

# Fragmenta Comica

**Kratinos fr. 299–514**

Incertarum fabularum fragmenta  
Fragmenta dubia

V&R

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HEIDELBERGER AKADEMIE  
DER WISSENSCHAFTEN



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## Fragmenta Comica (FrC)

Kommentierung der Fragmente der griechischen Komödie

Projektleitung Bernhard Zimmermann

Im Auftrag der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften  
herausgegeben von Glenn W. Most, Heinz-Günther Nesselrath,  
S. Douglas Olson, Antonios Rengakos, Alan H. Sommerstein  
und Bernhard Zimmermann

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**S. Douglas Olson & Ryan Seaberg**

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## Translation and Commentary

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Satz: Martin Janz, Freiburg

Einbandgestaltung: disegno visuelle kommunikation, Wuppertal

For Rachel Bruzzone  
“So easy to look at, so hard to define”

*SDO*

For Elizabeth Torresson  
Aldri finst þér vitrari kona ok fegri í veröldu

*RS*



## Contents

Prefaces . . . . .	9
Fragments . . . . .	11
Incertarum fabularum fragmenta . . . . .	11
Dubia . . . . .	347
Bibliography . . . . .	363
Indices . . . . .	383



## Prefaces

With a few notable exceptions, the fragments treated in this volume have not been the object of sustained modern scholarly attention. Our goal has been to tease out some of their individual puzzles and peculiarities, to set them in larger literary, historical and philological contexts, and to render them accessible to further scholarly work. This can thus be understood as in some ways a preliminary edition of rich but extremely difficult material, and our general goal has been to open up problems and perspectives rather than to shut them down. This does not mean that we believe that every road is open for further research, but we hope to have pointed to some that are.

My interest in the *incerta* of Cratinus can be traced to my work on the fragments of Eupolis as part of Heidelberg Academy Komfrag project, on the one hand, and to a graduate seminar I offered at the University of Minnesota during the 2014–2015 academic year, on the other. I subsequently invited Ryan Seaberg, one of the participants in that seminar, to collaborate with me in the production of this volume. Ryan’s interest in historical linguistics will be apparent to the reader throughout, and I am grateful to him for these contributions and many others. This has truly been a joint, collaborative project.

Much of my work on this volume was completed during the 2016–2017 academic year, when I held a Core Fellowship at the Helsinki Collegium. Thanks are due my departmental and college administration at the University of Minnesota for allowing me to take this leave. I would also like to express my gratitude to Bernhard Zimmermann (the leader of the Komfrag project), the Heidelberg Academy and the Freiburg Institute of Advanced Study for their support of my research, and to Piero Totaro and Tiziana Drago for their wonderful hospitality during my time as a Distinguished Visiting Professor and researcher at the University of Bari in May 2017. Finally, I wish to offer profound thanks to Adnan Akay (Provost), Hitay Özbay (Acting Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Letters) and Mustafa Nakeeb (Coordinator of the CCI Program) for arranging my appointment as a Visiting Professor at Bilkent University, where final preparation of the volume took place.

My portion of this book is dedicated to my wife Rachel, whose love and support sustain me this morning, as always now, as the sun rises slowly late in the year over the mountains and pine forests of central Anatolia.

S. Douglas Olson  
Ankara, 29 December 2017

I first met Cratinus in a graduate seminar on commentary writing offered at the University of Minnesota by Douglas Olson, who subsequently invited me to collaborate on this volume. I am immensely grateful to him for this invitation and for his patience and guidance throughout.

The bulk of my work on this volume was completed while I was a graduate student in Minneapolis, with the final preparation completed in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia. I owe my heartiest thanks to Bernhard Zimmermann and the Heidelberg Academy for making possible my attendance at a workshop in Merano in May 2016, where I had the chance to meet others working on the Komfrag project and to benefit from their feedback, as well as to the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies for making possible my stay there as a guest researcher in June 2016 and thus for giving Douglas and me a chance to work together in the same place for a time. I would also like to thank the department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies at the University of Minnesota for funding my work on this volume in summer 2015, and my erstwhile colleagues there—Josh Reno and Rachael Cullick, especially—for their friendship and willingness to listen to me go on and on about Cratinus.

My portion of this book is dedicated to my wife Elizabeth for all her support and encouragement.

Ryan Seaberg  
Philadelphia, 29 December 2017

## Fragments

## Incertarum fabularum fragmenta

fr. 299 K.–A. (273 K.)

πιεῖν δὲ θάνατος οἶνον, ἦν ὕδωρ ῥεπῆ  
 ἀλλ' ἴσον ἴσω μάλιστ' ἀκράτου δύο χοῶς  
 πιούσ' ἀπ' ἀγκύλης ἐπονομάζουσα <×>  
 ἦσι λάταγας τῷ Κορινθίῳ πέει

1 ἦν Jacobs, Meineke : ἄν Ath.<sup>CE</sup> Eust. ὕδωρ ῥεπῆ Kaibel : ὕδωρ ἐπῆ Ath.<sup>CE</sup> Eust. :  
 ὕδωρ ἐνῆ Kock : ὕδαρῆς τις ἦ Herwerden : ὕδαρῆ γῆρῆ Peppink 2 χοῶς Pierson :  
 χοῶς Ath.<sup>CE</sup> 3 πιούσ' scripsimus : πίνουσ' Ath.<sup>CE</sup> <δη> add. Neue : <σε>  
 Fritzsche : -ζουσ' <ἀει> Jacobs : -ζουσ' <ἄμα> Meineke

and/but drinking wine is death, if water is preponderant

But after she drank two pitchers of straight wine mixed  
 one-to-one, from her *ankylê*, calling out his/its name <×>,  
 she tosses wine-lees in honor of the Corinthian penis

Ath. 11.782d–f

ἀγκύλη. ποτήριον πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοττάβων παιδιᾶν χρήσιμον. Κρατίνος· —. καὶ Βακχυλίδης (fr. 17)· —. ἐντεῦθεν ἐννοοῦμεν τοὺς παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ (fr. 179.4) ἀγκυλη-  
 τοὺς κοττάβους. λέγονται δὲ καὶ δόρατα ἀγκυλητὰ καὶ μεσάγκυλα ἄλλα ἀπὸ ἀγκύλης  
 ἧτοι τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς. καὶ ἡ κύλιξ δὲ ἀγκύλη διὰ τὸ ἐπαγκυλοῦν τὴν δεξιᾶν χεῖρα ἐν  
 τῇ προέσει. ἦν γὰρ τοῖς παλαιοῖς πεφροντισμένον καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως κότταβον  
 προίεσθαι· καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐφρόνουσιν μέγα ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ εὐ ἀκοντίζειν.  
 ὠνομάσθη οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς χειρὸς σχηματισμοῦ, ὃν ποιοῦμενοι εὐρύθμως ἐρρίπτουσιν  
 εἰς τὸ κοττάβιον. καὶ οἴκους δὲ ἐπιτηδείους κατεσκευάζουσιν εἰς ταύτην τὴν παιδιᾶν

*ankylê*: a cup used for the game of *kottabos*. Cratinus: —. Also Bacchylides (fr. 17)· —. On this basis we can make sense of the *ankylêtoi kottaboi* mentioned in Aeschylus (fr. 179.4). Spears are also referred to as *ankylêta*, while others are *mesankyla* from *ankylê* in the sense “the right hand”.<sup>1</sup> An *ankylê* is also a cup (*kylix*), because the right hand bends at the wrist (*epankyloun*) during the throw. For the ancients had given thought to how to throw *kottabos* gracefully and elegantly, and many people were prouder of this than of throwing a javelin well. (The cup) thus got its name from the motion of the hand they produced when they smoothly tossed (its contents) at the target. They also used to build rooms specifically for this game

<sup>1</sup> In fact, the adjective is < ἀγκύλη in the sense “throwing-thong”; cf. LSJ s. v. II.2.

