NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF ARISTOPHANES *FROGS* 1249–1328

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I

At *Frogs* 1249 ff., after the exchange of criticisms by the two poets of each other's prologues, Euripides first proceeds to quote, and disparage, a series of lyric lines from Aeschylus' plays, pointing out their old-fashioned and monotonous metrical patterns, and doubtless their out-moded music; for the *parepigraphe* διαύλιον προσαυλεῖ τις indicates that tune, as well as words, was important at this point. The regular dactylic rhythm, underlined by the absurd repetition after each quotation of the refrain, ἰὴ κόπον οὐ πελάθεις ἐπ' ἀρωγάν, which properly coheres only with the first citation of the opening chorus of one of Aeschylus' heroic military plays, *Myrmidons*, naturally emphasises the Homeric overtones of his choice of themes and lyric manner.

When at 1281 Euripides promises to continue with a second group of characteristic lines ἐκ τῶν κιθαρωδικῶν νόμων εἰργασμένην, this does not mean that the traditional musical "backing" of these lines was—either in their original performance, or now in Euripides' doubtless exaggerated rendition—played on stringed rather than wind instruments, since the *aulos* was undoubtedly the instrument used in the accompaniment of tragic choruses; and in fact two of the lines in this set (ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν δίθρονον κράτος Ἑλλάδος ἥβας, 1285; ξὺν δόρι καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι θούριος ὄρνις, 1289) come from the same choral part of *Agamemnon* (108–109 and 111–112 respectively) as one from the earlier set sung to the *aulos* (κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν ὅδιον κράτος αἴσιον ἀνδρῶν, 1276 = *Ag.* 104). Therefore when Euripides this time punctuates his quoted lines with the sarcastic refrain τοφλαττοθραττοφλαττοθρατ, as if strumming on an imaginary *kithara*,[1] he is simply drawing attention to the second-hand and old-fashioned nature of Aeschylus' music, which recalled the type of melody for which the famous classical kitharodist Terpander was venerated by traditionalists, but which was found a shade boring by a younger generation excited by the "new music" of avant-garde composers like Phrynis and Timotheus. These "corrupters of music" were vilified by Pherecrates in his *Cheiron* (fr. 155K-A) and Aristophanes himself (*Nubes* 333, 971, etc.) but seem to have influenced not only the young Agathon, but even Euripides in his later career. Terpander had consciously based his style on the traditional *phorminx* accompaniment of epic poetry—indeed

[1] Annie Bélis surely errs in her recent article "Aristophane, *Grenouilles* v. 1249–1364: Eschyle et Euripide μελοποιοί," *REG* 104 (1991) 31–51, in supposing that a *kithara* is here actually substituted for the *aulos*.

PHOENIX, VOL. 48 (1994) 1.

he is said even to have set his own and Homer's hexameters to music on festal occasions (Plut. *Mus.* 1132c), and so formulated a definitive metrical and musical pattern for his kitharodic *nomoi*.[2] These were regarded as *sans pareil* by conservative audiences—witness the proverbial μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν,[3] implying the acknowledged inferiority of all other music. Euripides the iconoclast contemptuously alleges that Aeschylus' lyric manner had not progressed from there. A modern parallel would be for a champion of the latest musical novelty to say that another composer was still writing music like a Bach cantata in the days of Boulez or Birtwistle.

As regards the choice of *tophlattothrat*, which the scholia say is merely ἀσυνετοποιόν,[4] the verb θράττω actually occurs in an undoubtedly musical context only in Mnesimachus fr. 4.57, quoted by Athenaeus 403d, μολπά, κλαγγὰ θράττει,[5] but there is a similar suggestion of a thrumming sound in Aristophanes' own θρεττανελό (*Plutus* 290), where the second half of that word recalls the celebrated Archilochian τήνελλα, about which there is some disagreement as to whether this vocalisation was intended to imitate the sound of lyre or *aulos*.[6] One might notice also the similar sound of the word τορέλλη, declared by Hesychius to be an ἐπιφώνημα θρηνητικὸν σὺν αὐλῷ. Most invented echoic sounds for musical instruments favour a rhyming pattern, none more effective and representational than Ennius' famous *taratantara* for a trumpet call. In English, one thinks of the drum's rub-a-dub, the bell's ting-a-ling or ding-dong, the hornist's tantivy. The American "honky-tonk," used of a low-class club, is apparently derived from the sound of the banjo or ukulele played there. Musicians may recall the amusing series of instrumental sounds vocalised imitatively in Domenico Cimarosa's *Il Maestro di Cappella*.

[2]For the conservatively formal nature of the classical *nomos*, see the *Suda s.v.* ἁρμονίαν ἔχων τακτὴν καὶ ῥυθμὸν ὡρισμένον (cf. Plut. *Mus.* 1133b).

[3]See Cratinus fr. 263 K-A, Arist. fr. 545, and cf. Sappho 106 L-P.

[4]And so comparable to our "rum-ti-tum" ("a meaningless combination of syllables used in refrains or imitations of sounds," *OED*), or "folderol" ("a meaningless refrain in songs," *ibid.*). Mention might be made of βλίτυρι, said by Sext. Emp. *Math.* 8.133 and D.L. 7.57 to be "unintelligible," and by Hsch. to be χορδῆς μίμημα.

[5]I have sometimes speculated whether, in the punning jest cited by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1412a34) involving, apparently, θράττει and Θρᾷττ' εἶ, which—perhaps significantly—was made about the *kitharode* Nicon, the implied meaning of the former word was not intended as "you are troubled," but as "he's strumming his *kithara*." (I find that a similar proposal was made by Lane Cooper in "A Pun in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle," *AJP* 41 [1920] 48–56, and adapted by W. Rhys Roberts in the Oxford translation of the *Rhetoric* [1946]. Cooper drew attention to θράττω used in a fragment of Pherecrates [43 K-A] where a pun is made on κιθάρα and the fish κίθαρος.)

[6]Scholia on Pindar *O.* 9.1 for the most part prefer the former, though attributing some hesitation to Eratosthenes, as do scholia on Ar. *Eq.* 276 and Tzetzes *Chil.* 1.687; but scholia on Ar. *Ach.* 1230 and *Aves* 1764, Photius *s.v.* and *Appendix Proverbiorum* 4.87 prefer the latter, and the *Suda* cites both alternatives.

After these quotations and the interpolated *phlattothrats*, Dionysus in puzzlement asks (1296–97)

> τί τοφλαττοθρατ τοῦτ' ἐστίν; ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἢ
> πόθεν ξυνέλεξας ἱμονιοστρόφου μέλη;

Here commentators have been no less puzzled than he by the sense of ἱμονιοστρόφου. Surprisingly, some have even believed the absurd explanation of the scholia that, because many reeds (φλέως) grow in marshy Marathon (ἑλώδης γὰρ ὁ τόπος), and some sort of rope could be twisted and plaited from them, this is the association with φλατ-. But surely ἱμονιο-, from ἱμάς, must refer to a much more substantial leather thong. Others are satisfied that, because any allusion to Marathon in Aristophanes will refer to the famous battle, and Aeschylus' own participation there, Dionysus thinks the *phlattothrats* sound like barbarian gibberish. The most popular view has been to invoke the ἱμαῖος ᾠδή of work songs, where water-drawers wind a rope to fill their buckets from the well—an explanation which also derives from the scholia.

Those who study the play only in learned Greek editions may be unaware that the late Douglas Young briefly mentioned the correct explanation in his amusing Scots translation of *Frogs*,[7] where his note on 1297 states "ἱμονιοστρόφος, *pace* Liddell-Scott-Jones-McKenzie i their muckle lexicon, is nae a 'water-drawer,' but the same as ἱμαντελικτής, a 'thimble-rigger,' as I was tellt by umquhile Sir D'Arcy Thompson, wha was acquaint wi thimble-riggers, at fairs, as a laddie in Ireland, whaur his faither was Professor o Greek at Galway. 'Thimble-riggers' sangs' = conjurer's patter." Young did not, however, actually cite Thompson's note on the subject.[8] In it, he drew attention to the fair-ground game described in Julius Pollux *Onomasticon* 9.118, as follows: ὁ δὲ ἱμαντελιγμὸς διπλοῦ ἱμάντος λαβυρινθώδης τίς ἐστι περιστροφή, καθ' ἣς ἔδει καθέντα παττάλιον τῆς διπλόης τυχεῖν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ λυθέντος ἐμπεριείληπτο τῷ ἱμάντι τὸ παττάλιον, ἥττητο ὁ καθείς·. ("The game of *himanteligmos* is a labyrinthine twisting of a doubled leather strap, down through which it was required that one, having inserted a little stick, should find the fold. Unless, when the strap is loosened, the stick is caught tight in the strap, the person inserting it loses the game".) This trick is also alluded to by Eustathius 979.28 as διπλοῦ ἱμάντος σκολία τις εἵλησις, and termed ἱμαντοπαικτική[9] by Eustratius in his commentary on Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 10.17 and 16.9, where it is declared to be a κακοτεχνία comparable to κλεπτική and ὀρχηστική (!) respectively.

