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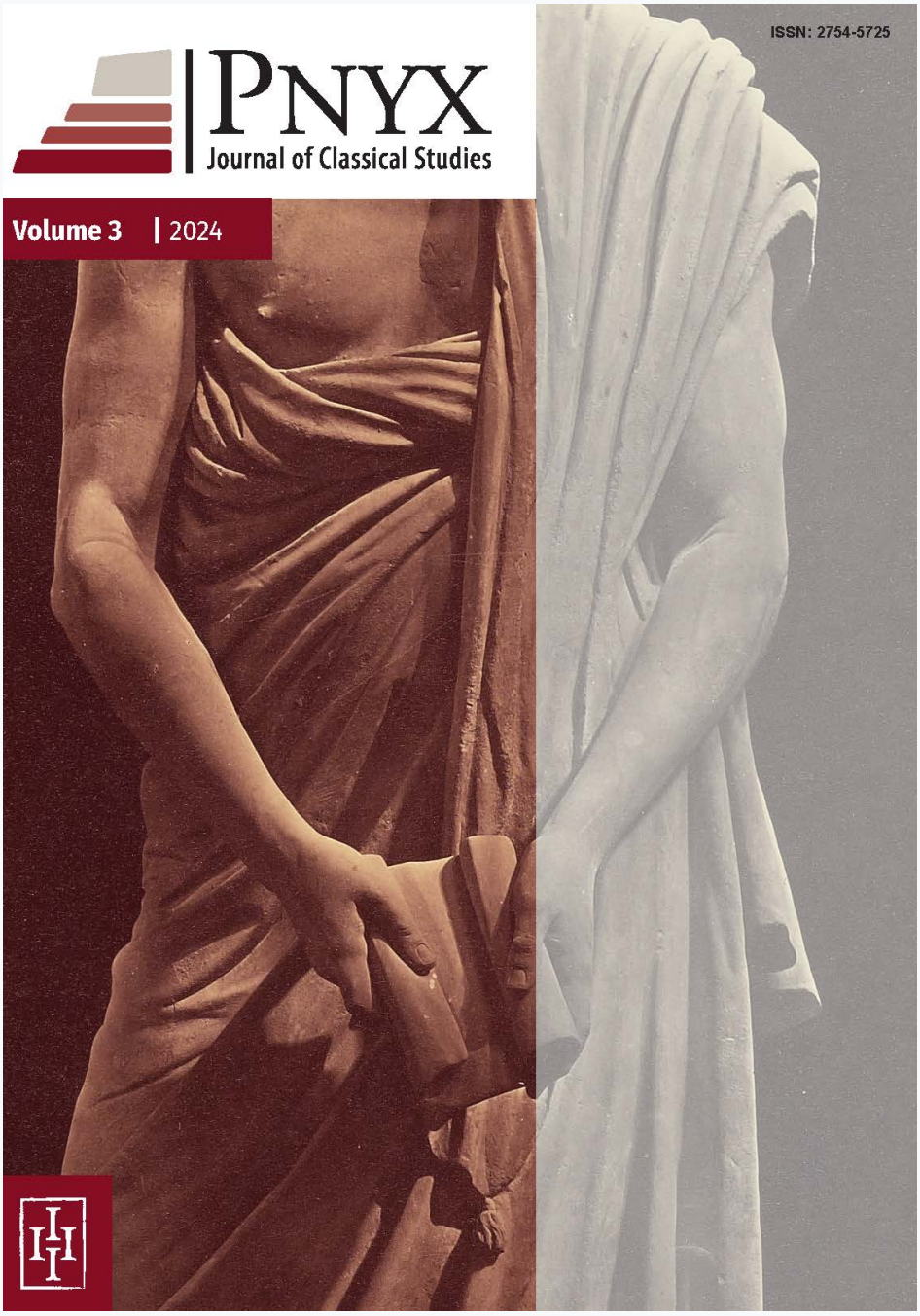

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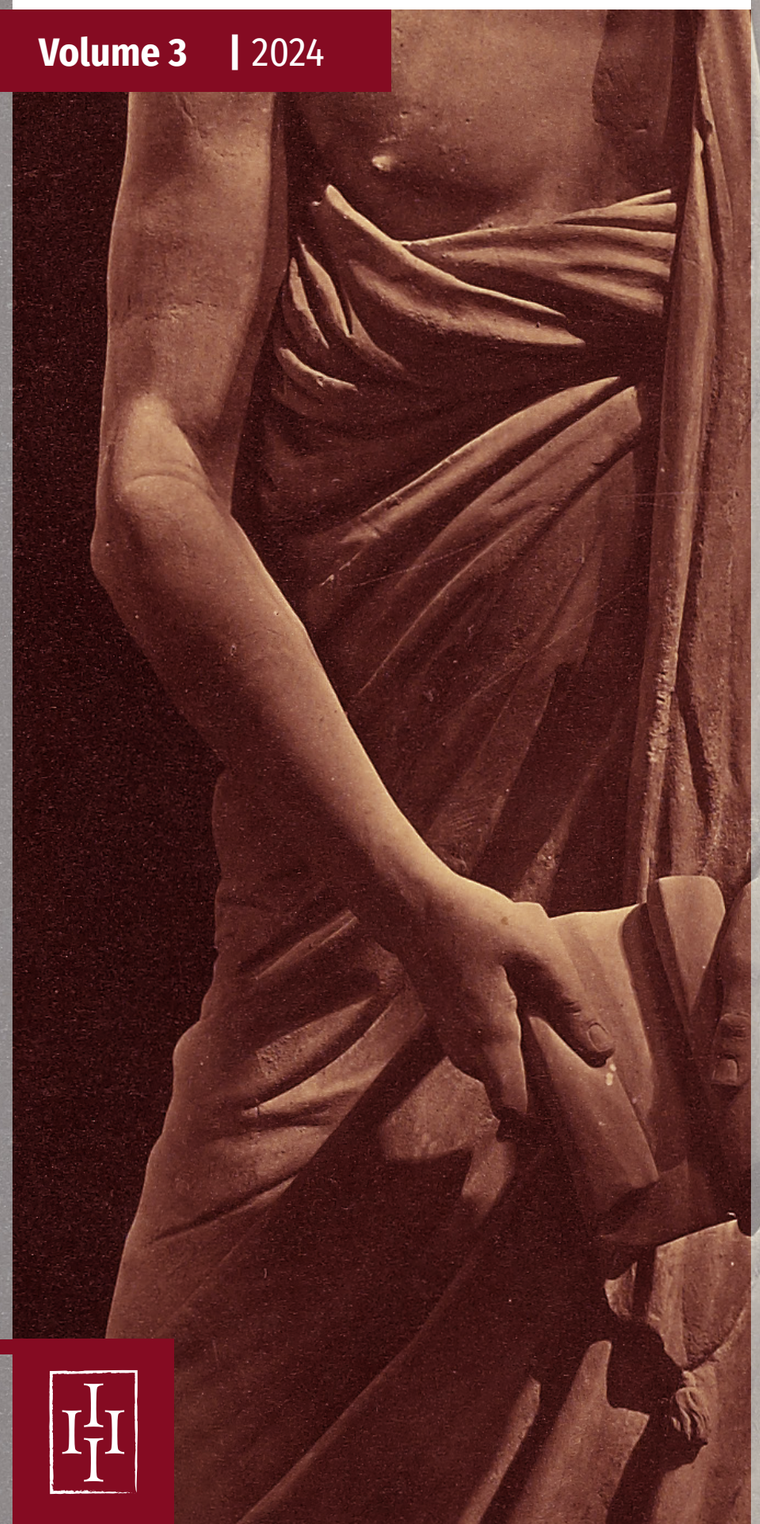

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Editorial: *Pnyx* Anew

A new year and a new volume; this is the fourth issue of ***Pnyx: Journal of Classical Studies***. In last year's editorial, we included a reflection on our past, and we signalled 'New Beginnings.' This time, we continue to transform as we look forward – to a 'new beginning' then, once again.

This year marks several changes, which are evident from this very issue. First and foremost, Stefanos Apostolou, the Editor-in-Chief and co-founder of ***Isegoria,*** has resigned from his position as he moved to a new role. This change signalled the first transformative move – we salute our new Assistant Editor, Dr Christopher Simon (University of Chicago, US), and welcome our Editorial Assistant, Amanda Marley, MA (Radboud University, the Netherlands), to their new role. With the new team, we embark on the next chapter of ***Pnyx***, with discussions underway for some structural innovations to further realise the community project that Isegoria Publishing is, a plan we hope to communicate soon.

Second, we decided to move to an annual publication schedule as the journal needs time to establish a footprint and attract further contributions. A yearly publication will allow for a solid number of articles and academic book reviews published, providing a stable platform for the audience and the time needed for the journal to be indexed into critical scientific databases such as the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) and SCOPUS, among others. However, this change in the frequency of publication comes with the introduction of a new feature – ***First Read*** articles. In particular, one of the main objectives of ***Pnyx*** is to provide a quality, robust (two rounds of peer review), and speedy publication. While publishing annually (every June) will allow for more substantial issues, it definitely humpers speed. Here is why the introduction of ***First Read*** matters: received publications will be published immediately upon successfully clearing the review process and become readily accessible online for all stakeholders before being collected into a single volume annually. Thus, despite the change in publication schedule, we ensure a speedy publication journey that immediately affects both authors and audiences.

As we progress and experience change, we look forward to hearing from you – your views on our endeavours, your contributions (research article, book review, or suggestions on newly-published books), or your ideas for collaborative projects. Together, we thrive!

With warm wishes,
Manolis Pagkalos,
Hangzhou, PRC,
June 2024

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Land for the Athenian Poor: The Politics of Redistribution Outside Attica During the Fifth Century BCE

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Abstract

The main concern of this research is the distribution of land carried out by Athens outside Attica during the fifth century BCE, which mostly favoured poor Athenians according to the perspective held in this article. The basic assumption is that most of the colonists and cleruchs came from the Athenian lower classes, which encompassed all the *thetes* and the bulk of the *zeugitai*, keeping in mind the Solonian census classes. It is argued that in the colonisation process, a hoplite farm model operated as a reference pattern for the Athenian state to distribute plots and/or collect rents in favour of its citizens. In order to sustain this, it is first defined the situation of the *zeugitai* and the *thetes* during the sixth and fifth centuries; secondly, it is presented some rough figures of the total male citizen population and of the number of Athenian hoplites, to imagine the possible number of citizens available to emigrate; thirdly, it is analysed three situations that show, in one way or another, the validity of the hoplite farm model for land allocations in Athenian settlements and the beneficiaries of this founding policy: the colony of Brea, the cleruchy on Lesbos, and the colony of Melos; finally, it is proposed some concluding remarks about the Athenian land distribution policy that favoured the lower classes.

Keywords

Athens; Empire; Colonisation; Land; Distribution; *thetes*; *zeugitai*; hoplites

Acknowledgements

I thank Miriam Valdés Guía for her contributions to the development of many of the ideas contained in this paper based on our collaboration over many years. Likewise, I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable suggestions and corrections. Of course, any inaccuracies are my sole responsibility. Finally, I express my entire gratitude to Manolis Pagkalos for the meticulousness and quality of the editing process, his corrections and suggestions, and I congratulate him and Stefanos Apostolou for the wonderful editing and academic project they are carrying out.

Introduction

The main concern of this research is the distribution of land carried out by Athens outside Attica during the fifth century BCE, which mostly favoured poor Athenians according to the perspective held in this article. Just after the end of the Persian wars, Athens implemented a policy of founding colonies and cleruchies through which she established more than thirty settlements down to the last years of the Peloponnesian War.[1] The basic assumption is that most of the colonists and cleruchs came from the Athenian lower classes, which encompassed all the *thetes* and the bulk of the *zeugitai* keeping in mind the Solonian census classes. In this sense, it seems to have been working a gap between *pentakosiomedimnoi* and *hippeis*, on the one hand, and *zeugitai* and *thetes*, on the other, as two sections that distinguished one from the other, as Simon Hornblower has suggested.[2] This would suppose the dividing line organising the groups would lie between the *hippeis* and the *zeugitai*, not between the latter and the *thetes*. Therefore, the alignment of these two classes defined by the Solonian census would define the concept of *demos* as the "lower classes" of the citizenry, not the complete body politic.

In formulating this colonisation policy, Athens seems to have followed a land allocation pattern according to which the settlers received lots that presumably equated them with hoplite farmers based on the allotted farm size and/or the income obtained. In order to sustain this, first, the situation of the *zeugitai* and the *thetes* during the sixth and fifth centuries is defined; second, some rough figures of the total male citizen population and the number of Athenian hoplites are presented to theorise the possible number of citizens available to emigrate; third, three situations that show, in one way or another, the validity of the hoplite farm model for land allocations in Athenian settlements and the beneficiaries of this founding policy are analysed: the colony of Brea, the cleruchy on Lesbos, and the colony of Melos; finally, some concluding remarks about the Athenian land distribution policy that favoured the lower classes are proposed.

