ar. with no such overtones and the reminiscence is unconscious. \(\text{βλαστάνει} \) is used figuratively at Soph. O. C. 611; El. 1095; Ant. 296.

407ff. - The Proboulos now gives examples of the way in which the men indulge the women. He "expresses his indignation by building up a whole construction of imaginary obscene situations around the - to his taste - too unsuspecting husbands" (T.M. de Wit-Tak, Mnem. xxi (1968) 360).

\(\text{δήμιουργὸς} \): on the artisan in Athens, his position, his work, and the organisation of his trade v. Ehrenborg p. 113ff. (and esp. 128ff.).

\(\text{ἐν} \): \(\text{ἐν} \) or \(\text{ἐν} + \text{genitive} \) is common, with ellipse of \(\text{ἄκιλα} \) or some such word cf. 1065 \(\text{ἐν} \text{ βασιλεία} \) etc., and v. Sobolowski p. 10f.


The accusative obviously troubled the scholiast (\(\text{πτο} \ \text{ὁ δέρμος Ἀτταίος} \)).
there is no real difficulty: "the antecedent, attracted into the case of the relative, is often prefixed to the relative clause, to mark with greater emphasis the subject of a coming statement" (Jebb on Soph. O.T. 449). Cf. also Plut. 200 ὅπως ἔγιν τὴν δύναμιν ἧν ὑμεῖς ἀπέτει ἐξελθεῖ, and the examples cited here by Bleydes; although here the break in construction is much stronger (v. Wilamowitz). ἐπεσκέψασθα: "repair!' as at Lys. fr. 34 Th. ἐπεσκέψασθα δύναμιν βουλεύομεν ἐξῆγουμεν εἰς τὸ ἄλκητέν, implying that this was not the first time this had happened. The word is used elsewhere in Aristophanes (Lys. 613; Eccl. 1147) in the sense of 'prepare well': at Lys. 613, R. again has omitted the ἐπερ.:  

409.- οὔτερας: 'one evening', cf. Ach. 616; Nub. 613; Vesp. 1401; Pax 228; Av. 1054.  

410.- τῇ δὲ ἱμάνος: literally, the pin by which the necklace is fastened, but looking forward to the double-entendre in 413, where it is the 'glans penis' - cf. Arist. HA 493a 27 and Machon 187 (Gou): so with τρίπτυχος, which is the hole into which the pin is fastened (so at Aen. Tact. 18.3), there is a similar double-entendre cf. Eccl. 906; so τρίπτυχος at Eccl. 624.  

411.- ἐμει ... ἐστ ... πεπεντετέρας: v. on 122.  

ζηλυφίνα: the island is far enough away for him to have to stay over-night and so he won't be at home. There is no need to imagine that the husband will be engaged in any sexual activity, although the Salaminians were reputedly highly-sexed (v. on 59).  

412.- τ.sendRedirect("head.html"); so τίς θείη μὴ χωνη at 300, q.v., 'by all means'. (τίς θείης θεόνης = 'by every possible device', as at Thesm. 271). πρὸς οὔτερας: the traditional time for sexual encounters: cf. Pax 966 ἐλαί ἐν οὔτερα / φθοράτης δύναται ἔνδρεσ  

Eccl. 1047; Plut. 998; 1201.
413. - ἐκεῖνον: with obvious ambiguity.

ἐνάρμοστον: the nearest modern equivalent might be: 'screw it in for hor'.

416-5. - The Proboulos' language gets more explicit, the more he is roused by the stupidity of these husbands. In 415, it is almost as if he was saying to these men: 'couldn't you see that he was a strapping young cobbler, in his prime for sex?' (venia often implies impetuosity or wilfulness v. Dodds on Eur. Bacch. 973-6; cf. Vesp. 1333.)

416-7.- Coulon's text cannot stand. ἀκτυλίδιον (from ἀκτυλίς) could only be 'a small ring'; for 'a little toe' (diminutive of affection here) we need ἀκτυλίδιον (from ἀκτυλίς). This was first seen by Porson ap. Kidd ad Dawes Misc. p. 384. For further demonstration that this is true v. O. Schneider Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 117 (1878) 103-112. Various solutions have been put forward. The one adopted by Blaydes, van Leeuwen and Wilamowitz is that of Porson ἔσκωτο-τε, ὅ ἀκτυλίδιον τοῦ ἔοδος | τοῦ τῆς γυναῖκος μεν πιέζει τῷ βοών.

This seems rather drastic but solves the difficulty (Wilamowitz thinks that it also makes ἔλθειον ἦν easier to take with ἀκτυλίδιον, but this does not seem so to me). Porson's solution also includes the removal of μεν from inside τῆς γυναῖκος as in the Mss, and however one finally reads these lines τῆς μεν γυναίκος must be emended (as Coulon does, following Meineke to μεν τῆς γυναίκος). Other solutions have involved some change in 417 as it stands in the Mss. e.g. Reisig's εἰπίζει, Dobrée: συμπίζει (both compounds seem odd in this context; one expects simply πίζει), Bothe's εἰν πίζει (which seems ridiculous), Meineke's ἀκτυλίδιον (which is a new word altogether), Schneider's ἀκτυλίδιον ἵδιον (ἀκτυλίδιον is never found in the sense of 'small too'), Dindorf's ἁφόδρα πίζει (which looks like a final effort of desperation). No solution has yet been proposed which removes the difficulty with ease. Therefore, it is perhaps best to adopt
Person's emendation; the order with ἐκτυλιζόμενον first, is similar to 408. The problem remains of the position of μου; one feels it ought to come earlier (cf. 409 and Austin on Men. Sam. 709) although there are passages like Antiph. I. 23 ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς μου τιθενεῖτε διότι μαίνεσθαι. Ὁ ἔνυον: the cross-strap of a sandal, which presses down on the wearer's toes (schol. ἔνυς ὅπερ τὴν ἐπικείμενον. Τίς γυναικείοις σανομάλαις ἐμπέπτε τοὺς ἐκτυλιζόμενος πρὸς τὸ συνεχεῖν ἔνυν· Ὀρθώνν τοῦ πόδα).


Τίς μεσανάβατος: the implication is perhaps that this is to be an even more open sexual adventure, not even shrouded by darkness; again emphasising the unsuspecting naiveté of the husbands, cf. Vesp. 500.

419.- καλαπέν: again the 'double-entendre' as with εὐρυτέρως: cf. Anth. Pal. v, 99, and the use of the adjective καλαπέν at Pherecr. 145, 5 (also καλαπέν perhaps v. L. S. J. s.v.). καλαπέν at Thesm. 263 need not be an allusion to Agathon's εὐρυπρωκτίς, although some have seen it as such.


420.- άινύνθικα: in the sense 'turn out' van Leeuwen cf. Plut. Flamin. 376a Τίτις . . . οὐκ ἐγὼ έπενένως μένον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς πάντων ἐν πάντων ἀσφαλῶς καὶ δύναμιν ἐν χόρει ἀρκής σήμερον οὕτως 

Terent. Adolph. 508-9 verum nimia illae licentia propterto evadit in aliquod iungut magnum malum.

421.- ὅ πτε ἔγω: Wilamowitz' explanation of the sense and the corruption is certainly correct: "Als er Τοιούτος sagt, hat er das Beispiel schon im Sinne, es kann also nur mit ὅτε engeschlossen werden wie Wollk. 1217. ὅτε γέ würde etwas ganz neues vorbringen. Entstanden ist diese Überlieferung so, dass das volgeschriebene ἔγω ein ὡ über sich erhielt,


die Elision zu bezeichnen. Solche Erscheinungen in allen Texten sind zahlreich".

προφοβούλος: on this office v. introduction.

ἐκπορίας: the word used by Thucydides (viii, 1, 3; 4, 1) for the procuring of timber and money for the new fleet (after the disaster in Sicily) is ἕις κύπελλον.

422.- κυπέλλον: Hesychius, κυπέλλον· τὸ ἐἰς κύπελλον εὐθέτα δεόματι: so Ath. 552. Timber was a constant supply problem for the Athenians (it was one reason for the Sicilian expedition). We know from Thucydides (viii, 1 and 4) that the Athenians were collecting timber and money from every available source to build a new fleet after the Sicilian disaster; even the reserve fund of 1,000 talents could now be used (v. on 1. 174). Here the Proboulos has managed to negotiate a supply of timber for ears, and is coming to get the money which is stored on the Acropolis (cf. 174). Andocides ii, 11 gives a good illustration of the truth of such happenings referring to this very year, ἐίς κύπελλον ἐἰς ὁπραγματεύομαι τῆς πρᾶγματα ἐνεφεύρομεν κατεδάφισθαν ὑπὸ Ἀρχελάου (cf. Is. 105) γενοῦ πατρικῶν καὶ διδόντος γένεσθαι τῷ καὶ ἐξεκλείου ὑπὸ ἐπιτύχους ἐθνικῷ ἐθνείσθαι, τὸ τῶν δὲ ἐκπορίας τοῦ κυπέλλον καὶ τῶν κατεδαφισθέντων ὑπὸ ἐνεργεῖσθαι κατεστήσας τὰς διαγραφὰς τῶν πατρών τῶν ἑαυτῶν δεξίοις, οὐκ ἐκδήλως πρᾶγμα πράγματι πλέον ἢ ἐσοφ ἐμα τακτός τῆς κυπέλλον

tαργυρίου: the fact that the state-treasury was on the Acropolis was one of the reasons for the women taking it over (v. 174ff.), and this is made even more explicit in the debate between Lysistrata and the Proboulos at 428ff.

423.- τῶν τιμῶν: the genitive is perfectly normal cf. Hdt. v, 104 and the examples cited in L. S. J. s.v. ἀποκλήσις I, 1. The dative is found at Eccl. 420; Vesp. 775 etc.
The Proboulos instructs his Scythian archers to bring up the crowbars in order to force an entry into the Acropolis. The Proboulos again may reflect the tragic hero; like Jason in Medea (1314ff.) a woman is to stop his attempts at getting inside; cf. also Menelaus at Eur. Or. 1561 ff., where Orestes stops his attempts at entry. The Scythian archers are, however, not so obedient or quick to comply as the προστεθησει of tragedy (v. on 426).

οἰκέω : for this form of aorist v. P. Chantraine, Morph. Hist. sect. 265: other examples in Aristophanes of a similar type are ἡμετέρες (Nub. 1323, where see Dover’s note) and διωκόμεις (Nub. 1482). Although these other forms are found in Plato and other prose writers, ἐξελέω is confined to poetry, and high poetry at that; its use here, therefore, may elevate the tone of the Proboulos’ words, which would be in keeping with his reminiscence of a tragic hero.

For the construction v. on 380.


σύ : emphatic.

ἡ : never in high poetry: on its origins and use v. Denniston pp. 24-7; 581.

ποίων : generally both Greeks and Romans use no word for ‘doing’ in such phrases, but there are exceptions v. Headlam/Knox on Herodas v, 24.

κατηφελέων : "inn", "public house", a jibe at the Scythian’s propensity for drink.

κοινων : for this literal sense of “look out for”, cf. Ach. 96 κοινωνον.
I81

\( \text{o} \text{K} \text{O} \text{N} \text{i} \text{s} \).

428.- Once again the Proboulos encourages the policemen to apply the crowbars to the gates of the Acropolis; he is even willing to lend a hand himself. Note the repetition of \( \mu \epsilon \chi \lambda \delta \) and its associated verbs. Dover (Lustrum ii (1957) 62) suggests that this invigorates the argument, and there is certainly what he calls elsewhere (Greek Word Order, 1960, p. 50 n. 3) scornful repetition by Lysistrata. It may be, however, that there is something funny about this word \( \mu \epsilon \chi \lambda \delta \), which we no longer see, as C. J. Herington (Gnomon xv (1968) 136) has suggested.

430.- The gates of the Acropolis open before the Scythians can get at them, and Lysistrata and her companions come out to face the Proboulos. It seems more likely to me that she should come out with her friends, (although they perhaps stay in the background by the gates coming forward only when Lysistrata is threatened cf. 446) than that she should come out alone, and her friends only come out when physical violence is offered.

431.- \( \alpha \nu \text{K} \text{O} \text{P} \text{K} \text{A} \text{N} \text{T} \) : there is a certain haughty pride in Lysistrata's opening words.

432.- \( \gamma \lambda \rho \) : van Leeuwen seemed troubled by it, and suggested "\( \nu \nu \) . But \( \gamma \lambda \rho \) explains Lysistrata's rather surprising (to the Proboulos) \( \tau \iota \ \delta \varepsilon \iota \ \mu \epsilon \chi \lambda \delta \nu \nu \) ; If he had wondered for a moment what she meant by this (could there be reconciliation in the air?), his hopes are dashed by her explanation: "You don't need crowbars, you need \( \nu \nu \iota \) \( \kappa \alpha \iota \ \delta \rho \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \) ."\n
\( \nu \nu \iota \ \kappa \alpha \iota \ \delta \rho \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \) : the combination is found elsewhere at Thesm. 291; Ran. 534; Cratin. fr. 65; Eup. Dem. 44 (Pago GLP p. 210); Dem. 18, 324; 25, 33. \( \delta \rho \varepsilon \varepsilon \iota \) itself is a poetical word v. Rutherford, New Phryn. p. 9, except that an E. W. Handley (Rh.M. xcix (1956) 209) says, "the combination (of \( \nu \nu \iota \) and \( \delta \rho \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \)) is hardly poetic; perhaps it had a limited currency in elevated or emotional discourse". \( \delta \rho \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \) is used, as both Rutherford and Handley point out, quite often in idioms to denote aberration of intellect.
e.g. Andoc. 2. 7 (with Albini’s note); Lys. fr. 90Th.; Eup. fr. 357 etc.

432-47.— Those lines, together with 469-84, are preserved in a papyrus fragment, belonging to the end of the fourth century or beginning of the fifth century A.D., published by B. P. Grenfell & A. S. Hunt, Some classical fragments from Hermopolis (Mélanges Nicole, Geneva 1905, 217-220), and discussed also by K. Holzinger, Erklärungen umstrittener Stellen des Aristophanes ii AMM 1931, 32-5. The differing readings will be discussed at each line in question.

433.— ἦ μὴ ἀρετὴ σὺν: J. G. Griffith (CR xviii (1968) 9) has discussed this type of expression in Greek comedy. He has, however, overlooked a number of instances (e.g. PSI vii 846 vol. i. 5; Eup. Dem. 69 (Page GLP μ. 212), etc.) and some of his conclusions seem suspect. He states that this type of expression is confined, when used in the masculine, to the last place in an iambic trimeter (it is not found in any other metre) and used only by social equals. Here he suggests the feminine has precluded the normal position at the end of the line (the only other feminine usage, at Eccl. 935, is not so precluded). This rather begs the question, and are we to conclude that the Proboulos and Lysistrata are social equals?

πῶς ἦματος: at first sight the papyrus appears to confirm this reading, but Grenfell and Hunt’s note is interesting: "ἐὰν ἦματος is doubtful, the remaining vestige being more like the bottom of a τ." Considering that the Proboulos had more than one τὸ ἔστι with him, and looking at the other similar questions in this passage (444, 445), van Leeuwen’s τῶς ἐστι (better written τῶς ἐστι) τὸ ἔστι is possible (although, of course, scribes often forgot the elision and the papyrus may not mean much).

434.— The Proboulos again acts like the outraged hero: cf. Eur. Andr. 125f., where Menelao says: ἀδίεσθε μου τὸ ἔστι, ἀμβελίζωντες κέρας, διώκεις; Bacch. 503; Ion. 1266.
The repetition of this phrase in 439, 443, 447 comically emphasises the threats of the women, and the consequent gradual retraction on the part of the Proboulos and his men. Its effectiveness would be all the clearer on stage. For similar threats v. on 365, and add Eur. Hipp. 1086; Hol. 1444; Rkld. 270; Aesch Suppl. 925 etc.

νυ μὴν Ἀρτέμιν: the oath is a common one among women cf. 922, 949; Thesm. 517, 569 (the old man pretending to be a woman), 742; Eccl. 90, 136; Men. Dysk. 874. Here it may be particularly appropriate, for a woman who is defending herself might with justice call on the goddess of inviolable chastity, and a woman who is defending herself against a Scythian archer (ToΣόμος) might justly invoke the goddess of the hunt, whose constant associate is arrows (cf. epithets ΤοΣίτης, ΤοΣεῦμανς, ΤοΣάτις, ΤοΣεῦρος), although this is perhaps over-subtle.


436.- Συμβολὴς ἀν: there are two ways of taking this: it can belong to the subordinate clause (as the Ms. γ) and mean 'if he lays a finger on me, he a mere public servant', or it can be taken with ἄριστος (so most modern editors after Bergler) and mean 'if he lays a finger on me, he will suffer for it, public servant though he be! Ehrenberg (p. 175) rightly points out that "the comedians hardly ever suggest any resentment on the citizens' part at the power of the Scythians", and, although he himself takes this passage as an exception, I think it more likely that the concessive force of the phrase, linked closely with ἄριστος, is to be understood here. For, in this way, Lysistrata can raise herself even higher in the estimation of the women, and the Proboulos, by daring to resist even a public
official; to reduce the Scythian at this point to 'a mere public servant' (the phrase is Rogers'; he seems to want the best of both worlds), would be to reduce her own status.

437.—The proud threats of Lysistrata have their effect on the policeman; he covers back, and the Proboulos remonstrates with him, and offers him the help of another Scythian.

οὖς: "Hi! to attract attention, as often in Ar. " (MacDowell on Vesp. 1).


cf. scynthia τινα ἀμβδνειν or ἔξειν is a common phrase, which may originate from wrestling cf. Ach. 274; 571; Eq. 388; Nub. 1047; Ran. 469; Eccl. 260. (Taillardat sect. 579). Here ἰψαρησεῖ strengthens the usual phrase.