[7]D. Young (tr.), *The Puddocks (A Translation of Aristophanes' Frogs)* (Tayport, Fife 1957).

[8]Sir D'Arcy Thompson, "ΙΜΑΝΤΕΛΙΓΜΟΣ," *CR* 33 (1919) 24–25.

[9]This word seems not to have found its way into the Greek lexica. The Latin version by Robert Grosseteste, thirteenth-century bishop of Lincoln, has *corrigia elusiva*.

This is in fact a game subsequently played for centuries in countless fair-grounds by skilled manipulators, who bemuse their intended victims with sleight of hand, abetted by a constant patter designed to distract them from following the demonstration of the trick (first performed successfully by the conjurer), which they subsequently think they can imitate, but of course fail, forfeiting the money they have staked. Perhaps more common nowadays are the "pea and thimbles" (hence D'Arcy Thompson's "thimble-rigger") or the "three-card trick" (often called "spot the lady"—usually the Queen of Clubs), but Pollux's game is that which came to be known as "fast and loose" (from which comes our familiar metaphor, the origin of which is probably not widely appreciated), and also "pricking the garter" (or tape or loop).[10] The *OED* describes the game thus: "A cheating game played with a stick and belt or string, so arranged that the spectator could think he could make the latter fast by placing the stick through the intricate folds, whereas the operator could detach it at once." Those who wish to master the skill (which a few years ago I recall seeing Paul Daniels, the BBC's skilled television magician, operate, to the mystification of a victim from the audience) will find a guide to the required technique in the appendix to the old Arden Shakespeare edition of *King John* (London 1907) by Ivor B. John.

The "patter" traditionally employed by conjurers during the operation of such deceptive tricks shows a marked tendency to use rhyming words like *phlattothrattophlattothrat*, sometimes suggestive of a learned or exotic rigmarole—*abracadabra* is of course the most famous, but combinations such as *hocus pocus* or *hiccius doccius* were also time-honoured phrases, and the cheating implications, as well as the rhymes, are preserved in phrases like hanky-panky, flim-flam, jiggery-pokery. I take it, then, that Dionysus' sarcastic suggestion that the "Aeschylean" refrain sounds like the incantations of a *himoniostrophos* alludes to a similar sort of "clap-trap" or "mumbo-jumbo" familiar from fair-grounds.[11] When he jocularly suggests that Aeschylus may have picked the expression up from Marathon, though there may be a reminder of the poet's presence at the battle of 490, it may also reflect the fact that, in the course of the century, the site of the battle had duly become what today we would call a "tourist attraction," where, on occasions when Athenian families might make the pilgrimage—perhaps

[10]Brand's *Popular Antiquities* 2.435 calls it "pricking at the belt." *OED* cites examples of "fast and loose" from 1557, and there are several references in Shakespeare. Cf. also *OED s.v.* "prick" 7.29, quoting Willock (1886) "The money-selling dodge, or the three card trick, or prick-the-garter, or the pea-an'-thummils."

[11]Cf. Michael Drayton, *The Moone-Calfe* 901–904 "He like a gypsey oftentimes would goe, / All kind of gibberish he had learnt to knowe, / and with a stick, a short string, and a noose, / would showe the people tricks at fast and loose," and Shakespeare, *Ant. and Cleop.* 4.12.28–29 (Cleopatra) "Like a right gipsy hath, at fast and loose / beguiled me to the very heart of loss."

on the anniversary—there would be no lack of vagrant mountebanks plying their trade and relieving the unwary of their drachmas, just as today on Epsom Downs on Derby day, or at the Olympic games of antiquity.[12] One notes, incidentally, that a recurring theme of Euripides' criticism of Aeschylus in *Frogs* is that, with his ῥήματα μορμορωπά (924–925), he indulged in a sort of conjurer's art in misleading his audiences—ἐτερατεύετο (834), ἀλάζων[13] καὶ φέναξ (909), ἐξηπάτα (910), ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας (919), ἐφενακιζόμην (921).

That the game of *himanteligmos* was current in the fifth century by the time of Aristophanes is luckily made clear in a surprising way by two references to it in the pre-Socratic philosophers. In his *Quaest. Conv.* 1.1.5 (*Mor.* 614e = Democritus fr. 150 D-K) Plutarch quotes contemptuous words of Democritus about the disputatious wrangling of "strap-twisting" sophists[14] which mystify the company: "ἐριδαντέων" δὲ κατὰ Δημόκριτον καὶ "ἱμαντελικτέων" λόγους ἀφετέον, οἳ αὐτούς τε κατατείνουσιν ἐν πράγμασι γλίσχροις καὶ δυσθεωρήτοις τούς τε παρατυγχάνοντας ἀνιῶσιν. According to a reference to Anaxagoras in the fifteenth century *Cod. Monac.* 490 (= A40 D-K), Anaxagoras actually gave the name of Ἰμάς to a work concerning "knotty problems" which entangle the reader in perplexity: τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν δέ φασίν τινες λόγον περὶ ἀπόρων ζητημάτων γράψαντα τοῦτον Ἱμάντα καλέσαι διὰ τὸ ταῖς δυσπορίαις ἐνδεσμεῖν, ὡς ᾤετο, τοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκοντας. Diels, who expresses doubt about the authorship, or the reason for the title,[15] seems to have been

[12]Aristophanes' own familiarity with the site is suggested by his frequent references to the *tropaion* there (*Eq.* 1334, *Vespae* 711, *Lys.* 285, fr. 429 K-A), on which see W. C. West, "The Trophies of the Persian Wars," *CP* 64 (1969) 7–19. It is likely that relatives and descendants would make a pilgrimage to the site where *stelai* on the famous *soros* were inscribed with names of the dead by their tribes, who were still worshipped as heroes centuries later—see J. G. Frazer on Paus. 1.32, *IG* II^2 1006.26, 69. One recalls Pythagoras' observation on the motives which took people to public gatherings, to compete, to watch—or simply to trade (Iambl. *VP* 12.58, Cic. *Tusc.* 5.3.9, etc.). Menander fr. 416b Koerte refers to the side-shows and thievery which abound at such venues, and Dio Chrys. 8.9 expresses contempt for the many θαυματοποιοί among the hangers-on at the Isthmian games.

[13]In a recent analysis of ἀλάζων in E. Craik (ed.), *"Owls to Athens": Essays on Classical Subjects for Sir Kenneth Dover* (Oxford 1990), D. M. MacDowell ("The Meaning of ἀλαζών"), not discounting a lexical tradition that connects it with ἀλάομαι, concludes that it "was originally a term for an itinerant tradesman, who travelled from place to place hawking his wares and cried up their merits in exaggerated terms" (290). "Charlatan," he adds, "is probably the best English translation"—a word, of course, derived from the Italian *ciarlare* of prattling mountebanks.

[14]F. Fuhrmann in the Budé edition is surely wrong in relating this to the *himantes* of pugilists. One might compare the contemptuous σοφισταὶ καὶ κυβευταὶ λόγων of Greg. Naz. *Or.* 27.1 (36 col. 759 M), which seems preferable to the *varia lectio* κυβισταί.

[15]Diels's citation derives from a commentary on *Sermons* 4 and 5 of Gregory by Elias, Bishop of Crete 1120–30, to be found (in the Latin version) in J. de Biley, *Sancti Patris nostri Gregorii Nazianzeni opera* 2 col. 332d (Paris 1583, repr. 1630): *sed et Anaxagoram quidam aiunt de difficilibus quaestionibus librum edidisse ac Lorum eum nuncupasse*

unaware of a second reference to Anaxagoras and a *himas* in the pseudo-Nonnus mythological scholia attached to the first invective against Julian of Gregory of Nazianzus[16] (p. 24 Brock): ἱμὰς ἦν τῷ 'Αναξαγόρᾳ ὁ λόγος, δι' οὗ τὰς ὁμοιομερείας ἐδογμάτιζε λέγων πάντα ἐν πᾶσι κεῖσθαι, τὸν ἵππον ἐν τῷ ἱππείῳ σπέρματι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ, τὸν λέοντα ἐν τῷ λεοντείῳ. (The Syriac version of this allusion [p. 99 Brock], however, contains an extraordinary explanation for it, which looks as if it has been simply invented to account for the title: "Anaxagoras was a Pythagorean philosopher, who continually practised silence. Now they had a rule not to strike anyone, only to rebuke by word—a word being as it were a blow to a sensitive person. This Anaxagoras, therefore, because he did not wish to speak, used to wear a strap, and if he wanted to rebuke someone, he would just show him the strap, and thus he would make anyone in the wrong realise, by pointing to the strap.")