A Broad Attic Peasantry: The Bulk of the *Zeugitai* and the Rural *Thetes*

I would like to begin with the socio-economic and political conditions of the *zeugitai* of the Archaic and Classical periods, taking advantage of a paper published some years ago.[3] It offers some remarks in favour of the idea supporting the *zeugitai*'s importance as a broad group of middling peasants.[4] According to modern calculations, the *zeugitai* reached the level of hoplites, owned a yoke of oxen, and possessed a certain level of income derived from an average landholding of about 4 to 6 ha.[5]

[1] On the figures of Athenian foundations, their locations and dates, the situation of the natives, the number of affected citizens, and the available evidence, see the complete record by Figueira, 1991: 217–225 (Table 4).
[2] Hornblower, 1991: 399–400.
[3] Valdés Guía and Gallego, 2010 [= Gallego and Valdés Guía, 2014: 151–186 (expanded Spanish translation)].
[4] On the concepts of peasant and farmer to refer to the independent small and middling rural holders: Gallego 2001; 2007; 2009a: 181–230.
[5] A collection of literary, epigraphical and archaeological evidence has led many scholars to consider that in ancient Greece the holdings of self–sufficient peasants, which would form the bulk of the *poleis*, varied between 40 and 60 *plethra*, that is, between 3.6 and 5.4 ha (for a more complete analysis: Gallego, 2009a: 162–166, with bibliography). The average size between the two would be the one that would operate as a reference for a hoplite farm. Burford (1977/78: 168–172; 1993: 27–28, 67–72, 113–116) has associated this type of property with the hoplite or zeugite farm, highlighting the importance of draught animal power for working the land and relating the term *zeugites* with the farm worked with one yoke of oxen; see recently Valdés Guía, 2019. With different emphasis and not always alluding to the *zeugitai*, many scholars

In principle, the *zeugitai* were a census class defined based on economic criteria based on property or income, which, however, had significant implications in the political and military arenas. Consequently, they could have been broadly identified with most of the hoplite class, perhaps from the fifth century.[6] This does not mean that the "military" etymology for the word *zeugites* has to be accepted instead of that which relates it to the yoke of oxen since it is likely that the demarcation of the zeugite class in Solon's times would have been done considering the ownership of oxen.[7]

It is challenging to analyse the situation of the Athenian peasantry in the sixth century (and in general for the whole of the Archaic period) because most of the sources, for example, Aristotle and his school, date to the fourth century. Moreover, Attica is a region where practically no land surveys have been carried out, apart from in the south and on the frontier with Boiotia.[8] However, it can be assumed that a broad group of middling peasants developed, many of whom may have started to arm themselves as hoplites throughout the sixth century since it is known that some 9,000 hoplites took part in the battle of Marathon in 490.[9] This implies an even greater number considering the total of hoplites that could be mobilised at any time, as in the case of the 13,000 hoplites at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, when the total would have been 18,000 to 24,000.[10]

This broad class of hoplite-farmers may well have increased its ranks after Solon's reforms and, in particular, under Peisistratos' tyranny, who encouraged the development of agriculture and helped many small peasants by providing low-interest loans.[11] Their ranks further increased after Cleisthenes'

have adopted this perspective (Jameson, 1977/78: 125 n. 13; 1992: 137, 142; 1994: 58–59; Boyd and Jameson, 1981; Hodkinson, 1988: 39–40; Isager and Skydsgaard, 1992: 78–79; Alcock, Cherry and Davis, 1994: 148; Hanson, 1995: 181–201; Bintliff, 2006b: 328; Nagle, 2006: 71; for a critical view, Gabrielsen, 2002b: 214 and n. 69), except those who argue there was a divergence between the "hoplite farm" and the "zeugite farm", since they suppose the latter to be larger than the former (Foxhall 1997: 130–132; van Wees 2001; 2006; 2013: 236; 2018: 135). Even if the evidence quoted by Burford is scarce and says nothing about either hoplites or *zeugitai*, it is possible to maintain her remarks on the basis of the following criteria: a third–century BCE inscription from Pharsalos (*IG* IX^2 234) analysed by Andreyev (1974: 14–16), which indicates that "those who fought at our side", i.e. beside the Pharsalians, were given full citizenship and 60 *plethra* of arable land; archaeological information from the Khersonesos Taurike on fourth–century and later farms averaging 43–55 *plethra*; the Athenian *rationes centesimarum* dated by Lewis (1973) in the 320s; Thucydides (3.50.2) on the Lesbian cleruchy of 427, which is examined below; modern estimates about using a yoke of oxen, which would need an average area of about 5 ha for the work to be done properly (Halstead, 1987: 84; 2014: 42–47, 61; Hodkinson, 1988: 39–40; Burford, 1993: 67; Forbes, 2000: 63–64; Nagle, 2006: 71; see the complete analysis by van Wees, 2006: 382–385, with bibliography and sources).

[6] Particularly if it is assumed that the qualification for being on a hoplite list was belonging to the zeugite class or a higher one; cf. Hansen, 1981: 24–29; 1988: 83–89.

[7] For the identification of the Solonian census classes with military categories, Whitehead (1981) undertook an analysis in-depth of the etymology of *zeugites* in its military sense. Hansen (1991: 30, 43–46, 106–109, 329) prefers the etymology of "owner of a yoke of oxen" for *zeugites*, but he accepts its use as the basis for recruiting in the fifth century. Rosivach (2002b) rejects the military etymology. On his part, van Wees (2006: 353–357) has now accepted and developed the etymology relating the name *zeugitai* to the ownership of oxen, rejecting in this way his previous view; cf. van Wees, 2001: 46. Various authors, finally, doubt the credibility of Aristotle's account of the measures ascribed to Solon's classes and emphasise the author's ignorance concerning the membership qualification for each of them; cf. Gabrielsen, 2002a: 96–97. For a critical review of the "Solonian census system", see Duplouy 2014, passim and esp. 642, 650–651, about the *zeugitai* and the possession of oxen. See recently Valdés Guía, 2019 (with bibliography).

[8] See Lohmann, 1992 (South Attica); Steinhauer, 2001 (Mesogeia); cf. Hansen, 2004: 625–626; Gallego, 2005: 34–41; Forsdyke, 2006; Moreno, 2007: 37–76.

[9] Nepos, *Milt.* 5.1; Paus. 10.20.2; Justin, 2.9.9; 8,000 hoplites in Plataiai, according to Herodotos (9.28.6); cf. Plut. *Aris.* 11.1; de Ste. Croix, 2004: 48. According to van Wees (2004: 241–243), these 9,000 hoplites represent the same proportion as the hoplites of 431. See the next section for further information.

[10] Cf. Thuc. 2.13.6–7; D.S. 12.40.3.

[11] On Solon's law protecting property given in litigation: Ruschenbusch, 1966: F 36a; Gagarin, 2006: 264–265; Leão and Rhodes, 2015: 55–56 (with further bibliographical references). On Solon's law prohibiting grain exports: Plut. *Sol.* 24.1–2;

reforms, which implied the promotion of many peasant village communities in Attica to the condition of *demoi* or civic subdivisions, as political and territorial powers of local self-government linked to the central government through a whole system of *phylai* and *trittyes*.

So, the *zeugitai* in the fifth century were mostly a class of middling peasants that made up the bulk of the Athenian hoplites. They were not members of the "leisured" class, as Lin Foxhall and Hans van Wees have respectively proposed.[12] On occasions, they aligned themselves with the *thetes*. There is a collection of sources that enable us to consider the fifth-century *zeugitai* as the greater part of the Athenian hoplites and, therefore, as a broad group of middling peasants, most of whom worked their plots with their family – and possibly slave(s)–, although they did not constitute an utterly homogeneous class. Hence, they did not generally belong to the Athenian wealthy class, except perhaps for a minority.[13]

Below the zeugite class were all those who owned 2/3 ha or less or did not own land at all, the landless poor, who all together constituted the census class of the *thetes*.[14] Likely, in the fifth century, the *thetes* did not usually fight as hoplites. This does not mean no *thetes* were serving occasionally as hoplites, as in the case of the *epibatai*,[15] but in general, they would not accomplish that military role. This means that most, if not all, of the hoplites registered on a list would have come solely from the three first Solonian census classes: *pentakosiomedimnoi*, *hippeis*, and *zeugitai*. Of course, neither all the hoplites were *zeugitai*,[16] nor the latter were necessarily a military category *per se*. However, this indicates that all the *zeugitai* were hoplites, and they made up the bulk of the Athenian infantry.

The *zeugitai* differed from the *pentakosiomedimnoi* and the *hippeis* in terms of how the state treated them in various recruiting situations, and from the *thetes*, who were not on the list of hoplites. Yet, occasionally, the *zeugitai* might serve on the triremes together with the *thetes* if needed. Sometimes, the alignment of these two classes is given by the concept of *demos* when it refers to the "lower classes" of the citizenry.[17] Of course, it is to be expected that some well-off *zeugitai* had more than 6 ha, which

this law has been interpreted as favouring Attic peasants: Mele, 1979: 41; Baccarin, 1990. Solon did not share the land in equal plots but probably permitted a distribution of marginal or public land and land to be returned to ancient debtors: Arist. *Pol*. 1266a–b; Plut. *Sol*. 13.6; Rosivach, 1992; Isager and Skydsgaard, 1992: 128. On Solon's law limiting the amount of land each person could acquire, Arist. *Pol*. 1266b 13–14. On Peisistratos' measures about agriculture: Arist. *Ath. Pol*. 16.2; Dio Chrys. 25.3; Aelian, *V.H*. 9.25; D.L. 1.53; Valdés Guía, 2003. On Athens as a society of small and middling peasants, Wood, 1988; Gallego, 2005: 89–132; Valdés Guía, 2006; 2008: 47–87; Gallego and Valdés Guía, 2014.

[12] Foxhall, 1997; van Wees, 2001; 2006.

[13] Recently, see the complete analysis by Valdés Guía, 2022b (with evidence and bibliography).

[14] This is a schematic formulation that must be qualified by the existence of landless Athenians whose economic capacity placed them in an intermediate *stratum*, not among the poor. But it is still difficult to know whether these Athenians were ascribed to the zeugite or the thetic class if it is accepted that the possession of a yoke of oxen (and a suitable property for this) was the defining trait of the *zeugitai*.

[15] On this point, see now the insightful argumentation by Valdés Guía, 2022a.

[16] Some hoplites belonged to the two upper classes, and there were also some metics and a few *thetes*.

[17] For instance, as stated by Thucydides (3.16, and *schol*. at 3.16.1), in the general levy of citizens for the fleet of 428, the *pentakosiomedimnoi* and the *hippeis* were exempted but not the *zeugitai*, who had to man the ships together with the *thetes*. Many *pentakosiomedimnoi* and *hippeis* would have been excluded from the lists of hoplites, either because they belonged to the cavalry (1,000), or because they performed liturgies, or else through string-pulling (by the *strategoi* who made the decisions), as can be surmised from Aristophanes (*Eq*. 1370 ff.). These and other situations would demonstrate how the first two classes, on the one side, and the *zeugitai* and the *thetes*, on the other, could appear aligned, at least in practical terms, even ideologically. If so, it can be said that the bulk of hoplites would be made up of *zeugitai*, since the *thetes* were not on the hoplite lists either.

could have made their association with the *pentakosiomedimnoi* and the *hippeis* possible in certain circumstances.[18]

Nevertheless, the main point is that sixth- and fifth-century Athens had a broad class of middling peasants that were politically recognised and formed the Solonian zeugite class. Up to a point, this group would be equivalent to, or at least coincide with, most of the hoplites. On the other hand, the existence of the thetic class supposes a continuum of strata from the small peasants with 3 ha or less to the landless poor, which included both rural and urban workers.

The previous remarks illustrate some economic, social, military, political, and even ideological conditions that characterised the situation of non-rich Athenians. Taken as a whole, both *thetes*, rural as well as urban ones, and *zeugitai*, perhaps leaving the wealthy ones aside, make up the group that would benefit the most from the land distributions outside Attica. In settlements near Athens, such as those on the islands of Aigina or Euboia, however, it is likely that rich Athenians from the first two Solonian census classes could also have received lots.[19]

Some Rough Figures on Population, Hoplites and Settlers

In comparing the agrarian conditions in Athens during the early fifth and fourth centuries, the examination of the allocation of land and the wealth of the peasantry has allowed us to surmise that distribution patterns remained roughly stable and equitable.[20] Despite the socio-economic, demographic and political changes between the Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War, particularly the great increase in the citizen population, Athens would not have suffered a significant modification of the indicated conditions (most of the productive land would already be assigned). Many Athenians would be landless people living on the *arkhe*'s resources, or as craftsmen, market hucksters, porters, etc.,[21] or on the lots obtained in the cleruchies and the colonies that the imperialist policy made available to them. The war against Sparta produced a significant demographic decline that balanced the previous growth, affecting the *thetes* more than other sectors and bringing the number of citizens to a level similar to that of the early fifth century.

At the beginning of the fifth century, it has been estimated that there would be between 20,000 and 30,000 adult male citizens.[22] Arnold Jones assumed the higher figure and proposed that about 10,000 people would be hoplites, a third of the total population including the cavalry.[23] Hans van Wees infers the lower figure from the so-called Decree of Themistocles and concludes that the proportion between hoplites and total adult citizens would be 40%, or about 8,000 men.[24] It is not easy to deduce how many

[18] This situation could explain why some writings of the late fifth or early fourth century used the term *georgos* in a partial and specific sense. A point made by the so-called "Old Oligarch" could be interpreted in this light ([X.] *Ath. Pol.* 2.14: οἱ γεωργοῦντες καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι). Aristophanes also uses the word *georgos* to refer to the peasants aligned with the *plousioi* and against the *penetes* (Ar. *Ec.* 198: τοῖς πλούσιοις καὶ γεωργοῖς).

[19] For the case of Aigina, see the complete analysis by Figueira, 1991: 5–128; for the case of Euboia, see Moreno (2007: 77–143), who, in my opinion, totally exaggerates and overestimates the number of lots of wealthy Athenians in the settlements of this island.

[20] I refer here to the analyses developed by Gallego (2016; 2017), where the relevant evidence and bibliography are comprehensively reviewed and the quantification criteria adopted are provided. Cf. Morris, 2000: 140–142; Bresson, 2007: 150–151; Ober, 2010: 257–259; 2016: 138–139; 2018: 20–22.

[21] See Xen. *Mem.* 3.7.5–6, on the non-agricultural citizens who attended the Assembly.

[22] For calculations on the Athenian population at the beginning of the fifth century: Gomme, 1933: 25–26; Patterson, 1981: 48–56; Morris, 1987: 99–100; Garnsey, 1988: 89–91; Raaflaub, 1996: 165 n. 65; Osborne, 2010: 246.

[23] Jones, 1957: 8, 161.

[24] *SEG* 22.274 [= Meiggs and Lewis, 1989: 48–52 (*ML* 23)]; van Wees, 2004: 241–243. On the Decree of Themistocles:

hoplites came from the *pentakosiomedimnoi* and the *hippeis*. However, according to later information, it is suitable to guess that the two upper classes would not add together more than 2,000 or probably less (for the sake of calculation, the guess is 1,000). Following one or another estimate, the number of hoplites from the zeugite class would have been between 7,000 and 9,000 (or maybe a little more). As stated earlier, the conditions usually required to be a hoplite, which were in force at least since the end of the Archaic era, were those involved in being a *zeugites*. However, neither status was necessarily correlative. This implies landownership of at least 4 up to 6 ha or a little more, a yoke of oxen (but not horses), and, of course, hoplite weapons. Smallholders or the landless poor below the *zeugitai* were part of the *thetes*.

During the so-called *Pentecontaetia* in the fifth century, the significant growth in the citizen population meant a notable increase in resource demand. Scholars hypothesise that just before the start of the Peloponnesian War, the total number of adult male citizens would have reached 40,000, 45,000, 60,000, or even more.[25] With most of Attica's productive land already allocated, how did the Athenians deal with the changes that occurred during this period? As is well known, many poor Athenians, with little or no land, lived from the distribution of the League's revenues that Pericles' policy made available to them through various channels. Such was the extent that there has been talk of community patronage.[26] However, a substantial part of the landless poor citizens found the possibility of obtaining lots in the colonies and cleruchies established by Athens.