438.—The dual itself is by no means a rarity in Aristophanes v. J. W. Poultney AJPh 1xxiv (1963) 363 ff.; but to have both participle and finite verb in the dual is rarer, but cf. ran. 407-8; Plut. 485.

χανύσατε: 'and quick about it': very common in Comedy, v. L. S. J. s. v. ii, 2.

439ff.—The attribution of lines again becomes a problem v. introduction.

439—νη τὴν Πανδροσοῦ: Pandrosos, Agraulos and Herse were the three daughters of Cecrops and Agraulos. The last of these is never found invoked, but Agraulos was more frequently than Pandrosos (cf. Thesm. 533 and schol. ad loc.). The shrine of Pandrosos was on the Acropolis, in the Erechtheum; cf. Paus. I. 27. 3 τὴν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδροσοῦ ναὸς δωνεχέσ ὡτε. It was appropriate that one of the women holding the Acropolis should swear by one of its deities.

τάτηρ: Lysistrata.

441.- ἴδιν γ' : this is often used with or without γε in scornful or contemptuous replies, picking up the previous speaker's words cf. Eq. 87; 344; 703; Nub. 818; 872; 1469; Pax. 198; Thesm. 206; Ran. 1205; Eocl. 93, 133, 136. Cf. πέτος at Eq. 160 - 2; Av. 1231 - 3. v. H. W. Miller, AJPh lxvi (1945) 404 and Denniston p. 129.

Ποῦ ἵστιν ἔτερος Τῷ ὄρνος : the Proboulos calls for a third Scythian (ἔτερος L. S. J. s. v. ii. a. and Kassel on Men. Sicyon. 217). The papyrus has άθρ', which is unmetrical; one might restore Ποῦ ἵστιν ἔτερος Τῷ ὄρνος, but this would be too vague.

442.- καὶ : on this use in causal clauses, meaning virtually 'even', 'actually' v. Denniston p. 296f. and cf. Nub. 1177; Pax 401; Ran. 509.

443.- νὴ τὴν Ἐσσήφορον : the same oath, with no further deity mentioned, is used at 738 and Antiph. fr. 58, 5. The epithet is usually applied to Hecate, as at Thesm. 858, fr. 594c, Eur. H. 569, occasionally to Artemis as moon-goddess e.g. Eur. I. T. 21; Call. Dism. 204 (these two goddesses were often identified v. Farnell, Cults ii. 516ff.). A statue of Hecate called Ἐπίποργες stood next to the temple of Athena Nike near the Propylaea (Paus. ii, 30, 2); so here another deity that has to do with the Acropolis is involved in the defence of the women.

444.- Κυλόν : bruises and black eyes (υφώπτω ) had cupping-glasses (also called σκύκα ) applied to them v. Arist. Pr. 890 b 7; cf. Pax 541 - 2 καὶ τῶν διαμνίων ὑπωπυργοκαί / ἱππείτα τέλει καὶ καὶ κυλόν προσκεκέρατο τῷ Απόλλωνι. fr. 3 Κυλόν ἐβομμή τοῖς ὑπωπτίσις. Eur. fr. 374 η κυλόν ... προσκεκέρατο τοῖς ὑπωπτίσις.

445.- τοῦτ' τι πών : v. on 350.

Ποῦ Τῷ ὄρνος : cf. Av. 1021 Ποῦ προσέβαινοι ; Pax 1059 Ποῦ πρά- τεξά; the Proboulos taken aback, looks about for yet another Scythian to lend a hand.

446.- Τιν' ὑμῖν : cf. Nub. 1491 καὶ τιν' ὑμῖν τῷ πρὸσεβείν οὖν \[διψάμενοι \] τοῖς ὑπωπτίσις, with Dover's note.
The word has military overtones (v. L. S. J. s. v. I, 2), and is used of the "purposeful departure of a military force" from a place that has been captured (Dover, Ar. Comedy, p. 155).

This name and suggests that it may represent by this time (and by inference in Aristophanes) a blending of two originally separate cults of Artemis, the first (the real Ταυροπόλος), a Greek cult connected with bulls, and the second that of Artemis Ταυρική (or Ταυρός), of Asiatic origin, a bloody orgiastic cult brought (traditionally) to Brauron from the Tauric Chersonese by Iphigeneia and Orestes. Certainly in the Euripides passage, it is the Tauric Artemis who receives the title Ταυροπόλος, and Jebb argues that in Sophocles "associations derived from both the cults of Artemis were blended in the poet's mind, as they probably were in the popular thought and language of his time" (v. Appendix to Ajax p. 221 - 2). Lysistrata, then, is again (as in 435) swearing by the inviolable Artemis, but the use of this name, with its often brutal associations, may lend force to her following threat.

This is Blaydes' suggestion for the MSS. ΕΚΚΟΚΚΙΩ (on that verb v. on 364). It seems right to me cf. Thesm. 567 ἐκιποκιβω τὼς πόλεως; Theocr. V, 26 τής Πίκας ἐντ' ἱμαίν ἐποίησε ; It is a metaphor from the shearing of wool (cf. Lys. 685 ποιήσας ἔθεσεν δημός πετατεῖν οἰκ νεκτομίνεν). Taillardat sect. 536 rightly comments on this line: "Il y a un contraste burlesque entre l'emploi vulgaire d'ἐκιποκιβων et l'hypallage poétique qui applique le néologisme οἴνοικοκυκτός aux cheveux!" The compound (cf. Soph. Ant. 1316 ὑμείς ΚΥΚΤΟΣ) is explained by the scholiast: ἐφ' ἐς οἴνοικος πίθα, modelled on the sort of phrase we find at Plut. 612 ΚΑΛΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΝ.
if we accept what the Mas give us, then 

must mean 'has failed' in some sense, either in number (as Ar. 1106; Vesp. 1445) or in strength (as Eccl. 620), and 

will be either the specific Scythian whom he has last addressed, or will be a collective noun like at 462, and etc. One objection to the second view of is given by H. van Herworden (Mnem. xxxii (1904) 266), that the feminine or the neuter forms are used for collective nouns of this kind, not the masculine. If one takes as collective then it seems to me better to regard not as of number (for he has called on four Scythians, and only three women have spoken, although more may be in the background), but as of strength: 'they have failed to come to grips with the women', and so he suggests a combined assault. If is singular, then the same sense of will be necessary. One feels, however, the need of a general statement of failure at this point, and with the difficulty of as collective, van Leeuwen's is the original intrusive gloss; he notes that R reads is worth considering. would be a humorously grand word to apply to his Scythian policemen cf. Ach. 156.

Again the Proboulos' words take on a tragic air; cf. Soph. Ant 679 The topos is common with authoritative men who get into trouble with women e.g. Kreon (Soph. Ant. 434 - 5; 525) and Pentheus (Eur. Bacch. 785 - 6).

Military phraseology this time, again humorously elevating his few Scythians to the level of an organised company of soldiers. For or cf. Eccl. 863; Thucy. ii, 62, 3; iv, 92, 7; Xen. Anab. v, 4, 26 etc.

Iphigistra replies in similar military terminology; to the four Scythians whom the Proboulos has so far called upon, she opposes 4 companies
of well armed women.

455. - Ἰπομένετε : the same instruction as he had given at 434 κατώτερον τῷ Κέφε ἄνει ; cf. Od. 22, 173; 189 - 90; Soph. O. T. 1154.

456. - At the threat of the advancing Scythians, Lysistrata calls on the women in the Acropolis to come out and ward off the attack.

ζύμης : the military phraseology is continued, as in ἐκβείτ', cf. Xen. Hell. iii, 1, 7 ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκ βεόντες .

457f. - As Ehrenborg says (p. 114): "The 'egg-and-seed-and-potherb-market-girls', and 'garlic-selling-barmaid-bakehouse-girls' ware true dames des halles". One need add little more; the woemn of the market would be natural enemies of the police, and ideal allies for Lysistrata here. To be from the agora was enough to make one formidable cf. Eq. 161 ἐτιν' ποιημένος καὶ ἄγρος ἐκ καὶ ἔρωτος , but the παρακεντρίζ and ἀποτάσσω were notorious for their powers of invective and abuse (Ehrenborg loc. cit.) cf. 460; Plut. 426ff., Vesp. 138ff., Ran. 858 etc. For ἄκιδος ('gruel!', rather than 'egg-yolk') v. 562. οὐτος ὢν ('garlic!') was given to gamecocks to prime them for fighting (cf. Eq. 494; 946; Ach. 166; Pax. 502 etc.), and here perhaps the bellicosity is transferred to the sellers of the garlic. On these women traders v. Ehrenborg loc. cit., and H. W. Haley, HSCPh i (1890) 174 f; for a list of commodities sold in the agora v. R. E. Wycherley, The Athenian Agora Publications Vol. 3, Literary & Epigraphic Testimonia, Princeton 1957, 193 · 206. The comic compounds here (cf. Av. 491 etc.) are further emphasised by the ὑποτείλετο ; the same is true of the build-up of verbs in 459ff. cf. C. W. Reppler, Comic Terminations (1902), 15 (it was popular trait of Antiphanes).

459. - ἐκτείνετ', παῖσετ', ἄρρητε (the Mss. ἄρρητε , cf. Plut. 476, is a cry for help, which is not in place in this line) are all strong words: cf. Hecuba's cry at Eur. Tro. 2792. ἄρρητε κρατά κομίσαν , ἐλκ' ὄνυχας διπτυχον παρεῖν . ἐκτείνετ' is sometimes
applied to the physical attacks of men on women e.g. Lys. i, 12; here the idea is reversed. For ἀρέτη cf. Nub. 1359; 1373 (cf. Taillardat sect. 628).

Παραπέτα : for this form of the future cf. Nub. 1125.

With this attack, cf. that of Edolyceon and his servants on the chorus at Vesp. 455ff.

461.- The Scythians have been defeated, and Lysistrata can now recall her troops, still using military terms.

Παραπέτα : on the difficulty of deciding the form of such imperatives v. MacDowell on Vesp. 37 and O. Bachmann, Phil. Suppl. 5 (1889), 243.

σκυλεύετε : 'the mot juste' for stripping the arms (and even clothes) of a slain enemy; Lysistrata humorously commands the women not to go as far as this in their victory.

462.- The Proboulos again (as at 449) bewails the defeat of his Scythians.

To ἡγίκαν : collective as at D. C. 36. 47; Mim. Oxy. 413. 198 (Page GLP p. 338, line 11), elevating his few archers to something far grander.

463.- ἥλιος ... γυνή : 'well, what did you expect' (Denniston p. 108): cf. Ach. 594; Pax. 222.

Στίλεσ : for pride in being free cf. 379, and, with similar indignant question, Av. 1244f., ὡς ἔρθε καὶ φίλος, Ποτορια οὐκ ᾔρυξεν/ ταύτα Ἀγναύ μορμολύττεσθαι σοκεῖς; (a parody of Eur. Alc. 675f.); Men. Asp. 175f. (with Austin's note).


Χολίν : like the even commoner Χ'λος, it means very often 'anger', of which 'bile' or 'gall' was a symptom; first in Archil. fr. 96; cf. Thesm. 468 ἄριστος Πηγάζειν Θῦν Χολίν (the bile, as symptom of the
anger, boils up); Vesp. 403 ζι’ μέλλομεν κυρίων ἔκτισιν τὴν Χόλην etc. (cf. the similar use of 'bilis' in Latin). Other comic examples include Eubul. fr. 61 ευκ ξεν αὐτες ἐν Χόλην ὀξειος; Alex. fr. 146, 5 Τιθέν γε καὶ μετὰ γυναικές Χόλης.

466.- The Proboulos manages to get the last word, a jibe at the women's traditional propensity for drink: "they have the courage to be angry only when there's drink nearby". Compare the similar sentiment at Thesm. 735ff. 

Θερμότατα γυναικας, ἰδιοτάτα / κακ πάντως ὑμεῖς μεθυνόμεναι πεῖν; / ἤ γάρ καπνάσας ἄλλες ἡμῖν σὲ λο κακὸν

Plat. fr. 174, 4 ἤν τὸν καπνὸν νοοῖς ἐντεῖνας μείζον δοκεῖν.

καπνασας : cf. 427; the καπνασας was looked down on, and the word came to mean "a cheat", v. Ehrenberg p. 114.

467ff.- The Agon, introduced by 9 iambic tetrameters, giving the reaction of the two choruses to the situation, the old man still disgruntled by the treatment from the women, and the latter reaffirming that they are modest and retiring creatures unless provoked.

467.- The old men resume the grand style with this form of address, expressed in words reminiscent of tragedy.

ἐνιαίης : for this metaphorical sense with 'words' cf. Thesm. 1130f.

δοξα/μέλλων ἀκινθίας 2η (in the mouth of Euripides); Soph.

Ajax. 1049 Τίνες Χρίν Θέονος ἀκινθίας λόγον; Eur. Med. 325 λόγους ἀκινθίας; Suppl. 547 ομόν γε τὸν καπνὸν τῆς ἀληθείας πέρα τῆς ἐπίθετος.

ἐπίθετος : also poetic: cf. 339.

προβούλει τὰς ἀλήθεις : the added genitive gives a poetic feel cf. Aesch. Sept. 1006 εἶμινον προβούλεις προέει καθεχας πελώς.

468.- εἰς λόγους συναίτητας : the plural is more likely in the high-style cf. Eur. Phoen. 702 εἰς εἴς λόγους συνάιτητας Πολυνεικος κοιλεῖν; Soph. El. 21 συναίτητας λόγοις συναίτητας is a very common word in Euripides. The singular form εἰς λόγον is found
occasionally with ἐψχομένος, ἑνδέκα (e.g. Eq. 806; Nub. 471) for
the commoner ἐς ἀγγέλος, but the parallels from tragedy seem to
confirm the plural here.

τοῖς ὑπερίοις: this use of ὑπερίον to denote a coarse or stupid
person is a comic usage v. Taillardat sect. 450 n. 1; ὑπέρ is the
tragic word. Thus here ὑπερίοις undermines the grand tones of the old
mon. For the animal qualities of the chorus of women cf. 353 (developed in
475); 476; 684; 695; 1014f.

XXXIV. 469ff. – 469 – 484. are found in a disappointingly mutilated form in the
papyrus mentioned at 433 q.v. Again individual points will be discussed as
they arise at any particular line.

470.-- The ignominly suffered by the old men is stressed by the emphasis
on ἑνδέκα ἰματισμοῖς, but comically undercut by the joke
at the end of the line cf. 377.

κονιά: 'lye-soap' v. 377; perhaps here a play on ἀκονίτι.
καὶ Ταττώ: cf. 378; 530.

471.-- προτετέρειν τὴν Χ ἑπ': cf. 435ff.

472.-- κυλοσέαν: τὰ κυλά are the parts under the eyes,
and the verb denotes the swelling of these parts cf. Theocr. I, 38 ἐν ὕπερ ὕπερτος ἑνδέκα κυλοσεάων (with Gow's note); here, of course, as
the result of blows cf. 444. For similar verbs in ἱλείν or ἱλεἳν denoting
disease or sickly condition v. H. W. Miller, TAPA lxxvi (1945) 76; Lather-Forde,
N.Ph. p. 153; Starkie, Ach. iiii 6b. Some were possibly coined by Aristophanes
to be used for comic effect.

473.-- ἐπεί ὅτε ὅτα: ὅτα is used only in Aristophanes in
formuilaric phrases like ἑν τῶν ὅταν ὅταν etc., or in parodies or quotations
of tragedy where the Ionic ὅτα is the norm (cf. Bachmann, Coniect. i
(1878) 71 – 6; KB i. 187). Later ὅτα becomes common, v. Milamouitz on
Bur. Her. 18; for ὅτα and ὅτα in Middle and New Comedy v. F. H.
Sandbach, Fond. herm. xvi, 118 – 9. For the quite rare prodelision after
(there is another example at 605 below) v. M. Platanauer CQ x (1960)

141 - 2.

ἰστεῖρ κέρας καθεσθαι: the verb often has the overtones of sitting
doing nothing cf. Plut. 533 ἰστεῖρ ἐστιν... καθίμαι etc.
(Taillardat sect. 235). The same comparison is found at Herodas III, 66f.

ἐνικος σὲ θησὶν κοσμίωσεν κέρας /κίνησιν καθ'εἶκεν κάρφος
where Headlam cf. Xen. lac. III, 5 καθισμανεστέρευσ' ἀν' αὐτοὺς
νυξὶς καὶ λείπειν τὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ παρὰ θεῖνων;
Ael. N. A. I, 38 βαδίζετε εἰς ἑσύκτι καὶ κερίκατα

474.- This line further defines the quiet and retiring behaviour that
the women promise.

κίνωσιν μικρὰς κάρφος: the closest parallel for this perhaps proverbial
expression of gentle and quiet behaviour is again Herodas III, 66f. (quoted
above) and I, 54f. εὖδις κάρφος ἐκ τῆς γῆς /κίνωσιν
(v. Headlam's note for further references for κάρφος ). It is perhaps
parodied in Hermipp. fr. 15 νῦν δ' εὖδις ἀφεῖν κίνωσι σοκεῖς

475.- ἰστεῖρ οὐκηκὶν βάλλει με: οὐκηκίν is a 'wasps' nest' (Vesp.
224; 229; 404), and βάλλει με is literally to take the honey from a honey-
comb. Wasps are traditionally creatures easily irritated and roused cf. II.
16, 259ff.; Ps-Plat.Eryx. 392b-c καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα [ἐκ. οὐκηκίν]
فز ἐκ τῶν καὶ ομίκρον ἐρεθίζον ὀργίαν, ἀμαχοὶ γίγνοντι etc. (v. Taillardat sect 379 for further references); and of course the
chorus in A's 'Wasps' is a realisation of this (v. MacDowell p. 11). The old
men had already (353) referred to the women's chorus as ἴστεῖρ οὐκηκίν
and the women's irritability had been shown by their action towards the old
men. Here Aristophanes attaches to the notion of wasps the idea of taking
honey from bees; now, honey is no more the produce of wasps here than it was
at Vesp. 1116, but, as MacDowell rightly remarks on that passage, 'he (A.)
was more interested in composing a striking metaphor than in observing entomological precision'. And elsewhere (Eq. 794) βλίττην is used in a metaphorical sense of 'rob' ἀμακείρας αὐτῶν [sc. τὸν δημον] βλίττην; cf. Av. 498 δ' ἡμίσις οἴνοι σομάτιον μου; Plat. Rep. 564E Παῖε στόν ὑπὸ τοῖς κηφίσις καὶ εὐ-Τοριστότον ἐντύνει βλίττηται; Philostr. vita Apoll. VI, 36 ὁ θεὸς τοι-εύτειν ὑποβλίττονι οἱ συκοφάντες κινήματε ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶς ἔρρισαν την θάλαττα.