II

At line 1301 ff. it is Aeschylus' turn to vilify Euripides, and the sources of *his* lyrics and music—"songs of prostitutes, Meletus' drinking songs, Carian pipings, dirges and dance music"[17]—and, after first calling for a lyre to accompany his own rendition of such songs, he changes his mind and sarcastically invites Euripides' own Muse to come on stage. The girl who appears, however, proves to be no Euterpe or Polyhymnia, but ἡ τοῖς ὀστράκοις κροτοῦσα. The precise point about Dionysus' startled exclamation on seeing her, αὕτη ποθ' ἡ Μοῦσ' οὐκ ἐλεσβίαζεν, οὔ, has been controversial, and must of course depend on the actual appearance or behaviour of the castanet-playing dancer, but most editors have agreed that, quite apart from this, there is a back reference to 1282, contrasting Euripides' modernism with the Terpandrian (i.e., Lesbian) style of out-dated Aeschylus: no more hexameter-orientated metres, but, to quote the schol., χαρακτηρίζει τὰ Εὐριπίδου μέλη ὡς ἐκλελυμένα.[18] As to the castanet theme, this

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propterea quod eos, qui hunc legerent, difficultatibus, ut quidem existimabat, illigaret. I am grateful to Dr Jennifer Nimmo-Smith for identifying this obscure reference. For various hypotheses about it, see D. Snider, *The Fragments of Anaxagoras* (Meisenheim 1981) 12 and A. Kurmann, *Gregor von Nazianz Oratio gegen Julian, Ein Kommentar* (Basel 1988) 248–249.

[16] Sebastian Brock, *The Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Nonnus Mythological Scholia* (Cambridge 1971).

[17] I am struck by a curiously apposite modern parallel in the case of Gustav Mahler (whose *persona* seems not dissimilar to Euripides' in a number of ways). To quote Hans F. Redlich in the introduction to the revised Eulenburg miniature score (p. iv) his first symphony is characterised by its use of "debased musical coinage (such as waltz tunes, military signals, music of the village pub, old nursery tunes)."

[18] *Suda s.v.* 'Αγαθώνειος αὔλησις uses ἐκλελυμένος (enervated) of Agathon's music.

undoubtedly involves an elaborate "sending up" of the opening scene from one of Euripides' latest plays to be produced in Athens before his departure to Macedonia, the melodramatic *Hypsipyle*[19] (λέγεται δὲ εἰς τὴν Ὑψιπύλην ταῦτα, schol. 1305), in which Hypsipyle, formerly queen of Lemnos, and a typical riches-to-rags Euripidean heroine, now reduced to servitude in the royal palace at Nemea as nurse to the infant Opheltes, enters in a domestic scene of οἰκεῖα πράγματα (*Ranae* 959), soothing the fractious child with a baby's rattle as she sings. The discovery of substantial fragments of this play in the present century has luckily preserved the very line in question, ἰδοὺ κτύπος ὅδε κορτάλων.[20] It is curious how many commentators on *Frogs* assume that, because in the original play Hypsipyle was elderly, and perhaps decrepit, the "Muse of Euripides" must now resemble her tragic stage character. So she is *vetula deformis* (Thiersch), "old and ugly" (Paley), "a grotesque character ... ugly creature" (Stanford), "eine gräuliche Vogelscheuche" (Radermacher), "of slovenly appearance with a remarkable pair of feet" (Tucker), "haggard and clothed in rags" (van der Valk).[21] But surely the point, after the allusion to the "songs of prostitutes and dance music" and leading to the joke at the end about Cyrene ("a notorious and versatile prostitute," as Stanford calls her), is that Aristophanes' castanet dancer was no virtuous and matronly nurse with a toy rattle, but the ancient equivalent of a "go-go girl," one of the *orchestrides* one sees depicted on Athenian vases,[22] and mentioned with relish by the comic poets (e.g., 514–516 and 543 of this play), who proceeds to gyrate provocatively during the rendition of the lyrics in a parody of the style of the "new music" in which Euripides seems to have indulged in his later years. Aristophanes, while obviously recalling to the audience the *Hypsipyle* scene, thus demonstrates the sort of performance that such cheap café music really suits, and, among *Frogs* editors, B. B. Rogers was surely right in calling the "Muse" a "flaunting harlot."[23]

[19] *Hypsipyle* was earlier quoted in *Ranae* 64 and 1211–13.

[20] *Hypsipyle*, ed. G. W. Bond (Oxford 1963) fr. 1.2.8.

[21] M. van der Valk, "Aristophanes, *Ranae* 1249–1363," *Antichthon* 16 (1982) 54–76.

[22] As, for example, the well-known red-figure *kylix* by Epictetus of the late sixth century, London BM E38, Beazley *ARV*^{2} 1.72 no. 16, A. Lane, *Greek Pottery* pl. 71, L. B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece* (London 1964) 129. One recalls Juvenal's description (11.162 ff.) of the immodest dances of girls from Cadiz with their *testarum crepitus* (see Mayor's note on 172 for other similar descriptions).

[23] The regularity with which Aristophanes invents an excuse to bring such girls on stage, usually towards the end of his plays, from *Ach.* to *Ranae*, makes it very likely that these non-speaking roles in Old Comedy were taken by *hetairai*, as stated by schol. *Eq.* 1388–90, *Pax* 706, 849, *Aves* 667, assumed readily by Wilamowitz on *Lys.* 1114, and argued at length by A. Willems, *Aristophane* (Paris 1919) 3.392: "quand apparaît la muse d'Euripide sous les traits d'une joueuse de castagnettes, il n'y a pas

As to ἐλεσβίαζεν of 1308, in the enthusiastic (and seemingly interminable) interpretations of the famous Anacreon poem 358P by some recent scholars, it has become popular to deny that the traditional sexual preferences of Lesbian women in general, and Sappho in particular, are alluded to in the joke at the end (πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει), because there is no passage certainly implying this in the classical period. But there must always be a first, and three recent articles, by M. Marcovich, R. Renehan, and H. Pelliccia, have tended to re-establish the once prevailing view of the poem's implications.[24] I have little doubt that Douglas Young's trenchant "a verra heterosexual muse *she* luiks!" in his Scots translation is the appropriately ironic comment, as Dionysus watches the dancer's lascivious movements, pirouetting around her protégé Euripides.[25]

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de doute qu'elle soit nue." So too the stage direction in the Budé edition of *Ranae* of van Daele and Coulon (Paris 1928), and the article of Bélis ([above, n. 1] 45). Although limited amusement can be created by men "in drag," a predominantly, if not exclusively, male audience, then as now, will have looked forward to such a moment. In addition to Euripides' "Muse" here, cf. Diallage and the golden girls of *Ach.* 990, 1198; the Spondae of *Eq.* 1389; Dardanis the *auletris* of *Vespae* 1326 ff.; Opora and Theoria of *Pax* 523 ff.; Procne and Basileia of *Aves* 665, 1720; Diallage of *Lys.* 1114; Elaphion the dancing girl of *Thesm.* 1172. (Recall also that the only exception, *Nubes*, in which he prides himself in *not* accommodating his style to popular taste, was notoriously Aristophanes' *least* successful play.) I add, however, that J. Henderson in his recent edition of *Lys.* disagrees with my view in his note on 1106–27. K. Holzinger's objection, which he quotes, that it would be too cold for near-nudity, seems silly—after all, the scenes involved are very short indeed, and Sophocles' Philoctetes must have survived for about an hour and a half with very little clothing on. For a recent discussion, see Bella Zweig in Amy Richlin (ed.), *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford 1992) 76–81, who accepts that *hetairai* may have played such roles.