Thus, in a very schematic way, the Athenian citizen population grew from around 20,000 or 30,000 adults at the beginning of the fifth century to 40,000 or 60,000 or even more in 431, to fall again to 25,000 people just after the war and, then, reaching a stable number of 30,000 adult citizens residing in Attica during most of the fourth century. The remarkable demographic increase during the *Pentecontaetia* coincides with the development of the Athenian *arkhe*. The democratic response decided by Athens to provide resources to this growing population was the colonisation of new territories. Athens indeed controlled settlements outside Attica before and after the development of her fifth-century hegemony (i.e. Chalcis and Salamis at the end of the sixth century or Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros during the fourth century). However, the number of new foundations after the Persian Wars is unparalleled due to the political and military strategies and the need to obtain land for a large (landless) population.

Jameson, 1960; 1963. In favour of the veracity of the decree: Hammond, 1982; 1986; 1988: 558–563; *contra*, considering it a fabrication: Johansson, 2001; Blösel, 2004: 247–254. But see recently the arguments by Chaniotis (2013: 746), who thinks that it is a text from the mid-fourth century by Cleidemos based on a true incident.

[25] For different calculations: Jones (1957: 8–9), about 20,000 hoplites plus 20,000 *thetes* in 431; according to Thomsen (1964: 162–166), there may have been 22,000 hoplites and 15,000 or 20,000 *thetes* at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War; Garnsey (1988: 89–91) allows us to infer about 62,500 citizens and between 18,000 and 25,000 hoplites; Rhodes (1988: 274–275) estimates a total hoplite number of between 21,000 and 29,000 in 431 and a total of adult male citizens of between 45,000 and 60,000; van Wees (2001: 51) speaks of 18,000 hoplites, but in a later calculation the number rises to 24,000 (van Wees, 2006: 374 n. 90); Hansen (1988: 8–11, 23–28) estimates a minimum of 60,000 citizens at 431 (and perhaps 20,000 or 25,000 hoplites, including metics) which at the end of the Peloponnesian War would decrease to approximately 25,000 to stabilise at about 30,000 adult citizens during the fourth century, according to Hansen (1982; 1985: 26–64; 1991: 93–94; 2006: 19–60), which means about 100,000 people with women and children, plus the metics, some 10,000 (only male adults), and slaves 150,000 (male adults). Recently, testing Hansen's arguments, Akrigg (2019: 38–88, 139–170) reaches similar conclusions, but pays more attention to the fifth century and the changes that occurred.

[26] This issue has been analysed in a series of studies devoted to the problem of patronage in classical Athens: Gallego, 2008; 2009b [= Gallego and Valdés Guía, 2014: 187–211].

Table 1: Distribution of Citizens According to Census Classes in the Fifth Century

Dates	490/480	490/480	431	431	431	431
Estimates	van Wees	Jones	van Wees	Rhodes	van Wees	Rhodes
(Upper classes)	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
(*Zeugitai*)	7,000	9,000	16,000	19,000	22,000	27,000
Total of hoplites	8,000	10,000	18,000	21,000	24,000	29,000
Total of *thetes*	12,000	20,000	22,000	24,000	36,000	31,000
Total population	20,000	30,000	40,000	45,000	60,000	60,000

Estimates of the numbers of adult male citizens are inferred from van Wees (2004: 241–243), Jones (1957: 8–9, 161), van Wees (2001: 51–53) and Rhodes (1988: 274–275), respectively. The parameters considered by van Wees are modified assuming that the hoplites are all the *zeugitai*, plus the two upper classes, and that the *thetes* are subhoplites.

Without pretence of accuracy, in the span of two generations in which the population would have grown by a third, or 50% and above, in line with a set of explanations that ranges from cautious to daring estimates, it can be inferred in a moderate calculation that Athens would have assigned lots of land outside Attica to between 11,000 and 13,000 Athenians.[27] At the same time, the number of hoplites would have risen from a third to 40% or 50% of all the adult citizens available, according to different calculations (although after 431 there must have been some decline due to the casualties of war, perhaps mitigated during the peace of Nicias).[28]

Therefore, the number of Athenians who obtained land outside Attica and may not have resided entirely in Athens should also be considered to calculate the total citizen population. However, not all the Athenians who migrated indeed remained in the places where they were transferred, and some of them were even able to stay in Athens, although they received lots in other communities. In this sense, there is an important debate regarding the permanent nature or not of the types of settlements and their settlers based on the different status of *kleroukhoi* and *epoikoi* – this has consequences that it is not possible to analyse here.[29]

In any case, what is relevant for this paper is that, in the context of sustained population growth, there was at the same time an increase in the proportion of available hoplites, setting up the material conditions for many of them to obtain an income according to current standards regarding the wealth required to be a hoplite. In most cases, this was achieved through land distribution in the areas the Athenians controlled during their hegemony. This distribution of wealth was enabled by ways of equalisation among the Athenians that democracy put into practice, which, at the same time, generated disparities for their subjects due to the impositions that the Athenians put on them. We can think of: (1) the dislodgment of native populations to occupy their territories, as happened during the foundation of Brea; or (2) the submission of direct producers to ways of economic exploitation by extracting rent from them, as happened in Lesbos after the revolt led by the Mytileneans; or (3) the elimination of an entire city population through carnage and *andrapodismos*, as occurred in the case of Melos.

[27] Around 16,000 as discussed by Figueira, 1991: 171–172; between 15,000 and 20,000 according to Morris, 2009: 148.
[28] See van Wees, 2006: 374 n. 90: 40%; Hanson, 1995: 114, 366, 478–479 n. 6: 50%. Cf. Christ, 2001: 401. The total number of hoplites may have included the cleruchs, who would not be distinguished from the Athenians residing in Attica but were still included in the original tribes, and perhaps some colonists, who appeared instead as separate contingents according to their ethnic designations; cf. Figueira, 1991: 216 (Table 3); 2008: 459; see also Pébarthe, 2009: 383.
[29] On both types of foundations, see Figueira (1991: 66–73; 2008: 448–452), who maintains that both the cleruchs and the colonists retained full Athenian citizenship.

In this context, I would like to focus on these three cases in the analysis proposed here about land distribution to poor Athenians during the fifth century BCE. As I shall try to demonstrate, there was a pattern of land distribution applied in the colonised areas according to which the plot allocation system would have been organised keeping the 5-ha hoplite farm model in mind, compatible with the size of most of the zeugite properties in Attica.

The Colony at Brea

During the 440s or 430s,[30] an amendment to the decree of the foundation of the colony at Brea in Thrace, whose exact location cannot be determined,[31] pointed out *thetes* and *zeugitai* as those favoured by the distribution of land in the new colony: "and the colonists to go to Brea shall be from the *thetes* and *zeugitai*" (*IG* I^3 46, ll. 43-46).[32] Arnold Jones and Geoffrey de Ste. Croix had interpreted the decree not to exclude the first two classes of the Solonian census. Instead, no citizen from these classes would wish to emigrate due to their significant properties in Attica. They also concluded that the mention of the *thetes* and, subsequently, of the *zeugitai* would imply that the latter would have been added to the former in the amendment, assuming that a reference to the *thetes* as the only beneficiaries was made in the lost initial paragraphs of the decree.[33] According to Vincent Rosivach,

[30] The dating of the founding decree of the colony of Brea has generated controversy. Just to cite the most relevant positions: Meritt, Wade–Gery and McGregor, 1950: 286–288 (*c.* 446); Woodhead, 1952: 60 (*c.* 438); Mattingly, 1963: 258–261; 1966 (*c.* 426/5); the author later modifies his position: Mattingly, 1974: 53–56 (*c.* 435/433); all these articles are now collected in Mattingly, 1996, 87–106 (at 88–92), 117–146, and 361–385 (at 381–385), respectively. Cf. Rhodes, 2008: 505 (in the 440s or 430s). Recently, Psôma, 2009: 270–274 (*c.* 434–432); 2016 (July 433). The dating of this document is relevant for the history of Athenian imperialism, but it does not change the discussion about this colony and the selection of its members. On the importance of epigraphy for understanding of Athenian imperialism based on the issues indicated here: see Kallet, 2009; cf. Low, 2005; Papazarkadas, 2009.

[31] In Bisaltia or in the Chalcidice peninsula. The first possibility is raised by those who associate the founding of Brea with the information from Plutarch (*Per.* 11.5), about the thousand Athenians sent to Thrace to live together with the Bisaltians; in favour of this possibility: Gomme, 1945: 373; Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, 1950: 60–61; Meritt, 1967: 49–50; Meiggs, 1972: 158–159, 602. The second possibility follows from a correction to Thuc. 1.61.4: ἐς Βρέαν (instead of ἐς Βέροιαν), proposed by Bergk, 1865; Woodhead (1952: 62) follows this amendment; Alexander, 1962: 282–285; Asheri, 1969 (the author develops his argument from a fragment of Theopompus to reinforce the amendment to Thucydides); Malkin, 1984: 47 n. 20 (who also seems to accept this localisation). Another, flimsier attempt indicates the possibility that Brea has been absorbed by Amphipolis: Hansen, 1999. Cf. Isaac, 1986, 51–52; Flensted–Jensen, 2004, 848–849 ("624: Brea"). Recently, Psôma (2009) offers new arguments about the location of Brea, taking up the idea that the correct reference in Thuc. 1.61.4 is actually Brea and not Beroia; the site of this ancient colony would be close to Nea Syllata, where the modern Verghia is located, a toponym that would derive from the old name; the foregoing supposes that the location of Brea is on the western coast of Chalcidice, north of Potidaea.

[32] ἐς δὲ [Β]ρέαν ἐχ θετῶν καὶ ζε[υ]γιτῶν ἰέναι τὸς ἀπο[ί]κος. Cf. the information gathered in the *AIO* website (https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/46), with English translation by S. Lambert and P. J. Rhodes, access to the Greek text, notes and several of the available editions. For different translations of this text, with analysis of the decree, see also Graham, 1964: 59–64, 228–229; Austin and Vidal–Naquet, 1977: 323–325 (No. 99; this evidence is not included in the first French original edition); Fornara, 1983: 110–111 (No. 100); Bertrand, 1992: 60–61 (No. 24); Arnaoutoglou, 1998: 113–115 (No. 96). A decree of 387/6 BCE on the cleruchy of Lemnos (*IG* II^2 30 = *Agora* XIX, L3) would have apparently contained a clause similar to that of the founding decree of Brea. Following the previous restoration by S. Luria, from the provision on *thetes* and *zeugitai* of the Brea decree (*IG* I^3 46, ll. 43–46), Stroud (1971: 162–173, N° 23 [plate 30], at 171–172) retains for the decree on the cleruchy of Lemnos the reading [πλὴν ἱππέων κα]ὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων, "[except *hippeis* and] *pentakosiomedimnoi*", who would therefore have been excluded from the assignment of land; although, given the fragmentary condition of the stele, the mention of the *pentakosiomedimnoi* could mean both their exclusion from participating in the cleruchy and their inclusion with a specific role. Cf. de Ste. Croix, 2004: 11–12; Rosivach, 2002a: 43 n. 29.

[33] Jones, 1957: 168, mentioning a direct suggestion by de Ste. Croix; cf. de Ste. Croix, 2004: 11 and n. 27.

this would be a decision "to ensure that the new colony would benefit those at the lower end of the social scale".[34] However, if the explanation put forward by Hans van Wees is taken into account,[35] the *zeugitai* would be landowners who took part of the Athenian leisured class because they had at least 8 or 16 ha of land (depending on whether or not fallow land is considered). Therefore, they would not have participated in the new foundations or would have done so in a minimal way. Indeed, if the *zeugitai* consisted solely of those who owned more than 8 ha of land, as van Wees claims, it would be difficult to understand why they would have participated in the colonisation and moved to Brea. Unless Alfonso Moreno's view is accepted, who proposes that lots distributed outside Attica were mostly in the hands of wealthy Athenians, which I will immediately return to.[36] If, instead, the argument that the bulk of the fifth-century zeugite class was made by peasants with plots of around 40 to 60 *plethra* (3.6 to 5.4 ha) is accepted, it is understandable that some of them would have decided to move to new colonies. Perhaps they did so in the hope of obtaining larger plots than those they held in Attica or to provide land to individuals from families of zeugite status, thereby increasing their assets and/or alleviating the typical pressures for inheritance partitions. This would, thus, suggest that the *zeugitai*, or at least a large proportion, were not rich and could have been aligned with the *thetes* in the distributions of land.

Since the selection of colonists from *thetes* and *zeugitai* appears in the *addendum*, Russell Meiggs and David Lewis point out that the beneficiaries were not originally restricted to these classes,[37] and, if there had been an initial restriction, the *thetes* and not the *zeugitai* would have been those excluded, taking into account the mention of the *stratiotai* (at l. 31), "since the soldiers who were to go as *epoikoi* are likely to have belonged to that [zeugite] class", as Robin Osborne and Peter Rhodes have correctly pointed out.[38] For Thomas Figueira, the amendment in the decree on the colony at Brea restricting participation only to *thetes* and *zeugitai* puts into practice, in this case, the criteria usually applied for the cleruchies, since there would be no such restrictions in the case of *apoikiai*.[39]

In any case, the problem that underlies these debates is to determine the beneficiaries of this policy of founding cleruchies and colonies, which Arnold Jones associated with the transformation of poor *thetes* into *zeugitai* as a general rule and Alfonso Moreno has recently inverted to state that the vast majority of cleruchs would have been the wealthy *pentakosiomedimnoi*.[40] Several authors have scrutinised these categorical positions, recognising that there may have been both needy and wealthy citizens among the cleruchs. However, much of the evidence on this comes from the fourth century.[41] Nevertheless, a significant aspect unifies Jones's and Moreno's perspectives: the cleruchs would have been recipients of land that would act as absentee *rentiers*.[42] The next case study focuses on this issue.

[34] Rosivach, 2002a: 36–37.
[35] van Wees, 2001; 2006.
[36] Moreno, 2007: 77–143; 2009.
[37] Meiggs and Lewis, 1989: 128–133 (*ML* 49), at 132 (στρατιοτῶν appears at l. 31, no at l. 27).
[38] Osborne and Rhodes, 2017: 238–245 (*OR* 142), at 245. Cf. Brunt, 1966: 71 = 1993: 113; Meiggs, 1972: 158–159, 260.
[39] Figueira, 1991: 60.
[40] Jones, 1957: 168–169, 173, 176 (absentee landlords); Moreno, 2007: 94–96 (absentee owners, absentee *rentierism*), 102 (rentiers); 2009: 213–214 (rentiers).
[41] Cargill, 1987; 1995: 196; Salomon, 1997: 154–155; cf. Migeotte, 2010, 29 and n. 10; Burke, 2010: 409 n. 78.
[42] Jones' perspective is accepted, albeit with reservations, by Brunt, 1966: 81 (rentiers), 84 (absentee rentiers) = 1993: 125, 128. See references in n. 40 above.