Here, then, Aristophanes has combined the traditional idea of wasps' irritability with a use of βλίττην that is almost literal, but yet metaphorical (because μᾶ is added), in such a way, that the metaphor becomes much more alive cf. 298 ἐστερ σύν θυσίᾳ τίσιν ὁμολογεῖ 

σάκκελ , where the commonplace σάκκελ acquires new life in the comparison. The phrase is therefore more striking than e.g. Vesp. 403f. τὴν μέλλοντα κυνὶν ἐκείνην τὴν Χολέν ἤναπτο γαίδετιν τὰς ημῶν ὀργίσας τὴν σφικτών ; Sophocles fr. 778P has the phrase ἔσθησαν βλέποντες αὐράντες πᾶλ (Pearson suggests it means "to bring a hornet's nest about one's ears"). The precise relationship (if any) between this passage and our own is uncertain.

476-83. This ode is balanced by the antode at 541-8, the former relating once again the complaints of the querulous old man, the latter, in contrast, reaffirming the resolve and spirit of the women.

The metre of this ode is uncertain in the first two line, but thereafter is certainly anapaestic. There is basic agreement that within the first two lines we have some cretic rhythms (especially clear in θυ γάρ ... ὀμολογεῖν , however one reads that line), but 2 Ζωὸ κτλ. poses a problem. Following my usual practice, I shall scan Coulon's text, although, as will be apparent below, I have my doubts about its validity.

\[
\begin{align*}
3 \text{ ia} & \\
4 \text{ cr} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
Analysis and discussion of this ode will be found in Prato, Schroeder, White (p. 120f.), Wilamowitz, Gr. Vers., p. 483 - 4, Dale (p. 56).

476-541: unfortunately neither line is certain enough to give us a clear idea of the metre. Burges' emendations (both very easy ones; acc. to Blaydes his Mss B, Δ have the change already in 541.) give an iambic trimeter; iambs are associated with cretics at 616ff., Eccl. 952 - 4 (cf. Ach. 121ff.). The lack of article with Τῶν ἠλέας is no problem, cf. Ach. 336; 454; Vesp. 413 etc. If one wishes to retain the article with Τῶν ἠλέας Κωνστάντιος, 476 then becomes an iambic metron plus 3 cretics (i.e. reading Τῶς with the papyrus; the Mss. Τῶς (ν) would give iambic metron, 2 cretics, iambic metron, for which pattern I can find no parallel). 541 then has to be emended to Reisig's ἐγὼ γὰρ ὄντε· ἐν τῇ κήρυκτῃ· ἐν ἀρχαιότητι (cf. Vesp. 927f. οὐ γὰρ ἐν πνεύμα ἐν τῇ Πρόφητῃ ἄνω ἄνω) or Enger's ἐγὼ γὰρ ὄντε· ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ κήρυκτῃ· ἐν ἀρχαιότητι (the latter perhaps slightly easier palaeographically, - γς and ὄν being lost by a kind of double haplography). Whatever the exact reading, the sense is clear in any case.

478-542: the metre is clearly cretic, with resolutions. Again neither line is certain enough to enable us to restore with certainty the original text. Coulon accepts with B (Triklinios) οὐ γὰρ ἐτ ' ἄνεκτα· Τῶς ζ' ζ' ζιąż against most Mss. unmetrical οὐ γὰρ ἐτ· (ὁτ') ἄνεκτα· Τῶς ζιąż and the papyrus' equally unmetrical οὐ γὰρ ἐτ· δ' ἄνεκτα· Τῶς ζιąż (which may be a wrong division of the text which Coulon restores from B, the ζ of Τῶς ζ' being mistaken for a Τ, v. K. Holzinger.
Again B was probably on the right lines with his έν for Π Γ έλει, but his work was left unfinished and we need further correction. Coulon accepts Hermann's γονατί στὸς εἰςοι με (Ian Bentley) καματηρίνος; while one sees the need for έν, I see no need to introduce from a doubtful gloss in Hesychius a form that is nowhere else attested; although there are similar substantival forms quoted by Fraenkel on A.Ag.1438. καματηρίνος is found in that form from H. Ven. 246 onwards, and can be retained either by Bentley's τὰ γονατί κόπως εἰςοι μὲ καματηρίνος έν, Enger's γονατί ἐν κόπως εἰςοι μὲ καματηρίνος ἐν, or John Jackson's (Marg. Scæn. p. 46) more drastic transposition καματηρίνος ἐν ἐιςοι γονατί μου κόπως. A final possibility may be mentioned concerning 478, which does not affect the metre at all, and that is Dobree's ἀνεκτέα τὰδ', ἀλλ' for ἀνεκτέα τὰδ'; this removes the γς (which however can be easily paralleled e.g. Eccl. 9:1 συ γὰρ ἀνασχέτα: τούτο γ' ἐλευθέραν), and gives a parallel to the verbal adjective of necessity βοιωνιστέον; the form is found elsewhere e.g. at Crat. fr. 327 ἀλλ' τὰδ' ἰστ' ἀνεκτέουν; Soph. O. C. 883 ἂρ φοῦξ ὑπερὶ τὰδ'; ὑπερὶ, ἀλλ' ἀνεκτέα. This is also a possibility. ἀνεκτέα itself is quite rare in Aristophanes, only elsewhere at Thesm. 563; ἀνασχέτα is the usual form, Ach. 618; Eq. 1305 etc.

479-543ff.: certainly anapaestic with a great deal of resolution (there is no need to call 479: 80-542: 3 proemiations, as Prato does). Dale (p. 55f.) gives other examples e.g. fr. 698 τίς ὅρει βεβήκες τὰδ' ἑπειτο βραχίαν; and says of our passage: "Here the hiatus at the end of the first colon [i.e. after ἐμοῦ] isolates it unmistakeably as a 'tripody', and though what remains is clearly a πτυγιός the division into further phrases of the same length rather than into Vilamowitz's amorphous "dimeters" (with word-overlap) is justified by the balanced unity of 545 έν φίλοις.
there is not a trace." (cf. p. 63 where she mentions Eur. I. T. 232 ἦτε ἱππός ἦτε νίον ἦτε Θεός). She compares Ach. 285~336, an anapaestic pantapody, the only existing example. For tripodies of proceleusmatics cf. Av. 327ff. This type of anapaest, and its association with cretic-paeonics is confined to comedy. Wilamovitz' line-division, then, with his acceptance of Bergk's 'σΌ' after ἵμοι, probably unnecessary. The antode holds no real problem, except the placing of ἵμοι which will be dealt with on line 546 (it does not affect the metre at all). The repeated proceleusmatics, as Prato says, underline the amazement and indignation of the old men at the unbelievable audacity of the women in occupying the Acropolis, a feeling reinforced by the elaborate description of the latter.

483~548: no catalexis v. Wilamovitz, Gr. Vers. p. 367, but final anceps (very rare in full anapaests cf. Av. 212 (unless 'ΙΤΤΥ has Ἰ cf. Soph. El. 148); Soph. El. 242 (v. Dale p. 53), Eur. Ion 167; I. T. 147; 231.) In this ode the old men continue their plea to the Proboulos, again expressing horror at the notion of the women in seizing the Acropolis.

476.- τι ποτε Χρίσαμα : cf. Eq. 1133ff. καὶ τί ποτές Χρίσαμα | ποτές ζυπασμέναι; Pae. 1240 τί δέ με τῇ αὐθίνη γείδε Χρίσαμα ἔκνωσθαί: cf. Θυρίως (466). The word is first found in Homer (Od. 17, 317) of a wild beast; it is first used metaphorically of persons at Aesch. Eum. 644 (of the Erinyes) ἡ παντερίωτά κακῶσθαι, στύγη Θεών. In Aristophanes (v. Taillardat sect. 427) it becomes another general term of reproach cf. Vesp. 4 δ' ὄρατ' γῆιν κωστόν κακῶσθαι μιατότομον; (v. MacDowell ad loc.); Cratin fr. 233 παρὰ κακωσθάνεις ἐπίξυς πράξει κακῶσθαί ἵνά δε. The word, which is particularly common in serious poetry, may elevate the tone here.

480ff.- The incredulity of the old men is seen in the repetition of ἵμοι ἰνθέθηκαν in ἰπνέτετε μι and in the reverential awe in which they hold the ancient Acropolis; metre here matches the long
description (v. metrical notes).

481.- Κρανδ'ν : a suitably ancient and reverend name, strictly speaking of the city (cf. Ach. 75 ἐκ Κρανδ' τοῖς ; Πν. 123 ἔπειτα μεῖξε τῶν Κρανδ'ν διὰ τοῦ τοῦ και Κρανδ'ν ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ;), here applied to the Acropolis. The word in its literal sense of 'rocky', 'rugged', is elsewhere applied to Athens, and, of course, implies that the Acropolis was the focal point e.g. Pind. Ol. vii, 82 καὶ Κρανδ'ν ἐν Ἀθηναῖς.

Hdt. viii, 44 says that Κρανδ'ν was the oldest name of the Athenians, which they had in the time of the Pelasgians; and, as often, a suitable hero was found to bear the name Κρανδ'σ (Paus. I, 2, 5, says he took over from Cecrops); hence Aesch. Eum. 1011 πρῶτοι Κρανδ'σ means 'the Athenians'. The original meaning of the word is still felt in Aristophanes' description of stinging nettles (fr. 560 καὶ τὰς Κρανδ'σ ἀκανθάσας).

482.- ἦθος : looks back to μιγάλοπέτρος, stressing the difficulty of access (cf. Paus. I, 22, 4), and looks forward to ἔρον τέμνειος, stressing the holiness of the place (cf. Plat. Lach. 183B οὓς ἐν οὐλοίς καθομένοις ἔγει τούτους ἄρα θέα τῆν μὲν Λυκέαν μίαν ζηγνίαν εἰς πτωχόν ἔρον καὶ θοῦς εὔπρεπες τοῖς ἐπιβιβασμεῖ). 482.- ἔρον τέμνειος : at 775, the Acropolis is called ἔρον νόοι, and Dem. xix, 272 stresses the holiness of the place ἐκ τοῦ ἄνευ τῆς ἕρσης πνεύματος τιμηθείσα. The Acropolis is the τέμνεια of Athene, just as Syracuse is the τέμνεια Ἀρέως (Pind. Pyth. ii, 2). These rather grand words stress the enormity of the women's crime in the eyes of the old men.

484.- τροσθῆρε : very often a hostile word cf. infra 436 and L. S. J. s. v. A. I. 1, and suitably so here for the old men's antipathy towards the women; cf. the military expression μὴ λέγετε τροσθῆρειν Nub. 479-80; Hdt. vi, 18; Thuc. ii, 58, 1; Eur. I. T. 112 etc.

485.- Κοσμοτείνησσα : Κοσμοτείνησσα and its compounds are
commonly used in the sense of 'test', 'try' cf. Ran. 79; 723; fr. 303; Anaxandr. fr. 155; Iys. fr. 313S; Dem xix, 167 etc. The scholia here and on Ran. 79, and the various grammarians e.g. Hesychius, the Suda etc. have varying explanations of the origin of the metaphor. The most commonly accepted is from "the testing of metal objects, especially coins, by striking them on a hard surface and listening to their ring" (so Stanford on Ran. 79). Less likely is the testing of pottery, of the nerves of horses or quails destined for combat, or of the alertness of sentries (cf. καταδευτοριφεῖν Av. 842, 1160 and Thucy. iv, 135, 1). For the adjective with ἐκν cf. Plut-Caes. 49 ἐκν ἐκν ἀνεῖς ἔτσικτον , and the quotation in the Suda s.v. δεός : ἀδισερεύνητον ἐκν (here the sense is reinforced by μεθ' ἑντας).

ἀλτέν : the word has often been doubted, and changed, unnecessarily to πάντω (Hamaker, approved by H. Richards CR xvii (1903) 9), or ἀλτος (Bergk), or ἐμώ (Blaydes). Even if it has been left, it has been sometimes misunderstood, as, e.g. by van Leeuwen, who says 'mente addendum ἐμώ : ox ipsi vos percontari cupio'. Wilamowitz (his text strangely reads πάντω ) supplies the right explanation: the Proboulos starts his reply by addressing the chorus of men (hence ἀλτέν is a natural word to use for the women), but at 487 he turns directly to the women, and the person changes to the more direct second person (ἐκέκρισε στάτε ), and his statement becomes an implied question, which Lysistrata answers in 488. A similar change of person can be seen in Ran. 1119ff., where Ἁγιος is addressed directly to Aeschylus, and the latter becomes ἀλτέν in 1121, when Euripides addresses Dionysus, still in the framework of the same short speech; cf. also Ran. 1007f.; Eq. 464f. etc.

καὶ μὴν : a very common use in Aristophanes: "a person who has been invited to speak expresses by the particles his acceptance of the invitation: 'Well', 'Very well!', 'All right!'" (Denniston p. 355).
487. - τὴν πολίν ἡμῖν : cf. 263 κατὰ τ' ἄρποπολίν ἡμῖν : the men jealously regard the Acropolis as their own; the women, by implication, have no right to be there. On πολίν v. 176.

μοιχαλοίν : cf. 246; 264; 310: the men cannot get over the idea that Lysistrata and the women have actually barred the entrance to the Acropolis.

488. - Lysistrata reminds us that the money kept on the Acropolis was one of the reasons for their capture of it (174ff.): it was this money, of course, that the Proboulos had come to get (422).

489. The Proboulos had obviously never thought of this as the reason for war.

For the late postponement of γιὰρ v. Denniston p. 96f. and cf. 119; 144; 595; Plut. 1189 ὥρας ὧν συνῇρ γ. ἣρ ; Men. Dysk. 66f. (with Handley's note).

καὶ ... γε : γε is certainly right; for the sense 'yes, and . . .'

Denniston p. 157.

ἐκκυκλίθη : the word is used very often in Aristophanes of the activities of the demagogue or the like e.g. Ach. 531 (cf Pericles), 939 (a sycophant); Eq. 363, 692; Fax 270 (Cleon) etc. ὑπαργίζειν, κινεῖν, κινοῦμαι and ὑπαρθαίζειν are all similarly used (v. Taillardat sect. 701).

κυκλίς was originally a culinary word.

490. - ἔρεισμος : Kirchner, Prosop. Att. 11770, a well-known demagogue (attached by Aristophanes in Fax 395; Av. 1556; fr. 61 (from Babylonians; also by Eupolis, v. Page, GLP p. 206; and Plato Comicus, Athen-x. 415D), whose cowardice was proverbial (cf. Xen. Symp. 2, 14), but who loved to stir up trouble (Schol. Fax 394 κατα τ' ἀλοπολίμοις ἵνα καὶ πολεμοποιεῖσ κινοῦσιν ἵδιαν ἐνεκείν. ἵνα δὲ σέλας καὶ μέγας κτλ. ) At this time he was at Samos plotting with the oligarchs (Athenian demagogues were never slow to change sides), a move which led soon to the establishment of the 400 and the overthrow of the democracy (cf. Thucy. viii, 53; 65; 68).
But, despite Wilamowitz and others, we are surely not meant to look forward to that event; here a general charge of venality (as elsewhere) is being laid against him and his associates (note ἂνεῦς 491), a charge commonly laid against leading politicians in Old Comedy (with how much justification we cannot know, due to lack of good non-comic evidence) v. Ehrenberg p. 239 for many other examples. Nor do we need to regard Χοὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐπικοινὼν as the ἀνωμοίασε, διὰτερ ἐστίν ἀρχαῖον πρότειρον ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε ἐτίς ἐπικοιν. καὶ ἀρχαῖς (Thucy. viii, 54, 4) who were instrumental in the oligarchic revolution. All the Aristophanic phrase refers to are men who are intent upon office (for the sense of ἔπεξήκειν v. L. S. J. s.v. iii, 2 b), because office was the best place (as the comic poets keep reminding us) to practice embezzlement and receive bribes. Χοὶ (as van Leeuwen notes) is probably used in the sense of 'and the others who' (cf. Nub. 413).

491. - Κορκονυγήν: properly a 'rumbling noise' (cf. Nub. 387 ἐν γαστρὶ καὶ κλόνος ἐξενίφας δ' ἐν διεκορούμεν), here an expressive synonym for ἐρυθός. It is used of the tumult of battle at Aesch. Sept. 345 κορκονυγήτε ὁ' ἀν ἀστυ, and is combined with μάχη at Pax 991 λύσων δ' μάχας καὶ κορκονύμι. Athens had seen plenty of troubles stirred up in the past few years, to make this statement strike home to an Athenian audience.

οί δὲ ὀν: permissive: 'well let them...': v. Denniston p. 286f.

οί ὀν is often used in the dialogue of drama to denote that the speaker waives any objection that he has, or might be supposed to have, to something being done, or contemplated by another person. The verb is in the imperative, second or third person. The particles are almost invariably preceded by ἀνεῦς or ὁ (ανεῦς, ὀν), and the expression nearly always forms the opening of a speech. The tone is usually defiant or contemptuous: "cf. Ach. 186; Nub. 39; Vesp. 6; 764; Av. 56; Thesm. 612; Ran. 31.