[24]M. Marcovich, "Anacreon, 358 PMG," *AJP* 104 (1983) 872–383; R. Renehan, "Anacreon Fragment 13 Page," *CP* 79 (1984) 28–32; H. Pelliccia, "Anacreon 13 (358 *PMG*)," *CP* 86 (1991) 30–36. The first two authors cited discuss, and reject, the *fellatio* interpretation of Anacreon's poem popularised in earlier articles. (See also J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* [New Haven and London 1975] 183 on Ar. *Ranae* 1308.) As it seems to me highly improbable that the Peripatetic biographer Chamaeleon (who had access to far more of both Sappho's and Anacreon's poetry than we have) was so indifferent to chronology as to make them contemporaries, I take Athenaeus' reference (599c) to the fact that he declared this poem εἰς αὐτὴν πεποιῆσθαι by Anacreon to mean "it was composed *with reference to* (not *addressed to*) Sappho"—cf. Ar. *Nubes* 558 ἐποίησεν εἰς Ὑπέρβολον, schol. *Ranae* 1305 λέγεται εἰς τὴν Ὑψιπύλην ταῦτα. He knew, that is, the implications of the fact that so much of her erotic verse revealed her relations with other Lesbian women. Lucian *Dial. Meret.* 5 should also be taken into account. R. Renehan, *Studies in Greek Texts* (Göttingen 1976, Hypomnemata 43) 87, has drawn attention to the fact that an apparent allusion to Sappho in Ar. *Eq.* 730 (τίς, ὦ Παφλαγών, ἀδικεῖ σε;) in "a quasi-homosexual passage" is of interest "for the way in which he apparently understood the Lesbian poetess."

[25]As it is difficult to take ποθ' . . . οὐ as simply = οὐδέποτε, the meaning, apart from the sexual innuendo, appears to be "this Muse in *her* day was no Lesbian—no indeed!" (i.e., unlike Aeschylus' Terpander-orientated Muse). For emphatic doubling of οὐ (common

III

I turn now to a consideration of the lyric verses chosen by Aristophanes to suggest a somewhat inconsequential, yet typical, picturesque Euripidean ode, in his favourite Aeolic metres.

Αἴσ. ἀλκυόνες, αἳ παρ' ἀενάοις θαλάσσης
κύμασι στωμύλλετε,
τέγγουσαι νοτίοις πτερῶν
ῥανίσι χρόα δροσιζόμεναι·
αἵ θ' ὑπωρόφιοι κατὰ γωνίας
εἰειειειειειλίσσετε δακτύλοις φάλαγγες
ἰστότονα πηνίσματα,
κερκίδος ἀοιδοῦ μελέτας,
ἵν' ὁ φίλαυλος ἔπαλλε δελ-
φὶς πρῴραις κυανεμβόλοις.
μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίους,
οἰνάνθας γάνος ἀμπέλου,
βότρυος ἕλικα παυσίπονον—
περίβαλλ' ὦ τέκνον ὠλένας.
ὁρᾷς τὸν πόδα τοῦτον; Εὐρ. ὁρῶ.
Αἴσ. τί δαί; τοῦτον ὁρᾷς; Εὐρ. ὁρῶ.
Αἴσ. τοιαυτὶ μέντοι σὺ ποιῶν
τολμᾷς τἀμὰ μέλη ψέγειν,
ἀνὰ τὸ δωδεκαμήχανον
Κυρήνης μελοποιῶν; *Ranae* 1309–28

Although the scholia on 1310 wrongly attribute the opening set of lines (ἀλκυόνες ... δροσιζόμεναι) to *IA*, I agree with Godfrey Bond in his 1963 edition and commentary on *Hypsipyle* that "it is quite likely that Euripides' muse with the rattle would begin with an extract from the play which gave birth to her. The fragment (= 856 N) might come from an escapist monody sung by Hypsipyle ("Would that I could follow the halcyons to Lemnos") on the lines of *IT* 1089 ff. or *Hipp.* 732 ff." Sande Bakhuyzen,[26] who had earlier proposed such an attribution, suggested there had been a mis-reading of an abbreviated 'Υψιπ. as Ἰφιγ. and similar confusions of Euripides' play titles are made (e.g., *Andromache* and *Andromeda*, *Phoenix* and *Phoenissae*, *Antigone* and *Antiope*).

The following quotation (αἵ θ' ὑπωρόφιοι ... πηνίσματα) has not been located by the scholia, but again the resemblance to vocabulary in Hypsipyle's rattle/castanet scene is striking, since the papyrus, immediately after ἰδοὺ κτύπος ὅδε κορτάλων, has her continue οὐ τάδε πήνας, οὐ τάδε κερκίδος

in Demosthenes) in Aristophanes himself, cf. *Ach.* 421, *Nubes* 1470, *Ran.* 28, also Men. *Kolax* fr. 2.4 Sandbach, Pl. *Hipp. Mai.* 292b, Xen. *Conv.* 2.4; and, for a similar derisive tone, *Od.* 8.159. For another hypothesis, see H. D. Jocelyn, "A Greek Indecency and Its Students: ΛΑΙΚΑΖΕΙΝ," *PCPS* NS 26 (1980) 12–66, at 32–33.

[26] *De parodia in comoediis Aristophanis* (Utrecht 1877) 167.

/ ἱστοτόνου παραμύθια Λήμνια / μοῦσα θέλει με κρέκειν. Here one notices the only other extant occurrence of the adjective ἱστότονος, agreeing moreover with κερκίδος which is in Aristophanes' *next* line, said by the scholia to be from *Meleager* (= fr. 253), and also πήνας, as in πηνίσματα in the *Frogs* quotation. It seems that the exiled Lemnian queen was much given to nostalgic songs of her own happier past, and (as the chorus goes on to say) of the exploits of Jason, and the Argo and her crew.[27] In lines 25–28 μναμοσύνα δέ σοι / τᾶς ἀγχιάλοιο Λήμνου / τὰν Αἰγαῖος ἐλίσσων / κυμακτύπος ἀχεῖ one observes the occurrence of Euripides' "lieblingswort," as Wilamowitz called it,[28] the verb ἐλίσσω, which Aristophanes, with his unerring ear for picking up such repetitive mannerisms of the poet, introduces here in the spectacularly extended εἰειειειειειλίσσετε (and again εἰειειλίσσουσα in the pseudo-Euripidean lament at 1348). Even when the chorus (814 ff.) introduced the competition of the poets, he had been careful to give Euripides a ἐλίσσω (along with a succession of his favourite sigmas!)—ἔνθεν δὴ στοματουργός, ἐπῶν βασανίστρια λίσπη / γλῶσσ', ἀνελισσομένη, φθονεροὺς κινοῦσα χαλινούς. Euripides' obsessive use of ἐλίσσω is most striking: in the extant plays and fragments, there are no fewer than forty examples of the simple verb, plus eight of the compounds with ἀμφι-, ἀν-, ἐξ-, συν- (contrast three each in Aeschylus—all in *PV*!—and Sophocles), and, moreover, of these all but five come from plays of his last decade or so, starting with *HF* or *Tro.*, whichever is the earlier. It is particularly prominent in three plays immediately preceding *Frogs*, *Phoen.* (6), *Or.* (7), and even the fragmentary *Hyps.* (3). Interestingly too, all three examples I find in comedy are paratragic, the pair from *Frogs*, and Strattis fr. 71.5 K-A, which, as Kock observed, *videtur esse parodia cantici Euripidei, qualis est Aristoph. Ran. 1309 sq. etiam metrum simile est.* A majority of the Euripidean examples are also from lyric passages.

Aristophanes' εἰειειειειει-flourish on the first syllable of the verb is of course an absurdly exaggerated parody of a genuine characteristic of the "new music" of the late fifth century, associated with such avant-garde musicians as Phrynis and Timotheus (whose friendly relations with Euripides are attested),[29] whereby a single long syllable, instead of having a single note in the melody, could be extended to at least two by ἐπέκτασις (schol. 1314). The convention of the written text being notated with duplication of the vowel involved is confirmed by several of the later documents with musical notation superimposed, such as "the *Orestes* papyrus" (e.g., ὠως)

[27]So she does too in Stat. *Theb.* 5.658–660 and 725–726.

[28]Euripides *Herakles*[2] (Berlin 1895) 2.159.