The Cleruchy on Lesbos[43]

The situation of Lesbos after the revolt of Mytilene in 427 BCE is the representative case to support the idea that most of the Athenian cleruchs were absentee landowners, based mainly on the information given by Thucydides (3.50.2):[44]

> ὕστερον δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐκ ἔταξαν Λεσβίοις, κλήρους δὲ ποιήσαντες τῆς γῆς πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων τρισχιλίους τριακοσίους μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροὺς ἐξεῖλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους σφῶν αὐτῶν κληρούχους τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπέπεμψαν· οἷς ἀργύριον Λέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἑκάστου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύο μνᾶς φέρειν αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν.[45]
>
> After that, they did not impose tribute on the Lesbians but instead divided the island (apart from the territory of Methymna) into three thousand allotments, of which they dedicated three hundred to the gods; for the rest, they sent out [ἀπέπεμψαν] individual landlords [κληρούχους] from their own citizens, choosing them by lot. The Lesbians agreed to pay the landlords a yearly rent of two minas for each allotment and worked the land themselves.
>
> Thuc. 3.50.2 (Trans. Hammond)

The acceptance of the two minas per annum rent as the required income to be part of the hoplite status has generated scholarly discussion. This involves the question of whether the cleruchs actually settled in Lesbos and formed a military garrison there or, on the contrary, they received their allotments without leaving Athens in order to increase the number of hoplites. The latter assumption is based on the rental nature of the exploitation system imposed on the Lesbians, which would allow the cleruchs to be absent from the island. Almost a century and a half ago, Paul Foucart was perhaps the first to suggest that the cleruchs might not have lived in Lesbos.[46] Arnold Jones stated categorically and as a general rule that, because of the need of hoplites, the cleruchs did not reside at the place where they received lots but remained in Athens; he based his argument mainly on the case of Lesbos related by Thucydides.[47] Faced with the use of the verb ἀποπέμπω (to send out or to send off), Jones indicated that ἀπέπεμψαν entails here a "term of art", a technicality used in the framework of the installation of a cleruchy without necessarily implying the concrete displacement of the settlers.[48] Peter Brunt accepted Jones' vision as a possible Athenian practice since the cleruchs would have no incentive to remain on their land as settlers because of the lack of local autonomy.[49] However, he clarified the case of Lesbos, admitting that the cleruchs established themselves effectively there and focusing

[43] A complete analysis of this case has been developed in Gallego, 2022. Certain aspects are taken up again depending on the argument presented here.
[44] D.S. 12.55.10: τὴν Λέσβον ὅλην πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων χώρας κατεκληρούχησαν; the verb 'κατεκληρούχησαν' can perfectly be rendered as "they distributed to the cleruchs". Cf. Antiph. 5.76–80. On the revolt in Mytilene and its context, Gillis, 1971; Karavites, 1979; cf. Quinn, 1971; 1981: 24–38; Westlake, 1976; Wilson, 1981. Recently, see Harris (2013), whose main concern is not the revolt itself but the debate held in the Athenian Assembly.
[45] Edited by Jones and Powell, 1942.
[46] Foucart, 1878: 347, 407. Busolt (1904: 1033 and n. 1) argued, quoting Foucart among others, that the cleruchs did indeed go to Lesbos, but then they returned to Athens.
[47] Jones, 1957: 174–176.
[48] A few lines earlier (Thuc. 3.50.1), the same verb ἀπέπεμψεν is used to indicate Paches' decision to send the leaders of the rebellion to Athens.
[49] Brunt, 1966: 81–84 = 1993: 125–128.

the discussion on the moment when the Athenians left the island.[50] Also commenting on Jones' approach, Alexander Graham showed that significant evidence reveals the cleruchs' residence in the settlements outside Athens. In some cases, it could happen that colonists did not live in the allotted land but in Athens.[51] Sometimes, the cleruchs were sent to populate places from which the previous population had been dislodged, as in the cases of Histiaia, Aigina, and Melos. Finally, Alfonso Moreno has returned to Jones's and Brunt's hypotheses but without providing any new argument for the case of Lesbos. According to Moreno, the cleruchs should not be associated with the poorest Athenians because they obtained an annual income of two minas, which set these 2,700 men within the hoplite status.[52] Criticising the understanding that most of the cleruchs were absentee landlords, based on her detailed works on the Athenian cleruchies, Enrica Culasso Gastaldi has reaffirmed the idea that cleruchs were actual residents settled in the cleruchies.[53] So, in the case of Lesbos, absenteeism is related to production and not necessarily to residence on the island to which the expedition was sent to subdue the rebellious Lesbians.

What criteria were used to delimit the 3,000 lots, and what Athenians were granted land?[54] The distribution of lots may have taken the areas already exploited by the Lesbians into account because according to Thucydides: "they (the Lesbians) worked the land themselves" (αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν). Thus, to establish the annual rent related to the usual hoplite income, the Athenians would probably have considered the land previously distributed among the Lesbians. Therefore, the idea that may have been assumed to determine the amount and the size of the allotments would have been to consider the standard income of 200 drachmas associated with the hoplite status and, in addition, the typical 5-ha hoplite farm size as a notional parameter.

The proposed analysis allows us to understand a possible way of exploiting the populations and the resources of the dominated Lesbian communities, through which Athenian citizens increased their income and/or property from land distribution. Consequently, if Athens did not stipulate their expulsion, the inhabitants of the conquered areas could become leaseholders or hired workers who were exploited in what had previously been their possessions, a situation that they could see as a form of slavery, as indicated by Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz.[55]

[50] Cf. Gomme, 1959: 64; Calder III, 1959: 141; Meiggs, 1972: 261–262, 316–317. What happens later with the cleruchs of Lesbos revolves around the interpretation of other passages by Thucydides (4.52; 8.22) and, above all, of *IG* I^2 60 [= *IG* I^3 66], an inscription preserved only fragmentarily and whose dating is not clear, in which the autonomy of the Mytileneans is indicated at a date subsequent to the installation of the cleruchy: see Gomme, 1953; 1956: 329–331; Meritt, 1954; Gauthier, 1966: 82–88; Cataldi, 1976; 1983: 251–285; Hornblower, 1991: 440–441; Kallet, 1993: 144–147; Salomon, 1997: 198–200; Fornara, 2010.

[51] Graham, 1964: 181, 189.

[52] Moreno, 2007: 94–95, 98–99; 2009: 214.

[53] Culasso Gastaldi, 2009, 135–137.

[54] According to the inscription (*IG* I^2 60 = *IG* I^3 66), Hansen, Spencer and Williams (2004: 1026–1030) seem to deduce from what happened later with Mytilene ("798. Mytilene") that the land distributed among the Athenian cleruchs belonged to this community, which became a dependent *polis*. Since Mytilene had previously tried to carry out a *synoecism* to make Lesbos a single *polis*, Antissa, Eresos and Pyrrha seem to have been controlled by the Mytileneans, thus being *poleis* which in turn were dependent on Mytilene (cf. Hansen, 1998: 55, with a critique of Hampl, 1939: 1–2, who believed that Mytilene had become a *polis* without territory). Although in the entries "794. Antissa" (1021–1022, at 1022), "796: Eresos" (1023–1024, at 1023) and "799. Pyrrha" (1030–1031, at 1030), Hansen, Spencer and Williams repeat an identical formula ("The territory, or at least a part of it, was surrendered to Athenian klerouchs"), their approach is not clear. This issue has been extensively addressed in Gallego, 2022.

[55] Zelnick–Abramovitz, 2004.

The Colony of Melos

The hoplite pattern that follows from the case of Brea, and certainly from that of Lesbos too, for land distributions outside Attica would have operated as a model among the Athenians. The example of Melos allows us to reaffirm its presence:

> καὶ οἱ Μήλιοι περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αὖθις καθ᾽ ἕτερόν τι τοῦ περιτειχίσματος εἷλον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, παρόντων οὐ πολλῶν τῶν φυλάκων. καὶ ἐλθούσης στρατιᾶς ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄλλης, ὡς ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ἧς ἦρχε Φιλοκράτης ὁ Δημέου, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἤδη πολιορκούμενοι, γενομένης καὶ προδοσίας τινός, ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ξυνεχώρησαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὥστε ἐκείνους περὶ αὐτῶν βουλεῦσαι. οἱ δὲ ἀπέκτειναν Μηλίων ὅσους ἡβῶντας ἔλαβον, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἠνδραπόδισαν· τὸ δὲ χωρίον αὐτοὶ ᾤκισαν, ἀποίκους ὕστερον πεντακοσίους πέμψαντες.[56]
>
> At about this time the Melians once more took another part of the Athenian wall which was scantily guarded. In response a further force was sent out from Athens, commanded by Philocrates the son of Demeas. Now under tight siege, and also betrayed by some internal treachery, the Melians volunteered surrender to the Athenians at their absolute discretion. Of the Melian population the Athenians executed all the grown men who came into their hands and enslaved the children and women. Later they colonised [ᾤκισαν] the place themselves, sending out five hundred settlers [ἀποίκους] of their own.
>
> Thuc. 5.116.2-4 (Trans. Hammond)

Thus, as stated by Thucydides, after the defeat of the Melians, the Athenians killed the captured adult men while reducing to slavery infants and women.[57] The Melian territory was then inhabited by 500 Athenian settlers who exploited it directly. Therefore, the passage indicates that the Athenian colonists established themselves in Melos. Alfonso Moreno points out that only 500 Athenians settled on an island capable of holding up to 5,000 people,[58] but Malcolm Wagstaff and John Cherry's estimates are arbitrarily taken. While Melos could support a maximum population of up to 5,000 inhabitants, the authors suggest that the Classical era population would probably be around 2,000 or 3,000.[59] As hypothetical as these figures may be, they give an idea that Moreno seems to lose sight of when he affirms that "it would be difficult to argue that the number of Melians displaced was similar to what was installed in its place: a group of just 500 Athenian cleruchs". In order to reproduce the 500 households involved in the lots distributed, the settlers should be the 500 landowners and the members of each family, in a hypothetical calculation allowing for a wife, a son and a daughter. In these circumstances, the population would be around 2,000 people, to which one should add the dependent labour force and foreigners who could reside on the island. Of course, Moreno cannot consider this calculation because he adheres to a kind of orthodoxy that firmly believes all cleruchs were absentee owners originating from the wealthiest Athenian classes.

The number of settlers sent to this island seems to have followed the pattern of land distribution linked to hoplite farm size, as in the cases of Brea and Lesbos. In effect, the island of Melos has an area

[56] Edited by Jones and Powell, 1942.
[57] On the Athenian attack and invasion against Melos, Seaman, 1997.
[58] Moreno, 2007: 317 (see quotation below); 2009: 215.
[59] Wagstaff and Cherry, 1982: 144–145.

of 151 km^2 under a single *polis*.[60] Extending Alison Burford's survey regarding the size of 60 *plethra* or 5.4 ha for the traditional peasant farm according to Greek standards,[61] Michael Jameson highlighted precisely the case of Melos where, according to contemporary records, there would be 23.2 km^2 of cultivable land, a number below the full potential. From Burford's demonstrations, Jameson surmises an equation that fits the number of Athenian settlers into the arable area: 27 km^2 is the area occupied by 500 lots of 5.4 ha, that is, on average, 60 *plethra* each, distributed among a similar number of settlers.[62] Recent observations, congruent with the underestimation of the amount of arable land indicated by Jameson, suggest that the land suitable for agriculture would reach 3,000 ha, that is, one-fifth of the total area,[63] a calculation perfectly compatible with the 2,700 ha conjectured by Jameson, to which one-tenth reserved for the gods could be added, assuming the same criterion applied as in the case of Lesbos (a usual practice). All facts fit perfectly well with the conditions for the typical hoplite-farmer lot. These estimates are also consistent with the calculations made regarding the area under cereal cultivation around the *asty* of ancient Melos, and the number of people that could be fed from it. It is possible to admit the rationality of the number of Athenian settlers sent to Melos because not only the pattern of the 5-ha hoplite farm model but also the amount of affordable population based on the island's productive potential would have been contemplated, taking the reproduction of the households settled in Melos into account as well as an additional population that could accommodate resident foreigners and dependent labourers.

Conclusion

Finally, let us try to answer the initial question: what Athenians benefited from the allotments? Arnold Jones claimed that not only were the *thetes* converted into *zeugitai,* but the latter were prevented from sinking to thetic status,[64] in a way putting into practice Antiphon's statement in his *Against Philinus*: "to make all the *thetes* hoplites".[65] As Thomas Figueira argues:

> While a thetic monopoly may have prevailed for cleruchies, anecdotal evidence shows wide eligibility for colonies. (…) [But] even with the availability of colonial allotments to all census classes, those presenting themselves were perhaps disproportionately *thetes*, motivated by limited property holdings and restricted economic prospects at home.[66]

Accepting that most of the land distributed in cleruchies and colonies favoured the Athenian poor, generally from the thetic class,[67] the point to consider is the participation of *zeugitai* in the colonisation.

[60] Cf. Sparkes, 1982; Reger, 2004: 758–760 ("505. Melos").
[61] Burford, 1977/78; 1993: 27–28, 67–72, 113–116.
[62] Jameson, 1977/78: 125 n. 13. The author supported his calculations in the records displayed in the *Ἀποτελέσματα τῆς ἀπογραφῆς γεωργίας-κτηνοτροφίας τῆς 19 Μαρτίου 1961*, Athênai: Ἐθνική Στατιστική Ὑπηρεσία τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1964. Cf. also Jameson, 1992: 137, 142; 1994: 58. On the Melian environmental and ecological conditions for the development of agrarian activities, see the chapters compiled by Renfrew and Wagstaff, 1982: 73–180, 245–290.
[63] Cf. Dawson, 2014: 217.
[64] Jones, 1957: 169.
[65] This assertion is recorded by Harpocration, *s.v.* θῆτες (= fr. 61 Thalheim; fr. 63 Sauppe; fr. 6 Maidment).
[66] Figueira, 2008: 441–442.
[67] It is difficult to determine whether the *thetes* who participated in colonising expeditions came from rural or urban activities. For Figueira (1991: 180), it is possible that they were agricultural workers and temporary agrarian labour force that would cultivate marginal plots more than *thetes* from the *asty*; cf. Pébarthe, 2009: 383.