οὐνεκα. : on the spelling v. 74. The phrase is contemptuously, implying 'for all I care': πρὸς τὰ οὐκ is often used in a similar way (v. Neil on
it is used in a quite literal sense 'take down', i.e. from the Acropolis, where the money was kept: cf. Vesp. 936 ὁποῖος καθεδών (of a pot from its peg); Pan. 10 καθαρίσει τίς (of a burden from the shoulders); Ath. Pol. 47, 5 καθεδών ἄπο τῶν ἐπιστολίων; Lycurg. 117.

The Proboullos begins to get more agitated, and this is emphasised by the quick-fire question and answer dialogue that follows.

The Proboullos begins to get more agitated, and this is emphasised by the quick-fire question and answer dialogue that follows.
Ερυθνος δίκην τιν πίθεν εκτίθει ταύτην; ....

498.- ὑμεῖς; ὑμεῖς μέντοι: emphatic μέντοι sometimes marks "assent by echoing a word, or words, of the previous speaker" (v.
Denniston p. 401); cf. Eq. 168 ἔγιν.; ὦ μέντοι; 895; Vesp. 665;
Ar. 1651; 1668; Fax 1290; Eccl. 1130.

499.- ἐσ: understand something like ἔσε; cf. 32 (q.v.); 1018;
Ach. 335 (with van Leeuwen's note); Nub. 209; Vesp. 416 etc. The sense is
"you will be saved ...".

501.- ἣ πολύ μέλλων: climactic and emphatic v. Denniston p. 316ff.;
cf. καὶ κρῆττα at Ach. 544, καὶ μᾶλλα Ran. 412, καὶ πολὺ Eccl. 54.

502.- ἀν: extremely common in Aristophanes with imperatives of the
Δέγις, ἀκρωΐς type cf. Ach. 103; Av. 587; Ach. 733; Pl. 76 etc.
(Denniston p. 216ff.).

503.- η ν μη καλής: the quick-tempered and haughty Proboulos makes
menacing gestures at Lysistrata, who maintains her superiority by remaining
quite calm and rather contemptuous of her opponent (note Πειρη 504).

505.- ὑπὸ τῆς ὁργῆς: ὑπὸ = 'because of', 'through', here
with the article cf. Dover on Nub. 835 and V. Sobolewski p. 218.

506.- Κριῶ Ἰδισ: the optative is certainly right, far better than
Meineke's ἐκεῖσ. The - ἅισ ending (for the more usual - ἅισ) is paralleled by Nub. 776 (v. Dover's note); Vesp. 572 (a prayer as here); 726; Pax 405 (v. Platnauer's note); Plut. 1036; 1134. Dover's and Platnauer's notes are a useful corrective to Rutherford's (N. Phr., 439ff.) rather too strict doctrines about the form of the optative. He may be right about our passage, however, that it is proverbial (as are Vesp. 726 and Plut. 1036); schol. ἀπεὶ μεταξύς τῶν ἐμφεύς τῶν διαφωνίστων; cf. Plut. 369 ἂν μίν εἴδε τις ἐρωτεύει (schol. παραμεία ἢ ἐν τοῖς τῶν μάθης ἑρωτεύεται λόγον ἢ κερδόν). The pejorative comparison of the woman to an ill-boding raven croaking its own fate is certainly worthy of the irascible Proboulos. (The general sense is equivalent to ἐς καθαλήν θείον Pax 1063; Plut. 526; cf. Ach. 833; Nub. 40).

507. A much discussed line, which has not been certainly emended. The Mss readings are very difficult to make any sense of, καὶ τῶν Χρόνων being very odd after ποιέμοιν. Porson's solution, adopted by Coulon, among others, was to remove τῶν and change the end of the line to ἠνεκέχρονς ὑμῖν. Even those who do not follow his first change find the second pleasing e.g. Wilamowitz, and certainly ὑμῖν points the way well to τῶν ἀνιών in the next line, and provides a neat contrast to ἠνεκέχρονς at the beginning of the line. Χρόνοι has to be taken as a kind of hendiadys for τῶν μεν προτέρον τῶν ποιέμου Χρόνον, with Χρόνον stressing the length of time. The most profitable line of approach however may be to remove Χρόνον either as a gloss or as a corruption. If we treat Χρόνον as an intrusive gloss, then we are left to supply a suitable adverb for ἠνεκέχρονς, and Wilamowitz' πρέμας is as good as any. If Χρόνον is a corruption, then perhaps, like O. Schneider (Jahrbb. f. class. Philol. cxii (1876) 39 - 42), we might look for a word conveying something further about the men; but his suggestion Χρόμον ('insolentia') from an at
best confused note in Hesychius is very doubtful. Other solutions have been proposed, but with little conviction. The obelus (a rare sight in Coulon; would he had used it more often) is perhaps the safest course.

If we do retain the verb in anything like its Mss. form, then surely the imperfect ἡπειρήσεως is to be preferred to the aorist (so Lenting, Blaydes in his critical note and lemma, although his text reads ἡπειρήσεως, van Leeuwen, and Wilamovitz), along with all the other imperfects of this passage.

For ἦν ἐρίξειν with a genitive of the person cf. Plat. Rep. 564D ἦν ἐρίξειν τοῖς θείοις δίκαιοις; Ap. 318 ἦν ἐρίξειν παρά πάντας δια θείας ἐρήμωσιν etc., and for the construction cf. Eq. 876 ἦμοι β' μη μνείν ἐκεῖν ἐσώ τίποτες; 803.

Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον πάλην: the so-called Archidamian War from 431—21, which ended with the Peace of Nicias. Thucydidus uses the same expression at vii, 18, 2, and calls it elsewhere (v, 26, 3) τῇ πρώτῃ παλαίμως τῇ δικαίη. ἦμεν is not picked up by anything, but as Wilamovitz suggests, when Lysistrata starts off, she has in mind a contrast like νῦν δὲ, the sense of which does not come till her speech at 523 (v. S. L. Radt, Mnem. xxvii (1974) 10).

508.- ἡτίτιτα: for ἡτίτιτα, it is the combination of the relative with the indefinite ἡτίτιτα (ἡτίτιτα ἡτίτιτα) v. Chantraine, Morphologie (1961) sect. 142

509.- γρύφων: not 'to grunt', but simply 'to open one's mouth to speak'.

Κατάτοκτος: for the crasis cf. Vesp. 599 Κατάτοκτος.

ἡμέρα: for ἡμέρα with accusative cf. Ach. 189; Ren. 103; Plut. 353 etc.

516.- ἦν with the imperfect or aorist is used to denote customary action.
v. Goodwin sect. 162 and cf. Nub. 977 (again repeated ἰν'); Vesp. 269; 279 etc.


Here, perhaps, the phrase is rather mocking.

512- Ἀγνοούσι τὰνδε θεν : rightly explained by the scholiast

τὰν μὲν ἁρπάζαν ἀνταρπασιν, γελοῦσα δὲ : cf. Eur. Or. 1122

ἀστ 'ἐκδικώμεθα γ᾽ ἐν θεατῶν κεχριμένην; 1514 δειλὸν γε νεοτίᾳ

χρήσι, τὰν δεν ἐν θεοὶ ἡμέραν; I. T. 956 ἦλενόν

δὲ σιγὴ καλέσαν θυκ εἰδέναι.

513- ἐν τῇ στήλῃ : peace treaties and the like were commonly

inscribed on 'pillars' for public view e.g. in comedy, the treaty between

Dicaeopolis and the Spartans (Ach. 727); cf. Av. 1050; 1054; and historically

the Peace of Nicias 421 B.C. (Thucy. v, 18, 10 στήλας εἰς στίχοιν

Ολυμπίας καὶ Πυθοῦ καὶ Ισθμοῦ καὶ Αθηναῖος ἐν πάλει

καὶ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ ἐν Ἀμφιλαχίᾳ; cf. v, 23, 5), and

the treaty between Athens, Argos, Mantinea and Elis in 420 (Thucy. v, 47, 11).

This sort of thing would be so common as not to make Aristophanes refer to

any particular event, but παρὰ γράφαι must imply the addition to the

στήλη set out in 421 after the Peace of Nicias suggested by Alcibiades

in 418 (Thucy. v, 56, 3, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ Αλκιβιάδον πείσαντο

τῷ μὲν λακενοὺς στήλῃ ὑπεγράφας ὅτι οὐκ ἐνεχθέναι

εἰ λακεδαιμονίαι τοῖς ἔρημοις)

τῷ δὲ σοὶ τοῦτος : the singular is the usual form in this phrase cf.

Eq. 1198 τῷ δὲ σοὶ τοῦτο; Eccl. 520f. τῷ δὲ ὠτέλε; δολ τίς;

ὁτὲ μὲν τῷ τοῦτον τοῦτον; Thesm. 498 ἦμιν τῷ τοῦτον ἐστὶ; Diph. fr. 32,

16 τῷ τοῦτον ἦμιν; Com. adesp. fr. 105, 7 τῷ δ᾽ ἐγὼ τὸ σοῦ;

Headlam-Knox on Herod. ii, 18.

ὃ δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐν ἑνὶ : there is no problem about the addition of ἐνίθ
to the phrase ὅ δ᾽ ὅσ cf. Plat. Phaed. 70B ὅ ὅσ ὅ Ἐκρατῆς, and so frequently in Plato.


515.— The same woman as had spoken 505b now interposes again, and receives the same treatment from the Probolos as before.

516.— καὶ . . . γε : 'and...too!' v. Denniston p. 157f. ἐξανάξεσ : the strictly correct correlation to δῆμος, though the aorist ἐξανάξεσ could also be right.

Something has gone wrong with the text in the Mss. at the end of this line, and the beginning of the next. Here the Mss. offer τοιόντων ἔστοι ἐστίν, as the words of Iysistrata, and the Inlta edition printed ἐγώ· instead of ἔστοιν, and a combination of the two is the form of the line in most editions. The objection to this is ἔστοιν, which makes good sense at 510 but not here, unless one believes with Horwerden (Herm. xxiv (1889) 623) that there is an implied contrast between ἔστοιν and what Iysistrata did outside her home, presumably her conduct now. van Leeuwen's explanation, ' breve dictum est ἔστοιν ἐστίν, pro ἐστίν καὶ ἔστοιν ἐπέμενον adds stress to the wrong element; silence is the important point. Wilamowitz, ignoring palaeographical probability, wrote ἐγώ· μὲν τοι ἐστίν, which is, at least, good sense. Coulon tried to repair the hole more neatly by τοιοῦτοι ἐστίν, ἔστοιν. This has the advantage over Wilamowitz' attempt that it is palaeographically more plausible (a 'saute du même au même', with the common confusion of γυνἡ and γυνἡ cf. Nub. 1379; Av. 362 etc.); and it removes one of the three examples of τοιοῦτοι.
in comedy (the other two Lys. 901, 902 are explicable; Kinesias speaks in a pompous tone, τον ὄρος being common enough in Homer and tragedy, and Myrrhino mockingly echoes the word). Τον ὄρος (like τον ὄρος Vesp. 1098) is used in comedy at Ach. 643. The sense too is appropriate (v. Essai p. 41f.): 'c'est pourquoi précisément mor, pour ma part je me taisais', εὖς providing the necessary contrast to the woman's words of the line above.

517.-- A word forming an anapaest is missing in this line (Triclinius' εὔρος as Dindorf said 'a grammatico adiecta videtur explendae lacunae causa', and need not detain us.). Most editors prefer to suppose a word missing at the beginning (although Bentley's τοῦτος and Person's τοῦτον after τον ὄρος are not impossible; Blaydes prints the latter), and supply various temporal suggestions e.g. άφθος δ' (Doobee, Wilamowitz), δέκα Τάξις (Brunck), Κάτη τέσσερις (Dindorf), μετά Τάξις (Blaydes), Τάξις Εὖς (van Leeuwen), None of these offer any explanation for the omission of the word in the Mss. Following a suggestion by Herwerden (Mnem. xxxii (1904) 267) ἐπερῶν (δ' ἐπερωντο) τί πονηρωτέρον κτέ, Coulon suggested ἐπερῶν (Ἀφθος) ὅποι Τί, and palaeographical probability is met. He explains (Essai p. 42): 'le comparatif πονηρωτέρον montre que ἐπερῶν τι βούλευμα s'oppose à un autre βούλευμα d'autant plus que λυ χ marsque répétition.' It is certainly the most satisfactory emendation so far produced, and would serve to stress lysiastate's indignation.

519.-- υπολεύω : looking up from under the brows, i.e. suspiciously or angrily cf. Thesm. 396 υπολεύωνς ἦπας; Pherecr. 153, 2 διάφημα ἐν ἐν ηθος καὶ υπολεύων παρέσχω. Cf. the Homeric υπολεύων κτών and υπολέεις in Soph. Ichn. 172P. Τάν οὕτως καὶ ὑπός : οὕτως is properly the warp of the loom, here used for spun thread (called κλωσθή at 567, 571; Ran. 1349), as at Batr. 183 οὕτως καὶ ἐνεργείς ἤρμια; Men. fr. 783 κέκλυκα δ' ἐν ἄροι σπάλλον; cf. Τάξις ... οὕτως πονθομονομεθην Plat. Polit. 232E. For a
For the mingling of direct and indirect speech cf. Eq. 667ff.; Vesp. 571ff.; Eccl. 821ff. etc.

520. - ὅ τοις ἄλλοις μικρὰ τὴν κεφαλήν: similar phrases occur at 1222 κεκύκλωσθε τὰς πρίξας μακρά; Vesp. 584 καλέως ἤμεῖς μικρὰ τὴν κεφαλήν εἰσένεις τῇ διαθήκῃ; Plut. 612 καλέως μακρά τὴν κεφαλήν; Eq. 433; Thesm. 212; Eccl. 425; Plut. 111; Av. 1207; Ran. 34 etc.

Πόλεμος καὶ ἄλλοις μελήσει: the words of Hector to Andromache in II. vi, 492 (she had just been told to attend to her spinning). The words will be cast back in a different form at 538 (q.v.). The phrase was no doubt a famous one, being from one of the most popular parts of the Iliad.

521. - γε: for its elliptical use in answers as a part of formulae of assent v. Denniston p. 136ff. and cf. Ach. 1050; it is very common in Plato (ἐρωτω γε ἄγινω occurs at Theat. 181D).

πῶς: cf. 496.


523. - ἐτέ δὴ δὴ: δὴ is common with relative temporal adverbs, giving the sense 'precisely when', 'just when' (v. Denniston p. 219f.) ἐτε δὴ δὲ (as Denniston loc. cit. says) "illustrates the completeness with which the particle sometimes fuses with the relative. This fusion is normal in the case of ἐπεθέστη, which is scarcely distinguishable in sense from ἐπεθή, cf. Eccl. 195; 315; 827.

ἐν τῷ ταῖνον ὃς τοῖς = 'in the streets' generally cf. Eq. 348; Nub. 362; 964; Vesp. 543; Eccl. 773.

νῦν: at long last the contrast to μὲν in 507 (q.v.).

524. - ἄνθροπος: 'a real man' cf. Eq. 179; 1255; Ach. 77; and so
frequently from the time of Homer (v. S. L. J. c. v. iv and see Austin on Men. Asp. 243 and Sam. 63f.). The first imagined speaker bewails the lack of a man to take control of the situation, and his friend (ἐτέρος θησ) agrees. Lysistrata interprets the situation literally; if no man will take charge, then the women (526) will do so. No doubt the words of the first speaker would be common in war-torn Athens, as they would be in any country that had been at war for some 20 years. Tyrwhitt (Conjecturæ 1622, 70 - 1) suggests the reference is specifically to Alcibiades, and no doubt, for some Athenians, the phrase would bring thoughts of that man to mind, although, of course, the Greek is not ἀνήρ.

εἴδο : this is Dobree's supplement for the syllable which is missing in this half of the line; it is neither the only supplement suggested nor the best; as Wilamowitz rightly points out, εἴδο (supplied perhaps because the scholiast says ἀείπελ ἐφ and cf. Eccl. 697f. ἐτέρω/φισκοι θησ) is unnecessary, because the actor's voice would indicate quite clearly that there was a change of speaker, and that ἐτέρος θησ was a description of that second speaker. Brunck's ἐνο is more likely (also suggested by Porson) cf. Plut. 106 με τὸν Δἰ' οὐ χαρ ἐστίν ἄλος πᾶν ἔνω; 407ff. Χρ. τῆς ἔμπτ' ἰστρός ἐστι νῦν ἐν τῇ περίλεκ τοί. Bl. οὐκ ἐστίν. Χρ. οὐκ ἐστίν. Ρά. ωσι ἐμὲ δοκεῖ. Less likely is Tyrwhitt's με Δἰ' οὐδεὶς δοθ' ἐτέρος θησ, and Reisig's με Δἰ' οὐ εἰπτ' ετηκ' ἐτέρος θησ (but cf. Nub. 1470 ετηκ' ειπτ'. οὐκ', ετηκ' κτει; Plut. 712 με Δἰ' οὐ δοθ' ετηκ' κτει; Αθη. 21; Ran. 1308). Dobree's other solution ὡς δ' ἐτέρος θησ is unparalleled in Attic of this time (ος or η being needed).

525: Βασκεμ... Κοινή : cf. 41 and the note on that line.
Lysistrata enunciates the same plan to the Proboulos as she had to her fellow-conspirators.

526: Ποτ : I take this to mean 'to what end' ('quid proderat', van Leeuwen); this meaning was perhaps developed from such phrases as ποτ
and Soph. El. 958 ἡ ἀρχή μετὰ τῆς μεταρρύθμισης is perhaps best taken in this way, although Jebb takes ἡ ἀρχή = μέχρι τῶν εἰς τίνα χρόνον, citing our passage as parallel (L. S. J. s. v. iii also take ἡ ἀρχή here as 'how long?').

