

- Pag. I<sup>1</sup> (= Tav. XXXIII), linea 7 (= *Samia* 277) ΗΜΑΡ[. . .] KENAI Lef., ἡμαρ[τη]κέναι Koerte-Thierf. Il papiro offre una minima traccia inferiore dell'asta verticale di P e labilissima traccia superiore destra di H. Quindi ΗΜΑΡ[Τ]ΗΚΕΝΑΙ.
- ib. l. 19 (= *Samia* 289) ΠΟΡ[ Lef., ΠΑΡ[ Koerte-Thierf. (Sudhaus, dub. Guéraud) : A appare molto chiaramente.
- ib. l. 21 (= *Samia* 291) ΦΑÇΚΩΝ pap. edd. : attualmente ΦΑ[. . .]Ν. E' presso che svanito A, di N rimane la parte destra.
- ib. l. 22 (= *Samia* 292) ΦΥΛΛΑΞΕ[.]' pap. edd. : attualmente ΦΥΛΛΑ[. . .]'
- ib. l. 36 (= *Samia* 306) ΤΙCΤΟ[ Lef., che precisa: „après TIC, je garde TO, beaucoup plus sûr que ΠΑ de Koerte (ma lecture confirmée par Jensen)”, τίς τ[ι]νε Koerte. Dopo l'ultimo T, sono in verità rilevabili due apici inferiori discretamente separati, di cui minimo il secondo. Edmonds propone τ[ι] γάρ; (inutile al senso).

Cagliari

Benedetto Marzullo

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## THEAGENES OF PEIRAIIEUS

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Several passages of Aristophanes mention a personage named Theagenes (or Theogenes; the manuscripts vary; I shall discuss the precise form of his name at the end of this article). We meet him first in *Wasps* 1183, where the action that has brought him to the notice of Aristophanes is his pompous reproof to a dung-collector: ὦ σκαιὲ κἀπαίδευτε. In *Peace* 928 he is the first person who comes to mind as a possessor of the quality of 'swinishness' (ὄηνία). By 414 B. C. he has become prominent enough to be mentioned in the *Birds* three times. Line 822 contains a reference to his great wealth — which Euelpides expects to find in Cloudcuckooland. In the two other passages from this play the exact point of the innuendo is less clear. In 1126—9 a messenger boasts of the width of the new city's

wall; it is so wide that on top of it Proxenides and Theagenes could drive two chariots in opposite directions past each other, drawn by horses as big as the Wooden Horse of Troy. Proxenides was a boaster, productive of hot air (he is here called ὁ Κομπασεύς, 'Bragger by deme'; compare also *Wasps* 325), and so perhaps the implication is that Theagenes could be expected to have a big chariot because he too talked big. Alternatively we might guess that he was very fat; this view, though it may at first sight seem less likely, receives some support from the scholion on *Peace* 928, which I shall quote presently. In 1295, when men are called after birds, Theagenes gets the name Χηναλώπηξ, for which Liddell-Scott-Jones offer the translation 'Egyptian goose'. Perhaps he cackled like a goose; or perhaps he was as cunning as a fox (ἀλώπηξ); or possibly he opened his mouth too much (χανεῖν, κεχηγέναι). *Lysistrate* 61—4 is comparatively polite; from it we learn that Theagenes's wife, and so presumably Theagenes also, lived at Acharnai. The difficult question whether his wife was fond of drink (τάκἀτειον ἤρετο) or exceedingly pious (θεοκἀτειον ἤρετο) has no bearing on the character of Theagenes himself.

There is one other comic passage generally assumed to refer to the same man. It is a fragment of Eupolis *Demes* (produced in 411) found in a Cairo papyrus, and included by Edmonds in his edition of the comic fragments as Eupolis fr. 110 a. The fragment is mutilated and the exact interpretation of the lines not quite certain; but it seems clear that, as far as Theagenes (as he is here called) is concerned, the chief object of satire in this passage is his gluttony.

The scholia add further information, most of it uncomplimentary.

Σ *Wasps* 1183: ὁ Θεογένης οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς, ὃν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀποπατεῖν κωμωδοῦσιν. δῆλον δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ὠραῖς (fr. 571).

Σ *Peace* 928: διεβάλλετο γὰρ ὁ Θεογένης εἰς μαλακίαν, καὶ ὡς ὕδης καὶ δύσσομος καὶ πένης. ἦν δὲ ἐκ Πειραιῶς. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ πένης εἶναι, θρύπτεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ πλούτῳ. ἦν δὲ τὸ σῶμα παχὺς καὶ χοιρώδης.