[29]Satyrus *Life of Eur.* fr. 39, col. 22 and Plut. *Mor.* 795d both refer to Euripides' sympathy for, and encouragement of, Timotheus, and the former even says that he τὸ τῶν Περσῶν προοίμιον συγγράψαι. Their association in Athens is likely to have been ca 412–408: see S. E. Bassett, "The Place and Date of the First Performance of the *Persians* of Timotheus," *CP* 26 (1931) 153–165.

or Delphic hymns (e.g., Φοιοῖβον). Doubtless this was the type of ornamental music, so far removed from Terpandrian, or Aeschylean, austerity, which the comic poets loved to deride for their "bends" (*kampai*), to which the jocular term of "ant-tracks" (*murmekiai* or *murmekos atropoi*) was applied.[30] If the evidence of the interesting Byzantine tragic treatise published by Robert Browning in 1963 is accepted as drawing on classical sources otherwise unrecorded, the style in question was termed the "bored-through" style—ἀνάτρητος τρόπος μελοποιίας—characterised by its πολυχορδία.[31]

Now, it can surely not be accidental that, in the next pair of lines selected by Aristophanes from Euripides' lyrics, ἵν' ὁ φίλαυλος ἔπαλλε δελ-/φὶς πρῴραις κυανεμβόλοις (= *El.* 435–437), the very next word in Euripides is from his "lieblingswort"—εἰλισσόμενος, agreeing with δελφίς, of the gambolling, music-loving sea-creature. I am astonished how editors of this play, aware of the metrical discrepancy between strophe and antistrophe (the former requiring an additional, preferably long, syllable to balance Νυμφαίας σκοπιάς of the latter), prefer to adopt the feeble subterfuge of manuscripts L and P of the *nu ephelkustikon*, converting the previous word to κυανεμβόλοισιν. Surely Triclinius (the corrector of the former MS) was justified in noticing the similarity to the *Frogs* parody, and in duplicating instead the initial vowel to read εἰειλισσόμενος.[32] Not only does Aristo-

[30]Pherecrates fr. 155 and Ar. *Thesm.* 100, with its satirical portrait of Agathon bending his strophes in the sunshine. The dithyrambist Philoxenus was nicknamed Myrmex (*Suda s.v.*).

[31]R. Browning, "A Byzantine Treatise on Tragedy," in L. Varcl and R. F. Willetts (eds.), *Geras: Studies Presented to George Thomson on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (Prague 1963) 67–81. See especially 77, and my article, "Notes on the Plutarch *De Musica* and the *Cheiron* of Pherecrates," *Hermes* 96 (1968) 60–73. The Byzantine treatise adds that Euripides was "the first" to use πολυχορδία, and that his music was πολυειδέστερος καὶ πολυχρούστερος than that of his predecessors. As this melodic style made use of the chromatic *genus*, disliked by champions of the more austere *genera*—Plut. *Mor.* 1137 f. asserts that it was rejected by Aeschylus and Phrynichus—it is also interesting that χρώματι οὐδεὶς φαίνεται κεχρημένος τῶν τραγικῶν ἄχρις Εὐριπίδου. This scarcely conflicts with Plut. *Mor.* 645e, where precedence is attributed to Agathon. His first victory in 416 nearly coincides with *Troades* of 415, where Euripides, in his tearful chorus at 511 ff. (as noted by Kranz, *Stasimon* [Berlin 1933] 228) seems to announce to his Athenian public a καινῶν ὕμνων ᾠδάν, which marks a conscious turning-point in his musical style, influenced by the younger generation of musicians. (For musicians drawing attention to such moments in their careers, I am reminded of Haydn's Op. 33 string quartets, "written in quite a new, special way," or Beethoven's celebrated "neue Weg" of 1803, preceding what has come generally to be called his "heroic period.")

[32]See also P. Pucci, "Aristofane ed Euripide. Ricerche metriche e stilistiche," *MAL* ser. 8ª 10 (1962) 273–473, at 390. It is particularly regrettable that in the revised second volume of the Euripides *OCT*, J. Diggle fails even to record the alteration to the MS by Triclinius, which Murray at least mentioned in his *app. crit.*, and to which Denniston in his metrical appendix (p. 218) gives qualified approval. The original scribe of L showed far greater fallibility in writing φιλάδελφος, absurdly as well as unmetrically, for φίλαυλος

phanes quote the *Electra* couplet *without* the intrusive *nu*, but he may even have intended to recall what had been Euripides' earliest memorable use of this musical—and perhaps controversial—novelty, and with this very verb, in his *Electra*.

Commentators on *Frogs* have been thoroughly perplexed by the words which follow the *Electra* lines, μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίους, nor are the scholia any help here. Leaving this aside for the moment, we are in slight doubt also about the exact provenance of the next pair of lines (1320–21), οἰνάνθας ... παυσίπονον, which are close to, but not exactly, lines again assigned by the schol. to *Hypsipyle* (= fr. 765) οἰνάνθα τρέφει τὸν ἱερὸν βότρυν. Wilamowitz and—with some hesitation—Bond are inclined to agree that this may be correct. Certainly Euripides in his later plays seems fond of this set of words: in addition to four uses of ἔλιξ (!) in *HF* 399, *Hel.* 180, 1331, *Bacchae* 1170, cf. *Phoen.* 231 οἰνάνθας βότρυς, *Bacchae* 261, 383 βότρυος γάνος, 11–12 ἄμπέλου βοτρυώδει χλόῃ, 534–535 τὰν βοτρυώδη Διονύσου χάριν οἴνας, 772 τὴν παυσίλυπον ἄμπελον, fr. 143.3 (*Andromeda*) ἀμπέλων γάνος.

The emotional climax of *Hypsipyle*, as in so many of Euripides' more melodramatic works, was the recognition scene of mother (Hypsipyle) and her long-lost twin sons by Jason (Thoas and Euneus). These "strangers" she had, early in the play, in her menial role admitted to the palace, and there can be no doubt, since the scholiast again identifies *Hypsipyle* as the source, that the final Euripidean line 1322 (= fr. 756), περίβαλ(λ)' ὦ τέκνον ὠλένας, appropriately in the castanet-playing parody, marks the moment of recognition, and fond embrace, of mother and son.[33] Since the

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in the same passage. It is easy to see how the metrically necessary duplication of the diphthong would be neglected in writing, since not even all the musical documents follow the example of the two already mentioned—for example, the Seikilos song shows musical notation for seven prolongations of a syllable to two, or three, notes without additional textual duplications of the vowels. One wonders whether in later tragedy there may be other such concealed examples, where textual corruption has been assumed. J. Roux, in her commentary on *Bacchae* 1031 (Paris 1972), suggesting the extension of the exultant ὄναξ Βρόμιε to complete a dochmiac *metron* "à pleine gorge," comments "la musique pouvait suppléer par des vocalises les temps qui nous semblent manquer .... Peut-être des artifices musicaux corrigeaient-ils ce que nous considérons comme des irrégularités métriques." A papyrus has corrected *Phoen.* 1036–37 ἰηιήιον for MSS ἰήιον. An interesting example is Ar. *Thesm.* 1039 (in another Euripides parody) where Blaydes suggested ἀπὸ δὲ συγγόνων ἀνανάνομα πάθεα to produce a typical octaseme dochmiac (ἀλλὰν ἄνομα R) affected by Euripides at moments of high tension.

[33] Aristophanes delighted in parodying Euripides' recognition scenes: cf. *Ach.* 881–894, where the reunion of Dicaeopolis and the Copaic eel recalls *Alcestis* (see E. K. Borthwick, "Three Notes on the 'Acharnians'," *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 20 [1967] 409–413, at 412), *Nubes* 1164–65, where Strepsiades greets his son like Hecuba and Polyxena (*Hec.* 172), and of course the elaborate Helen-Menelaus skit of *Thesm.* 850 ff., where note, incidentally, περίβαλε (the aorist is metrically required for R's περίβαλλε) at the embrace of 913. One recalls also his allusion to the Electra-Orestes recognition in the revised parabasis of *Nubes* 534–536.

start of the play, and her soothing with the rattle of the infant Opheltes, life had been very full for Hypsipyle: the Seven against Thebes just happened to be passing by, and while showing the seer Amphiaraus a spring of water, she neglected the child, who was killed by the resident water-snake. Threatened with death by the child's mother, Eurydice, she was saved by the intercession of Amphiaraus, who prophesied that the incident was an omen for their expedition, and that the royal family had better hold funeral games for Opheltes—the origin, that is, of the famous Nemean games.

From a variety of later sources, which doubtless draw on the myth as treated in Euripides' popular play, we find that the recognition was brought about by three distinct means:

(a) The second hypothesis to Pindar's *Nemeans* says that Ἀμφιάραος μαντευσάμενος δείκνυσι τοῖς παισὶ τὴν Ὑψιπύλην.