καὶ : following the interrogative v. Denniston p. 312ff. for an exhaustive discussion. It "denotes that the question cuts at the foundations of the problem under consideration. A question is put which, it is implied, cannot be answered, or cannot be satisfactorily answered: so that the discussion of any further, consequential, question does not arise. καὶ here marks a descending climax, and is roughly equivalent to ἢ χαί, τίνι ἢ χαί, 'omnino', 'at all', 'to start with'. " It is used with ἐὰν, ἡ προς etc., where "the very necessity or advisability of something is denied: hence it need not be further discussed" (Denniston p. 314). The sense here is 'what would have been the use of waiting?'.

527c. ἤπιαν πρῶτες Κρινησίων : the roles are to be reversed; the women are to do the speaking, the men are to be quiet and listen (cf. 509; 515). Lysistrata soon exercises the new right she has assumed; when the Proboclus utters his incredulous words at 529, he is told ἢ πρῶτα, although he turns out to be not so obedient as Lysistrata had formerly been (ἡ ἄνωτέρωτος ἡ προς εἰς).

For the optative with ἢν following ἢν + subj. cf. 140f. (q.v.; the reading is not quite certain); Eccl. 415ff. This makes the statement more tentative than the simple bold future.

ἔπειτα θυσίαις μας να : normally used with πρῶτοι μητρικά, συναρμολογος, πῶλιν and the like, but occasionally more personally e.g. Isoc. i, 3, in the sense of 'be a corrective to', 'set right'.

529. ἢμεῖς ἦμεῖς ; incredulously and with a certain amount of
disdain cf. 378 ἔμοι σὺ τοντρόν, ἢ συντρή; Plut. 129; 392 etc. 

δέινον γέ : cf. 499; Eq. 1305 ταίς ὑπὸ δόξης δεινόν ἐπέκα 

Τοῦτο κατὰ Ἀνακτών.

530.— ὅπερ γάρ ... θειτικώ ἡγώ : cf. Ran. 1134 ἦγε θειτικὸν 

Τῆς; (cf. 'reticere' + dat. in Latin).

κατὰ τῶν : cf. 378; 470.

καλυμμα: καλυμμα (καλυμματί) was a veil worn by women out of doors cf. fr. 329, 5 (it is also used of a wedding - or mourner's veil); because it is a typical female article, the phrase here means no more than γυναικι είδος, as Wilamowitz says; but, of course, it is here introduced so that Lysistrata can take advantage of the reference and dress the Proboulos in women's apparel.

531.— μὴ νῦν βήγν : 'I'm damned if I will'; cf. Nub. 1255 μὴ 

μὴντε βήγν ἐγώ ; Eq. 833 μὴ  γή Βήγν ; Ran. 177 ἄλλα 

οὖν ὑπὸ πάλιν ; Eccl. 977 ἡπόθεσον ἐξαπλεία ; Eur. Suppl. 454 

μὴ βήγν ἐτε : Or. 1147 μὴ γε ὑπὸ βήγν ἐτε (based on grander epic phrases e.g. Hom. Od. 24, 435f.)

ἔπιστιν : schol. ἔτε τὰ συνέπαις.

532ff.— Lysistrata proceeds to complete the reversal of roles by giving the Proboulos a veil and a basket with the things needed for spinning, and concludes by reiterating the noble words of Hector in a suitably altered form.

532.— καλυμμα : quite probably not Lysistrata's own veil, but one from the basket which she is shortly to present to the Proboulos (in which there will also be wool, spindle etc.).

533.— περίθεν : there is no need to change to περίδεν with Meineke (although the word is used similarly at Eccl. 118; 121; 122), because περίδεν is also found at Eccl. 131 (with -τίνος ἀπερίδενον ) and Thesm. 380 (Τῶν τῶν = στραφήν).

535.— Τοῦτον: Elmsley's reading is as certain here as at 604 (in both places the Τοῦτον of some Ms. gives the clue); for such forms,
where ἐφε, ὅτε, or ἦν inserted before the deictic suffix - Ἴ (with ἐπιθος, ὅτι, or ἦλθη) cf. Ach. 784; Vesp. 781; Eq. 492 etc.

καλεῖσκων: the basket into which the wool was carded (ἐδίνετω), cf. 579; Thesm. 822; Euph. fr. 227; Cat. 64, 318f. 'ante pedes atem candides mollia lanae / vellera virgati custodibant calathisci'. If this line is preceded by a pause, then some such imperative as ἦν ἦν is easily understood; if there is no pause, then the slightly unusual order is paralleled by Nub. 144ff. ὡμιέν ὅσοι καλεῖσθαι τεκμοῦν ἐμβαθῶς ἐς τὸ βανδρὸν μέτα ἐνεργόν τὰ τῶν λόγων τὸν ἐλάσσον; Eccl. 542f. ἐὰν ὅτι λακωνικὰ ἔσπερντο μετὰ σοῦ κατὰ τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ;

526.— ἔστω ὁμοία ἐνος: so that clothes might not interfere with the carding, and the arms be left free; cf. Thesm. 255; 656. ἐδίνετω: for imperatival infinitive v. KG, ii. 20ff.; Schwyrer, ii. 380; cf. Nub. 850; Vesp. 385f.; Thesm. 157 etc.

527.— κυράνω τρίγων: if we accept literally the line quoted by Athen. iii, 73d τὸν σιμοῦν τριγόνον γύναι, τὰν χιλίων ὀκτυβρίκαν then it might seem that women liked to chew something while spinning and the like, just as, if we can believe the scholiast here, at 690, and at Eq. 41, dicasts did to stop falling asleep. There may be here a reference to the use of beans as the πηλος in the election of public officials; cf. the description of Demos as κυράνων at Eq. 41; the Athenian depicted as surviving on the money brought in by various public offices. The same joke may be intended here against the Proboulos.

528.— This puts the final mocking touch to the end of the first half of the Agon, with Lysistrata adapting the grand words of 520 to the present dramatic situation, where the women have become men and are in charge, and the men (symbolised by the Proboulos) have become women, wearing female attire and practising female arts.
539ff.— The female chorus take their turn, and we get the balance to
the ode sung by the men at 476ff.

539.— Ἰππαρίη : Brunck's conjecture for the Mss. unmetrical Ἰππαρίη
is almost universally accepted; with it, we assume the loss of ἌΠΙ before
 Affero (v. Coulon, Essai, p.30), and the consequent change of ἙΕΘ to ἙΕΘ.
The conjecture seems to be confirmed by the scholiast who glosses Ἰακχωρίατε
(cf. Hesych. Ἰακχωρία : Ἰακχωρίατε ; Suda Ἰακχωρίατε : Ἰακχωρίατε). The usage is confirmed by Eccl. 818 μεσημ βαπτὴ τὴν γόλον ἱλακίν ἔχειν
(and perhaps fr. 747 Ἰακχωρίατε ), and by Phrynich. Soph. 7, 10 Borries:
Ἰακχωρίαν τὸ μὲν πειράς ὁ Ἀττικὴ ἐπὶ πίλει τῷ Ἰθάκῃν, Ῥαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμοτοπίας ἐν Ἀρεσκέλος
(fr. 414H) καὶ Ἀρεστοφάνης ; cf. also Men. Sam. 636; 692; 716; Asp.
41; Com. adesp. 1258; Antiphan. fr. 202, 14, and the use of Ἰακχωρίας at
Av. 1223. Meinske's Ἰακχωρία is perhaps palaeographically more easy,
but the sense of the verb and the use of the optative with ἢν (cf. Ran.
437 Ἰακχωρίας ἔκθεσις, ἐκ τοῦ ), which softens the command quite
considerably, make this less likely.

540.— ἤν τὰς μάρεις : 'in our turn'; cf. Ran. 32; 497; Av. 1228.

541ff.— For the metre v. on 476ff.

The reference to dancing has caused some discussion; it is not clear whether
the reference is merely to dancing during the antode (dancing seems never to
take place in any other Agon v. Pickard — Cambridge, Dith. Trag. Com. ed. 2,
1962, 203), or to dancing throughout the antopirrhea, as we must then presume
the men's chorus did throughout the epirrhea: this exception to the general
rule might be explained (as Pickard — Cambridge) by the fact that the choruses
here are not judges of the Agon (as elsewhere in Aristophanes) but "keen
partisans; they have no judicial calm, and may quite well be in movement all the time". Certainly here, there is a break in the dramatic illusion, for dancing is the activity of a comic chorus, not of the band of old women that they portray cf. Pox. 322ff.; Soph. o. T. 1094; 896 (?).

541. - The reading is uncertain v. metrical notes, but the sense is clear cf. Eur. Bacch. 187f. ἦς οὖ κόμης ἐν ἑτερ νότιοι ιμάτων θύρων θρησκία γίν.

542. - Again the text is not certain, but the sense is: χαράτας is attested from H. Ven. 245 onwards; for weariness affecting the limbs cf. 1l. 4, 229f. ἐπινυτί κέν μιν γείνα λάβη κέματε; 21, 52 κέματες ὑπὸ γενναρ εὔμακα etc.; κέματι may again be associated with limbs at Eur. Phoen. 852, where Murray reads κέματα τιρπατεμι λέγων, and his critical note has ὑπὸ μιν ἐ. γείν: ant hoc aut γείνει Σ qui τὰ γενναρα reddit'.

543. - τὸ πάν ἐν ἐγκε 
πολείν οὐ; cf. Xen. An. iiii.1.18 ἐπὶ δοκεῖ ἐνὶ πὸν ἐλέει; Soph. o. T. 265f. καὶ ποτὶ πῶλτ ἀφιγματιζόντων τῶν άλτηκερά ... ἀλβεῖν; El. 614f. ἔμπι οὐ δοκεὶ ν' ξαφεῖν ὅ ἔσ ἐν ἐγναν διδώνης ἀντι; Eur. Hipp. 284 ή ἐν πῶλτ ἀφιγματι κοδίν κύριμων πάλαν . Barrett on the last passage correctly distinguishes (as van Leeuwen does not) between this usage and ἔσ ἐν ἐγκεκαθαμαν or ἐλέειν = 'to be reduced to a condition of great mental stress', cf. ἔν πῶλτ ἐγκείν .

544. - ζητήσι : repeated at 547 ζητήσι, the word seems to sum up for the chorus all that is good in the new-found managers of the State.

545. - φύσις : 'natural powers', 'talent'.

546. - The arrangement as presented in Coulon's text seems a likely adaptation of the MSS. readings, or perhaps even more so Hermann's ἔν νότιοι ιμάτων τὸ σοῦ, ἐν φιλυστήριον (adopted by van Leeuwen and Wilamowitz). For the variation of asyndeton and connective ἐς v. Denniston p. 164 and cf. 952 -- 4 ποιοῦν ἐς ἐς ... ποικὶ ... ποικὶ ἐς ... ποικὶ ἐς ... ποικὶ ἐς.
Av. 586 ²ε ... ἕκε ... ἕκε ἕκε ... ἕκε ... ἕκε.

Τὸ στρόφων seems almost essential cf. Eccl. 895f. εὐ γὰρ ἐν νόθοις
tὸ στρόφων ἐν/εὐθίν ἐδικήν ὑπὸ τῶν πεποίησεν; Av. 428 ἐνε τοῦτον
τῷ ἐφραιμί; Eur. Hipp. 966f. ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τὸ μέχριν ἀνθρώπων μὲν
ὡς ἐνιαυτῷ ὑπὲρείφειν;

πλάτωνες: the Proboulos would certainly not agree with this epithet.

549. ἄντρυποτοῦν: this has caused a great deal of difficulty with
commentators: it is the reading of the first hand of 2, of the Suda s. v.
τῆθη, of Athen. iii, 90b, and of Esth. 1485, 40 (v. Kraus Test. Ar. 1933,
39), and is a "lectio difficilior" than ἄντρυποτοῦν which is in R,
and the second hand of 2 v. Coulon, REG xliii (1930) 47 - 8. Most of the
difficulty goes, if one remembers that a singular invocation may stand for
the plural (and Χαράκκτης etc. confirms this) cf. 209 and the note ad loc.;
thus not only is Lysistrata being addressed (she is addressed similarly at
1108 ὡς παρὰν ἄντρυποτοῦν), but all the women with her among
whom, we presume, are both old and young, and thus the prime objection to
ἡ λαζ εὔπνοια is removed, viz. that a young Lysistrata ought not
to be addressed in such terms. Scaliger's ἄντρυποτοῦν is certainly
unnecessary; the women consider themselves as a whole group, inclusive of
ἡθον and μητρίδιον, and the leader, symbolising them all,
can easily be addressed as ἄντρυποτοῦν of them all.

ἡθον: 'grand-mothers'; cf. Ach. 49.

μητρίδιον: μητρίδιον is the diminutive of μητίρα; cf.
μητρίδιον / μητίρα. The explanation of the scholiast μητρίδιος
δι' ἀλήθειαν ἐνε ἄκοιτας τὸ στήμα τῆς βοήθειας τῆς ἐκκλησίας
is based on a misunderstanding of the passage, and this diminutive could not
possibly be an adjective meaning 'filled with seed' (so L. S. J. s. v.), from
μητίρα = 'womb'; no parallel for such a formation is adduced (v. A. Willems,
BAB (1904) 618 - 20).
_καλά_ σου _ποίει_ : in apposition to both _ποίει_ and _μετράς_ : the word means 'nettle' or 'sea-anemone', both renowned for their prickliness (it is suggested that the latter may be the correct meaning here, and that _ποίει_ is a pun on the Homeric _πελά_ , 'ascidia', 'sea-squirt' (Il. 16, 747; _ποίει_ and _δεξιάφας_ are associated together at Arist. H. A. iv, 4; viii, 1, 3.). This metaphor for anger recurs at Vesp. 884 _αιώ_ _πόλις_ _πότε_ _πολεμά_ _δεκαδί_ ἀπιστέα_ and at fr. 560 _εἰκός_ _ἄλλα_ _προσ_ _πε_ _πάντα_ ἀναθαμματίζει καὶ _τὸ_ _κράνιον_ _δίκαιος_ (v. Taillardat sect. 364; at sect. 363 he gives other examples of prickly plants which symbolise the same e.g. _νάκκαρο_ , _ναχρέδος_ , _νάκταρ_ etc.).

The attitude of the women towards the Proboulos and the old men has been "prickly", to say the least.

550.- _χύτειτ' ὅρη_ : a military sounding phrase, appropriate to the hostile action the old women of the chorus encourage in their companions cf. Thucy. v, 70 _Ἀργείων_ _μὲν_ καὶ _εἰ_ _σύν_ _κακία_ ... _ὅρη_ _χύτειτε_ ("with their feelings at a high pitch" Andrewes ad. loc.).


Perhaps a rather grand word, which elevates the language of the chorus at this point.

_οὐρέω_ _ἀρέσθ_ : a nautical metaphor (cf. _ἰσίωρες_ 539, which is properly used of the sea) from running before the wind ( _οὖρεω_ or _ουρεω_ is "a fair wind"), cf. Thesm. 1226 _πρός_ _νυν_ _κατά_ _τάκος_ (κατά_ _νυν_ Jackson, fort. recte) _ἐς_ _κόρμακς_ _ἐπιτριβάδας_ ; _Eq. 432f._

_εἶν_ _ἐς_ _στάσεις_ _νε_ _τοὺς_ _καθ' _ἐπιτριβάς_ _ἐιτ_ _ἀνάθω_ _κατά_ _κόρυ_ _ἐμαυτόν_ _ουρέω_ ; Soph. Aj. 889 _ουρέω_ ... _ἐρέμω_ ; 1083 _ἐς_ _ουρέω_ _ἐρέμωσαν_ ; _Com. adesp. 770,1_ _οὐρέω_ _ἐιτ_ _ἐς_ _ουρέω_ _ουτουσία_ _ἐιτ_ _ἐπιτριβάδας_ . For _θεώ_ cf. Eccl. 109
The Mss. present an unmetrical line. Two traditional solutions have been adopted by various editors, Bentley's ηνυττηρ γ' ὶ or Person's ἰνυττηρ ὶ ΤΕ. Bentley obviously had in mind the limitative use of γ' with conditional conjunctions "if, that is", for he compared Eq. 366 ηνυττηρ γ' τούτων ἐλάξις (on this use v. Denniston p. 141f.): but that seems to fit here less well than Person's ΤΕ which serves to link closely the two deities which obviously go closely together, Eros and Aphrodite (they even shared a sanctuary on the Acropolis v. Broneer, Hesperia (1935), 123ff.; A. J. A. (1940) 255).

γάλακτορας: applied at Nub. 705f. to ὑπνός. γάλακτος and various compounds (e.g. γάλακτοκρυστός, γάλακτοδαίμον, γάλακτοπροσφέρον) are traditionally applied to love and desire from Homer onwards.

Κυρσίνιος: cf. Πτεργύνειο of Athens at 347. The association of Aphrodite with Cyprus (cf. Hes. Theog. 195ff.) needs no illustration; it recurs in this play at 556 and 833. The name is used absolutely by Pindar, Pyth. iv, 216, and the Aeolic form by Alcaeus fr. 296 (b) 1 (L.-P.); 380 (L.-P.), 68 (D.); Sapph. fr. 22, 16 (L.-P.), 36, 8 (D); 134 (L.-P.), 87 (D); Theocr. xxx, 31. For the prosody Κυρσί cf. Eq. 1175 Ὁβρικεῖα: ὅτι: Av. 553 Καβροκόκα.