**Meter** Iambic trimeter.

◡—◡◡ ◡|—◡|— ◡—◡—  
 —◡◡— | ◡—◡— —◡◡—  
 ◡—◡— ◡—◡◡ —◡—(x)  
 ◡—◡◡ ◡|—◡— ◡—◡—

**Discussion** Pierson 1759. 412; Jacobs 1809. 248; Neue 1822. 38–9; Fritzsche 1838. 147; Meineke 1839 II.179–81; Meineke 1858. 348; Herwerden 1872. 77; Kock 1880 I.93–4; Peppink 1936. 64; Kaibel ap. K.–A.

**Text** 2–4 do not obviously belong immediately after 1; see Interpretation. The *Epitome* routinely omits material that is corrupt or confusing as it is preserved in Ath.<sup>A</sup>, or that could be regarded as somehow expendable, and one or more verses are thus most likely missing between 1 and 2.

In 1, the paradosis ἄν produces nonsense, and Jacobs’ ἦν is an easy fix.

At the end of 1, the paradosis ὕδωρ ἐπιῆ (“water is upon (it)”) would be a very odd way of saying “water is in (it)”. Kock’s ὕδωρ ἐνῆ (“water is in it”, printed by Kassel–Austin; cf. [Arist.] *Pr.* 938<sup>a</sup>7; Luc. *VH* 2.30) might be right. But the sentiment is so extreme—no water at all is allowed—that we adopt instead Kaibel’s equally simple ὕδωρ ῥεπιῆ and take the *rho* to have been lost via haplography. Herwerden’s ὕδαρής τις ἦ (“something watery is present”) and Peppink’s ὕδαρη ἔγχέη (“something watery is poured in”; cf. *Pherecr.* fr. 76.2 ὕδαρη ἔνεχέν σοι, “Did she pour something watery in (your cup) for you?”) are much further from the paradosis.

The *Epitome*’s present participle πίνουσα (“while drinking”) at the beginning of 3 is suspect because most of the contents of the cup had to be drunk before the wine lees were thrown at the target. We therefore print aorist πιούσ’, a change of only a single letter.

For the various suggestions for supplementing 3, cf. e.g. *Ar. Eq.* 1341 σέ /; *Nu.* 750 δῆ /; *V.* 218 αἰί /; *Pl.* 701 ἄμα /. Jacobs’ αἰί and Meineke’s ἄμα entail elision of ἐπονομάζουσα. Fritzsche’s σέ brings with it a substantial change in the content of the fragment and is thus methodologically problematic.

**Citation context** From the long catalogue of drinking vessels (drawn more or less direct from Pamphilus?) that makes up much of Book 11 of Athenaeus. This portion of the Book is preserved only in the *Epitome* (Ath.<sup>CE</sup>) as a consequence of the loss of a number of pages from the exemplar of the main manuscript (Ath.<sup>A</sup>). For the mistaken definition of ἀγκύλη as a type of cup offered here, see Interpretation on 3–4.

Eustathius had access to a copy of the *Epitome*, and at p. 344.13, 21–8 = I.538.10, 538.19–539.6 he appears either to be combining material from Athenaeus with another source or to be drawing direct from the same (now-lost)

author as Athenaeus himself relied upon: και ἡ ἀγκύλη δὲ ἀκόντιόν ἐστὶ τι, ὅθεν και οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ ἀγκυλισταί. ... ἔτι ἰστέον και ὅτι ἀγκύλη οὐ μόνον ἢ ἀνωτέρω ῥηθείσα ἀλλὰ και ἢ καμπὴ τοῦ ἀγκῶνος και ποτηρίου γένος χρήσιμον εἰς κο(τ)τάβους παρὰ τὸ ἀγκύλον, τὸ ἐπικαμπῆς και στρεβλὸν και σκολιὸν και ἐπικεκλασμένον. ἠγκύλουν γάρ, φασί, τὴν δεξιάν οἱ τοὺς κο(τ)τάβους προίεμενοι κυκλοῦντες αὐτήν, οὓς δὴ κοττάβους ἀγκυλητοῦς Αἰσχύλος (fr. 179) ἔφη ὁμώνυμος δόρασιν, ἄπερ ἀγκυλητὰ και μεσάγκυλα ἐκάλουν ἀπὸ χειρὸς, φασί, δεξιᾶς. χρήσις δὲ κοτύλης παρὰ τε Βακχυλίδῃ ἐν τῷ (~ fr. 17.1–2): εὐτε τὴν ἀπ’ ἀγκύλης πίνουσι, και παρὰ Κρατίνῳ ἐν τῷ (v. 1) —, και ἐξῆς ἕως τοῦ (v. 2): —. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἀγκύλου και ὁ ἀγκυλομήτης (“And the *ankylê* is a type of javelin (*akontion*), whence also javelin-throwers (*akontistai*) are called *ankylistai* ... Let it be further known that an *ankylê* is not only what was said above but also the bend of the arm and a kind of cup useful for *kottabos*, (the name) being derived from *ankylos* (‘bent’), that which is curved, crooked, bent or distorted. For they say that those who threw *kottaboi* bent their right hand and moved it in a circle. Aeschylus (fr. 179.4) in fact called these *kottaboi* *ankylêtoi*, using the same word as for spears, which they called *ankylêta* and *mesankyla*, they say, from the word for the right hand. The use of *kotylyê* in Bacchylides in his (~ fr. 17.1–2): “when they drink the (cup?) from their *ankylê*”, and in Cratinus in his (v. 1): — and what follows as far as (v. 2): —. *Ankylomêtês* is derived from an *ankylos* of this sort”). Cf. Phot. α 185 = *Synag.* Β α 277 ἀγκύλη· ἀκόντιον. και τοῦ ἀγκῶνος ἢ καμπή. λέγεται δὲ και ἢ δεξιὰ χεὶρ ἀγκύλη, ὅθεν και τὰ δόρατα ἀγκυλητὰ τε και μεσάγκυλα ἐκάλουν. λέγεται δὲ και ἀγκύλη εἶδος ποτηρίου, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοττάβων παιδιάν. ἀγκύλη οὖν και ἢ δεξιὰ χεὶρ. ἀλλὰ και ἢ πρὸς κότταβον ἐπιτηδεῖα κύλιξ, διὰ τὸ ἀπαγκυλοῦν τὴν δεξιάν χεῖρα ἐν τῇ προέσει. ἦν γὰρ τοῖς παλαιοῖς πεφροντισμένον καλῶς και εὐσχημόνως κότταβον προίεσθαι. ὠνομάσθη οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς χειρὸς σχηματισμοῦ, ὃν ποιοῦμενοι προθύμως ἐρρίπτον εἰς τὸ κοττάβιον. ἔστι δὲ και εἶδος τι ἄμματος, ὡς Ἀλεξίς Ἀχαΐδι (fr. 32): —. ἐχρήσαντο και ἄλλοι τῇ λέξει (“*ankylê*: a javelin; also the bend of the elbow. The right hand is also referred to as an *ankylê*, for which reason they called spears as well *ankylêta* and *mesankyla*. In addition, a kind of cup they used to play *kottabos* is called an *ankylê*. The right hand is accordingly also an *ankylê*, but in addition a cup suitable for *kottabos*, because the right hand bent in the course of the toss. For the ancients had given thought to how to throw *kottabos* gracefully and elegantly. It was therefore named after the motion of the right hand, which they produced while eagerly making a throw at the target. It is also a kind of knot, as Alexis (says) in *Achais* (fr. 32): —. Others too used the word”), which Erbse identified as Paus.Gr. α 14. Hsch. α 566 is similar but more abbreviated:

ἀγκύλη· ἀκόντιον. ἢ ἡ καμπή τῆς ἀγκῶνος καὶ ποτηρίου γένος εἰς κοττάβους. οἱ γὰρ τοὺς κοττάβους προίεμενοι τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἠγκύλουν, κυκλοῦντες αὐτὴν ὡς ἐνὶν πρεπωδέστατα, σεμνυνόμενοι ὡς ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν καλῶν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀγκυλισταὶ ἀκοντισταὶ εἴρηνται. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἀποτομάδα (“*ankylē*: a javelin, or the bend of the arm and a type of cup used for *kottabos*. For people throwing *kottaboi* would bend their right hand, moving it in a circle as though this incorporated what is most fitting, affecting an air of solemnity as if at something good. Javelin-throwers are also called *ankylistai*. (The word) also denotes a kind of javelin”; traced by Latte to Diogenianus). Related material is preserved at

- Ath. 15.667b–c ἐκάλουν δ' ἀπ' ἀγκύλης τὴν τοῦ κοττάβου πρόεσιν διὰ τὸ ἐπαγκυλοῦν τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἐν τοῖς ἀποκοτταβισμοῖς. οἱ δὲ ποτηρίου εἶδος τὴν ἀγκύλην φασί (“They derived the name of the *kottabos*-throw from *ankylē* on account of the fact that the right hand bends as the throw is made. Others say that an *ankylē* is a kind of cup”)
- Poll. 6.95 (*ankylē* included in a list of cups similar to the one much more fully preserved in Athenaeus)
- Hsch. α 564 ἀγκύλα· τῷ ἀκοντίῳ (“*ankyla* (dat.): a javelin”)
- *EM* p. 12.20–1 ἀγκύλη· τοῦ ἀγκῶνος ἢ καμπῆ· καὶ οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ ἀγκυλισταὶ (“*ankylē*: the bend of the arm. And javelin throwers (are called) *ankylistai*”)
- *Suda* α 251 ἀγκύλη· εἶδος ἀκοντίου. καὶ ἠγκυλωμένος ἀγκύλην ἔχων. (“*ankylē*: a kind of javelin; and *ēnkylōmenos* means ‘fitted with an *ankylē*’”).

**Interpretation** 1 is an overblown insistence that—contrary to normal practice—wine ought never to be mixed with more than an equivalent amount of water. 2–4, by contrast, describe how a female symposiast (a courtesan?) drinks a large amount of wine mixed one-to-one and then plays *kottabos* (3–4 n.) with the lees, calling out the name of the Corinthian ... penis she loves (a *paraprosdokian* joke alluding to the behavior of Euripides’ Sthenoboa (fr. 664, quoted in 3–4 n.)).

The custom of mixing wine with water in a *kratēr* is attested already in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 9.202–3) and Hesiod (*Op.* 596). The relative amount of water and wine varied and is the topic of considerable ancient discussion. But typical figures are five parts of water to two of wine (e.g. Eup. fr. 6; Hermipp. fr. 24) or two parts of water to one of wine (e.g. Alc. fr. 346.4; Anacr. *PMG* 356(a).3–4). A three-to-one mix (Hes. *Op.* 596) is sometimes called too weak (e.g. Anaxil. fr. 23) and is recommended by Plutarch (*Mor.* 657c) only for magistrates at meetings and philosophers at work. See in general Arnott 1996 on Alex. fr. 228.2 (a four-to-one mixture). Drinking ἴσον ἴσῳ (one-to-one), as demanded in 1 (at least as printed here) and practiced in 2–3, is thus extreme behavior; cf. adesp. com. fr. 101.10–13 τοῖς μὲν μέτριον πίνουσι καὶ κεκραμένον / εὐθυμίαν, ἐὰν δ’

ὑπερβάλλης, ὕβριν, / ἔαν δ' ἴσον ἴσῳ προσφέρῃ, μανίαν ποιεῖ· / ἔαν δ' ἄκρατον, παράλυσιν τῶν σωμάτων (“for those who drink [wine] in moderate amounts and mixed, it produces cheerfulness. But if you go to excess, it produces ugly behavior; and if you consume it one-to-one, it produces madness; and if you drink it unmixed, it paralyzes your body”). See in general Arnott 1996. 650–1 (arguing that “the most temperate drinkers seem to have opted for 1 measure of wine to 3 of water”); Pütz 2003. 203–8; Olson 2017 on Eup. fr. 6.

A small amount of unmixed wine (ἄκρατος οἶνος) was typically consumed immediately after a meal, before the symposium proper began, in honor of the Ἄγαθος Δαίμων who had discovered it, i. e. Dionysus (cf. Ar. *Eq.* 85 ἄκρατον οἶνον Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμονος; V. 525 with Biles–Olson 2015 *ad loc.*; Pax 300 with Olson 1998 *ad loc.*; Theopomp. Com. fr. 41.2; Antiph. fr. 135; Nicostr. Com. fr. 19; Xenarch. fr. 2.2–3). Consumption of straight wine was otherwise generally avoided and is routinely associated with barbarians.<sup>2</sup> Although the woman described in 2–4 actually drinks not unmixed wine but wine mixed one-to-one, therefore, the reference to the wine as ἄκρατος in 2 serves to cast her behavior as even more outrageous than it might otherwise appear to be, setting up 4. Cf. Sophil. fr. 4.1 ἄκρατος ἐδίδοτ' ἴσον ἴσῳ (“he/she offered *akratos* mixed one-to-one”).

1 **πιεῖν θάνατος** For πίνω used absolutely in the sense “drink (wine)”, e. g. Philyll. fr. 5.3; Epicr. fr. 3.17; Theopomp. Com. fr. 33.10; Anaxandr. fr. 42.15; Diod. Com. fr. 2.12; Austin–Olson 2004 on Ar. *Th.* 735–7. For θάνατος used hyperbolically with an exegetic infinitive, cf. S. *OC* 529 θάνατος μὲν τάδ' ἀκούειν (“it is death to hear this”); Alex. fr. 9.11–12 (B.) τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερον λουτρόν ἐστιν, οὐ πότος, / ψυκτῆρι πίνειν καὶ κάδοις. (A.) θάνατος μὲν οὖν (“(B.) The other style is bathing, not drinking, when you drink with a cooler and jars. (A.) Actually, it's death”); “Simon.” *AP* 7.431.8 = *FGE* 955 Σπάρατ' δ' οὐ θανεῖν ἀλλ' φυγεῖν θάνατος (“for Sparta, it is not dying but flight that is death”); and cf. Alciph. 1.4.2 θάνατος ἡ γῆ (“the land is death” for a fisherman).