Suppose we admit that in the fifth century, the zeugite class comprised farmers who mostly owned lots of 40-60 *plethra*. In that case, that is, hoplite farms of 4/5 ha on average, it is possible to explain why there were *zeugitai* who agreed to move to new colonies, with the prospect of obtaining larger lots than those they already owned in Attica,[68] or more likely, to provide land to members of zeugite families with several male descendants, given the problem of inheritance partition. This practice probably shows an increase during the Archidamian War, affecting a vital part of the zeugite class, due to the Athenian strategy of sheltering rural inhabitants within the city walls during the Spartan devastation of the Attic fields.[69]

Then, land distribution in colonies and cleruchies points to the effective displacement of benefited Athenians to the new settlements, both in the cases of Brea and Melos and in that of Lesbos as well, whose members are mentioned as *apoikoi* and *kleroukhoi*, respectively. The possible differences between these types of settlers, that is, up to what point the former did not retain Athenian citizenship while the latter did,[70] do not seem to have been relevant to the effective migration: both left Athens to take advantage of lots of land distributed outside Attica. Even though we cannot make an exact, quantitative estimate, it is reasonable to postulate that the land ownership structure in fifth-century Attica would not have been so different from the better-known situation of Athens in the fourth century.[71] In this context, the cleruchic and colonial distributions increased the number of hoplite farmers from an Athenian origin by transferring a significant citizen population, mostly from the lower classes, to the cleruchies and colonies. Despite this, of course, a greater number of landless Athenians will most likely still have resided in Athens from the mid-fifth century up to the last years of the Peloponnesian War than during the fourth century.[72]

The hoplite farm model as a reference for plot distribution and/or rent collection that is perceived from the cases of Lesbos and Melos, and indeed also in Brea, should have operated as a pattern for the Athenian state. In principle, the *thetes* were the primary beneficiaries of this colonising policy, but, as far as it is possible to discern, certain segments of the zeugite class could also take advantage of it. Thus, the characteristic pattern of the hoplite-zeugite status in terms of ownership and/or income appears to have been used as a criterion. Thomas Figueira puts it clearly:[73] the *thetes*' aspiration to access hoplite status was based on a socially accepted norm, which added the material improvement inherent in the promotion into the zeugite class. To the extent that the link between hoplite status and zeugite ownership was in force, the *thetes* could only improve their situation through the promotion into the immediate upper class, not through subsidies. Since lot allocation had the zeugite income as a reference, the distributed plots allowed the beneficiaries to emulate hoplite farmers, thereby increasing

[68] Valdés Guía and Gallego, 2010: 261–262; Gallego and Valdés Guía, 2014: 157–158.
[69] Cf. Figueira, 1991: 31–32; 2008: 459.
[70] Cf. Figueira, 1991: 66–73; 2008: 448–452.
[71] Cf. Gallego, 2016; 2017.
[72] This sector of landless Athenians involved in non-agricultural tasks included thousands of citizens, which is evident from the hypothetical figures of the total adult male citizen population of land-owning Athenians and migrants to the colonies and cleruchies that have been discussed in this paper. The labor specialization of these Athenians not linked to agriculture shows an enormous variety that leads us to think about the development of an important and diversified demand. On this point, see the complete study by Lewis, 2020. The evidence at our disposal does not allow us to answer adequately. Still, I would be inclined to think that a part of these Athenians specialized in non-agricultural tasks could have been linked to domestic units with small plots of land in the vicinity of Athens, as can be inferred from the hypothesis of Bintliff (2006a: 16–17) on the density of demes in the *asty* region and the continuous communities around the walled city practising market-gardening.
[73] Figueira, 1991: 182–183; 2008: 438, 458–459.

the number of troops. At the same time, this was articulated with a strong social prejudice that equated full political empowerment with zeugite status. Ultimately, the populations dominated by Athens' hegemony were those that paid for this promotion of the Athenian poor, not only transferring their lands due to the conquest but also as a dependent labour force insofar as they were compelled to remain in their former plots and be subjected to some form of exploitation.

Thus, the pattern of the hoplite farm should have been a stimulus for the effective migration of poor Athenians, improving their situation and, at the same time, raising their status. Simultaneously, the communities affected by this imperial policy suffered the development of inner disparities employing the seizure of lands and/or exploitation of the population that subsidised democratic equalisation among the Athenians. As Ian Morris has pointed out in "The Greater Athenian State",[74] this was a one-way process; by appropriating all or part of the lands of other communities, Athens came to produce one of the most serious attempts against the principle of city-state autonomy, opening the essential economic resources of the *arkhe* to centralised exploitation, which largely favoured the poorest Athenians.

[74] Morris, 2009: 149.

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Abstract (Spanish) | Resumen

El objetivo principal de esta investigación radica en la distribución de tierras llevada a cabo por Atenas fuera del Ática durante el siglo V a.C., que favoreció mayoritariamente a los atenienses pobres según la perspectiva que se sostiene en este artículo. Apenas finalizadas las Guerras Médicas, Atenas comenzó a implementar una política de fundación de colonias y cleruquías mediante la cual llegó a establecer más de treinta asentamientos hasta los últimos años de la Guerra del Peloponeso. La suposición básica es que la mayoría de los colonos y clerucos procedían de las clases bajas atenienses, que abarcaban a todos los thêtes y a la mayor parte de los zeugîtai, tomando en cuenta las clases censitarias establecidas por Solón. Al formular esta política de colonización, Atenas parece haber seguido un patrón de asignación de tierras según el cual los beneficiarios recibían lotes que presumiblemente los equiparaban con los agricultores hoplitas conforme al tamaño de las explotaciones asignadas y/o a los ingresos obtenidos. Para sustentar esto, primero se define la situación de los zeugîtai y los thêtes durante los siglos VI y V a.C.; en segundo lugar, se presentan algunas cifras aproximadas de la población total de ciudadanos varones adultos y el número de hoplitas atenienses, para imaginar el posible número de ciudadanos disponibles para emigrar; en tercer lugar, se analizan tres situaciones que muestran, de una forma u otra, la validez del modelo de la granja hoplita como patrón para las asignaciones de tierras en los asentamientos atenienses y los posibles beneficiarios de esta política de colonización: la colonia de Brea, la cleruquía de Lesbos y la colonia de Melos; finalmente, se proponen algunas conclusiones sobre la política ateniense de distribución de tierras que favoreció a las clases bajas.

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Euripides' *Hippolytos* in Aristophanes: Εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν through Ἱπολυταριστοφανίζειν.

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Abstract

Aristophanes' paratragic and parodic relationship with Euripides has long been discussed in classical scholarship mainly due to the numerous references to Euripides and his tragedies in Aristophanes' comedies. This article focuses on the use and re-use of the myth of Hippolytos in Aristophanes, as it is found in Euripides' extant play. The references to Hippolytos found in Aristophanes' extant and fragmentary plays will be discussed. One of the main purposes of this paper is to bring into attention not only the references to Euripides' *Hippolytos* in the extant plays but also in the fragments, which have been rather interesting in terms of their scale and nature as they are very different to the ones found in the extant plays, where the focus of the parody is mainly the character of Phaidra. Aristophanes is donning Euripides' costumes to serve his purposes and scenarios. The present essay navigates through how Aristophanes used the same Euripidean disguise not just to εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν but specifically to ἱπολυτίζειν within his *oeuvre*.

Keywords

Euripides; Hippolytos; Aristophanes; ancient drama; parody

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Introduction

The numerous references to Euripides encountered in Aristophanes' comedies prove that the comic poet had a particular preference for Euripides.[1] As I discuss in this article, Euripides, his works, and heroes are frequently mentioned in Aristophanes' plays, often in a parodic way. Bakhtin seems right on the spot when he suggests that every elevated genre (such as tragedy) had its parodic counterpart and that parody was an essential element in Greek Comedy's structure.[2] This article focuses on how Aristophanes used Euripides' *Hippolytos* across his *oeuvre*, both in fully preserved and fragmentary plays. This is the main contribution and originality of the present work.

Before I examine those paratragic instances closely, it is necessary to offer a brief overview of the scholarship on ancient paratragedy and parody. Aristotle first spoke of parody (παρῳδία) in his *Poetics*, referring to Hegemon of Thasos, one of the first parodists.[3] He discusses the different ways of representing various characters in different art forms and comments on the fact that the characters appear either better (e.g. in Homer) or worse (e.g. in Hegemon) than they actually are. Householder argues that Aristotle presents this parody and its relation to epic as an analogue to comedy's relation to tragedy.[4] Lelièvre also refers to Aristotle and divides parody into two kinds: the simpler and the more sophisticated. His work explores instances of parody in Greek and Roman literature, too.[5] Highet's monograph is a rich volume covering parody and satire across different genres and times, exploring its sophisticated nature, forms, and functions.[6] Parody, as a definition, is a dynamic term that has developed and changed over time. Indeed, Rose discusses the term's etymology, starting with Greek literature, and offering an overview of the scholarly debate over it. She uses various examples from literature, such as epic parody and the *Batrachomyomachia*.[7] Epic and tragedy were common targets of parody because of the characters' nature. As Beye argues, these genres' characters often risked being viewed as caricatures due to their exaggerated one-dimensional attitude and actions. Thus, they qualified perfectly as victims of ridicule.[8] So did the characters in *Hippolytos*, with their absurd characteristics and actions,[9] to illustrate an example.

Phaidra fell for her stepson (among all other available options), who happens to be sworn to chastity. She went as far as to commit suicide after his rejection, although there was no risk of him revealing the truth to his father or anyone, as he had taken an oath of silence. Then, there is a Theseus who just takes Phaidra's accusations at face value, without giving a chance to Hippolytos to explain, and actually wishes for his only son's death! Even the nurse seemed to be acting out of proportion when, instead of trying to bring her mistress to her senses, she convinced her to try and win Hippolytos' love. This plot bears many comic elements as it is, and as soon as the approach of the author is changed, it could be turned into a comedy.

Aristophanes' paratragic and parodic relationship with Euripides has long been discussed in classical scholarship, mainly due to the numerous references to Euripides and his tragedies in Aristophanes'

[1] Schwinge, 2002; Medda, Mitto, and Pattoni, 2000; Miles, 2017: 177.
[2] Bakhtin, 1981. Scholars have engaged with Bakhtin's theory of carnival (e.g. Hutcheon, 1985) and some (including myself) disagree with his simplistic definition of parody as burlesque, for example, see Rose, 1993: 164; Silk, 2000: 299.
[3] Arist. *Poet.* 48a12.
[4] Householder, 1944.
[5] Lelièvre, 1954.
[6] Highet, 2015.
[7] Rose, 1993.
[8] Beye, 2019: 174.
[9] Cf. Orth, 2020: 488–490.

comedies. To name but a few modern works, one of the pioneering works on the matter was Rau's, who discusses specific scenes of parody throughout Aristophanes' plays and works in an index of paratragic scenes extending beyond Euripides.[10] Sell describes the literary appropriation of other genres by Greek Comedy as "a means of raising the public profile of the individual (comic) poet and the genre as a whole" on the first page of his introduction.[11] Aristophanes takes a world, a tragic world, and turns it 'Upside Down' using his sophisticated parodic techniques and creating a special relationship between the parodist and the parodied, as well as having an important effect on the audience.[12] The comic poet employs these techniques in the two mechanisms of parody and paratragedy, through which Aristophanes' particular interest in the experimenting Euripides is revealed.[13] Aristophanes' technique of making comedy using the serious, high-brow genre of tragedy was part of a personal competition between himself and the tragic poet.[14] Indeed, a multi-faceted intertextual relationship exists between the two playwrights, which also involves an element of admiration that Aristophanes demonstrates towards Euripides through imitation.[15]

In the course of this article, it will become evident that Aristophanes' parody is a type of imitation that goes beyond mere copying, as we also see in Euripides' paratragic and parodic references in *Thesmophoriazousai*,[16] which is a comedy that arguably best depicts the Aristophanic parody of Euripides.[17] Euripides was Aristophanes' favourite target[18] and, as he was notorious for the negative portrayal of his women, choosing the myth of Hippolytos, where Phaidra featured, would suffice to attack Euripides as a poet through ridicule, parody, and mockery. In this case, Aristophanes is trying to teach his audience how to think and act through mockery directed at Euripides, on the one hand, and his audience, on the other, as an eye-opener servant of his *polis*. Let us not forget that the audience had awarded Euripides the first prize for this tragedy.[19]

This article focuses on the use and re-use of the myth of Hippolytos in Aristophanes, as it is found in Euripides' *Hippolytos*. The title indicates precisely this: how Aristophanes imitates Euripides and brings the tragic poet and his play(s) to the audience's mind (i.e. εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν: *Euripidaristophanising*)[20] through the numerous references to a specific play, *Hippolytos*. Hence, Aristophanes is *Hippolytaristophanising* (ἱππολυταριστοφανίζειν: imitating and using this specific tragedy) in his comedies to serve his own purposes, which I am exploring below. The numerous references to *Hippolytos* throughout Aristophanes' career indicate a long-standing tradition of ἱππολυταριστοφανίζειν, which does not seem to have faded away or been affected by time. The references to this tragedy found in Aristophanes' fully and fragmentarily preserved plays will be discussed, as well as their reception and recognition by the audience. Aristophanes achieved this

[10] Rau, 1967.
[11] Sells, 2019.
[12] Goldhill, 1991.
[13] Silk, 1993; 2000.
[14] Lauriola, 2010: 115–132.
[15] Gil, 2013.
[16] Zeitlin, 1996: 387–408.
[17] Nesselrath, 1993: 186; Diamantakou-Agathou, 2007: 177–183.
[18] Cf. Schwinge (2002: 6–7), who argues that Aristophanes shows a clear preference towards Euripides and his poetry as he uses him broadly in his comedies (only in his fully preserved comedies he quotes forty-six Euripidean tragedies), something that also demonstrates that Aristophanes acknowledged his high poetic value.
[19] Cf. Taillardat, 1965: 264–267; Slater, 2002: 51–58; Lauriola, 2016: 91.
[20] The term is found in Cratinos (fr. 342 K-A). Several personal attacks such as this were part of the competition between the comic poets. The rivalry between Aristophanes and Cratinos is best represented in the former's *Knights*, where Cratinos is said to be an old drunk (ll. 526–36). Further on the term and fragment, see Nesselrath, 1993: 185; O'Sullivan, 2006.

either explicitly by mentioning the tragedy and its characters by name or implicitly through the context or the linguistic adoption of the tragic style. Thus, one of the primary purposes of this paper is to bring to attention not only the references to Euripides' *Hippolytos* in Aristophanes' plays that have survived in full but also in fragments. Indeed, the latter are rather interesting in scale and nature as they are very different from those found in the fully preserved plays, where the focus of the parody is mainly the character of Phaidra. In his effort to parody the Euripidean play, Aristophanes is imitating, copying, and using the tragedian's ideas in his plays.[21] In a spirit of competition, he uses Euripides' ideas to show that he is better; one could say he uses his rival's weapons against himself.[22] In other words, he rejects Euripides's work by adopting and adapting it.[23] Aristophanes dons Euripides' costumes to serve his own purposes and scenarios, as he puts it in his *Acharnians* (ll. 430–478). The present essay navigates through the ways in which Aristophanes used the same Euripidean disguise not just to εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν (*Euripidaristophanizein*) but specifically to ἱππολυταριστοφανίζειν (*Hippolytaristophanizein*) within his *oeuvre*.