552. Κηρος: a word of high poetry cf. Ran. 59 Τοῦτος Κηρός μὴ διαλογίσται ("the metre and the language are in the tragic style" Stanford ad loc.); Nub. 435 Τοῦτον Νᾶν Κηρος ("somewhat grandiloquent language" Dover ad loc.), continuing the lofty language of the address of the previous line. Personified Κηρός is associated with Aphrodite and Eros at Hes. Theog. 201 and later. The desire, of course, is to be felt by the men at the sight of the Κηροσωμάτων limbs of the women. This
is repeating in rather grand terms the plan of the women to use their
physical attractions to win over the men to peace (v. on 46).

ημείν ... καταπνεύσα: cf. the words of the chorus in Eur. Med.
836ff. Τῶν κόητριν καλύβοις ἀθροσσαρίν / καταπνεύσαν
μετρίας ὑπόθες / ὑπευγένεσα γύρας; I. A. 68f. δέδομεν ἐνδότοις
εὐμερί ἀναλημφαίνειν ἐνε / δέν τι μαραθεῖν ἀφεδὼράς φίλοι.
Hipp. 525f. Εἰς τό, ἔρχεται ὁ κατ' ἀρμάτων / οὐ κατάζεις πάθον.

It is very surprising, in view of the easiness of the corruption, that Bentley's
ημείν receives no mention in Coulon's apparatus; both Wilamowitz and
van Leeuwen receive it into their texts, probably rightly. Page (on Eur. Med.
loc. cit.) observes καταπνεύσα nowhere else certainly governs a genitive;
(he retains the Mss. καταπνεύσα, although tempted by Reiske's καταπνεύσα ), so that
ημείν (if it is right) would have to depend on καταπνεύσα and μετρίας;
while this is not impossible, a dative (or even an accusative cf. Eur. Rhes.
387 in the sense of "inspire"; Hld. 3, 2 καταπνεύσα τήν εἰσαγωγά )
of the kind used at Plat. fr. 173, 14 μὴ δὲν ἐνίγματος ἔδειξέν καταπνεύσα
would be easily changed to the genitive with so many -ν endings in the line. Again the high poetic style is seen in the use of such a verb.

553.- ἐνικήσα: this word has caused a good deal of trouble, not
because of the sense ("engender", which is exactly what is required), but
because of the form, which is unparalleled in Attic for the aorist of ἐνικάω
(although according to Chrysippus Stoic. 2, 257, Hesiod had used the aorist
subjunctive form ἐνικήσα, and the Mss. at Orph. H. 41, 8 read ἐνικάων ἔδειξα
which Abel changed to ἐνικάων τήν ἐνικήσα). Wilamowitz suggests that this
sigmatic aorist could have easily been formed from the future ἐνικώ. If
one is prepared to accept this (it is by Chantraine Morph. Hist. (1961) sect.
205; cf. ἐρρέουσα for ἐρρέων at Eq. 526; ἑλλιτά for ἑλλιτών at
fr. 965), then there are plenty of parallels for the usage e.g. Vesp. 651

νόσον ἀνάλαυ ἐν τῇ πρόπετοι ἐνικήσα (the only instance of
the intransitive use of ΤΕΤΑΒΑΚ; Eur. Hipp. 642f. ὁ γὰρ κακοίρως μᾶλλον εὐτίκτει κύρις ἐν τῖς σοφίσιν; Plat. Rep. 392A ὅπερ ὑπερλιπέν τιθέμενον εὐτίκτει τοῖς νοοις τεννίσι; Lg. 870A ἔρωτας μερίσεις εὐτίκτουσα; and so very frequently in Plato; simple τίκται is so used at Vesp. 1034; Pafx. 757; Thesm. 845 etc.

If an alternative is sought, then B's εὐτικῆ is a common favourite, most recently supported by H. Helmsoe-Jensen (C & M xx (1959) 14 - 15), who compares the use of ΧΕΩ in epic (in any case, the language is probably elevated, and then undercut by the rest of the line), the literal use of συντίκας at Nub. 149 and εὐτίκης at Nub. 772 (the metaphorical usages at Vesp. 317 and Plut. 1034 are "nihil ad rem"), and a passage of Soph. El. (1311 μετέχει τὸ γὰρ πολλοῖς εὐτίκησι μοι, where Jebb cf. Plat. Menex. 245D ἐδεικνύει τὸ πολλοῖς εὐτίκησι τῆς πόλεως ἡ μετέχει τῶν ἄλλων φύσεως and Lucian Peregr. 22 τοῦτοις ἔρως τῆς εὐτίκης ἡ μετέχει τοῖς; v. further Jebb on Trach. 463 and Pearson on Soph. fr. 941, 7). It is notable that these examples are intransitive; a real parallel for our passage is still to be found. If both these readings are rejected, conjecture must be turned to, and three are worth mentioning, Meineke's εὐτικῆ, which, however, anticipates the joke in ΤΕΤΑΒΑΚ, Herbert Richards' (CR xvii (1903) 9) οὔπως, for which he compares Pind. Pyth. ii, 91 δὲ ἀναπταμένος ἀδικός Ὀνιρών ἐκ τῆς πρώτης καρδίας and Isocr. i, 46 καὶ άντι τοῦ ἐνδοτὼς παραιτήτων, and Hirschig's εὐτικῄς (adopted by van Leeuwen, who cf. Eur. Hipp. 525, cited above on 552, Hdt. ix, 3, 1 ἡδεῖ ὁι δεῖνω τοῖς εὐνετικῶς ὑποστάξας Ἄφενθας ἄφενθας ἐλεῖν, and Hom. Od. ii, 271 εἰ δὲ τοῖς σοῦ παρίστας εὐνετικῶς μενος ἢ'); None, however, really match up to the Mss. εὐτικῆ for sense, and this should probably be accepted cf. schol. παρασκευὴν τῷ τοῖς οἰκεῖον (v. further Coulson, REG xliii (1930) 62 n. 2).

ΤΕΤΑΒΟΣ ΤΕΤΑΒΟΣ: ΤΕΤΑΒΟΣ is also found at 846 in conjunction
with εὐσφαράζως (cf. 1089); the word is a medical term for 'tetanus' or 'convulsion' (cf. Hipp. Aph. 5. 6; 16; 20; 7.13; Acut. Sp. 10, 37) here used comically "sensu obsceno", as explained by the scholiast (cited above) v. H. W. Miller, TAPA lxvi (1945) 84 and Ehrenberg p. 280. ἔρνον, of course, gives the show away; it is hardly the word doctors would have applied to ἔρνον.

ἐφανεροσ : schol. ὄναρ γνήσιον (τὸ μεταφέρον) ἢς ἐφανερος γίνεται (cf. Anth. Pal. iv, 261); ἐφανερος is literally "a club"; ἐφανερος expresses the state of excitement the women will engender in the men. Similar metaphors for the penis include ἄκουλος (992); ἄκουλος (Nic. Al. 409; Anth. Pal. v, 129); ἄκουλος (Sophron fr. 146b Olivieri; Epicr. fr. 10, 4); ἄκουλος (Eupfr. fr. 334) v. Taillardat sect. 101.

554. - ἀσταφῆς : to say that this form is forced on Aristophanes because ἀσταφῆς would not fit into anapaests is to miss the important joke here, although, of course, neither Wilamowitz nor Rogers were in a position to know that the character Lysistrata may have been based on a contemporary priestess of Athena Polias, Iysimache (v. introduction); it may be to this same person that the line in Pax (992) is directed ἠτενεν ἐφανεροσ καὶ ἐσκορπᾶσεν τὸν Λυσταφῆς ἔρνας καὶ ἐκάλυψεν ὅπως v. N. V. Dunbar, CR xx (1970) 270 – 2. The genius of Aristophanes here and elsewhere is so to name someone as to compel us to think of the real meaning of that name; he did this by making the historical ἀσταφῆς into ἀσταφῆς, and now he reminds us laughingly of this by bringing in the original name in the words of the heroine in a context in which it has its literal force cf. Eq. 615 Νυκτός; Vesp. 84 ἔρνυται; Thesm. 806ff., with its list of suitable names (v. further C. W. Peppler, Comic Terminations, 1902, 49; O. Froehde, Beitr. z. Tech. der. alt. Att. Kom. 1898, 163).
again, the whole of Greece is to be involved v.
on 29f.

Kαλέστει : passive future, as Vesp. 544 ἀλλοφόροι καλομιμοῖος; Soph. El. 971 ἐλευθέρα χαλί (Jebb forgot these Aristophanic passages when he said the 'Electra' passage was the only example); Eur. Or. 1140 εἰ Μιτροφόροι δι' οὗ καλὴ.

555.— The Proboulous does little more in the antepirrhema than ask brief questions and make short asides; the stage is very much dominated by Ilysistrata and her friends. On the alliteration cf. 9 and Eq. 402; Pax 762 etc.

556.— ζων ἔπευξεν ἄγραφόνοις : because Athens since Deceleia ἄντι τοῦ πόλεως εἰναι ἀπονομον κατάστασι (Thucy. vii, 28, 1), armed men parading about the agora would be a common sight cf. Thucy. viii, 69, 1 ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι παύσις ἄξι, εἰ μὲν εἰπὶ πείκει εἰ ἐν τάξει τῶν ἐν Λευκάδοις πολεμίων ἐνεκερκα ἐπ' ἐνδοτει; ; Thesm. 495. The old men at 633 proclaim ἄγραφον τ' ἐν τοῖς ἐνοικίσις ἡς ἀνταπώνεται. ἄγραφον often has a bad sense of "loosing" cf. Eq. 1373 ὑπὸ ἄγραφος ἐν ἄγραφοι σύμβας ἐν ἄγραφοι ; Cratin. fr. 239, 2. The "miles gloriosus" would be a common figure in Athens at the time cf. Ran. 48ff. ("There was doubtless much boasting after the battle of Arginusae, and such bragadocio is here satirised" Tucker ad loc.).

μὴν ὁρμῶσαι : the word has caused some trouble, but van Leeuwen is probably right to take ἄγραφον as subordinate to and hence an example of these men's raging (the word is used frequently in Homer of martial rage v. L. S. J. s. v. also cf. 342 πολεμίως καθ' μὴν ὁρμῃσέως). That the word is right is confirmed by the comparison below to ἐπὶ ἄρτος (v. on 558). There is therefore no need to alter, as o.g. O. Schneider (Jahrb. f. class. Philol. cxvii (1878) 667 - 8) to μὴ ὁρμῆσαι (for which there is no Aristophanic parallel, except Vesp. 1232, which is an adaptation of Alcaeus; also an object would be usual with this verb).
552. - κἂν ... Χῦτραὶς ... ἀλλαξάντειν: v. schol.; the idiom whereby
the name of the commodity indicates the places (in the market) where it was sold
is very common (v. Sobolewski p. 8) cf. Eq. 1375 τῶν τῶν μύρων ; Vesp.
789 ἐν τείς ἔχεσιν; Ran. 1068 περί τῶν ἱθοίς ; Nub. 1065 ἕκ τῶν
δύνων ; Av. 13 ἕκ τῶν ἀρνίων; Eccl. 303 ἐν τείς στεφανίζεσιν;
Cratin. fr. 196 ἐν τείς δύναισι ; Eup. fr. 304 περιεπάθον ἔστι
τὰ ἕκεροδα καὶ τὰ κρύμα, καὶ τὸν λειότατον κεφαλή
τῶν ἀρνίων καὶ περί τὰ γέλην χω/τα βούβαλι' ὄνων;
Pherecor. fr. 2 ἐν τείς στεφανίζεσιν δέ ἐν τῶι μύρων ;
Antip. fr. 125 ἐν τείς ἔχεσι; Theophr. 11, 4 παρατηρεῖσα
τῆς ἄγραφης προσεῖθαν πρὸς τὰ κέρα ἡ ἡ κύρκα
ἢ τὰ ἀκρέεια εὐτυχίας ἑρωτήματι ἐφησκε; Lys. 23, 6
ἐλέγχατα ἐίς τῶν χωλον τυρών τῇ ἐγς καὶ νέα ; Dem. 19, 245
ἐίς τείς ἄρνες ἐισεῖστα ; Catull. 55, 3-4 'τεCampo quaesivimus
minore, τε in Circo, τε in omnibus libellis' (cf. τε/ίς τα βιβλία Av.
1288, though the meaning there is disputed). Pollux (ix, 47) vouches for the
usage ἄγραφον τείς τίτεις ἐκ τῶν περισκομενων,
ἔστιν ἐκ πραγματικῶν ἐτὶ τῶν προσθέσων, καὶ ἐστὶν τῶν
ἐπιδιοταν καὶ ἐστὶς τὰς Χῦτρας ... MacDowell:
(on Vesp. 789) says rightly: "The existence of the idiom proves that in the
Agora shops or stalls selling the same kind of goods were grouped together"
(cf. Ehrenberg p. 133).

558. - Κορύβαντες : on the Corybantes (divinities
associated with Cybele) and the fact that Κορυβατίαν comes virtually
to mean "be mad", "be out of one's senses" v. MacDowell on Vesp. 8 (add to his
references Eur. Hipp. 141ff.): here = "like frenzied creatures".

559. - The Proboulos' rather feeble defence is swept aside by the
ludicrous picture painted first by Lysistrata and then her companion.
καὶ μὴν : v. on 131.
560. - Στοίχειον: Καθότι Γοργινα: i.e. a shield with the device of a Gorgon on it (cf. Av. 1182 πεπροδικόν κοίνον τοίσιονικον); the Gorgon-device was on the shield of Lamachus, Ach. 574; 964; 1095; 1124; 1181; cf. Pox. 561. The Gorgon-device is traditionally one of a great warrior of II. xi, 36 (of Agamemnon's shield), here ludicrously contrasted with the little fish (Κοπρίκονς cf. Epich. fr. 44, 1; also κοπρίκινες at Pherecr. fr. 56; Anaxandr. fr. 27) which the warrior purchases.

κοπρικες: "κοπρικες is a stronger form of ειμικες 'indignantis'" Neil on Eq. 392 (so κοπρικεις ); cf. Denniston p. 308, who cites Av. 674; Nub. 624; Av. 536; v. also van Leeuwen on Nub. 624, who adds Nub. 409; Pox. 890; Av. 1455.

561. - Κομιτήχυσ: long hair was especially worn by cavalrymen, who were rich enough to keep horses, and hence disdain the general fashion for shorter locks (cf. Nub. 14, where v. Dover; Eq. 580; 1121 etc.); for other classes who favoured long hair v. MacDowell on Vesp. 466. Κομιτης comes to mean 'to give oneself airs' (cf. schol. ad Eq. 580; Taillardat sect. 327) and no doubt the word Κομιτήχυσ here carries some such overtones cf. Com-nudep. 12 - 14 οδύς Κομιτήχυσ δεσμος ει τονιγετα: οδύς Κομιτήχυσ δεσμος ει βιντετα: οδύς Κομιτήχυσ δεσμος ει τονιγετε: for other anti-aristocratic statements.

ψιμπρ Κομιτήχυσ: no ordinary cavalrymen, but the commander of the cavalry furnished by his tribe cf. Av. 779. With this mockingly glowing description of the knight cf. Iane. xi, 41 ιτινον αλμπερων εφη ετι εφησαμενοι, which confirms the reading ιτινον , as against R's ιτινον (cf. 679 εφ' ιτινον : the latter would be possible only as an adjective εφιτινον (cf. Eup. fr. 27); the reading of the schol. on Plut. 427 εφιτινον (not εφ' ιτινον as Wilamowitz reports v. Kraus, Test. Ar. p. 39) is merely a slip.

562. - Ἐφοβοι διώκειν: the force of the middle must be noted "stowing away for himself" (cf. Av. 1163 τον δεικεν ενθαλδευοντι τομον;
contrasted with ἔντισσαλων at 1146; cf. the vivid phrase at Pax. 1312 ἐμφαλισθεὶς τὸν ἰαύνον "stow away (sc. into your mouth or belly) some hare"); this serves to reduce the stature of the knight, who had been so grandly pictured in the previous line.

πίλος: literally "felt", with which a helmet might be lined (Hom. II. x, 265); then of any sort of cap or helmet, not necessarily of felt. At Thucy. iv, 34, 3 the word is used of the Laconian round steel cap (v. Gomme ad loc.), and at Paus. iv, 27, 2 the word is again used in a Laconian connexion. Given the fact that long hair was worn by Spartans (Av. 1282; Hist. i, 82, 3; v. MacDowell on Vesp. 466), and that the speaker wishes to be as rude as possible about the knight, perhaps the description of the helmet is meant to recall the Spartan steel cap (Τῷ πιλίσοιν... τῷ Μυσίον Ach. 43? is some sort of foreign headgear, suitable for Dicaeopolis dressed up as Telephus, and "nihil ad rem" in our passage). But the lack of evidence about the precise usage of the word πίλος in 5th century Athens makes firm interpretation impossible. Here the knight uses his helmet as a

Τρεπάθος (Eccl. 1176, again in connection with ἄγιχαος) cf. Antiphan fr. 109 Τῷ μεν ἐπέμπασαν/στριβάς ἕστιν ἠμῶν ὡς καλὸς πῖλος καλὸς/ψυχήπτερον βουλεῖ; παντ' ἢμιδόντος κέρας.

ἀλκιβιάς: some sort of porridge or gruel cf. Plat. 427; Eccl. 1178.

παρὰ γίνοσ: a ἀλκιβιάτις (Plat. 427); for παρὰ in sense of 'bought from' 'coming from', cf. Pax. 336 - 8 ἢ τῇ κεχιρωμένῳ

Χαρίδειον εἰτα τὸργόν γα καταθηκότας;
Flat. Rep. 406D πᾶρα τῷ ἓπτρῳ φιλόμακον πείλον;

Sobolewski p. 190.

563. - Γρατ: the Athenians used Thracian mercenaries from time to time in the Peloponnesian War (Thucy. vii, 29; 29); they were renowned for their wild, undisciplined behaviour, typified by the massacre they brought about at Mycale (Thucy. vii, 29, 4 Τῷ γάρ γείνοντά τῷ πείλον
No doubt, they would have been a common sight in the agora of Athens around this time.