<sup>2</sup> Especially Thracians (cf. Satyr. fr. 1, *FHG* iii.160 = fr. 20 Schorn, where Alcibiades outdoes the hard-drinking Thracians in drinking unmixed wine) and Scythians (cf. Ath. 10.432a, paraphrasing Pl. *Lg.* 637d–e). The Spartan king Cleomenes is said by Herodotus (6.84.3) to have picked up the habit of drinking unmixed wine from the Scythians and to have gone mad and died as a result. For the supposed dangers of ἀκρατοποσία, cf. the story at Plu. *Alex.* 70.1 and Ath. 10.437a–b about a drinking contest held by Alexander the Great that resulted in the death of the winner and 41 other contestants. For drinking unmixed wine in comedy, cf. Theophil. fr. 8.5–6 (B.) ἐπέπεις δὲ πόσον; (A.) ἀκράτου δώδεκα / κοτύλας (“(B.) How large a toast did you drink? (A.) Twelve *kotylai* (‘cups’) of unmixed wine”); Men. *Sam.* 394 πίνουσ' ἄκρατον with Sommerstein 2013 *ad loc.*

**ὔδωρ** For disparagement of water-drinking in other contexts, e.g. fr. \*203 ὔδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἄν τέκοις σοφόν (“you couldn’t come up with anything clever drinking water”); attributed to Cratinus in a Hellenistic epigram, but not necessarily to be regarded as a line from one of his plays); Epich. fr. 131 οὐκ ἔστι διθύραμβος, ὄκχ’ ὔδωρ πίης (“it’s not a dithyramb if you’re drinking water”); Ar. *Eq.* 349; Aristopho fr. 12.7–8 ἐσθίουσι τε / λάχανά τε καὶ πίνουσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὔδωρ (“they eat vegetables and drink water to accompany them”; of Pythagoreans); Bato fr. 2.9 ἀλυσιτελής εἶ τῇ πόλει πίνων ὔδωρ (“you’re no use to the city when you drink water”, sc. because wine-drinking is better for the economy).

**2 ἴσον ἴσω** For the phrase used in reference to wine, see (in addition to the passages quoted in the introductory section of Interpretation) e.g. fr. 196; Ar. *Pl.* 1132; Archipp. fr. 2; Stratt. fr. 23.2; 64.2; Philetaer. fr. 1.1; Aristopho fr. 13.3; Xenarch. fr. 9. For other polyptota with ἴσος, e.g. Hdt. 9.48.4; S. *Ant.* 142; E. *Ph.* 750; Pl. *Lg.* 837a, and cf. Plaut. *Per.* 223 *par pari respondes dicto* (“you respond in equal measure”). On polyptoton generally, Gygli-Wyss 1966.

For **μάλιστα** modifying an adjective to form a kind of periphrastic superlative, cf. Ar. fr. 690 μάλιστα σῶς (“especially safe”); E. *Hipp.* 1421 μάλιστα φίλτατος (“most truly dear”); fr. 743.2 μάλισθ’ ἀλώσιμος (“especially easy”); X. *HG* 1.7.29 μάλιστα μέγιστοί (“by far the greatest”); see Schwyzer 1953 II.184; Thesleff 1954. 119–20; Olson 2017 on Eup. fr. 109.1 (on μάλα used to intensify an adjective).

**ἄκρατος** sc. οἶνος, as at e.g. Pherecr. fr. 147.2; Ar. *Ec.* 1123; Theopomp. Com. fr. 41.2.

**δύο χοῶς** A *chous* (< χέω, “pour”) was a unit of volume equivalent to 12 *kotylai* (“cups”) or approximately 3.2 liters (cf. Young 1939. 280), and also a pitcher presumably capable of holding roughly the same amount. Here volume is in question; contrast fr. 199.3 (wine-pouring vessels), and see in general Millis 2015 on Anaxandr. fr. 33.1. Two *choes* is an enormous amount to drink, the rough equivalent of 8.5 standard modern 750-ml bottles of wine; cf. Epin. fr. 2.4–5 ῥυτὸν / χωροῦντα δύο χοῶς, ὃν οὐδ’ ἄν ἐλέφας ἐκτίοι (“a *rhyton* that holds two *choes*, which not even an elephant could drain”); Ath. 10.414f (the Megarian trumpeter Herodorus used to eat six *choinikes* of bread and 20 *litrai* of any meat he could get, drank two *choes* of wine, and could play two trumpets at once), 434a–b (Alexander the Great dies after failing to finish a second two-*choes* cup of wine). For similar hyperbole with three *choes*, Damox. fr. 1.3 (a *rhyton* called an “elephant” that holds three *choes*); Hedyll. *HE* 1837–8 ἡ διαπινομένη Καλλίστιον ἀνδράσι, θαῦμα / κού ψευδές, νῆστις τρεῖς χόας ἐξέπιεν (“Callistion, who keeps up with the men when she drinks—an amazing boast, but not a lie—drank three *choes* on an empty stomach”); Theodorus of

Hieropolis fr. 1, *FHG* iv.513 ἤσθιε μνᾶς κρεῶν εἴκοσι καὶ τοσαύτας ἄρτων οἴνου τε τρεῖς χοᾶς (“he used to eat 20 *minas* of meat, along with an equal amount of bread, and three *choes* of wine”; of Milo of Croton).

3–4 *Kottabos* (also referenced in fr. 124) was a drinking-game that involved tossing wine-lees (λάταγες) at a target consisting of either (1) a plate (the πλάστιγξ) that was balanced on top of a pole-stand, and that—if struck—fell and hit a bronze vessel called the μάνης, producing a loud noise (= κότταβος ἐν λεκάνῃ or κότταβος κατακτός); or (2) small vessels (ὄξυβαφα) floating in a basin (λεκάνη) filled with water, which one attempted to sink (= κότταβος δι’ ὄξυβάφων). Which variety of the game is in question here is unclear. See in general Ath. 15.665d–8f; Poll. 6.109–11; Hayley 1894; Schneider 1922; Sparkes 1960; Csapo–Miller 1991; Schäfer 1997. 48–9; Olson 1998 on Ar. *Pax* 343/4 (with additional bibliography and primary references); Campagner 2002; Pütz 2003. 221–41.