The paper is divided into two sections according to the clarity of paratragic/parodic references found in Aristophanes' works, which is greatly affected by the state of their preservation. Thus, in the first section, I examine the fully preserved plays, whose complete form allows for a clear overview and examination of each paratragic reference within its context. In the second section, I discuss the paratragic references found in Aristophanes' fragmentary plays, which are traced in isolated fragments and can be inferred from what we know about the now-lost play through other sources. The first section is further divided into two subsections, the first of which includes the most prominent cases of *Hippolytaristophanizein* found in the fully preserved plays. Those are indisputable cases of paratragic references to Euripides' tragedy, mentioning the play, author, characters, and using the Euripidean text with only slight alterations. The second subsection includes the paratragic references in the fully preserved comedies, which are not as straightforward or explicitly presented as in the first subsection. Those are briefer, and often Aristophanes interfered more; however, they still demonstrate enough elements to qualify as paratragic references. Both sections contribute significantly to our understanding of how Aristophanes used *Hippolytos* in his plays, mainly because the comic poet adopts different techniques. In the fully preserved plays, the paratragic references are embedded in an independent scenario, generally irrelevant to the original plot of the tragedy. In contrast, in the fragmentarily preserved play *Anagyros*, Aristophanes seems to be going to much greater lengths with his *imitatio/aemulatio*, following, at least in broad strokes, the tragic scenario.

An Overview of Eurippides' *Hippolytos*

It would be helpful to start with an overview of the plot of the Euripidean tragedy and move to the corresponding references in Aristophanes' comedies, the most important of which perhaps being *Anagyros*, as it appears to follow a very similar scenario, according to the *testimonia*.[24] The Euripidean

[21] Of which he has also been accused during his time (Pl. *Ap.* 19c; Cratin. fr. 342 K-A); cf. Schwinge, 2002: 16.
[22] Cf. Lauriola, 2010: 18.
[23] For an extensive analysis of the technique *praeteritio* in Aristophanes, see Lauriola, 2012.
[24] *Proverbia Coisliniana* 30; Suda *α* 1842. See the discussion below on the evidence of *Hippolytos* in *Anagyros*. Henderson, 2008: 129. Aristophanes has produced several plays with mythical subjects, many of which are likely to have been composed as parodies of specific tragedies, such as *Polyeidos, Daidalos, Kokalos, Aiolosikon, Anagyros, Lemnian Women*.

Hippolytos was produced in 428 BCE and chronologically came first.[25] The play starts with Aphrodite explaining the grim story the audience is about to witness (ll. 1–57). She justifies her vengeful plan to destroy Hippolytos through the *eros* she instigates in his stepmother, Phaidra (ll. 27-28), by blaming Hippolytos for his *hybris* against her (ll. 10–23). Thus, according to Aphrodite, Hippolytos' refusal to honour the goddess is what brings about his imminent death. Hippolytos appears in the next scene, where his comrade advises him on the proper behaviour towards Aphrodite (ll. 88–120). The scene with the Troizenian *chorus* and a sick Phaidra follows (ll. 121–175). The nurse engages in a dialogue with Phaidra in an attempt to discover the cause of her illness, but Phaidra has not yet offered a clear answer (ll. 176–266). The *chorus*, equally unable to find an explanation, expresses their concern to the nurse, who remains incapable of convincing Phaidra to reveal the cause of her toils (ll. 267–303). The nurse then proceeds to a second attempt to unveil the truth (ll. 304–336). They are left alone, and Phaidra finally reveals the pain that devours her life from within (ll. 337–352).

In the next part, the nurse shares with the *chorus* her despair at hearing of Phaidra's godsent plight (ll. 353–372). Phaidra also addresses the *chorus* and unfolds her thoughts on how to fight the love she feels. However, she has been helpless, and death seems to be the only solution. She also expresses her contempt towards adulterers. The *chorus* responds, showing their admiration for her wise words (ll. 373–432). The emphasis is clearly placed on Aphrodite's agency, and the nurse hurries to lift any blame from her mistress and prevent her from taking her own life, claiming that it is preferable to save her life than her decency. The nurse convinces the sceptical Phaidra that she knows the solution to her condition (ll. 433–524).

A *stasimon* follows where the *chorus* sings of Eros' destructive power (ll. 525–564). The second episode commences with a *stichomythia* between Phaidra and the *chorus*. Phaidra is in distress once again as she understands that Hippolytos is now aware of her feelings for him (ll. 565–600). The nurse reveals the terrible secret to Hippolytos in a desperate attempt to help her mistress. Hippolytos, then, reacts in the worst possible way, feeling appalled and ashamed (ll. 601–668). Phaidra now blames her nurse for the new misery she brought upon her. She dismisses her and turns to the *chorus*, the only ally she can confide in and rely on their silence. Phaidra, having uttered her last ominous words, leaves (ll. 669–731). Then, in the second *stasimon*, the *chorus* sings of Phaidra's arrival, wedding, and death (ll. 732–775).

The third episode starts with a lamenting *chorus* and a nurse tending to Phaidra's body. Theseus arrives and, as soon as the *chorus* leader informs him of his wife's death, he joins the rest in their lament. Theseus demands to know the reason for her death but to no avail, until he discovers the letter Phaidra wrote to him blaming Hippolytos for rape (ll. 776–865). Despite the *chorus*' attempt to dissuade him, the outraged Theseus prays to Poseidon for his son's death. Hippolytos arrives to see his father, who orders him to exile. Hippolytos tries unsuccessfully to sway his father's mind (ll. 866–1101). After a brief choral song about Hippolytos' exile, the messenger arrives. Theseus' prayer has been answered and he is about to receive his son half-dead. Before the last encounter of father and son, the *chorus* sings again of Eros and Aphrodite's powers (ll. 1162–1281). Artemis, as the *dea-ex-machina*, reveals Aphrodite's plot to Theseus and thus restores Hippolytos' honour in his eyes (ll. 1282–1341). The tragedy ends with the reconciliation between father and son before Hippolytos' death (ll. 1342–1466). With the plot of the tragedy presented, we can now proceed to highlight the uses of the play in Aristophanes, discussing first those Aristophanic works that survive in full.

[25] For a more sceptical opinion on whether the fully surviving version was the winning version, see Gibert (1997: 90, n. 20), who also questions the generally accepted order of plays.

Hippolytos in Aristophanes' Extant Plays

Aristophanes refers back to *Hippolytos* many times in his extant plays, even though these references serve an utterly original scenario that has nothing to do with the plot of the Euripidean play. Subsequently, the instances where Aristophanes uses the tragedy in his surviving plays are presented and discussed, starting with those which include a striking paratragedy. In the following pages, I navigate through the paratragic references to *Hippolytos* that are encountered in Aristophanes' comedies, analysing the mechanics and purposes of those cases of intertextuality.[26] I first present the original text of the Euripidean play along with the Aristophanic use; then, I discuss the case.

I. Aristophanes, *Knights*

	ΝΙΚΙΑΣ πῶς ἂν σύ μοι λέξειας ἁμὲ χρὴ λέγειν; ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ἀλλ᾽ εἰπὲ θαρρῶν, εἶτα κἀγὼ σοὶ φράσω.
ΦΑΙΔΡΑ πῶς ἂν σύ μοι λέξειας ἁμὲ χρὴ λέγειν;	ΝΙΚΙΑΣ ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔνι μοι τὸ θρέττε. πῶς ἂν οὖν ποτε εἴποιμ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸ δῆτα κομψευριπικῶς;[27]
PHAIDRA If only you could speak the words that I must speak! Eur. *Hipp.* 345	NIKIAS If only you could speak for me the words that I must speak! DEMOSTHENES Come, have courage and speak, and then I will tell you what I think. NIKIAS I dare not. How could I ever express my thoughts in the refined Euripidean ways? Ar. *Eq.* 14–18

In this segment of *Knights* (produced in 424 BCE), which comes from the play's prologue, the two slaves of Demos appear complaining about Paphlagon, the new slave who has been the cause of their suffering since the day he arrived at their home. Aristophanes uses Phaidra's difficulty in expressing her love towards her stepson in the slaves' dialogue, explicitly bringing Euripides into the audience's mind by mentioning his name (*κομψευριπικῶς*). Aristophanes picked up on this specific element of a Euripidean hero, who appears rather unheroic in the sense that the main hero of a play should be upfront and express their true mind. Phaidra's lack of courage to reveal the real reason for her death to Theseus has diminished her to the status of a slave; a true hero should be brave enough to speak the truth.[28] Thus, we have the two slaves using Euripides' words when they discuss their dire misfortunes

[26] All translations of the original texts belong to the author.
[27] Cf. Lauriola (2016: 84, 89–90), who suggests that the initial scene of the prologue can be seen as a parody of the Nurse-Phaidra exchange in the tragedy (ll. 310–351), and especially his argument on the connotations of *κομψευριπικῶς*, referring to Euripides' clever reworking and restaging of a more acceptable version of his Phaidra even if the main plot remained unchanged.
[28] Another typical accusation by Aristophanes towards Euripides was the degrading of his heroes, cf. Lauriora, 2012: 78. Similar references are found in Ar. *Ach.* 410–438 and *Vesp.* 840–849, 1063–1064.

under a horrible master, Demos. It is difficult and inappropriate for Phaidra to speak of her lust for her stepson, just as it is inappropriate for a slave to speak ill of their master. Aristophanes quotes the Euripidean line but does not rely solely upon the audience's memory; rather, he explicitly states that those words are the Euripidean way of speaking.

This seems to be the first instance of a parody of Hippolytos among the extant plays of Aristophanes. Lauriola supports that this is a reference to the second version of the play (*Hippolytos Stephanephoros*, the play that has survived in full), while the rest of the parodic references are connected to the shameless Phaidra of the first (the fragmentary *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos*).[29] However, this differentiation is not necessarily as apparent in the comic references, as (a) we know that both Phaidras are bad,[30] and (b) we cannot be absolutely certain that the line did not exist in the lost play too. It does seem that the first Phaidra was much more shameless than the second.[31] However, their actions make them equally wrong, albeit possibly much more openly and explicitly in the first version.

II. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousai*

In the next case, the nurse appears desperate after Hippolytos' rejection and reaction to her revelation about her mistress's lust toward him and seeks some mortal or divine help:

ΤΡΟΦΟΣ
τίς ἂν θεῶν ἀρωγὸς ἢ τίς ἂν βροτῶν
πάρεδρος ἢ ξυνεργὸς ἀδίκων ἔργων
φανείη;

ΧΟΡΟΣ
τίς οὖν σοι, τίς ἂν σύμμαχος ἐκ θεῶν
ἀθανάτων ἔλθοι ξὺν ἀδίκοις ἔργοις;

NURSE
What god, what mortal shall appear to help me,
sit at my side, and lend hand to my unjust deeds?
Eur. *Hipp.* 675–677

CHORUS
And what immortal god
would protect you for your crime?
Ar. *Thesm.* 715–716

In *Thesmophoriazousai*, Euripides learns that the women are fed up with his accusations against them in his plays and are planning to decide on a punishment for him. Euripides' plan to affect the outcome of the women's council is to infiltrate it using his kin, Mnesilochos, who is to attend the women's council disguised as a woman. However, the women become aware of the fraud and threaten both Euripides and Mnesilochos. The *chorus* is addressing Mnesilochos, whose disguise has been revealed and is trying to escape, having seized a woman's baby. Only a few lines before, the *chorus* advocates the existence of gods and claims that no one should ever doubt their existence, another concealed attack on Euripides (ll. 668–685). The chorus once again opposes Euripides and his friend who have worked together against them, bringing back to memory the nurse's seeking of an ally to unjust deeds, just like Mnesilochos has been Euripides' accomplice in the comedy.

[29] Lauriola, 2016: 82.
[30] Gibert (1997: 95) questions the generally accepted order of the plays in his article.
[31] Phaidra tries to seduce Hippolytos and possibly but not certainly offers him his father's power. Hippolytos turns his face away and covers it as a reaction to the shameless words he hears. Cf. Webster (1967: 65–71), who discusses the reconstruction of specific scenes of the lost play, which have also taken into account Seneca's *Phaedra* as well as other sources that refer to the Euripidean plays. Another suggestion behind Hippolytos' gesture is the shame he feels because he has given in to his stepmother's advances; see Roisman (1999), who discusses the reconstructions of the lost play.

The *Thesmophoriazousai* were produced seventeen years after *Hippolytos*, therefore Aristophanes needs to make sure that the audience will be able to pick up on the paratragic references. He achieves this by not only making Euripides his central character but also by mentioning his Phaidra by name a few lines earlier, when Mnesilochos attempts to defend his kin, as we can see in the next segment, which contains a reference to Euripides' Phaidra and what he did *not* do with her:

> ΜΝΗΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ
> εἰ δὲ Φαίδραν λοιδορεῖ,
> ἡμῖν τί τοῦτ᾽ ἔστ᾽; οὐδ᾽ ἐκεῖν᾽ εἴρηκέ πω,
> ὡς ἡ γυνὴ δεικνῦσα τἀνδρὶ τοὔγκυκλον
> †ὑπ᾽ αὐγὰς † οἷόν ἐστιν, ἐγκεκαλυμμένον
> τὸν μοιχὸν ἐξέπεμψεν, οὐκ εἴρηκέ πω.
>
> Ar. *Thesm.* 497–501

> MNESILOCHOS
> But if he abuses Phaidra,
> what's it to us? Nor has he spoken about that,
> how the woman, while showing her husband her cloak
> to see in daylight, with his head covered
> sent the adulterer away, he hasn't spoken about that.