Τιτήν δὲ ἰὼν κακόντιον: these were the typical arms of the Thracians cf. Ach. 160; Thucy. ii, 29, 5; vii, 27, 1; Xen. Mem. iii, 9, 2; Eur. Alc. 498, fr. 368, 4; Hdt. vii, 75, 1.

ὁ Τῆρους: the name of Thrace seems to have automatically suggested to Athenian minds the name of the legendary Thracian king Tereus (cf. Thucy. ii, 29, where he distinguishes Teres, the father of Siteices, being of Thrace, from Tereus.). The name was especially well-known through the various tragedies which bore his name (cf. Av. passim), especially that by Sophocles (frs. 581 - 95 P, with Pearson's introductory note Vol. ii, 221ff.).

ἐχεισκέτο: this in Maltby's change of the Ms. εἰκασκέτο (schol. ἐφάλει); the latter is usually defended by the gloss in Nicephorus ἐικασκέτο εἰφάλει (cf. Eustathius δαισκέτο εἰφάλει; Suda ἐἰκασκέτο εἰφάλει), although the form is unique. The Homeric verb is ἐείκόνω, which in Attic later becomes ἐεικόνω (the same change as in Homeric ἐεῖκέννεν ἔεῖ-ἔεκτὶ-μέν and Attic ἐεῖκαν v. Chantraine Morph. Hist. 1961 sect. 218), so that the Ms ἐεικασκέτο seems very strange (unless it is meant to sound Homeric in some odd way), and Maltby's change is probably justified. The corruption may have arisen, as van Leeuwen suggests, from a reading ἐεἰκασκέτο which was then confused with the common Homeric word ἐεῖκόνω "welcome", "greet". Even Maltby's form, however, is heroic enough to make it funny: the application of such a word to a Thracian barbarian and his dealings with a fig-seller is obviously meant to be ludicrous.

ὅρμενεϊς: sc. ὅρμενες: the form of this word is uncertain,
although the meaning is quite clear, "ripe". ὑφοίμισις is applied to olives at Eup. fr. 312; Chionid, fr. 7, and the sense is quite clear, "ripened on the tree", and it is easily transferred to figs here. ὑφοίμισις (or - ις) is a common variant for the former, presumably in the sense of "ready to fall from the tree", and this is the form found is Hesychius and the σχολια on this line (and elsewhere v. Kraus, Test. Ar. p. 39); it is, however, quite likely that this compound has developed out of similarity to other compounds with πεπτωμιν (applied to olives at Lucian, Lexiph. 13), δεινομεης, νομυμεης, etc., and therefore may be a bastard form. The explanation of ὑφοίμετεις in Hesychius is given in the Mss. as follows: ἐπὶ δένδρῳ πεπτωκύμενος ὄμοι, usually emended to ἐπὶ ὄμοι; Kraus (loc. cit.) suggests (on the lines of the scholia to our passage) ἐπὶ δένδρῳ (πεπτωκύμενος καὶ μή) πεπτωκύμενος ὄμοι (and he would presumably wish to alter the gloss to ὑφοίμετεις (or - ις, which is the correct accent). The word ὑφοίμετεις is applied by Aristophanes (fr. 141) to στέφανος, ἐς πεπτωκύμενος πεπτωκύμενος ὑφοίμετεις στέφανος; καὶ ὅποι ὅσον ὑποτάχειον, ἀναλύω ὅλως στέφανος; and elsewhere the word πεπτωκύμενος is used of women (e.g. Eccl. 896) v. Taillardat sect. 51. This seems to me to confirm the spelling ὑφοίμετεις here. (Wilamowitz prefers this in his note, and I presume his text, which offers ὑφοίμετεις, is a misprint).

565. - ὑφοίμετεις: Porson's emendation is convincing: the omission of the copula (common enough with ὑφοίμετεις cf. 598; Vesp. 649 etc.) caused a scribe to gloss the line with ἐπινακε, which then became in ὑφοίμετεις, (ἀν and ὅ being virtually interchangeable in Mss. v. Coulon, Essai p. 88 for Aristophanic examples and J. Jackson, Marg. Scaen. (1955), 134 for an application of the principle). That a gloss is often added in such cases v. Coulon, Essai p. 164, who cites, among other passages
Lys. 719 εἰς τὸν, where the gloss of R is ἐκ τῆς, and Eq. 736, where ἄλλες ὡς κατὰ τὸν ἑαυτὸν has a note in V. 219, ὡς διὶ ὑπεξήθη κτεί.

Τέταρταγγέλλος : cf. the use of ΚΥΡΙΩΣ at 489 (q.v.), 491.

566.- εἰς τοὺς Χωμάδας : the plural here indicates not only Athens but also all the other territories involved in the war cf. Eq. 905f.

διῷκος καὶ σφικτέος / Χωμάδας Διίμασ = "the whole world".

διαθοῦσα : not only the correct technical word for putting an end to strife (v. L. S. J. s. v. i, 4) but one which leads naturally to the comparison Lysistrata is about to make to spinning (cf. 569).

Φεύξως : commonly used in Comedy for "easily" cf. Ach. 215; Eq. 404; 509; Nub. 778 etc.


Τέταρταγγέλλος : Lysistrata purposely using the same words as the Proboules, adapting the political to the domestic.

Φοίνικα : Lysistrata demonstrates with her fingers how this would be done.

568.- ὑπὲρεύκομακοῦντα : the force of the ὑπὲρ may be, as Wilamowitz suggests "softly", "gently", as in ὑπὲρ κινεῖν, ὑπὲρ γείσειν (Hippon. fr. 84), ὑπὸ μάκασερ (Theocr. ii, 59 v. Gow ad loc.), and the verb be equivalent to ὑπὲρεύκομακοῦντα, for ὑπὲρφοίνικα describes the process of disentangling and unravelling the yarn (570); cf. the figurative senses of ἐκ τελείως εὔφειλιν at Hos. Scut. 44;

Aesch. Ag. 1032 (v. Fraenkel ad loc.) and ἐκ ποτηρίζομαι at Ran. 578.

ἀπράκετος : ἀποτρίκετος is a "spindle", onto which the yarn was wound (cf. Ran. 1348 with Stanford's note); so nowadays a knitter might use her needles to disentangle snarls in the wool.
\text{Εντωκεία} : v. on 4 and Dover on Nub. 814: "it \[\text{Εντωκεία}\] is used both of position and of direction", like \text{Εντωκεία}.

562.- \text{n} \text{ν} \text{τις} \text{δ}' \text{η}: 'if we are given a free hand'.

577f.- The Probole's reply is suitably contemptuous; with his use of the plural cf. Av. 484. \text{Αρχείον} \text{τε} \text{Περισσότερος} \text{πάντων} \text{Δρακίων καὶ} \text{Μεγαβίων}.

\text{δύναται} : the word that Lysistrata had used of the men's stupidity (518) is now cast back at her.

Coulon (Essai p. 77) retracts his adoption of Dobree's \text{ός} : 'elle est condamnée par le \text{καὶ} ... \text{γι} de la réponse de Lysistrata qui doit suivre immédiatement la question du Commissaire? He was right to do so (but cf. 87). For the hiatus v. K. B. i. 197 and cf. Plut. 374.

\text{καὶ} ... \text{γι} : v. on l. 489.

\text{καὶ} ... \text{γι} ... \text{δὲν} : cf. Pan. 585 \text{καὶ} \text{τίς} \text{τυττήσεσ}, \text{οὐκ} \text{δὲν} \text{δυνατονομία} \text{σοι} ... \text{εἴτε} would be more logical, but the conditional clause causes the dative.

\text{δύναν} \text{νοὺς} : a common phrase (v. E. W. Handley, Rm xcix (1956) 210)
cf. Ach. 556 \text{νοὺς} \text{δὴ} \text{ήμιν} \text{οὐκ} \text{ἐνε}; \text{Eq. 1121 νοὺς} \text{οὐκ} \text{δὲν} \text{τὰς} \text{κόρους} \text{ήμα}; \text{Eccl. 856 ἡ} \text{γὰρ} \text{ἐκκίνησας} \text{νοὺς} \text{ἐνε}: infra 1124 \text{ἐκ} \text{γὰρ} \text{γυνὴ} \text{μὲν} \text{εἴπε}, \text{νοὺς} \text{ἐπὶ} \text{στομα} \text{μοι} (paratragic);
it is sometimes found in tragedy e.g. Soph. El. 1328 \text{νοὺς} \text{ἐκκίνῃ} \text{νὰ} \text{τὸν} \text{ἰμαν} \text{ἐγγίνῃ}; \text{Bur. Andr. 231} \text{ἐκ} \text{κοινὴ} \text{ἐκκίνῃ} \text{νοὺς} ; \text{Hipp. 920} \text{εἰδὼν} \text{οὐκ} \text{ἐκκίνησα} \text{νοὺς} ; \text{fr. 25,} 4 \text{νοὺς} \text{σὲ} \text{δ' ἀν};

\text{ἐκκίνησιν} •

573.- \text{ἡμεῖς} \text{ἐρωτ} : the stress is on this word: "our way of working wool, which you laugh at".

\text{ἐκ} : cf. Eq. 464 \text{ὅσι} \text{ἐκπερίν} \text{ἐσ} \text{ἀνάγειν} \text{ἄνεγες};

574.- \text{πᾶς} \text{δὴ}; \text{φερ' ἐκ} : \text{φερ' ἐκ} is common in Aristophanes for "tell me", "pray", cf. Ach. 4; Vesp. 145; 563; 762; Nub. xii.
Eq. 1002; Av. 812; Thesm. 603; 630; for the whole phrase cf. Nub. 664 πης ἐπέφες; (for δείκτης with πης and other interrogativos v. Denniston p. 210f. and cf. Nub. 673; 1442; Vesp. 21 etc.). Cf. also Epich. fr. 171, 3K and Eup. Marikas P. Oxy. 2741 fr. 1B Col. ii. 10 (Vol. xxxv p.60)

Χρήν : Coulon follows Lautensach in changing the Mss. Χρήν

On the principles enunciated (rightly) by Barrett on Eur. Hipp. 1072 – 3, we should print Χρήν with the Mss.

πόκον : there is no difficulty here; πόκον is a general object placed first (as Wilamowitz says), and then you get a slight change in the construction, as at 408 q.v. πόκον is wool in its raw state of being a fleece recently sheared from a sheep cf. Av. 714 ἱλικω πεκτεῖν Ποβαντάν πόκον πρειτίν

575. – ἰκονίνας : the first process in the preparation of wool is to wash the fleece, to get rid of the σικνέγμα , the dung of the animals that clings to the fleece, and the rest of the dirt (schol. Τῶν ἑρίων ἐπιπέδων σικνέγματα λέγονται. καὶ Κρατίνος Διονυσιά deskriptor (fr. 39) "οὐκ ἀλλὰ βολίτα Χλιπικά καταστύναι παλιν"): cf. lch. 1177 ἐρετικομηρία

ἐπὶ κλίνας : the fleece was then spread on some sort of bench or table so that it could be beaten with rods to clean it further and the burrs picked out: cf. 732 ἔσεθα διαπερνώς ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης μένῃ (referring to ἔρχεται τις Μιλήστια); Nub. 343; Eq. 369 ὅ λέγει σου Ορανέός εἶπε, says the Paphlagonian, ὅ λέγει being a bench on which the tanning was done.

ἐκπαρβόζειν : the simple verb occurs at 587 and Pherecr. fr. 50.

τριβολέως : the 'tribulus terrestris' or 'caltrops' is a prickly plant that grows flat along the surface of the ground (v. Theophr. H. P. vi. 1.3; Pliny N. H. 21, 54), and the prickles might stick to sheep's fleeces (cf. the compound τριβολοκέττωσ Nub. 1003, on which v. Taillardat sect. 515) cf. Verg. Georg. i, 153 and i.1, 385 lappaeque tribolique; οὐ
Met. xiii, 803 asperior tribolis.

577f.—The next process: the matted portions have to be separated out with the carding comb and the ends of the hairs cleaned of the dirt etc. that the other processes failed to remove.

this phrase refers to the same people described at 490 as

Xelli θείσ

λήκωνις ετελέχων (q.v.): no doubt groups of politicians had been banding themselves together for years to try and get into office (v. Thucy. iii, 62, 6 and cf. Ehrenberg p. 109f.), so that again we need not see a reference to the coming oligarchic coup, for the description of the clubs in Thucy. viii, 54, 4 (quoted at 490) shows that these organisations had been in existence for some time (προτέρον), and their attempts to get elected to office (presumably again, in the eyes of a comic poet, to practice embezzlement and receive bribes and the like) were no doubt common knowledge; while we may presume that the plot to overthrow the democracy by using these clubs was not common knowledge, otherwise the scheme might very well have failed. Cf. Eq. 862f. for συνίστημι in a political sense.

καθαρίς: politically, this will refer to the heads of these clubs or organisations, here left unnamed.

579ff.—The wool can now be carded into a basket (v. on 535). Coulon’s punctuation makes the best sense, ληθώρια being the object of ληθώριαν and referring to all the citizen body in general, who are to be well mixed together in the basket so as to form a κοινή ευνοεῖ : Taillardat sect. 684 rightly translates ‘puis étirer dans une corboille une bonne volonté commune, en mêlant tout le monde: métèques, étrangers qui vous sont amis, débiteurs du trésor, les confondre eux-aussi dans la masse’. The break after ληθώριαν indicates a move to the other people Lysistrata wanted to be mixed up with everybody else; not only are the various factions of the present citizen body (γυναῖκες) to be mixed together, but also metics,
friendly foreigners and debtors (who were ἅμα) are to be mixed in as well (ἕκαστοι τῶν Σαμιάτων), though, as Ehrenberg points out, the Athenians in 405–4 did grant citizenship to the Samians 'as far as they were on the side of the Athenian people' (Syll. 116; Tod, 96).

κεῖτο...κέλευθεν: the rarity of this usage no doubt confused the scribes, for the Mss. offer only ἑλεύθεροι and Ἰωάννης; but κεῖ + subj. is found occasionally in Attic drama (v. Goodwin, Syntax sect. 454; 471; 540) following Homeric usage e.g. Eq. 698ff.; 805ff.; Soph. Ant. 710 κεῖ τίς Ἰωάννης (although κεῖ there = 'even if'); Cratin fr. 28; Crates fr. 5, Ἰωάννης; Soph. Icn. 214P (reading η with Hunt). The idiom is mainly tragic (derived from epic) and there may be an intentional rise in the tone here. The Mss. ἦν is odd coming between ἔνεσιν and ἔλεος; van Leeuwen says "idem homines utroque vocabulo nunc designantur: 'quisquis inter peregrinos vobis amicus est'", and the Greek for this is ἦν not ἦν. ἕκαστος: politically, as the scholiast says, ἕκαστος τῶν Σαμιάτων μὲν ἑκάστῳ is similarly used at Pax. 996ff. μετὰ τὸν Ἐλεύθερον τῶν Σαμιάτων ἔδειξεν ἐλπίδα, καὶ συγγνώμην πρὸς τὸν νεῶν τοῦ τώρα τε τιμήθη καὶ ἀναμνήσθη 

ἐκτίτωσεν: these were the very colonies that had begun to secede the previous year; here they are compared to the Κατὰγραμματῶν of wool lying scattered about: ἕκαστος is rightly explained by the scholiast as ἔκαστος ἔριζεν Κατὰγραμματῶν, 'flocks or slivers of wool into which the tangled mass of hairs is drawn out by the card' (so H. W. Haley, HSCP i (1890) 181, who prefers this explanation to that of Blümner, Technologie i, 106, who takes it to mean the wool drawn from the distaff, but still unspun); these flocks were then "collected into a single ball or clw
(Τολυμηνιον) ready for spinning". (cf. Ov. Met. vi, 19 "sive rudem primos lanam glomerabat in orbes"). ὅτα καταγραφὴ in 584 is each individual flock representing a component of the new all-embracing state, all of which have to be gathered together to form a large ball with which to weave a cloak for the people (τοῖς Σειμώνιοι is the newly constituted state, embracing all the people mentioned at 580 - 1, and the colonies of 582; cf. 1156, where Χάλκινος appears as a symbol of freedom for ἤς Σειμώνιοι).

Δήμος: Athens is naturally to be the centre for this activity.

587.—The Proboulos is not impressed by all this talk of things he probably does not understand too well, and which he cannot see applying to war, in which women have no part, and to which women's work cannot be compared. ἐπε τοις διπλωμασίαις καὶ τοῖς λυμπέτειν: equivalent to 'all this talk of beating with rods and making clews': the Proboulos in his anger tries to ridicule the comparison made by Lysistrata. ἐπε τοις διπλωμασίας refers to 576, and τοῖς λυμπέτεις to 586; the latter is used only here in its literal sense; it is found in the metaphorical sense of 'achieve', 'accomplish' from Homer onwards. (for ἐκτολυμπέτειν v. on 568). Cf. Vesp. 652 ἐπε τοῦτος... πᾶσσιν καὶ μὴ πατερίζει; Thesm. 616f. ἐπε τοῖς διπλωμασίαις; Aesch. Sept. 1044f. Τραχύς γε μὲν τοις διπλώμοι καταφθύγων κεκλαμένος ἐξαφανίζων τραχυῖν.

588.—καί μήν: Denniston p. 358 καί μήν is normally a balancing adverbative [as at 131; 559]. Very occasionally, however, it is as strong as ἀλλὰ or even μενενοῦν: "Here it means "on the contrary": cf. Plut. 67; Plat. Gorg. 471D.

Πᾶντες: v. on 137.

589.—Πῆλευς: a shortened form of Πᾶλευς, common in Attic (K. B i. 216; Schwyzer i. 249).