3 ἀγκύλη (< \**h<sub>2</sub>enk-*, “bend”; see Beekes 2010 s. v.) is not attested as the name of a drinking vessel outside of Athenaeus and the lexicographic sources listed in Citation context, and the idea appears to have arisen from a confused belief that ἀπ’ ἀγκύλης should be taken with πίνουσ’ (“as she drinks from an *ankylē*”; thus the manuscripts) rather than with ἦσι (“from her *ankylē* ... she tosses”). Cf. Bacch. fr. 17.2–3 τὴν ἀπ’ ἀγκύλης ἦσι τοῖσδε τοῖς νεανία ις / λευκὸν ἀντεῖνασα πῆχυν (“which (fem.) she tosses from her *ankylē* in honor of these youths, stretching out her white forearm”); Anacr. *PMG* 415 Σικελὸν κότταβον ἀγκύλη † δαΐζων † (“† *daizōn* † Sicilian *kottabos* lees with his *ankylē*”).<sup>3</sup>

**ἐπονομάζουσα** For invoking the name of a friend or lover as one makes a *kottabos* throw, see also Pi. fr. 128.2–3; X. *HG* 2.3.56; Ath. 15.668b, and for a similar practice while shooting dice in Roman comedy, Plaut. *As.* 780 *quom iaciat* [sc. *talos*], ‘*te’ ne dicat: nomen nominat* (“when she throws [sc. dice], she won’t say ‘you’; she’ll call you by name”), 904–5; *Capt.* 73 *sibi amator, talos quom iacit, scortum invocat* (“when a lover throws dice, he calls out his whore’s name”); *Cur.* 354–60.

4 λάταγες (probably substrate vocabulary, like many words associated with viticulture, e.g. ἄμπελος, “grape-vine”; κάμαξ, “vine-pole”; ὄρχος, “row of vines”; χάραξ, “vine-prop”) were the dregs of wine at the bottom of a drinking cup used to play *kottabos*.<sup>4</sup> The word is first attested at Alc. fr. 322 λάταγες ποτέονται κυλίχναν ἀπὸ Τηίαν (“*latages* fly from Teian cups”) and

<sup>3</sup> “Sidearm” (Rusten 2011. 214) is much too far from the Greek to be appropriate.

<sup>4</sup> The lexicographers struggle with the word, which they know only as a literary curiosity: Hsch. κ 3755, 3801 (citing E. fr. 631, where *kossabos* is used to mean

is found elsewhere in the 5<sup>th</sup> century at Hermipp. fr. 48.7, as well as at Crit. fr. B2.2 West<sup>2</sup>; S. fr. 277.1 (satyr play?); Achae. *TrGF* 20 F 26.3 (satyr play); Dionys. Minor fr. 3.6 West<sup>2</sup>.

τῶ Κορινθίῳ πέει plays on E. fr. 664 (from *Stheneboia*) πεσὸν δὲ νιν λέληθεν οὐδὲν ἐκ χερρός, / ἀλλ’ εὐθύς αὐδᾶ. ‘τῶ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ’ (“She notices every crumb that falls from her hand, and immediately she says: ‘In honor of the Corinthian stranger!’”). Ath. 10.427d–e introduces the fragment with the comment “They dedicated the bits of food that fell off the table to their dead friends”, and Hsch. κ 3629<sup>5</sup> identifies it as a description of *Stheneboia* referring to Bellerophon, but connects it with playing *kottabos* (a confused reference to this fragment rather than the Euripidean original?). The same verse is referenced more directly at Ar. *Th.* 404 (411 BCE) οὐκ ἔσθ’ ὅπως οὐ τῶ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ (“It must be for the Corinthian stranger!”, the comment of a suspicious husband when his wife drops and breaks a pot; see Austin–Olson 2004 *ad loc.*), putting its notoriety beyond any doubt.

πέος (cognate with Lat. *penis*) is a crude, colloquial term, first attested in Archilochus (fr. 327.2; 328.9) but otherwise confined to comedy (e. g. Ar. *Ach.* 158) and epigram (*AP* 11.224.1; 12.240.2); see Henderson 1991 § 1. Here it is reserved for the end of the line as a shocking—and thus amusing—alteration of the Euripidean phrase.

### fr. 300 K.–A. (274 K.)

πρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ Δράκοντος, οἷσι νῦν  
φρύγουσιν ἤδη τὰς κάχρυσ τοῖς κύρβεσιν

1 τοῦ Plu.<sup>SUMA</sup> : τοὺς Edmonds : τῶν Kassel      2 τοῖς Plu.<sup>S</sup> : ταῖς Plu.<sup>UMA</sup>

in the name of Solon and Draco, with whose *kyrbeis*  
they are at this very moment parching their barley kernels

*latages*); λ 390 (confounding *latax*, *kottabos* and the noise produced by the *manês*); Phot. λ 114 (*latages* glosses *kottaboi*).

<sup>5</sup> Κορίνθιος ξένος: ἐπὶ τῶν τὰς λάταγας ῥιπτούντων. ἀπὸ (vel ἐπι?) τῆς παρ’ Εὐριπίδῃ Σθeneβοίας τῶ Βελλεροφόντῃ † ἀποχευούσης †, ὡς δὲ Ἄτταλος ἐν τῶ Περι Παραομιῶν ἐπὶ τῶν † διὰ κάλλος, ὡς ὁ Βελλεροφόντης (“a Corinthian stranger: in reference to people throwing *latages*; from (or ‘in reference to’?) the Euripidean *Stheneboia* † as she pours out † for Bellerophon; but according to Attalus in his *On Proverbs* in reference to those † on account of beauty, like Bellerophon”).

Plu. *Sol.* 25.1–2

ἰσχὺν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις πᾶσιν εἰς ἑκατὸν ἐνιαυτοὺς ἔδωκε· καὶ κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλί-  
νους ἄξονας ἐν πλασίοις περιέχουσι στρεφομένους, ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Πρυτανεῖῳ  
λείψανα μικρὰ διεσώζετο· καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης (*Ath.* 7.1) φησί,  
κύρβεις· καὶ Κρατῖνος ὁ κωμικὸς εἰρηκέ που· —. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν ἰδίως ἐν οἷς ἱερὰ  
καὶ θυσία περιέχονται κύρβεις, ἄξονας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὠνομάσθαι. κοινὸν μὲν οὖν  
ᾧ μιννεν ὄρκον ἢ βουλή τοὺς Σόλωνος νόμους ἐμπεδώσειν, ἴδιον δ' ἕκαστος τῶν θεσμο-  
θετῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ, καταφατίζων, εἴ τι παραβαίῃ τῶν θεσμῶν, ἀνδριάντα  
χρυσοῦν ἰσομέτρητον ἀναθήσειν ἐν Δελφοῖς

He gave all his laws authority for one hundred years, and they were written down on wooden tablets (*axones*) that revolved along with the oblong frames containing them. Slight remnants of these were still preserved in the Prytaneion in our day; according to Aristotle (*Ath.* 7.1), they were also called *kyrbeis*. The comic poet Cratinus too says somewhere: —. But some authorities say that only those tablets in which sacred rites and sacrifices are contained are properly called *kyrbeis*, whereas the rest are termed *axones*. The Council accordingly swore a group oath to maintain the laws of Solon, and each *thesmothete* swore separately at the stone in the Agora, vowing that if he transgressed the *thesmoi* (“statutes”) in any way, he would dedicate a gold statue of equal value at Delphi

**Meter** Iambic trimeter.

— — — — — | — — — — — — — — — —  
— — — — — | — — — — — — — — — —

**Discussion** Bergk 1838. 139; Meineke 1839 II.217–18; Linforth 1919. 281; Holland 1941. 358; Edmonds 1957 I.118–19; Andrewes 1974. 27; Stroud 1979. 3–4, 7, 34, 37; Immerwahr 1985. 134; Robertson 1986. 148–53; Kassel *ad loc.*; Meyer 2016. 334

**Attribution to known plays** Tentatively assigned by Bergk to *Nomoi*, in which he believed Solon was a character; cf. fr. 134–5 with Kassel–Austin *ad loc.*

**Text** In 1, Kassel tentatively proposed τῶν for the paradosis τοῦ in order to allow the article to govern Solon and Draco collectively; but cf. *S. Ai.* 587–8 σε πρὸς τοῦ σοῦ τέκνου / καὶ θεῶν ἰκνοῦμαι (“I beseech you by your child and the gods”); Aeschin. 1.87 πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ θεῶν (“by Zeus and the gods”). Edmonds’ τούς, which transforms the beginning of 1 into a prepositional phrase (“toward the *kyrbeis* of Solon and Draco”), deserves no consideration.