Here, Mnesilochos is trying to defend Euripides by arguing that he did not present such a shameful image of women, although he does bring to the audience's mind his Phaidra, probably of the previous play, *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos*, if we take into account the choice of the word *ἐγκεκαλυμμένον*.[32] Aristophanes here promotes the use and effectiveness of his work by arguing that, although Euripides tried to speak of the women's utter shamelessness, he did not manage to do it satisfactorily. In contrast, Aristophanes' comedy mentions and criticises their unacceptable behaviour and presents things realistically and in their actual dimensions. In other words, Aristophanes' character manages to mention the women's mischievous actions to a full extent, whereas Euripides' character only manages to understate them and thus misrepresents them. Aristophanes' comedy succeeded where Euripides' tragedy failed.[33]

Phaidra is mentioned elsewhere in *Thesmophoriazousai* always as the exemplary negative portrait of a woman: e.g. "All without exception are Phaidras" (Ar. *Thesm.* 550), where she is mentioned as the paradigm of vile women in contrast to all the chaste and good women such as Penelope.[34] Similarly, Phaidra is referred to as a whore by Aischylos in the *Frogs*:

> ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ
> ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μὰ Δί᾽ οὐ Φαίδρας ἐποίουν πόρνας οὐδὲ Σθενεβοίας.[35]
>
> Ar. *Ran.* 1043

[32] In the extant play, Phaidra appears with her head covered by her veil (ll. 243–244), an indication of the shameful state she is in, of which she is fully aware.
[33] Cf. Cowan, 2008: 319–320. For an opposing view, according to which what we actually have here is the reconciliation between Euripides and comedy and not the second's triumph over the first, see Karamanou, 2013: 159–160.
[34] Cf. Lauriola, 2016: 75–77.
[35] As Webster (1967: 65) argues, if Aristophanes is including Phaidra in the whore kind, he must have had in mind the shameless Phaidra of the first *Hippolytos*, who would have been much more forward in her advances and perhaps even completed the union with her stepson. That said, even just her intention for such a union might have just as well placed her in the said group of women.

AISCHYLOS
But by God, I never created whores like Phaidra and Stheneboia.

In this part of the comedy, we are in the middle of a debate between the two tragic poets, where each one is trying to prove that his poetry is better by scorning his opponent's work. In his speech, Aischylos accuses Euripides of being a lousy teacher who based his plays on deplorable, unworthy characters occupying a central place on stage. Euripides brought terrible examples for the new generation (ll. 1053–1056), whereas he used noble role models such as the hero Lamachus (1039).[36] Aischylos also mentions the nurse's role in *Hippolytos* as the procuress (*προαγωγός*) in a long list of Euripides' bad female roles:

οὐ προαγωγοὺς κατέδειξ᾽ οὗτος;

Ar. *Ran.* 1078

Didn't he show pimps?

The following line from *Hippolytos* is quoted in parodic contexts and with some alterations in the *Thesmophoriazousai* and the *Frogs*. In the tragedy, we are at the point when the nurse has sworn Hippolytos to silence and has revealed Phaidra's feelings to him. The nurse reminds Hippolytos of his oath and implores him not to break it, while this is his immediate response:

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ
ἡ γλῶσσ᾽ ὀμώμοχ᾽, ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος.

HIPPOLYTOS
It was my tongue that swore it, not my mind.

Eur. *Hipp.* 612

ΜΝΗΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ
μέμνησο τοίνυν ταῦθ᾽, ὅτι ἡ φρὴν ὤμοσεν,
ἡ γλῶττα δ᾽ οὐκ ὀμώμοκ᾽: οὐδ᾽ ὅρκωσ᾽ ἐγώ.

MNESILOCHOS
Remember this, it's the heart that has sworn and not the tongue; for the oaths of the tongue do not concern me.

Ar. *Thesm.* 275–276

At this point in the *Thesmophoriazousai*, Euripides has convinced Mnesilochos to dress as a woman to infiltrate the women's council at the Thesmophoria and defend him. Mnesilochos agrees but makes Euripides swear that he will run to his aid should he need him. And in the *Frogs*, we come across a similar *locus* twice. The first one appears at the beginning of the play, where Dionysos explains to Heracles his plan to travel to the underworld to bring back a creative poet who uttered lines like the one quoted from Euripides.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ
γλῶτταν δ᾽ ἐπιορκήσασαν ἰδίᾳ τῆς φρενός.

Ar. *Ran.* 103

[36] Although this is an Aristophanic fabrication and not what actually Aischylos could have had in mind, given that Lamachos was a general between 430–414 BCE; cf. Marshall, 2020: 70. For a discussion on Lamachos and how Aristophanes used him in his plays, see McGlew, 2002, esp. 83–84.

DIONYSUS
and tongue that swears without the mind's consent.

The second reference comes towards the end of the play, where Dionysos chooses Aischylos, admitting that it is what his soul desires despite what his tongue swore to Euripides.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ
αὕτη σφῷν κρίσις γενήσεται:
αἱρήσομαι γὰρ ὅνπερ ἡ ψυχὴ θέλει.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ
μεμνημένος νυν τῶν θεῶν οὓς ὤμοσας
ἦ μὴν ἀπάξειν μ᾽ οἴκαδ᾽, αἱροῦ τοὺς φίλους.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ
ἡ γλῶττ᾽ ὀμώμοκ᾽, Αἰσχύλον δ᾽ αἱρήσομαι.

Ar. *Ran*. 1468–1471

DIONYSOS
This will be my decision for them:
I'll choose the one my soul desires.

EURIPIDES
Remember now the Gods by whom you swore
to take me home, and choose your friends.

DIONYSOS
My tongue did swear, but Aischylos I choose.

Hippolytos actually kept his oath, unlike Dionysos, although he mentions the importance of the mental disposition in an oath, which does not always agree with the spoken words. Aristophanes seems to be criticising this ambiguity in Euripides' words and perhaps also Euripides' character, as it has been argued.[37] Using the Euripidean line, Dionysos' actual choice makes more sense as he indeed does the opposite of what he promised in words. This makes the scene funnier and serves the purpose of parody very well. Aristophanes produced his *Frogs* more than two decades after Euripides produced *Hippolytos*. Therefore, Aristophanes needed to point out every line from Euripides to ensure that the audience would understand every reference, as he could not rely solely on the audience's memory.

In *Hippolytos*, Phaidra expresses her love for the hero not directly but indirectly when she speaks of her love for horses (ll. 217–221, 227–231),[38] a love that she shares with Hippolytos (l. 581), hence it is something that brings her closer to him.[39] Hippolytos had just returned from hunting and announced that he would train with his horses; Phaidra's wish to be with the horses is her wish to be where Hippolytos is. Phaidra's concealed way of expressing her genuine emotions for her stepson is

[37] Marshall, 2020: 92.
[38] Roth, 2015: 103. See also Mastromarco-Totaro (2006: 453, n. 26) for the sexual connotations of the otherwise referring to horses' word (κελητίζω).
[39] Cf. Lauriola, 2016: 76.

also apparent enough for the audience to connect with Hippolytos, whose life is intertwined with the horses, including his name. Aristophanes picked up on this and decided to parody the corresponding lines in the *Thesmophoriazousai*. Euripides' initial thought is to ask Agathon to go to the Thesmophoria in order to defend him. At the beginning of the *stichomythia*, Agathon and Mnesilochos are discussing Agathon's poetry. Agathon argues that a poet must assume his heroes' characters and habits regardless of gender. Hence, Mnesilochos' following comment is that he needs to make love like a horse if his hero is Phaidra, who apparently loves horses.

ΜΝΗΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ
Οὐκοῦν κελητίζεις,[40] ὅταν Φαίδραν ποιῇς;

Ar. *Thesm.* 153

MNESILOCHOS
Wouldn't you assume the lovemaking horse position, when you compose a Phaidra?

III. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*

In the *Acharnians*, there is another slightly distorted line from *Hippolytos* in the dialogue between the chorus and the nurse, where the chorus asks about the reason behind Phaidra's condition. However, the context here is very different: this is the scene with the Megarian's reaction when the informer arrives and interrupts his transaction with Dikaiopolis, during which he was trying to sell his two daughters as pigs to Dikaiopolis. Aristophanes uses the exact phrase, but in Attic not Doric dialect (as in the Euripidean text), as in the comedy they are uttered by the Megarian, whom the informer denounces and treats as a public enemy.[41] In *Hippolytos*, the chorus refers to the troubles of Phaidra, not its own. One could perceive Phaidra as the enemy of morality wanting to break her marital vows on the one hand and seeking union with her stepson on the other (that is, if we disregard entirely the divine agency in the tragedy). She is the negative example that should be denounced by the Athenians, just like the Megarian in the *Acharnians*. The comedy was produced only three years after *Hippolytos*, therefore it was relatively fresh in the audience's mind. Euripides is explicitly an object of ridicule in the comedy (ll. 393–489) and the audience would have been able to pick up on textual paratragic references.

ΧΟΡΟΣ
οὐδ᾽ ἥτις ἀρχὴ τῶνδε πημάτων ἔφυ;

CHORUS
she wouldn't even say what the beginning of her troubles was?

Eur. *Hipp.* 272

ΜΕΓΑΡΕΥΣ
τοῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖν᾽, ἵκει πάλιν
ὅθενπερ ἀρχὰ τῶν κακῶν ἁμῖν ἔφυ.

MEGARIAN
there it is again, the beginning of our troubles.

Ar. *Ach.* 821

[40] See *LSJ*, s.v. κελητίζω.
[41] Cf. Olson (2002: 277), who also notes the tragic tone of the verse.

In the same comedy, there is another slightly altered line from the messenger's description of Hippolytos' death to the hero's father:

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
σποδούμενος μὲν πρὸς πέτραις φίλον κάρα
θραύων τε σάρκας, δεινὰ δ᾽ ἐξαυδῶν κλύειν.

MESSENGER
smashing his dear head against the rocks
and tearing his flesh to pieces, uttering things
dreadful to hear.
she wouldn't even say what the beginning of
her troubles was?

Eur. *Hipp.* 1238–1239

ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ ΛΑΜΑΧΟΥ
καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κατέαγε περὶ λίθῳ πεσών,
καὶ Γοργόν᾽ ἐξήγειρεν ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος.
πτίλον δὲ τὸ μέγα κομπολακύθου πεσὸν
πρὸς ταῖς πέτραισι, δεινὸν ἐξηύδα μέλος.

SLAVE OF LAMACHOS
broke his head falling on a stone,
while his Gorgon shot far away from his shield.
his large braggadocio helmet plume fell down
towards the rocks, he uttered these dreadful
words.

Ar. *Ach.* 1180–1183

Lamachos appears as the warmonger neighbour of Dikaiopolis. Lamachos seeks to continue the ongoing war between Athens and Sparta, while Dikaiopolis plots to end it through a secret personal peace treaty. Dikaiopolis was preparing for a feast while Lamachos was preparing for a battle. Towards the end of the comedy, Dikaiopolis appears joyful, whereas Lamachos is ridiculed for his silly fall while jumping over a ditch. Aristophanes seems to be borrowing Euripides' words to describe the funny fall and injury of Lamachos in the same tragic set-up in which Hippolytos died, albeit under much more horrible circumstances.[42]

IV. *Hippolytaristophanizein*: The Other References

So far, we have explored the most striking cases of paratragic and parodic references to Euripides' *Hippolytos* in the Aristophanic extant plays, i.e., *Knights*, *Thesmophoriazousai*, *Frogs*, *Acharnians*. In those instances, Aristophanes makes his point of reference sufficiently clear, either by explicitly mentioning the name of Euripides and his characters, embedding characteristic Euripidean segments in his comedies, or both. The rest of this section includes less direct cases of *Hippolytaristophanizein* in the extant plays, which still contain elements deemed subtle parodies of *Hippolytos*.

In the following example, what starts as a philosophical question overnight becomes a question about someone's gluttony in *Knights* and ornithology in *Frogs*.

ΦΑΙΔΡΑ
ἤδη ποτ᾽ ἄλλως νυκτὸς ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ
θνητῶν ἐφρόντισ᾽ ᾗ διέφθαρται βίος.

Eur. *Hipp.* 375–376

PHAIDRA
Before now on another occasion during the night's long time,
I have pondered how it is that the life of mortals is destroyed.

[42] Note especially the elevated word ἐξηύδα, which does not appear in other comedies, and the word μέλος, which reinforces the paratragic tone of the Slave's speech, as it refers to the lament sung by tragic heroes and heroines (Olson, 2002: 355).

In *Hippolytos*, this is the point where Phaidra has just confessed her plight and speaks to the chorus of her nocturnal philosophical thoughts regarding human nature. She then unfolds her train of thought, leading to her decision to die as the only resolution left. As Roth has noted,[43] in these lines, Phaidra seems to be applying earlier thoughts to her current situation in a way that is reminiscent of a typical introduction to a debate. This is similar to how a speaker refers to earlier experiences to emphasise the specificity of the present situation or his competence. For a direct analogy, we can follow Thucydides (3.37.1): πολλάκις μὲν ἤδη ἔγωγε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἔγνων δημοκρατίαν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἑτέρων ἄρχειν, μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑμετέρᾳ περὶ Μυτιληναίων μεταμελείᾳ.[44] In Phaidra's situation, the question seems to regard the cause of man's destruction as being divine or human since the chorus and nurse have just spoken about Aphrodite's agency.

The relevant segment from the *Knights* comes towards the end of the play, after the Sausage-Seller has won the debate and has kicked Cleon out of Demos' house. Then, the chorus mentions a couple of examples of Athenian figures who deserve mockery. In the *Frogs*, the same lines are encountered at the beginning of the *agon* between Aischylos and Euripides. Euripides is belittling Aischylos' poetry, pointing out that he creates unnecessarily complex words, one of which apparently had puzzled God Dionysos in the past, who interestingly discusses it using Euripidean lyrics. This was a reference to the yellow hippo-rooster, which Aischylos right away explains that it was a symbol engraved on ships.[45]

ΧΟΡΟΣ
ἦ πολλάκις ἐννυχίαισι
φροντίσι συγγεγένημαι,
καὶ διεζήτηχ᾽ ὁπόθεν ποτὲ φαύλως ἐσθίει
Κλεώνυμος.

CHORUS
Many times, nocturnal thoughts weigh on me,
and I wonder whence comes this fearful voracity of Cleonymos.

Ar. *Eq.* 1290–1294

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ
νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγὼ γοῦν
ἤδη ποτ᾽ ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ νυκτὸς διηγρύπνησα
τὸν ξουθὸν ἱππαλεκτρυόνα ζητῶν τίς ἐστιν ὄρνις.

DIONYSOS
By the gods,
Through one night I did stay sleepless the whole time,
wondering what sort of bird the yellow hip-porooster was.
towards the rocks, he uttered these dreadful words.