Σ *Birds* 822: προεῖρηται ὅτι πένης οὗτος, ἔλεγε δὲ ἑαυτὸν πλούσιον . . . ἄλλως. λέγεται ὅτι μεγαλέμπορος τις ἐβούλετο εἶναι, Περαιτῆς ἀλαζῶν, ψευδόπλουτος. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καπνός, ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνούμενος οὐδὲν ἐτέλει. Εὐπολις ἐν Δήμοις (fr. 122 Kock = 94 Edmonds).

Σ *Birds* 1127: καπνοὶ ἦσαν καὶ κομπασταὶ καὶ μόνον ὑπόσχεσις.

Σ *Birds* 1295: πανοῦργος ἦν. διὸ ἀλώπηξ. καὶ ὅτι ἀναίσθητος καὶ φθονερός καὶ πονηρός. ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος Θεαγένη καὶ Φιλοκλέα φησὶν ὀρνιθῶδεις εἶναι.

Σ *Lys.* 62: ὁ δὲ Θεογένης κομπαστῆς Ἀχαρνεύς.

Some of these statements are no doubt deduced from the extant passages of Aristophanes which I have already discussed, and so have no independent authority. ὠδῆς, for example, may well be just a deduction from *Peace* 928, Ἀχαρνεύς from *Lys.* 61—4, and θρύπτεσθαι ἐπὶ πλούτῳ from *Birds* 822. But some of the statements do not appear to be derived from extant plays, and the references to Aristophanes *Seasons* and Eupolis *Demes* make it quite clear that the scholiasts drew also on some good sources of information not now available to us.

There emerges a fairly clear picture of Theagenes's character (or, at any rate, of the caricature of him drawn by comic dramatists). His figure was fat, his appetite large, his personal habits dirty. He lacked sensibility, but not shrewdness. He engaged in business and liked to be thought a tycoon, but in fact his wealth existed only in his own imagination. Above all, he was a talker, but his deeds too often failed to match his words.

But one biographical puzzle remains. *Lys.* 61—4 implies that he lived at Acharnai, and the scholia on that passage and on *Wasps* 1183 state that he was Ἀχαρνεύς. But Σ *Peace* 928 states plainly that he was ἐκ Πειραιῶς, and Σ *Birds* 822 gives him the mysterious title Περαιῆς. Where did Theagenes really come from?

The term Περαιῆς ought to denote a man 'from over the water'. The only other instance of it known to Liddell-Scott-Jones is in Josephus, who uses it to mean 'from across the Jordan'. Hdt. 8. 44. 1, wishing to refer to that part of Boiotia which is opposite Chalkis, calls it τὴν περαιήν τῆς Βοιωτῆς χώρας, but I have found no other instance of the adjective περαιῖος or the noun Περαιῆς earlier than the third century, and no instance in any period in which either word is used with reference to Athens or an Athenian. What would ἡ Περαιῆς mean to an Athenian? Salamis? the Peloponnese? one of the Aegean islands? Ionia? Sicily? Franz Dornseiff, in his note *Ein Transjordanier in einer Komödie des Eupolis?*, in

*Hermes* lxxv (1940) 229—31, rightly rejecting the view of C. Jensen that Theagenes came from Transjordan, suggests that he came from Perachora, opposite Corinth. It is true that Xenophon in *Hel.* 4. 5. 1—5 and *Ages.* 2. 18—19, calls Perachora τὸ Πείραιον, and that some manuscripts give the form τὸ Πέραιον. But in both passages Xenophon is writing about Corinth, and about Perachora from the Corinthian point of view. It is unlikely that to an Athenian 'the place over the water' would mean Perachora. Nor is there any evidence that the form Περαιττης was ever used of an inhabitant of Perachora. Thus it seems practically certain that the scholiast did not get the word Περαιττης from a fifth-century Athenian source. Much the likeliest explanation is that it is a corruption of Πειραιεύς or ἐκ Πειραιῶς or something similar, and that we have really only two theories about Theagenes's place of origin or residence that deserve our attention: that he was Ἀχαρνεύς and that he was ἐκ Πειραιῶς.

The implication of *Lys.* 61—4 that he lived at Acharnai does not justify any out-of-hand rejection of the statement that he was ἐκ Πειραιῶς. This is not the kind of statement which anyone would be likely to invent, and there is no reason to doubt that the scholiast derived it, like most of his other information about Theagenes, from a fifth-century comedy or other good source not now extant. One possibility is that Theagenes had two houses; his contemporary Kallias, son of Hipponikos, possessed a house at Peiraieus (*X. Sym.* 1. 2) in addition to one in Athens (*Σ Frogs* 501). But Kallias was rich, and Theagenes was not. So it is more likely that Theagenes at the time of *Lys.* 61—4 had only the one house, at Acharnai, but he or his family had lived at Peiraieus at an earlier period. In other words, Peiraieus may well have been his deme rather than his place of residence; his deme will have depended on the place where his ancestor in the direct male line resided in 508/7. The appearance of the word Ἀχαρνεύς in the scholia does not prove that his deme was Acharnai, since the statement that he was an Acharnian is probably a deduction from *Lys.* 61—4, and that passage indicates only that he lived at Acharnai, not that it was his deme; nor is there any reason to connect our Theagenes with the Theogenes of Acharnai who is mentioned in a fourth-century inscription (*IG ii<sup>2</sup> 1635.7*: Ἴδιώτης Θεογένος Ἀχαρνεύς, a member of a board of Amphikytiones sent to Delos in 376/5).