In 2, the gender of κύρβεις is uncertain (masculine at Achae. *TrGF* 20 F 19.3–4; feminine at Ar. *Av.* 1354). But S is far and away the oldest manuscript of the *Lives*, and its readings—here τοῖς for the other witnesses’ ταῖς—are to be preferred when there is no other criterion on which to judge.

**Citation context** From a discussion of Solon’s legal reforms seemingly drawn from a Hellenistic treatise that discussed the *kyrbeis* and *axones*. Cratinus is cited to show that the *kyrbeis* were made of wood and are thus to be identified with the *axones* (a dubious proposition).

**Interpretation** Part of a desperate plea offered in the name of Athens’ two most famous traditional lawgivers in reaction to some allegedly fundamental disregard of the city’s legal codes. On the traditional understanding of the verse—that the *kyrbeis* are being used as firewood (or perhaps as cooking utensils; see below)—one would expect the subject of the relative clause, and the party whose other behavior is being complained of, to be female, since processing grain was women’s work (e. g. *Ar. Nu.* 1358 ὥσπερ εἰ κάχρυσ γυναικ’ ἀλοῦσαν, “like an old woman grinding barley”; *Ec.* 221; *Sol. fr.* 71b Ruschenbush, cited below).

Draco (*PA* 4553; *PAA* 374190) produced Athens’ first set of written laws in 621/0 BCE ([*Arist.*] *Ath.* 4.1), although he was said to have adapted existing (oral) norms when he did so (*Arist. Pol.* 1274<sup>b</sup>15; cf. [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 3.1). Draco’s legal code, later judged overly harsh (*Arist. Pol.* 1274<sup>b</sup>16–18; *Plu. Sol.* 17.1–2), is supposed to have punished idleness and petty theft, as well as murder, with death (*Plu. Sol.* 17.1; *Alciph.* 2.38.3); to have granted impunity to those who caught and abused a μοιχός (“adulterer”, i. e. a man who engaged in unauthorized sex with a free woman; *Paus.* 9.36.8); and to have banned anyone who committed homicide from “libations, mixing bowls, sacrifices and the markets” (*D.* 20.158). Draco’s code also enfranchised hoplites, allowing them to vote and to hold certain magistracies depending on their property qualifications, and established a council of 401 men, the members of which were elected by lot from hoplites over 30 years of age and could be fined for absenteeism ([*Arist.*] *Ath.* 4). Draco’s laws were replaced by Solon’s (see below), with the exception of those on homicide, which were left intact (*Plu. Sol.* 17) and which were in fact republished in 409/8 BCE (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 104.5 with Stroud 1968) and could supposedly still be read in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE ([*D.*] 47.41). This is the first mention of Draco in our sources; see in general Gagarin 1981; Carawan 1998. 33–83; Phillips 2008. 35–57.

Solon son of Exekestides (*PA* 12806; *PAA* 827640), born ca. 625 BCE to a notable family of moderate means (*Arist. Pol.* 1296<sup>a</sup>18–20; [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 5.3; 28.2; *Plu. Sol.* 1; 3.2; 14.1; *D.S.* 9.1; *Suda* σ 776), was chosen as archon in 594/3 BCE and granted extraordinary powers to reform Athens’ laws in order to ease tensions between rival aristocratic factions, on the one hand, and between Athens’ aristocrats and its poorer and less powerful citizens, on the other (*Plu. Sol.* 12–14, 16). Chief among Solon’s reforms were the *seisachtheia* (lit. “shaking off of burdens”), which put an end to debt-slavery for Athenians (*Plu.*

*Sol.* 19), and a redivision of Athens' citizen-body into four political classes (*pentakosiomedimnoi*, *hippeis*, *zeugitai* and *thetes*) according to the amount of assessable property each man controlled. The first three classes were allowed to hold political office, while the fourth could only serve on juries, in the Assembly ([Arist.] *Ath.* 7.3; Plu. *Sol.* 18) and in a new court called the Heliaia. Other reforms attributed to Solon include the disenfranchisement of citizens who refused to take up arms in the event of a revolution, supposedly in order to counteract political apathy ([Arist.] *Ath.* 8.5; Plu. *Sol.* 20.1); the abolition of dowries (Plu. *Sol.* 20.6; patently some sort of ancient misunderstanding of older sources); and the creation of the right of one citizen to take legal action on behalf of another ([Arist.] *Ath.* 9; Plu. *Sol.* 18.6). After passing his reforms, Solon surrendered his extraordinary powers and left the country (Hdt. 1.29.1; [Arist.] *Ath.* 7.2; Plu. *Sol.* 25.1). He died shortly after Peisistratus seized power for the first time, and was eventually honored with a statue in the Agora (D. 19.251). For Solon in general, see Davies 1971. 322–4; Oliva 1973; Rhodes 1981. 118–20; the essays collected in Blok and Lardinois 2006; Hendrickson 2013 (focusing on the complicated relationship between the poems and the biographical information in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia*). For the laws in particular, see Leão and Rhodes 2015. For the image of Solon in comedy, see Olson 2017 on Eupolis' *Dêmoi*.

For Draco and Solon mentioned together, see also And. 1.81, 83; X. *Oec.* 14.4; D. 24.211; Aeschin. 1.6; Luc. *Cal.* 8; Alciph. 2.38.3.

The laws of Draco and Solon were recorded on *kyrbeis* and *axones*, objects whose exact physical shape, contents, location and character were a subject of intense scholarly debate already in the Hellenistic period; cf. Ar. Byz. fr. 410 with the other ancient references collected by Slater 1986 *ad loc.* and Stroud 1979. 28–33. Both *kyrbeis* and *axones* had authoritative legal texts of one sort or another carved or painted on them (e.g. Ar. Av. 1354; Pl. *Pol.* 289d–e), possibly in *boustrophedon* (Harp. p. 220.8–12 = O 14 Keaney, in reference to the *axones*<sup>6</sup>). *Kyrbeis* may have presented vertically (e.g. [Arist.] *Ath.* 7.1; Harp. p. 220.8–12 = O 14 Keaney), *axones* thus perhaps horizontally; whether they were 3- or 4-sided was a matter of discussion already in the Library in Alexandria (Eratosth. fr. 80 Strecker). Both *kyrbeis* and *axones* were thought to have once been housed on the Acropolis but to have been moved to the Agora and the Prytaneion, respectively, by Ephialtes late in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE (Anaximen. *FGrH* 72 F 13; [Arist.] *Ath.* 7.1; Poll. 8.128; Phot. o 173). See in general Andrewes 1974. 21–8; Stroud 1979, esp. 47–60; Davis 2011; Meyer 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Phot. o 173 = *Suda* o 104 (from the *Epitome* of Harpocraton).