(b) Lactantius in his commentary on Statius *Theb.* 4.740 (= *Myth. Vat.* 2.141, p. 123 Bode) reports that at the funeral games for Opheltes, the two sons (not then of course known as such to Hypsipyle) *matrem quaerentes currendo vicerunt, quorum nomina praeco cum pronuntiasset, Iasonis et Hypsipyles filios esse mater eos cognovit.* Similarly Hyginus *Fab.* 273.6 (with a different name for the second son) has *in quibus ludis postea vicerunt cursu Euneus et Dipylus, Iasonis et Hypsipyles filii.*

(c) *Anth. Pal.* 3.10, quoting lines accompanying mythological scenes of filial devotion on tablets attached to columns of the temple of Apollonis at Cyzicus, introduces the poem by describing Euneus and Thoas ἀναγνωριζόμενοι τῇ μητρί, καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν δεικνύντες ἄμπελον, ὅπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς τοῦ γένους σύμβολον. The opening couplet addressed to Thoas shows that this was the final confirmation of their identity, the familiar motif of recognition by tokens, which saves their mother in the nick of time from Eurydice's vengeance for the death of her child—φαῖνε, Θόαν, Βάκχοιο φυτὸν τόδε· ματέρα γάρ σου / ῥύσῃ τοῦ θανάτου, οἰκέτιν Ὑψιπύλαν.

So there we have the three recognition motifs of *Hypsipyle*—the prophecy of Amphiaraus (μαντευσάμενος), the victory at racing (*currendo/cursu*) followed by the herald's identification, and the token of the vine (τὴν χρυσῆν δεικνύντες ἄμπελον). These are in fact the very three successive words or phrases which Aristophanes juxtaposes—apparently at random—in his *Frogs* cento, which encapsulates Hypsipyle's story from the start of the play to the dénouement—μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίους, οἰνάνθας γάνος ἀμπέλου. Surely this cannot be coincidental, given the following line in which Hypsipyle clasps her son Thoas—at which point, I imagine, the dancing girl engulfs the startled Euripides, now acknowledged as her own true son, in a rapturous embrace, but in view of her profession more than strictly maternal![34]

[34]Tucker oddly imagined that it was Aeschylus who sought to embrace the "Muse."

At this point (1323) we arrive at the strange pair of lines about *feet*. Aeschylus finishes singing, and indignantly asks ὁρᾷς τὸν πόδα τοῦτον; The response of ὁρῶ, and also that in the next line, when he again asks τί δαί; τοῦτον ὁρᾷς; are both attributed in the MSS to Dionysus, but in view of the fact that in 1325–26 (τοιαυτὶ μέντοι σὺ ποιῶν / τολμᾷς τἀμὰ μέλη ψέγειν;), Aeschylus is clearly addressing Euripides, the suggestion of Enger, followed by Coulon, Radermacher, and van der Valk, that it is Euripides who answers, seems more natural to me. But what is happening here on stage? The standard interpretation of the first τὸν πόδα τοῦτον is that Aeschylus is referring to the first anapaestic foot περίβαλλ' as the base of the glyconic line 1322, which ends the Euripides quotations. There is uncertainty, however, about what is meant by the *second* foot—perhaps some rather feeble horseplay, such as a playful kick by Aeschylus, or contemplation of the Muse's foot poised at the end of her dance, or even that there may be an allusion to some actual line of Euripides again, from a play such as *Telephus* or *Philoctetes*, both, of course, characters who suffer from foot trouble. None of this seems attractive at all to me.

I should say that even the first reference to a *metrical* foot is far from certain. Firstly, it would apparently be the earliest recorded use of *pous* as a metrical term, as otherwise, for all its later common use, it is not found until Plato *Rep.* 400a (etc.). Nevertheless, it is likely enough that, like βάσις, and ἄνω, κάτω (cf. ἄρσις, θέσις later, derived from the placement of the foot in dancing), it had become a term employed by musical and metrical theorists and teachers such as Damon in the latter part of the fifth century. Yet there is something a little odd about περίβαλλ' being seized upon out of the various Aeolic lines of Aeschylus' cento for special attention and disparagement; for surely the previous line, with its succession of six short syllables as the base, is no less remarkable. Moreover, even the anapaestic reading περίβαλλ' of RV and most MSS is itself doubtful: the aorist imperative περίβαλ' (metrically acceptable enough in the "aeolic base" of a glyconic) is read by M and some later MSS, and it is preferred, among others, by Paul Maas.[35] In any case, in delivery one wonders if the difference would be particularly clear, or deserving of the indignation of Aeschylus. Finally, since the sense of ὁρῶ on the *second* occasion clearly means physically looking at a foot, this seems no less natural also in the first instance, and one can hardly suppose that Aeschylus brandishes a text and points to the word or line under scrutiny. I should like, therefore, to propose an entirely new solution to the stage action that now takes place. We have just witnessed a

[35] *Greek Metre*, tr. H. Lloyd-Jones (Oxford 1962) 31: also Nauck, *TGF*, and Italie in his *Hypsipyle* edition (Berlin 1923). Bond is non-committal. *Contra*, most recently, M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982) 116, n. 100. *Hypsipyle* contains one certain, and one possible, example of the anapaestic base (frs. 1.3.7 and 1.4.4). A resolved base (⏑ ⏑ ⏑) is, of course, common in Euripides particularly, but cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 698 = 716.

parody of a family reunion with reference to modes of *anagnorisis*, and now we have a reference to one foot, then another foot—moreover in a scene of mutual criticism of each other's tragic composition by Aeschylus and Euripides. Surely anyone must be immediately reminded of the most famous of tragic family recognition scenes, and the moment in Euripides *El.* 532 ff., with its startlingly explicit rejection of the traditional recognition signs by which, in his *Choephori*, Aeschylus had convinced readily enough *his* Electra that brother Orestes had recently been padding around their father's tomb, leaving behind his unmistakeable Pelopid footprints—"feet just like mine!," as she exclaims (205–210) in high excitement. Not so Euripides' coldly logical Electra (534–537)—"How could a foot make any print on such stony ground? And even if it did, the foot of brother and sister could not be the same, for the man's is bound to be bigger!"

I have never been one of those who have been so horrified and scandalised that Aeschylus should be so criticised, or Euripides be so rude about his august predecessor, as to believe that the whole, or part, of the *Electra* scene should be expunged as an interpolation, a controversy which continues to fill the pages of the learned journals.[36] I agree with A. F. Garvie in his recent *Choephori* edition that "Euripides may well have expected his audience to take an amused pleasure in it."[37] Certainly at its first performance it must have at least caused a ripple of excitement, and been a talking point about the play long afterwards.[38] In the circumstances, and bearing in mind that the audience for *Frogs* has just been reminded of *Electra* by

[36]Most recently, at the time of writing, D. Kovacs, "Euripides, *Electra* 518–44: Further Doubts about Genuineness," *BICS* 36 (1989) 67–78, where see his bibliography. Needless to say, I find most to my ta➡ H. Lloyd-Jones, "Some Alleged Interpolations in Aeschylus' *Choephori* and Euripides' *Electra*," *CQ* NS 11 (1961) 171–184 and G. W. Bond, "Euripides' Parody of Aeschylus," *Hermathena* 118 (1974) 1–14.

[37]Aeschylus *Choephori* (Oxford 1986) 87. So G. M. Grube, *The Drama of Euripides* (London 1941) 305: "The audience is meant to enjoy the satire on the earlier play."

[38]The celebrity of the play is attested in the anecdote in Plut. *Lys.* 15, recording that in the very year after *Frogs*, the music of "sad Electra's poet" could be sung even by a man from Phocis, and be well received by his hearers. As regards the controversial dating of the play, on the whole I believe that, in spite of the Zielinskian metrical tests of chronology (useful, but scarcely inviolable, or else *Bacch.* would precede *Or.*), the musical novelty discussed above—quite apart from the relevance of the notorious reference to Sicily and the μυσαροί and ὅσιοι (1347–55)—suggests a date close to *Tro.* (see above, n. 31): so G. W. Bond in his *Hypsipyle* p. 61 and D. W. Lucas, *CR* 15 (1965) 161–163, at 162: "The impression they ([*sc.*, the lyrics of *El.*] make, fruit luscious in appearance, watery in flavour, goes with the musical style of the new dithyramb." But with either a date as late as 414/13 or the earlier date favoured by many critics including M. J. Cropp in his recent edition (Warminster 1988), the Athenian captives who, in another famous Plutarch anecdote (*Nic.* 28), bargained for their freedom from the Sicilian quarries by singing for their captors Euripides' most recent songs, could have included choristers who knew *Electra*, since the latest reinforcements left with Demosthenes at the beginning of spring of 413, and, according to Theophr. *Char.* 3.3, the sea was ἐκ Διονυσίων πλόιμον.

the quotation (with its memorable musical effect) of the dolphin lines a moment before, which comes from the choral ode a mere fifty lines before the recognition scene of Electra and Orestes, I find it an excellent climax to this piece of criticism, that Aeschylus should, so to speak, come back from the dead and angrily smite his irritating junior for the indignity done on the public stage to his solemn masterpiece. What I imagine the stage "business" to have been here is, that, as Euripides does not show immediate reciprocation of the dancing girl's fond embrace, Aeschylus draws Dionysus' attention first to *her* foot, then to Euripides' foot—a matched pair, showing a perfect family likeness between the "Muse" and her "son." And when he then bellows, "When you write that sort of stuff, do you have the cheek to criticise *my* μέλη?," I should have thought that we find here the pun on *melos* "tune" and *melos* "limb," which Cratinus fr. 276 K-A used neatly about Gnesippus (according to Athen. 638d–f, a poet of lascivious music and bad morals) ὁ παρατιλτριῶν ἔχων χορὸν λυδιστὶ τιλλουσῶν μέλη πονηρά, and which Aristophanes puts in the mouth of Euripides himself at *Ranae* 862: τἄπη, τὰ μέλη, τὰ νεῦρα τῆς τραγῳδίας.[39] If I am right in my interpretation, of course, the genuineness of the *Electra* scene of recognition is no longer in doubt.