Xenophon *Hel.* 2.3.2 lists the members of the Thirty who took office in 404. Twenty-second in the list is one Theagenes (this is the form of the name which most of the manuscripts give). It is hardly to be doubted that Xenophon's list comes from an official document, and we should expect that such a document would list the men in the order of their tribes. This expectation is confirmed by the few scraps of evidence we possess about the tribes of individual members of the Thirty. Theramenes, ninth in Xenophon's list, was of the deme Steiria ( $\Sigma$  *Frogs* 541), which belonged to Pandionis (tribe III). Drakontides, twenty-sixth in the list, was of the deme Aphidna (*Ath. Pol.* 34.3), which belonged to Aiantis (tribe IX). Eratosthenes, seventeenth in the list, may well be identical with the Eratosthenes of Lysias 1 (arguments in favour of this identification are given by J. Kirchner in *RE* vi 358); if so, he was of the deme Oe (Lys. 1.16), which belonged to Oineis (tribe VI). Anaitios, fourteenth in the list, is likely to be identical with the man of that name who was a Hellenotamias in 410/09 (*IG* i<sup>2</sup> 304.20); if so, he was of the deme Sphettos, which belonged to Akamantis (tribe V). This evidence is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the names in Xenophon's list are arranged in order of tribes, thus:

Polychares	Erechtheis	Sophokles	Oineis
Kritias	Erechtheis	Eratosthenes	Oineis
Melobios	Erechtheis	Charikles	Oineis
Hippolochos	Aigeis	Onomakles	Kekropis
Eukleides	Aigeis	Theognis	Kekropis
Hieron	Aigeis	Aischines	Kekropis
Mnesilochos	Pandionis	Theogenes	Hippothontis
Chremon	Pandionis	Kleomedes	Hippothontis
Theramenes	Pandionis	Erasistratos	Hippothontis
Aresias	Leontis	Pheidon	Aiantis
Diokles	Leontis	Drakontides	Aiantis
Phaidrias	Leontis	Eumathes	Aiantis
Chaireleos	Akamantis	Aristoteles	Antiochis
Anaitios	Akamantis	Hippomachos	Antiochis
Peison	Akamantis	Mnesitheides	Antiochis

This line of argument about the tribes of the Thirty seems to have been first followed by Loeper; J. Kirchner *Prosopographia Attica* no. 6692 (and elsewhere) gives the reference 'Loeper in diariis collegii institutionis publicae Petropolit. 1896, mensis Maius p. 90 sq.'. I have not been able to see this paper, but

from Kirchner's references it is clear that Loeper's conclusion was the same as mine.

From this conclusion it follows that the Theogenes who was a member of the Thirty belonged to Hippothontis. Peiraeus was a deme of Hippothontis. Xenophon's Theogenes is likely to have been a person of some prominence, to be chosen as a member of the Thirty. Aristophanes's Theagenes or Theogenes clearly was a well-known man, for Aristophanes to refer to him so often without introduction or explanation. There may well have been a number of Athenians called Theagenes or Theogenes; but it is not so likely that there were many whose deme was Peiraeus or whose tribe was Hippothontis; and it is still less likely that two such men were both prominent personalities. I suggest that the Theogenes of Xenophon and the Theagenes or Theogenes of Aristophanes are identical.

If this is right, he was a man who had been prominent in Athenian life for about twenty years before becoming a member of the Thirty, and there are at least two other references to a Theagenes which may with strong probability be assigned to him. Thucydides 4.27.3 reports the appointment of Kleon and Theagenes to Pylos on a fact-finding commission in 425. From the fact that the two were appointed at the same time it does not follow that Theagenes was a friend or political ally of Kleon; Thucydides tells us that Kleon was appointed against his own wish, and so perhaps Theagenes was not appointed on Kleon's recommendation. But a man chosen to partner Kleon would need to have some strength of character; it is not likely that the Athenians appointed a nonentity to this post.

In 5.19.2 and in 5.24.1 Thucydides lists the seventeen Athenians who in 421 took the oaths to observe the Peace of Nikias and the alliance with Sparta. These men, chosen to represent Athens on an important occasion, include nearly all of the most prominent politicians and generals of the time, among them Nikias, Laches, Hagnon, Leon, Lamachos, and Demosthenes. A Theagenes is included in the list. This Theagenes too is unlikely to have been a nonentity.