η ὅτα Σειμώνιοι λόγον: the MSS. have ἦ γε διπλωματικὼν λόγον, where γε can be defended as by Denniston p. 120; he quotes γε with
numerals at Vesp. 680; Plut. 1083 etc., but in all cases the γε follows the numeral (and so in the cases he mentions of γε with adjectives and adverbs expressing number, size, and quantity e.g. Ran. 1136), so that the order here is strange (although Plut. 1083 is also very unusual; there the Mas. disagree and Coulon follows Rutherford and Willems to read τε των τε and get rid of the γε). Denniston translates "our share in it is more than double". Blaydes would simply omit the γε or postpone it to after δεινάσων; for the prosody δεινάσων (which an unknowing scribe might have wondered at, and added a γε) in anapaests cf. Vesp. 678 δεινάσων; Av. 579 δεινάσων; Av. 591 κίναισων: he compares Soph. O. T. 1320 δεινάσων τις των δεινάσων κινήσων κατ' Αχ. 268 τις τοις δεινάσων, δώ γνωσιν, μενεβον κατ' Αχ. I see, therefore, no difficulty in accepting Blaydes' text (that πολεμίζων can be used after δέχεσθαι v. Thucy. i, 31, 1); Dover (on Nub. 1065) has shown that πολεμίζων is not always "more than", but can be "a full...": so that here the sense may be "we have to put up with it a full twice over" (first as mothers, then as wives or prospective wives). Wilamowitz, followed by Coulon, bases himself on the phrase τὸ ἡμείσν τινος and says: "hier wird nicht der Krieg verdoppelt, sondern der Anteil an ihm ist für die Frauen doppelt gegenüber den Männern" so that the phrase here is almost a πολεμίζων προσδοκαίνων for the more usual τὸ ἡμείσν. While this is possible, there is perhaps no need to amend thus.

μεν γε: Denniston p. 159: "the effect of γε being to concentrate attention momentarily on the μεν clause, with a deliberate temporary exclusion of the δέ clause", (here στος is the balancing word, as often when προσδοκαίνων or the like precedes v. Denniston p. 376f.). Here, as usual, μεν γε introduces (like μεν γεφσ; or μεν γεδον; ) an explanation or reason, cf. 720; 1236 etc.

590.--- Iysistrata would have continued "they die on the battlefield" or with some such sentiment; the Proboulos prevents her from so doing. Losses in war, especially on the Athenian side, are not mentioned in comedy (only
in the post-Peloponnesian war Ecclesiaiwnae do we find ἵνα τοὺς ὀπισθοδόκους ἐμὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν used as an argument by Praxagora for their coup), and would have no place in this type of drama, not even one which contains the pathos that 'Iysistrata' is normally credited with. So that, just as at 37, where Iysistrata cannot bring herself to mention the possible destruction of Athens, here she is prevented from reminding the audience and the haughty official of the war-losses. Coming so soon after the Sicilian expedition, in which so many hoplites were lost (v. Thucy. viii, 1, 2), the words would no doubt remind the audience of that disaster (v. Ehrenberg p. 310f.). There is a certain pathos in the collocation πολιτείας ἐπιλέκτας : men armed to fight and yet still children.


591ff.— The second burden the women have to bear is as wives who sleep alone when they ought to be enjoying their youth, or as maidens who have no prospects of marriage.

ὀπλατιά : cf. 100 (ὀπλατία is never found in Aristophanes, v. Neil on Eq. 587).

ὀμήνηριον : schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ καθ ημᾶς i.e. we who are married: cf. Eccl. 623 τὸ μὲν ὀμήνηριον γνώριμον τὸν ἐξί ; (balanced in 624 by τὸ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρον ); Thesm. 105 τοῦμόν ; Soph. El. 1203 τὸ τῶν υἱῶν etc.

περὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ κόρων : Dennistone (p. 186): "the order preposition, article, particle, substantive seems to be rare"; he quotes also Vesp. 94; he could have added Eccl. 625 (cf. Plut. 1034 for the same with γέφ ). For girls marrying young, v. Xen. Oec. 7, 5; Isae. vi, 14.

594. Χύνδρες = καὶ οἱ Χύνδρες (cf. 48 Χύνδρα = καὶ ἔχωνα; Thesm. 90 Χύν = καὶ ἔχων ), Reisig's
emodation of the Mss. γ' ιγρεσ or γ' ινδρεσ . The latter, however, seems to me all that is needed: we have a straight and simple contrast between the sexes in the Proclus' fatuous and point-missing question: "do not men, as well as women, grow old", and the article is not necessary (cf. Wilamowitz).

μι Δι ουκ ουκ : for the order v. Denniston p. 22f. and cf. Soph. El. 881f. μι την πατρίαν έσπαν, αλα ουκ οπροι δευς έτη,

and the examples cited by Blondes in his note (esp. Xen. Mem. iii, 4, 3 μι Δι ... άλα οπροί ειμέν εστι ...).

595.- ε μιν ημών γαρ : on the position of γαρ v. Denniston p. 97 and cf. Ran. 1,34 ε μιν σεφις γαρ είτην; Plut. 1205 Ταύς μιν

χοίρων γαρ: Χοίρως (perhaps also Pax. 605, if Herwerden's προστα

μιν (的时间里) γαρ έμε [的时间里] ημών is right v. Plut. ad loc.).

ημών : returning from military service; for ἵκελοι in the sense of 'have returned', 'be back' cf. Pax. 275; 845; 1041; Plut. 521; (infra 731; 924) etc.

Ταύς ... γε γεμίσαν : the perfect is rightly translated by Wilamowitz "er ist bald verheiratet".

For old men marrying young girls cf. Thesm. 410ff.; Eccl. 323f.; fr. 600;

Men. Asp. 258ff.

πάντα τοίχων : the same collocation in Theophil. fr. 12, 6 παντοί

κοπίς ; also Men. Epitr. 477.

596.- For the sentiment cf. Eur. fr. 24, 2f μακρα γαρ έχεις μακρά

λαίνειν μίνηι, Ονεία έκ προσ οτάν εκλείνες ;

Minn. fr. 2, 7f. D μινουμε δε γινετα ημών / καρπος (youth in general); Theogn. 985; 1020 (= Minn. fr. 5); Theocr. xxvii, 8 etc.

597.- Ταύς ημών : sc. ην οικίζε καρπίων , as Wilamowitz rightly says, which is naturally supplied from the line above. Similar words in a different context at Thesm. 411f. έντι ούδες γέρον / γεμίν
was originally some sort of divine voice v. L. S. J. s.v.

528. - έθ στυδαλα : this is the easiest and most likely correction of the Mss. ἐθερί (for the omission of the copula with έκ μυστώς v. on 565). There is no difficulty in the active στυδαλα; the middle (restored by van Leeuwen, following a suggestion of Blaydes) expresses the state which the Proboulos now vainly tries to reveal (cf. Av. 1255f.), his 'längst verlorene Mannerskraft', as Wilamowitz calls it. The old man tries to get his penis erect to show he is still (έθ) capable of satisfying a young girl; his failure prompts the interruption by Lysistrata that he is as good as dead, and may as well be treated as a corpse already. As always, Aristophanes never lets his characters retain any seriousness for any length of time, and, after the comparative pathos of 589ff., we are back to the obviously comic.

ονατος : the sense to be supplied may be "will soon find a girl ready to marry him" (Rogers), a suitably selfish male thought.

529. - δι' ε' ε' τι παρα μεν μεν for δι' ε' with surprised questions (especially common in Aristophanes and Euripides) v. Denniston p. 259.

τι μεδενον : originally the idea is like the English 'who taught you to', but it comes, like τι μεδενον (with which it is frequently confused in Mss. v. Dover on Nub. 402) to mean simply 'why on earth'. For the postponed interrogative, very common in such questions, v. G. Thomson, CQ xxxiii (1939) 147ff.

τι '\... ουκ : for this idiom v. Barrett on Eur. Hipp. 1060 - 1: the present is found also at 1103; Ach. 353; Eq. 1207; the aorist (more urgent than the present) at 181f.; 906 etc. The exhortation is about to be symbolically carried out, when the Proboulos is dressed up as a corpse.
600. - Χωρίν ἦσσα: this has caused a good deal of difficulty, but the scholiast's explanation is right: ἐξ ἥπειρας ἔστω καὶ ἔστω ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ ἐἶναι τῆς ἔτης ἔστω καὶ τεθῆκε: "you have a place to be buried".

Elmsley's commonly accepted Χωρίν ἦσσα is wrong, for the passage which he cites in support (Pax. 371f.) mentions a pig as a suitable sacrifice for a prospective μάζας to secure initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, before that man (Trygalus) dies (v. Platnauer ad loc. who cf. Ach. 747; Ran. 338). Such a reference would be completely out of place here. More attractive (though unnecessary) is Bentley's ἦσσα (cf. Zanetti's Χώριν ἦσσα).

σορόν ἦσσα: the Proboulos has to buy his own coffin, cf. Ach. 691 οὗ μελέτησεν σορόν προάδος τοῦτον οὐκ ἐβάλεν διὰ τοῦ Χορᾶς, so complains an old man.

601. - μέλετους: a honey cake, used as a sacred offering cf. Nub. 507 (for placating the snakes which lived in the cave of Trophonios v. Dover ad loc.); Av. 567 ναστοὺς μέλετους; Hdt. viii, 41, 2f. says a honey cake was given monthly to the great snake of the Acropolis. Here it is given to a dead man to give to Cerberus, cf. Verg. Aen. vi, 420. (schol. καὶ μελέτους ἐδιαστήματο ταῖς νεκρίσις ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ Κέρβερος).

καὶ δὴ: "marking the provision or completion of something required by the circumstances". Denniston p. 251 who cf. 909; Thesm. 266; Pax. 942.

602. - τευτῆ: for the audience there would be no doubt as to what Lysistrata was referring; unfortunately we are not in the same position, and various suggestions have been put forward; most editors take τευτῆ as something like fillets or ribands with which the Proboulos may garland himself, and with καὶ ἄρειφον ἐπόμενο the audience there would be no doubt. Rogers, however, takes τευτῆ as the money which is put into the dead man's mouth for Charon's fare (cf. Lucian, de Luctu 10); although he may be right to try and get such a reference in here, he might have been better to wait
for a line (v. on 603). Willems (EAB 1904, 620 - 2) takes ΤΑΥΤΗ as  
ΔΟΥΤΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΒΔΕΩΝ, ΔΟΥΤΡΑ ΒΩΣΙΑ (Eur. Hec. 611;  
Or. 367; El. 157; Soph. Aj. 1405), the ritual cleansing of the corpse:  
Lysistrata will have seized one of the water-jars that had been laid aside  
earlier and emptied it over the Proboulos. He gains some support from the  
comment of the scholiast on 610, where the Proboulos' description of himself  
ωσε ξω is glossed βεβογημενον. However, Lysistrata is  
perhaps too far away from the water-jars that the chorus had laid aside (539),  
and the addition of χ в οτεθκων causes a difficulty in its abrupt  
change. Willems suggests, however, that ΤΑΥΤΗ (sc. ΤΕΣ ΤΕΒΙΩΣ  
in 603 and ΤΟΤΟΥΝΥΤΙ ΤΟΝ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ are also used metaphorically to  
describe further douches of water from Lysistrata's two companions (so also  
in the translation by W. J. Hickie, Pohn's Classical Library 1890 p. 418);  
Schs (p. 239) suggests torrents of water and boxes in the ear. It is perhaps  
better, however, to take ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ etc. in a literal sense, and see the  
Proboulos crowned with foliage of some sort, which would be just as amusing  
as the soaking; crowning being such an important part of the ceremonies  
surrounding the dead, it is probably best to take the words straight. F. A.  
von Velsen (Philol. xx (1863) 358 - 60) ingeniously changes the order of  
the lines, putting 602 after 604, so that ΤΑΥΤΗ in 603 will refer to the  
honey-cakes 'in der Form einiger Lehmklumpen zugeworfen', and ΤΟΤΙ (now  
after ΤΟΤΟΥΝΥΤΙ ΤΟΝ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ ) will be 'einige Wische aus Strich  
und Laubwerk' with which the Proboulos will be decorated. His division of  
speakers is not very acceptable (599 - Iys.; 600 Γυ. A; 601 - Iys.; 603 -  
Γυ. B; 604 - Iys.; 602 - Γυ. Γ; 605 - 7 - Iys.) for we do not wish more  
than two extra speakers, but with a little adjustment (e.g. 599-601 - Iys.;  
603 - Γυ. A; 604 -Γυ. B; 602, 605 - 7 - Iys.) this could run quite well. The  
line 602 might have been omitted because of the similar ending to that of 604,  
and then replaced wrongly after 601. However, the received text makes sense
if one takes *ταυτά* as riband or fillets, and perhaps this should be retained.

603.- *ταυτά* : schol. *τὰς ταυνίας ἐς τοὺς νίκησις ἐτέρματον οὐ φίλοι. ἐν ἄλλης δὲ εὐημ., τὰς ἐρακμᾶς, ἐν μισθόν τὶς πορομεῖ. Either interpretation seems valid to me; the companion either showers more foliage on the Proboulos to serve as fillets or sticks some coins in his mouth with which he may pay Charon.

604.- *τούτονυς* : v. on 535. The other woman gives the Proboulos the garland as the finishing touch; he is now ready to go off on his voyage to the underworld (cf. Eccl. 538; Eur. Tro. 1142f.).

605ff.- Lysistrata mockingly pretends not to understand his hesitation in going; Charon is waiting and the Proboulos is holding him up. This is quite possibly a reminiscence of the words of Alcestis at Eur. Alc. 254ff.

Χάρων / μορφὴν κωδεί· τί μελλεις; / σπίνυου· σὺ κατείργης. Εἰς τοι μὲ / σπίνυς, Χαρώνεις ταλίνες ; cf. the words of the god to Oedipus at Soph. O. C. 1627f. ἐς ἄτες συντεκ, Εἰς τοις, τι μελλονειν / χαρώνι; πάλαι δι' ὁμοιό μοί θ᾽ ἰσον βραδύνειν ἐν. Χάρων : on the prodelision v. notes to 2 and 473.


608.- *εἶτ' ὅκχι* : εἶτα often introduces an indignant question cf. Ran. 21; 610; Plut. 794 etc.

ο ξείνων ταῦτα : Elaydes' change round of the Mss. *ταῦτα ξείνω* is very likely in the light of Ran. 610 εἶτ' ὅκχι ξείνω ταῦτα τῶν τοῦτον κιν. : Eup. fr. 210 εἰκ ἄργονέμενον εἶτ' ἐστὶν παρθείν τοῦτα μὲ ; Dem. 87 Page *σικώρων δητα τοῦτα παρθείν ἦν ἐμὲ* (cf. Il. 1, 107 δι' ἐμὲ τὸ τα κακίς ἐστὶν φίλην ἀφήνει Μαρινείσει θαλ. I remain unconvinced that Wilamowitz' change to ξεινόν (which Coulon claims for himself) is necessary; an appropriate pause in the speaker's phrasing would indicate that *ταῦτα* is the object of *παρθείν* and that one should not take it with ξείνο (the second quotation from
Eupolis is very similar, despite the intrusion of Siθz.)

609.- Τέσσερείς = Τέσσερείς τρεῖς τρεῖς τρεῖς τρεῖς τρεῖς (so too perhaps εἴ συμπεριλήφθη at Ach. 1073 = your fellow strategoi v.


νι' τ' ν Αί' Δι' ΙΛΔ : on the order v. on 594 and cf. 927; Vesp. 912 etc.

610.- βοίζων : for the present tense cf. Pax. 259 εἰσείς ... πρέχων; Ach. 828 τοιοοφαντίζοντος πρέχων etc.

εἰς έκθ.: 'without more ado' cf. 376; Eq. 488; Eccl. 533; or perhaps after έπιείξιν 'the state I am in', cf. Eq. 153.

611.- Lysistrata again mocks the Proboulcs by intentionally misinterpreting his words; she pretends to believe that he is complaining that not all the due ceremonies for a corpse have been performed, and she assures him that everything will be done in good time.

προερήμενον : this is the proper technical word for the laying out of a dead body v. L. S. J. s. v. ii, 1. (schol. Τέσσερείς νεκροίς γι' εἰς την νεκροτομίαν προθήκην κ.λ. ἐκκύκλων cf. Eccl. 536ff. Αἰ' ἐ' ἐκδοξούσας ἐπιρρήματος τοιοοφαντίζοντος τοῖς καταλείπουσιν ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ κατάλείποντι προκύπτοντι µένην εἰς στεφάνασιν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ θείωσα ἠγκυδόν (cf. 1030ff.); Av. 474 τὰν δ' ἐπὶ προκύπτοντα περιπταῦν ἐτεροίκεών ; fr. 488, 6f. (text uncertain). For pictorial representations v. Zschietzschmann, Ath. Mitt. liii (1928) 17 - 47.

612.- εἰς Τρίτην ... ἄρεταν : "In' is εἰς when the reference is to the future", Dover on Nub. 562; cf. also Nub. 1180; Ach. 172; Pax. 366; Plut. 998 etc.; Anaxandri. fr. 4 εἰς Τρίτην.


613.- τὰ Τρίτ' : rites celebrated two days after the laying out, with a feast (v. schol.; Lucian de Luctu 24 τὰ πρεσβεύων; and Poll. viii, 146), cf. Isaac. ii, 37 ἐσκάμπα τ' ἔγων ἀντών, καὶ τὰ Τρίτα
The Proboulos goes off completely worsted, and Lysistrata and her companions retire into the Acropolis.
written consent.

may be published without the author's prior
the thesis and no information derived from it
with its author and that no quotation from
understood to recognise that its copyright rests
condition that anyone who consults it is
This copy of the thesis has been supplied
copyright of this thesis rests with its author.
Attention is drawn to the fact that the

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
CAMBRIDGE