When at 1327 Aeschylus completes his tirade against his rival's musical style ἀνὰ τὸ δωδεκαμήχανον Κυρήνης μελοποιῶν, Aristophanes neatly rounds off his *Hypsipyle*-orientated parody with a last quotation, again from the same play, since the scholia inform us that this line is based on the words ἀνὰ τὸ δωδεκαμήχανον ἄστρον[40] from *Hypsipyle* (= fr. 755). The context, and therefore the significance, of the original, is unclear, although surely the twelve signs of the zodiac are involved. But, as the joke in the substitution of the name of the prostitute Cyrene turns upon her notorious expertise in σχήματα συνουσίας, it may be relevant to note that words such as σχήματα, σχηματισμοί, σχηματίζω become part of the technical vocabulary of not bodily, but planetary, conjunctions in their various "positions" or "aspects" in such astronomical or astrological writers as Ptolemy, Manetho, and Vettius Valens.[41] The last named also (179.33) uses δωδεκάτροπος of the "fixed circle of twelve divisions through which the zodiac is supposed to resolve" (LSJ). If, as generally supposed, there *is* also a metrical allusion to lines which much later come to be called polyschematist (and Aristophanes' jumble of Euripidean lyric lines comes into this category, much favoured by the poet), one might note that the standard pattern of such lines (including

[39]Tucker thought that there was a similar word play also at 1262 εἰς ἓν γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ μέλη ξυντεμῶ, where Stanford also thinks of Procrustes' limb-cutting.

[40]I discount the variant ἄντρον.

[41]"The zodiac was regarded as the prototype of the human body, the different parts of which had their corresponding section in the zodiac itself" (*Encyc. Brit.*[13] 2.798, *s.v.* "Astrology").

1322 if read with περίβαλ') is δωδεκάσημος (i.e., an accumulation of twelve *chronoi*). But I am inclined to think that the main point turns on the licentious posturings indulged in by the "Muse" during her dance preceding the embrace, for the same disparaging δωδεκαμήχανος was used by Plato Com. fr. 143 K-A of suggestive dance movements or poses (σχήματα) of another favourite butt of Aristophanes, Xenocles son of Carcinus. The number twelve (conservative when compared with Ovid's *mille modi Veneris* of *A.A.* 3.787, cf. 2.679) seems to have had some current topicality to judge from musical/sexual jokes[42] in Pherecrates fr. 155.5.16, 25 K-A, and centuries later the book of Paxamus περὶ αἰσχρῶν σχημάτων, the Kama Sutra of the Greek world, was entitled his δωδεκάτεχνον.[43]

IV

I conclude with a final point about this ingenious scene. The Cyrene-like girl has just embraced Euripides, as mother does son in his *Hypsipyle*. Inevitably one is led to think of the real Euripides' own mother, the λαχανοπωλητρία Cleito, whom Aristophanes has loved to make jokes about in the twenty years between *Acharnians* and *Frogs*. The problem about this humble profession attributed to his mother, and why it should have been so hilarious, is well-known, since we have the authority of Philochorus (in *Suda s.v.* Εὐριπίδης) that the poet was of a family τῶν σφόδρα εὐγενῶν, which is backed up well enough by other biographical details. I am surprised never to recall in discussions of his parentage any concern about chronological details. If one discounts the improbable romantic account that he was born in the year (*Vita Eur.* 2) or even on the very day (*Suda s.v.*; Plut. *Mor.* 717c) of the battle of Salamis (where Aeschylus was a combatant, and Sophocles led the boys' thanksgiving chorus after the Athenian victory), we have the Marmor Parium's testimony to the date of his birth being earlier, viz. 485. Now although evidence shows that women in classical Athens frequently married quite young, one would not expect the future poet's mother—indeed both parents—to have been born much later than, say, 505. In this case, when the greengrocer joke first appears in *Ach.* 457 ff., his mother would have been 80; when it appears again in *Thesm.* 387, 456, she would

[42] I was amused to read in *Opera* magazine 37 (1986) 567 of a contemporary composer, Luc Ferrari, said there to be a "former *enfant terrible* of avant-garde music," while the *New Grove* (6.494) describes him as having an "anarchic temperament," who has outdone even modern dodecaphoists in composing a piece relating the twelve keys to the twelve female "erogenous zones." Aristophanes and Pherecrates would have been delighted!

[43] Courtesan as artiste (τεχνῖτις) in *Anth. Pal.* 11.73.3 (Nicarchus), Lucian *Tox.* 13. κακότεχνος (or κατα-) of lascivious *schemata* in *Anth. Pal.* 5.129, with *lemma* εἰς πόρνην ὀρχηστρίδα, (Automedon), and κινήματα in *Anth. Pal.* 5.132 (Philodemus). Cf. also δμότεχνος in Lucian *Dial. Meret.* 5.2.

have been well into her nineties, and when Aristophanes makes Aeschylus at *Frogs* 840, in an excellent parody of one of his own lines, address his insolent junior ἀληθές, ὦ παῖ τῆς ἀρουραίας θεοῦ; she would have just reached her century. I find the improbability overwhelming,[44] and seek a different explanation as to why Aristophanes found his recurring insult so successful, and worth repeating to raise an easy laugh.[45]

Everyone is familiar with the fact that the most damaging allegation that can be brought against "the sweet name of mother" is one of sexual impropriety, whether adulterous or even worse, from Shakespeare's favourite "whoreson" to "your mother's a whore!"—an insult heard on many a football terracing, as an uncompromising tackle lays low the popular favourite of an intemperate and partisan crowd. From the ancient Greek world itself, and among great literary figures, we have the opprobrious allegations brought by Demosthenes about the "profession" of the mother of his deadly enemy Aeschines, Glaucothea, her μεθημερινοὶ γάμοι ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ (18.129) and her nickname Empusa, derived ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν (a familiar sexual euphemism).[46] One recalls also the comic poets' delight in alluding bluntly to the former career of Pericles' mistress Aspasia, whom Aristophanes (*Ach.* 527) portrays as keeper of "a disorderly house."[47] Hyperbolus' mother too was similarly abused by the comic poets, as we see in *Nubes* 551 ff. and in Hermippus' *Artopolides*, where it is virtually certain to be she who is addressed in fr. 9 K-A as ὦ σαπρὰ καὶ πασιπόρνη κάπραινα. I suspect similar scurrility is involved in the jokes about Euripides' mother, and that "selling green vegetables" was a recognised euphemism for prostitution.

[44]Plato *Rep.* 460e recommends 20 as the desirable minimum age for a woman bearing children. In "Demography and the Exposure of Girls at Athens" (*Phoenix* 35 [1981] 316–331, at 326–327) Mark Golden, analysing evidence for life expectancy in "primitive and pre-industrial groups," comes up with the rather surprising conclusion that the average for Athenian women at this time was as low as 35, rather less than that of men.

[45]The passages in Aristophanes referring to Cleito and her greenery are *Ach.* 457, 469, 478–480, *Eq.* 17–19, *Thesm.* 387, 456, *Ranae* 840, 947. I discount *Thesm.* 910 ἐγὼ δὲ Μενελάῳ γέ σ' ἐκ τῶν ἰφύων, where the "correction" to R's unmetrical ἀφύων with scholiastic support is surely wrong, and Coulon's ἀμφίων (*Philologus* 95 [1942] 31–54), which was in fact anticipated by H. Grégoire and R. Goossens, "De l'utilité du grec moderne," *Byzantion* 13 (1938) 396–400, correct. Aristophanes' Helen, unlike Euripides' fastidious heroine, who found the ἄμορφος στολή of the unkempt Menelaus distasteful, and failed to recognise her husband, being an old hand with regard to Euripides' ragged heroes, at once identifies him: "to judge by your rags—of course, you must be Menelaus!"