A more doubtful case is that of Xenophon *Hel.* 1.3.13, where a Theogenes is mentioned as one of five Athenian envoys to the King of Persia in 409 or 408. There is nothing to show that any of these men were prominent politicians. The identification of this Theogenes with the politician is no more than a possibility.

The politician Theagenes of Peiraieus, resident at Acharnai, emerges as a figure of some importance. As early as 425 he had talked his way to a position of sufficient prominence to be appointed Kleon's colleague; this implies a date of birth not later than 450, and perhaps considerably earlier. In 421 he was regarded as a leading Athenian of his time: A natural consequence of such prominence was personal jibes from the comedians, and he is mentioned in every extant comedy from *Wasps* in 422 to *Lysistrate* and *Demes* in 411. After 411, except for one very doubtful reference in Xenophon, he disappears from the scene until his appointment as a member of the Thirty. Why this gap? Far the most likely guess is that he was associated with the Four-hundred in 411, and consequently fell from popular favour, and regained influence only when another oligarchic regime was instituted in 404.

How early he began to hold anti-democratic views is a question which must be left unanswered. It is possible that even in 425 it was recognized that his political attitude was different from Kleon's; the simultaneous appointment to Pylos (Th. 4.27.3) of the demagogic Kleon and the oligarchic Theagenes might then be comparable to the appointment of Alkibiades and Nikias to Sicily in 415, each being intended as a counterweight to the other. But the evidence is really too slender to support a reconstruction of Theagenes's political views in the earlier part of his career. A politician might veer from a democratic to an oligarchic policy within a quite short period; Peisandros, for instance, made this change within a period of less than four years (And. 1.36). Nor does the charge that Theagenes was a talker and 'only promise' (as Σ *Birds* 1127 puts it) prove that he was a demagogue or a democrat, for it is little different from the charge made against the oligarch Theramenes: δεῖ δέ, ὡς Θηράμενες, ἀνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἀν δέ τι ἀντικόπτῃ, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι . . . (X. *Hel.* 2. 3. 31).

Finally, what exactly was his name: Theagenes or Theogenes? Theogenes was a commoner name in Athens, but Theagenes is also attested by Attic inscriptions (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1750.11). Metrical considerations are unhelpful. If it were certain that Θεαγένης must be scanned as four syllables, and that the second syllable must be long, we could condemn this form as unmetrical in Ar. *Peace* 928, *Birds* 1127, 1295, *Lys.* 63, and *Eupolis* fr.

110a; but in fact neither of these hypotheses is certain. First, θεά is sometimes scanned as one syllable (e.g. E. *Andr.* 978), and consequently Θεαγένης may sometimes have been scanned as three syllables; compare the contraction of Θεο- to Θεου- (e.g. Ar. *Knights* 1103, *Wasps* 1302). Secondly, though θεά has a long α, yet a compound formed from it may have a short α, just as σιὰ has a long α and yet σιιάδειον has a short α. So it is impossible to reject this form on metrical grounds, and it is necessary to turn to a less reliable kind of testimony — the evidence of manuscripts.

The readings of the manuscripts in the passages in which our man is mentioned are as follows. (I have not examined the manuscripts myself; my information comes from the Budé texts of Aristophanes and Xenophon, the Oxford text of Thucydides, and the text and photograph of Eupolis fr. 110a given by Edmonds in *Mnemosyne* (series iii) viii (1940) page 2 and plate 1a. 'All mss.' means all manuscripts reported in the *apparatus critici* of these editions.)

	Θεα-	Θεο-
Ar. <i>Wasps</i> 1183	—	All mss.
Ar. <i>Peace</i> 928	All mss.	—
Ar. <i>Birds</i> 822	All mss.	—
Ar. <i>Birds</i> 1127	All mss.	—
Ar. <i>Birds</i> 1295	All mss.	—
Ar. <i>Lys.</i> 63	R, Σ in Souda	Σ in R
Eupolis fr. 110a	—	Papyrus
Th. 4.27.3	G	Other mss.
Th. 5.19.2	All mss.	—
Th. 5.24.1	All mss.	—
X. <i>Hel.</i> 1.3.13 (identity doubtful)	V	Other mss.
X. <i>Hel.</i> 2.3.2	V	Other mss.

No certain conclusion can be drawn. But on the whole Θεα- has stronger support from the manuscripts than Θεο-. If we consider that names beginning Θεο- are commoner than names beginning Θεα-, and that corruption from Θεα- to Θεο- is therefore more likely than the reverse, it seems clear that Θεα- should be given the benefit of the doubt.