The *axones* were definitely made of wood (also e.g. Gell. 2.12.1; D.L. 1.45, 63; *Suda* α 2833). That the *kyrbeis* were wooden as well—in which case the point is that they are being burnt<sup>7</sup>—is less certain, and they may instead have been made of bronze. Linforth 1919. 281 n. 1 (followed by Holland 1945. 358–9; Stroud 1979. 3–4, 28, 37) accordingly suggested that Cratinus’ character means that the *kyrbeis* have been repurposed as roasting pans. Robertson points out, however, that we have no evidence for metal grain-roasting pans and that *kyrbeis* (certainly not bowl-like, regardless of what one believes their precise shape was) would be an odd choice of object to convert to this purpose, and suggests as an alternative translation of οἷσι ... / ... τοῖς κύρβεσιν “by virtue of whose *kyrbeis*”, with reference to Solon’s regulations for meals served in the Prytaneion. Alternatively, 5<sup>th</sup>-century usage may have been looser than modern scholars would like, and Cratinus’ character may be using the term *kyrbeis* for what ought properly to have been called *axones*.

Barley (for which, see in general Garnsey 1988. 87–164; Braun 1995. 25–32; Zohary–Hopf–Weiss 2012. 51–9) is husked and was therefore roasted in order to separate the grain from the chaff (Plin. *Nat.* 18.61, 72, 97, 116). The device employed was referred to as a φρυγεύς<sup>8</sup> (seemingly the Attic term) or κοδομείον (Poll. 6.64), a πατάλλιον (Poll. 10.108) or a φώγανον (Poll. 10.109). See in general Blümner 1912. 10–13; Moritz 1958. xx–xxi.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hdt. 8.96.2 (cited by Kassel–Austin) Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι (“Colian women will roast [their barley] with oars”; an oracle referring to the massive amount of driftwood to be produced by the upcoming battle at Salamis).

<sup>8</sup> Pollux treats φρυγεύς and cognates four times, offering a series of vague and seemingly contradictory definitions of φρύγετρον in particular (1.246 ᾧ τὰς κάχρυσ ἔφρυγον; 6.64 τὸ ἐργαλεῖον; 7.181 ἀγγεῖον δὲ ᾧ ἐνέφρυγον) and finally at 10.109 quoting the ambiguous Polyzel. fr. 6 οὐπερ αἱ χύτραι κρέμανται καὶ τὸ φρύγετρον γε πρὸς (“where the cookpots are hanging and the *phrygetron* as well”) and conceding that whether the word refers to an implement or a vessel is unclear. LSJ s. v. I (followed by Montanari s. v.) glosses φρύγετρον in the Polyzelus fragment and in Sol. fr. 71b Ruschenbush (Athenian girls going to their wedding ceremonies should carry a φρύγετρον “as evidence of their involvement in the production of barley meal”; quoted at Poll. 1.246) as “a vessel for roasting barley”. But Hsch. φ 926 offers φρύγετρον· ξυλήφιον ᾧ κινουσι τὰς πεφρυγμένας κριθάς (“*phrygetron*: a piece of wood with which they stir the roasted barley”; = LSJ s. v. II), which is compatible with the passages from Polyzelus and Solon, and LSJ s. v. I ought probably to be struck and the material assembled there transferred to s. v. II, leaving φρυγεύς (Theopomp. Com. fr. 54) as the word for “roasting vessel”. For the suffix, cf. κίνητρον (“stirrer”), λίστρον (“spade”), μύστρον (“spoon”), πλῆκτρον (“pick”), τέρετρον (“drill”), ὑπάλειπτρον (“salve-spreader”).

1 **πρός** + gen. is common in adjurations, most often with the names of gods, e.g. *πρός* (τοῦ) Διός, “by Zeus” (e.g. Pi. fr. 52k.7; Ar. *Nu.* 314; Av. 130; Pl. *Euthphr.* 4e; D. 9.15); *πρός* τῆς Ἑστίας, “by Hestia” (Ar. *Pl.* 395; Anaxandr. fr. 46.1; Diph. fr. 81.3; Strato Com. fr. 1.28); *πρός* (τῶν) θεῶν, “by the gods” (e.g. *Il.* 1.339; S. *Ai.* 371; E. *Alc.* 382; Ar. *Ec.* 1095; Stratt. fr. 63.1; X. *HG* 2.4.21 (speech); Pl. *Sph.* 232e). See in general Poultney 1936. 188–90; Schwyzer 1953 II.516<sup>9</sup>.

1–2 For the combination **νῦν** ... ἤδη in the sense “right now, at this very moment”, e.g. Ar. *Nu.* 295, 326–7 (“right now”); Ra. 882/3–4; Men. fr. 359.2. At fr. 145, by contrast, the words are to be taken separately (*νῦν* with *τῆ*, but ἤδη with *πίθι* λαβῶν).

2 **φρύγω** (etymology uncertain) is a general verb for treatment with dry heat, used not just of the processing of barley (also e.g. Pherecr. fr. 197.1; Th. 6.22) but also of the roasting of other items (e.g. fr. 150.2 (Odysseus’ men cooked by the Cyclops); Pherecr. fr. 170 (chickpeas); Ar. *Ra.* 510–11; *Ec.* 844 (both in reference to *τραγήματα*, “snacks”); [Hes.] fr. 302.4 (pottery in a kiln); Hdt. 2.94.2 (castor-berries); Theoc. 7.66 (beans). More extended uses at Telecl. fr. 41.1 *φρύγει* τι δρᾶμα καινόν (“he’s baking a new drama”); Theoc. 6.16; 9.13 (both of summer heat); 12.9 (of the sun).

**κάχρυς** A homely pre-Greek word (Beekes 2010 s. v.) first attested here and mostly confined in the classical period to comedy (Ar. *Nu.* 1358; V. 1306 with Biles–Olson 2015 *ad loc.*), Hippocrates (e.g. *Morb.* II 67 = 7.102.12 Littré) and Theophrastus (e.g. *HP* 3.10.4). Moer. κ 18 identifies it as an Atticism (κάχρυς Ἀττικοί· κριθαί πεφρυγμέναι Ἑλληνες, “Athenians (say) *kachrys*, whereas Greeks (generally say) ‘parched barley’”; cf. Phot. κ 509 = Ael. Dion. κ 17 *κάχρυς*· κριθαί πεφρυγμένα, “*kachrys*: parched barley”), hence presumably its presence at Alciphr. 2.24.2.

**κύρβειν** Etymology uncertain; used metaphorically in the singular of a litigious individual at Ar. *Nu.* 448, whence presumably Aristaenet. 1.17.<sup>10</sup>

### fr. 301 K.–A. (298 K.)

ὥς ἄνω τὴν μασχάλην αἴρωμεν ἐμπεπώκοτες

so that we may raise our armpit up after we’ve got drunk<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Scarcely “at the *Kyrbeis*” (Rusten 2011. 214).

<sup>10</sup> Also a dubious conjecture by Lobel at A. fr. \*\*451c.36.