[46]The Aeschines *Vita* of Apollonius (p. 5 Blass) says that she ἠταιρηκέναι καθεζομένην ἐν οἰκήματι. Libanius 8.p.302.1 F calls her πόρνης μητρός, and (p.343.10) adds Γλαυκοθέαν ἐπῆνουν οἱ χρώμενοι μόνοι ("her clients": cf. Dem. 19.249, and Lais' amusing twist to Euripides' famous *Aeolus* line in Machon 410 Gow, "What is shameful if it doesn't seem so to my clients?" [τοῖσι χρωμένοις, sc. ἐμοί]).

[47]See also other contemporary references to her quoted in Plut. *Per.* 24.

There are a surprising number of plant or vegetable words used of *genitalia* (both male and female), not only in Greek and Latin, but also in English slang usage. Some of the former can be found and evaluated in Jeffrey Henderson's *The Maculate Muse* and J. N. Adams' *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. For English examples, one should consult J. S. Farmer and W. E. Henley, *A Dictionary of Slang* (1890, repr. 1987) *s.vv.* cabbage 6,[48] cauliflower 2, greens, greengrocery, to have, get, or give one's greens, parsley-bed,[49] and other such entries, or Eric Partridge's well-known *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*[8] (London 1984), under similar words, and in addition "garden goddess" (cf. *Ranae* 840 quoted above!).[50] A sexual joke must surely underlie the comment of Stratonicus, the well-known kitharist and wit (*Gnom. Vat.* 522 Sternbach), about a city ἐν ᾗ τὰ μὲν λάχανα πωλεῖται ὑπὸ στέγην, since Gow was surely right, in his note on Machon 385 and the witticism there of the *hetaira* Gnathaenium, in seeing that στέγη could, like στέγος and οἴκημα quoted above (note 46), have the special sense of "brothel." In Eubulus fr. 53 K-A, a client, on coming to Corinth and to the famous courtesan Ocimum (note the plant name, "sweet basil"), lost his cloak, and ἡδέως ἐνταῦθά πως / λάχανόν τι τρώγων Ὤκιμον διεφθάρην, and the speaker in Athen. 567b who quotes the lines says they are "shameless." Note in this connection also the obscure lines of Persius *Sat.* 4.21–22 about *pannucia Baucis / cum bene discincto cantaverit ocima vernae* (for *discinctus* of one caught *in flagrante delicto*, cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.132 *discincta tunica*). Most Persius commentators are content to see the peddling of *ocimum* as an aphrodisiac, on the basis of a chance reference in Pliny *HN* 20.123, but we seem to find in Baucis here the sort of randy old hag of Ar. *Eccl.* 877 ff., or of Alciphron *Ep.* 3.26.3, who, like Aeschines' mother in Demosthenes, got the nickname Empusa (cf. *Eccl.* 1056) ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι. Another such *anicula* in Petronius 6.7 *quae agreste holus vendebat* (cf. ἄγρια λάχανα of Ar. *Thesm.* 456) proceeds to conduct Encolpius to a brothel, a situation curiously like Shakespeare's *Pericles* 4.6.86, where, as Eric Partridge, *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (London 1947) 126, noted, "herb woman" is "used allusively of a bawd." The verb *lachanizare*, said in Suet. *Aug.* 87 to be a vulgar equivalent of *languere*, must derive from λαχανίζειν "to collect greens" (cf. the obscene *olera olla legit* of Cat. 94). The fragmentary part of an extended obscene passage of sexual groping in Plaut. *Cas.* 911–912 has a series of *doubles entendres* on various *holera*. Festus, quoting Naevius *com.* fr. 121, observes *significat ... per Venerem holera*,

[48]κράμβη would appear to be so used in the joke of Menedemus (D.L. 2.128) directed at an adulterer, that ῥαφανίδες tasted just as well as κράμβη.

[49]Cf. *selinon* in Greek, and French slang use of *persil, persilleuse*.

[50]I am not familiar with its use today, but the *OED*[2] cites examples from the 1960s, *s.v.* green.

while similarly *CGL* 5.521 and 565 have *Venus libidinem vel olera significat*. The particular herb *skandix* (*pecten Veneris*) associated in particular by Aristophanes with Euripides' mother, and its aphrodisiac properties, have been commented on by Carl Ruck ("Euripides' Mother, Vegetables and the Phallus in Aristophanes," *Arion* NS 2 [1975] 13–57). Finally, see Hsch. ὄπισον· λάχανον ἄγριον ἢ τρωκτόν, ἢ ἐπίσιον (= ἐφήβαιον), where my emendation of MSS ἄπιστον is confirmed by an entry in the *Lexicon Cyrilli* ὄπισον τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον, Μακεδόνες.[51]

To revert now to the dating problem, I have the following—purely hypothetical—scenario to propose. It is, I dare say, by no means uncommon in any society for an elderly widower, reasonably prosperous as was Mnesarchus, the father of Euripides, to remarry, or cohabit, with an attractive younger woman of mercenary instincts, whose moral reputation, before, during, or after that, was a subject of popular scandal. Such a woman, really a step-mother, would be known jocularly in the gossip of the town as "Euripides' mother," and would become a considerable embarrassment to the austere poet, and an irresistible target for the humour of the ribald citizenry and the comic poets, long after the death of the true mother and father. Supposing this happened sometime in the 430s, as is consonant with probable dating, some interesting side-effects may be worth speculating about, for this was the period when Euripides, whose reputation in antiquity as a misogynist and recluse is well-known,[52] seems to have embarked on a series of plays about wicked women, including notably the two *Hippolytus* plays, in which, of course, the machinations of a highly-sexed step-mother (whom Aristophanes in *Ranae* 1043 calls πόρνη and in *Thesm.* 546–547 πονηρά) against her step-son are the central theme. The *Vita* even asserts that he wrote one or other of these plays because of the ἀκολασία and ἀναισχυντία of women, a theme which Aristophanes pursues enthusiastically at *Thesm.* 383 ff. In two further such plays, there are couplets preserved attacking step-mothers—*Aegeus* fr. 4 πέφυκε γάρ πως παισὶ πολέμιον γυνὴ / τοῖς πρόσθεν ἡ ζυγεῖσα δευτέρα πατρί, and *Phrixus* fr. 824 ὡς οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς φασὶ μητρυίας φρονεῖν / νόθοισι παισίν, ὧν φυλάξομαι ψόγον. The dangers of a wicked step-mother are also a theme of *Alc.* 305–310 (ἐχίδνης οὐδὲν ἠπιωτέρα), and *Ion* 1261–1330, where the step-mother is again compared to an *echidna*, "the image for domestic treachery" as Jebb comments on Soph. *Ant.* 531,[53] and an object

[51] See Mark Naoumides, "New Fragments of Ancient Greek Poetry," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 267–290, at 267 and E. K. Borthwick, "An Emendation in Hesychius," *GRBS* 10 (1969) 173. An added point would be given to such Priapean epigrams as *Anth. Pal.* 16.236, *Priapea* 24, by a sexual double meaning of λάχανα or *holera*.

[52] Of the 66 excerpts in Stobaeus under the heading ψόγος γυναικῶν no fewer than 36 are from Euripides. (Contrast 2 from Sophocles and none at all from Aeschylus.)

[53] The scheming step-mother (Themisto) occurs also in Eur. *Ino*, probably a play of the early 420s.

of comparison with a *hetaira* in Anaxilas fr. 22.5 and elsewhere.[54] Step-mothers indeed come out of ancient literature very badly, beginning with Hesiod's odd division of days into "mother days" (good) and "step-mother days" (bad) in *WD* 725.[55] Doubtless Euripides, like Plutarch (*Mor.* 147c and 467c), would have echoed the wry proverb which is said to have derived from the exclamation of the man who threw a stone at a dog, but missed and hit his step-mother instead—οὐδ' οὕτω κακῶς, "not so bad after all!"[56]

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[54]See E. K. Borthwick, "A *femme fatale* in Asclepiades," *CR* 17 (1967) 250–254.

[55]See other passages quoted by M. L. West *ad loc.*, A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer* (Leipzig 1890) *s.v. noverca*, and recently P. Watson, "A Fistful of Leeches or Stepmotherly Ingenuity," in Michael Whitby, P. Hardie, and Mary Whitby (eds.), *Homo viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble* (Bristol 1987) 69–78, at 69–70. See also Artem. 326.

[56]Echoed, oddly enough, at the end of Aristid. Quint. *De mus.* p. 134.9 W.I. οὐδ' οὕτω, φασί, κακῶς. Doubtless today's popular equivalent would substitute "mother-in-law" for "step-mother"!