<sup>11</sup> Not “while drinking”, as at Storey 2011. 401.

Hsch. μ 374

μασχάλην αἴρειν· κωθωνίζεσθαι καὶ πίνειν. ὡς ἄνω τὴν μασχάλην αἴρωμεν ἐμπεπωκότες. ἐν τῷ μεθύειν αἴρειν ἄνω τὴν μασχάλην. εἰώθεισαν γὰρ λέγειν μασχάλην αἴρειν (scrisimus : αἴρεις cod.) ἀντὶ τοῦ κωθωνίζειν, καὶ καταμωκᾶσθαι ταῖς χερσίν· οἶόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ παρ' Ὀμήρω· χεῖρας ἀνασχόμενοι (*Od.* 18.100)

to raise one's armpit: *kôthônizesthai* ("to drink hard") and *pinein* ("to drink"); so that we may raise our armpit up after we've got drunk. To raise one's armpit up while drunk. For they were accustomed to say "to raise one's armpit" (our emendation for the manuscripts' "you raise your armpit") instead of *kôthônizein* ("to drink hard"), and to make mocking gestures with their hands; the Homeric *cheiras anaschomenoi* ("holding up their hands"; *Od.* 18.100) is an example

Zenob. 5.7 (~ Prov. cod. Par. Suppl. 676 et Prov. Bodl. 625)

μασχάλην αἴρειν· ἀντὶ τοῦ κωθωνίζεσθαι καὶ πίνειν. Κρατῖνος· ὡς ἄνω τὴν μασχάλην αἴρειν καταμωκωμένους ταῖς χερσίν. οἶόν ἐστι τὸ παρ' Ὀμήρω χεῖρας ἀνασχόμενοι (*Od.* 18.100)

to raise one's armpit: instead of *kôthônizesthai* ("to drink hard") and *pinein* ("to drink"). Cratinus; so as to raise their armpits up as they make mocking gestures with their hands. The Homeric *cheiras anaschomenoi* ("raising their hands"; *Od.* 18.100) is an example

Prov. cod. Par. Suppl. 676 (Cohn, *CPG* Suppl. I p. 66)

μασχάλην αἴρειν· ἀντὶ τοῦ κωθωνίζεσθαι καὶ πίνειν. Κρατῖνος· ἄνω μασχάλην αἴρειν. τάχα ἐκ τοῦ ποιεῖν τινας (ἄτοῦτο ἐν τῷ) add. Cohn) μεθύειν. ἢ μωκωμένους ταῖς χερσίν, οἶόν ἐστι καὶ ἄλλο παρ' Ὀμήρω χεῖρας ἀνασχόμενοι (*Od.* 18.100)

to raise one's armpit: in place of *kôthônizesthai* ("to drink hard") and *pinein* ("to drink"). Cratinus: to raise one's armpit. Perhaps from the fact that some people do † to be drunk ("do this in the course of being drunk" Cohn); or as they make mocking gestures with their hands, as for example (the) Homeric *cheiras anaschomenoi* ("holding up their hands"; *Od.* 18.100)

**Meter** Most easily understood as trochaic tetrameter (thus Runkel, Meineke and Kaibel):

—υ— —υ— —υ— —υ—

But perhaps iambic trimeter instead (thus Kock, followed by Kassel–Austin, reading ὡς ἄνω / τὴν μασχάλην αἴρωμεν ἐμπεπωκότες):

⟨x—υ— x—υ— x⟩—υ—  
—υ— —υ—|— υ—υ—

**Discussion** Kock 1880 I.99; Tsirimbas 1936. 70

**Citation context** The basic source for the notes in Zenobius and Hesychius, as well as for the parallel material in other lexicographers and paroemiographers collected below, must be the lost Atticist lexicon drawn on *inter alia* by

the common source of Photius and the *Suda* (generally referred to as Σ''), as well as by Pollux, who has adapted the material to his own style and purposes:

- Poll. 6.26 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μεθύοντων ἔλεγον τὸ μασχάλην αἶρειν, ὡς τοῦτο ἔθος ὄν τοῖς ἐν μέθῃ· διὸ καὶ Ὅμηρον (*Od.* 18.100) προειπεῖν χεῖρας ἀνισχόντες γέλω ἔκθανον (“they would use the expression ‘to raise one’s armpit’ in reference to people who were drunk, since this was habitual for those who were inebriated; Homer (*Od.* 18.100) accordingly proclaimed ‘they died from laughter, holding up their hands’”;<sup>12</sup> from a discussion of terms in μεθυ- having to do with intoxicated persons or drunkenness)
- Phot. μ 139 = *Suda* μ 273 μασχάλην αἶρεις· ἀντὶ τοῦ κωθωνισθήσει. οἱ γὰρ μεθύοντες ἦρον τὰς μασχάλας καταμωκώμενοι. καὶ οἱ μνηστῆρες χεῖρας ἀνισχόντες γέλω ἔκθανον (*Od.* 18.100) (“you raise your armpit: in place of *kôthônisthêsêi*. For men who are drunk would raise their armpits when they made mocking gestures with their hands. And the suitors died with laughter holding up their hands (*Od.* 18.100)”; identified by Erbse as Paus. Gr. μ 7)
- Diogenian. 6.33 μασχάλην αἶρειν· ἀντὶ τοῦ κωθωνίζεσθαι καὶ πίνειν (“to raise one’s armpit: in place of *kôthônizesthai* (‘to drink hard’) and *pinein* (‘to drink’)”)
- Prov. Bodl. 625 μασχάλην αἶρειν· ἀντὶ τοῦ κωθωνίζεσθαι καὶ πίνειν. Κρατίνος· ἄνω μασχάλην αἶρειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ † κωθωνίζῃ † (“to raise one’s armpit: in place of *kôthônizesthai* (‘to drink hard’) and *pinein* (‘to drink’). Cratinus: to raise one’s armpit up, in place of † *kôthônizêi* †”)
- Greg.Cypr. cod. Leid. 2.72 μασχάλην αἶρειν· ἐπὶ τῶν πολλακίς πινόντων (“to raise one’s armpit: in reference to those who drink frequently”).

Related material, but with the order of the words in the lemma reversed and a different explanation of the phrase,<sup>13</sup> and thus presumably drawn from a different source, is preserved at

- Hsch. α 2066 αἶρειν μασχάλην· οὕτως εἰώθασι λέγειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀρχήσασθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀγροικικῶς ὀρχεῖσθαι (“to raise one’s armpit: they are accustomed to use this expression in place of ‘to dance’. But other authorities (take it to mean) ‘to be dancing clumsily’”)
- Phot. α 640 αἶρε μασχάλην· οὕτως εἰώθασι λέγειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀρχήσασθαι ἢ κωθωνίζεσθαι (“Raise your armpit!: they are accustomed to use this expression in place of ‘to dance’ or *kôthônizesthai* (‘to drink hard’)”)

<sup>12</sup> Hence apparently the garbled “to raise the underarms, i.e. to laugh recklessly, of a drunkard CRATIN. 301 AEL. *epist.* 15 HSCH.” in Montanari s. v. μασχάλη.

<sup>13</sup> Note also ἀγροικικῶς for the expected ἀγροικῶς in Hsch. α 2066 and Greg.Cypr. cod. Mosq. 1.12.