Ar. *Ran.* 930–932

Cleonymos was an Athenian politician in the 420s and became an Aristophanic stock character who appeared in many of his comedies as a liar, glutton, and coward.[46] Cleonymos is explicitly mentioned in the *Knights* but could also be alluded to in the *Frogs* segment. He is also mentioned in comparison to a bird in the *Acharnians* (ll. 88–89), in the scene where the Persian ambassadors have reached the assembly and describe the rich feast they had at the Great King's court, part of which was a giant

[43] Roth, 2015: 131.
[44] Trans. I have often, on other occasions, thought a democracy incapable of dominion over others, but most of all now for your current repentance concerning the Mytilenaeans.
[45] For further discussion on the mechanics of parody of the Aischylian pompousness in this instance see Nikolaidou-Arabatzi, 2020: 266–267.
[46] For example, Ar. *Nub*. 353–354, 398–400, 670–680; *Pax* 444–446, 670–679, 1295–1297; *Av*. 1472–1481; *Eq*. 947–958; *Vesp*. 15–23, 822–823.

bird, thrice the size of Cleonymos, called Cheat (*Φέναξ*). In the *Birds* (ll. 287–290), he appears as a gluttonous bright-coloured bird.

In *Lysistrata*, there is a line that is reminiscent of two lines that are part of the description of Phaidra's condition and feelings in *Hippolytos* (ll. 239–249), as he describes them herself:

ΦΑΙΔΡΑ	ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ
κρύπτε: κατ᾽ ὄσσων δάκρυ μοι βαίνει,	τί χρὼς τέτραπται; τί δάκρυον κατείβεται;
καὶ ἐπ᾽ αἰσχύνην ὄμμα τέτραπται.	
PHAIDRA	LYSISTRATA
cover it: the tears stream down from my eyes and my gaze is turned to shame.	Why has your colour changed? Why do you weep?
Eur. *Hipp.* 245–246	Ar. *Lys.* 127

Phaidra gives a detailed account of her miserable fortune in the aforementioned verses of the tragedy. She describes how a superhuman power brought this *mania* and torture upon her, due to which she is in pain and feels ashamed. Hence, Phaidra requests her nurse to cover her head. In *Lysistrata*, the relevant line is attested in the heroine's revelation to the council of her plan to end the war through sexual abstinence; this is where she addresses the other women and describes their reaction to it (ll. 124–128).[47] Indeed, the setting of the two plays is very different; however, there are some significant similarities. In both cases, the lines are part of the core of their respective plays, where the main heroines describe the issue at hand. In fact, on the one hand, while Phaidra appears as the *polis*' enemy, acting opposite to its ethical code, Lysistrata, on the other hand, appears as the saviour of the *polis*. Even more so, Lysistrata acts to benefit all citizens (and *poleis*), as war is detrimental to all parties.[48] This should not have been a mere coincidence. If we would like to take it one step further, it is a case of paratragic reference that reinforces the intertextual dialogue between the two poets: Lysistrata is reacting to Phaidra's description of state, or Lysistrata asks and Phaidra responds. The positioning of the scene in the centre of the play, similar to that of the tragedy, the linguistic choices, and the stylistic changes attest to this. Finally, in both cases, the reason behind the tears is directly connected to love(making). *Lysistrata* was produced in 411 BCE., a few years after *Hippolytos*. However, Aristophanes' learnt audience would have been able to understand that reference relying on the context and the assumed lofty style of the verse, even if the play or character is not mentioned by name in this instance.

The *Hippolytaristophanizein* in *Lysistrata* continues in Kinesias' words, who misses his dearest wife and cannot enjoy anything without her, just like Theseus feels lost and cannot enjoy anything upon the news of his son's fate and Aphrodite's plan.

ΘΗΣΕΥΣ	ΚΙΝΗΣΙΑΣ
ὄλωλα, τέκνον, οὐδέ μοι χάρις βίου.	ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἔχω γε τῷ βίῳ χάριν
Eur. *Hipp*. 1408	Ar. *Lys*. 865
THESEUS	KINESIAS
I am lost, my son, I have no joy in life.	I have no joy in life

[47] Questions written in the tragic style, cf. Landfester, 2019: 81.
[48] Cf. Schwinge (2002: 17), who interprets the figure of Lysistrata, the saviour of the *polis*, as a 'reversed' Phaidra.

This is a suitable choice by Aristophanes as both examples describe the loss of a person most dear to the characters. The former lost him literally and the latter metaphorically. Kinesias and Theseus have brought this loss upon themselves, even though a female agent is directly involved. Lysistrata's plan took Myrrhine away from Kinesias and Aphrodites' plan took Hippolytos (and Phaidra) away from Theseus. Yet, both characters share responsibility: Kinesias participated in the war, and Theseus wished for his son's death. Kinesias' reportedly tragic lament is comically dissolved by the obscene comic language in his last phrase ἔστυκα γάρ.[49]

Hippolytos in Aristophanes' fragments

The play that presents great interest regarding the reception of *Hippolytos* by Aristophanes is *Anagyros*,[50] as it appears to have followed the plot closely. We cannot be sure of *Anagyros*' production date, but it was probably composed between 420 and 411 BCE.[51] This time, Aristophanes used a different technique to invigorate the audience's memory by adopting the main elements of *Hippolytos'* plot. Unfortunately, the surviving fragments are too few to give us the complete picture of the play's plot. However, we do know the plot from the two testimonia. According to them, the local guardian "spirit" or "hero" punished an old man who cut down his holy grove.[52] The punishment resembles the one inflicted by Aphrodite in the Euripidean play: the man's mistress fell in love with his son. The son rejected her advances, and then she decided to avenge him by denouncing him to his father as licentious. The enraged father mutilated his son and immured him to his house or banished him to a deserted island. The story now becomes grimmer than the tragic counterpart as what follows is the suicide of both the father and his concubine.[53] The element of the three deaths is not really a factor of differentiation but rather another allusion to Euripides' play, where the symbolic death of Theseus is added to the physical deaths of Phaidra and Hippolytos. Theseus feels completely ruined and lifeless after losing the two people dearest to him, so he does not surprise us when he includes himself in his account of the deaths caused by Aphrodite.

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ
τρεῖς ὄντας ἡμᾶς[54] ὤλεσ᾽, ἤισθημαι, Κύπρις.[55]

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ
πατέρα γε καὶ σὲ καὶ τρίτην ξυνάορον.

Eur. *Hipp.* 1403–1404

[49] Kinesias' lament also reminds us of Admetos' lament over his lost wife, Alkestis, in the homonymous Euripidean drama (cf. Landfester, 2019: 185).
[50] For the most thorough and updated edition and analysis of the play, see Orth, 2017: 215–349.
[51] Pellegrino, 2015: 58; Orth, 2017: 233.
[52] Which is reminiscent of Erysichthon's story as it is recorded in Callimachos' *Hymn to Demetra*. According to the poet, Erysicthon and his comrades cut down Demetra's sacred grove, ignoring her warnings. The goddess punished Erysichthon so harshly that it cost him his life.
[53] The sources for these versions of the plot of *Anagyros* are Suda *α* 1842 and *Proverbia Coisliniana* 30. Suda also draws a connection with Euripides' *Phoinix*, an assessment supported by Demianczuk (1912: 13) and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1962: 537–539), who use the reference to Phoinix's birthplace in fr. 54 as evidence. Gil (2010: 160-161), however, rejects it based on the absence of supporting elements in the rest of the fragments.
[54] Note: Here, this conjecture is followed as more convincing than 'μία'.
[55] For more on this see Roth's (2015: 340–341) notes on the line.

HIPPOLYTOS
She destroyed the three of us, even though she is one, I see it.
ARTEMIS
The father, you, and the wife.

The similarities between the two plays are apparent and go beyond the female agency and cause of all troubles, as is the case in the fully preserved plays.[56] Even though it is impossible to know the details of the character of the old man's second wife/concubine, the cause of the family's troubles is the old man's impious behaviour, who also happened to have an adulterous relationship. I would also like to suggest the following correspondence between the main characters of the two plays, to highlight the connection between them better:

Anagyros – Aphrodite
Mistress/Stepmother – Phaidra
Old Man – Theseus
Son – Hippolytos

Anagyros is the deity who was provoked and caused the destruction of a household similar to Aphrodite. The old man's mistress in the comedy fell for his son, just like Phaidra did. The old man, as another Theseus, seeks the punishment/destruction of his son. The son dies as an immediate consequence of the father's actions in both plays. Apart from the plot elements, two of the surviving fragments of the play draw an obvious connection to the tragedy:

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ
ἀλλὰ χαιρέτω πόλις
καὶ γαῖ' Ἐρεχθέως· ὦ πέδον
Τροζήνιον,
ὡς ἐγκαθηβᾶν πόλλ' ἔχεις εὐδαίμονα,
χαῖρ'· ὕστατον γάρ σ' εἰσορῶν
προσφθέγγομαι.
Eur. *Hipp*. 1094–1097

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ
ὦ χαῖρε καὶ σύ, χαῖρε πολλά
μοι, πάτερ.
Eur. *Hipp*. 1453

χαίρειν μὲν Ἅλον τὸν Φθιώτην
χαίρειν δ' ἀτεχνῶς Ἀναγυρασίους.
Ar. *Anagyros* fr. 54 K–A

HIPPOLYTOS
farewell city

and home of Erechtheus; O
Troezenian land,
you offer so many blessings to pass
one's youth,
farewell; looking at you for the last
time I address you.

HIPPOLYTOS
And I bid you farewell
too, my father.

Farewell Fthiotic Alos
and simply farewell to you, too,
Anagyrasians.

In the tragedy, Hippolytos leaves after facing his father's accusations, resulting in his banishment from his land. In the comedy, we do not know who the speaker of the fragment is, but it could be the son,

[56] Cf. Lauriola, 2016: 75.

since, according to one of the versions transmitted in the *testimonia*,[57] the son was sent by his father to a desolate island. In l. 1453, Hippolytos departs from life after being reconciled with his father, whom he bids goodbye to. We cannot but notice the difference between the tragic and the comic 'farewells'. Aristophanes commences his 'farewell' in the same simple way as Euripides but then keeps it just as simple, adding a self-referential comment on it (ἀτεχνῶς), which could be seen in contrast to the more sophisticated and poetic way of Hippolytos' tragic goodbye.

The fragments of the play contain quite a few references to horses and horse equipment,[58] indicating that there was at least one such scene in the comedy,[59] just like in the tragedy,[60] such as the following characteristic examples:

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ καὶ καταψήχειν χρεὼν	ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ψήκτραισιν ἵππων ἐκτενίζομεν τρίχας	ψῆχ' ἠρέμα τὸν βουκέφαλοντόν <τε> κοππατίαν.
Eur. *Hipp*. 110–111	Eur. *Hipp.* 1174	Ar. *Anagyros* fr. 43 K–A[61]
HIPPOLYTOS and you must rub down	MESSENGER we were scraping down the horses' hair with the curry-combs	gently curry/groom/comb the bull-headed (horse) and the one branded with the letter koppa.

Along the same lines is the following fragment from *Anagyros*, which refers to Phaidra's expressed love for hunting:

ΦΑΙΔΡΑ πρὸς θεῶν· ἔραμαι κυσὶ θωύξαι καὶ παρὰ χαίταν ξανθὰν ῥῖψαι Θεσσαλὸν ὄρπακ', ἐπίλογχον ἔχουσ' ἐν χειρὶ βέλος.	πρὸς θεῶν· ἔραμαι τέττιγα φαγεῖν καὶ κερκώπην θηρευσαμένη καλάμῳ λεπτῷ.
Eur. *Hipp*. 219–222	Ar. *Anagyros* fr. 53 K–A
PHAIDRA By the gods; I long to shout to the hounds and to fly past the blond hair a Thessalian javelin, holding a sharp weapon in my hand.	By the gods, I long to eat a cicada and a cricket after I've caught them with a thin reed.

The parody of the Euripidean play is evident in a fragment which contains humoristic allusions to Athenian gastronomic preferences, shifting the emphasis from the metaphorical hunger for love to the

[57] *Proverbia Coisliniana* 30. According to the other version transmitted by Suda *α* 1842, the father mutilated and immured his son.
[58] Cf. the discussion above (Section II) regarding the implicit connection to Hippolytos' name and the connotations of Phaidra's expressed love for horses.
[59] Fragments 42, 43, 44, 61, 64, 66.
[60] For example, Eur. *Hipp*. 110–112, 229–231, 1173–1174, 1186–1189.
[61] Spoken probably by the father or son addressing the servant. The son is suggested by Bergk *ap*. Meineke (1840: 961). Both suggestions (father or son) are discussed by Kock (1880: 403). The available evidence is hardly enough to make any secure assumptions on the matter. The same kind of expensive horses we find in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, mentioned by Strepsiades, who bought a horse with the letter *koppa* branded on its head for his son (ll. 23, 438).

literal craving for food.[62] In the Euripidean tragedy, the speaker is Phaidra, who desires to hunt fawns. Again, we do not know the speaker of the fragment but judging from the similar excerpt in *Hippolytos*, in which Phaidra is the speaker, it could be the old man's mistress, who is hungry and would be happy with a cicada.[63] The comedy makes animals and weapons smaller; this could be interpreted as a way in which Aristophanes seeks to belittle and thus ridicule Euripides' poetry.[64]

Another reference to the Euripidean tragedy that is not solely referring to Phaidra but also Theseus is found in Aristophanes' *Polyeidos*, where Theseus and Phaidra's marriage has been characterised as 'mixing fire with fire', therefore both are seen as equally dangerous and prone to trouble.

> ἰδοὺ δίδωμι τήνδ' ἐγὼ γυναῖκά σοι
> Φαίδραν· ἐπὶ πῦρ δὲ πῦρ ἔοιχ' ἥκειν ἄγων.
>
> Er. *Polyeidos* fr. 469 K–A

> There, I give you this woman,
> Phaidra; though I do seem to have come bringing fire to a fire.

The speaker is probably Minos, who officially gives his daughter to Theseus to marry, even though he is aware of the risks that this union entails if we consider Theseus' previous treatment of Minos' other daughter, Ariadne, and their general history.[65] Arguably, Aristophanes is also bringing attention to Euripides' play, where this fear is confirmed in the worst possible way.[66]

Conclusion

The multiple references to this particular tragedy evidence that it had some value to Aristophanes. It was one of his favourites, with the great king Theseus being deceived by a woman and torn to pieces emotionally and the house of the Attic hero being afflicted by an impure, quasi-incestuous love — all these things that everyone in the audience should avoid. It comes as no surprise that he chose to refer to it so much in his plays.

I argue that references to Euripides' *Hippolytos* abound in Aristophanes' works, even if it is not always clear which of the two versions he is picking at (i.e. the fragmentarily survived *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos* or the fully preserved *Hippolytos Stephanephoros*). However, this is not as important since both versions were composed by the same poet and referred to the same myth, a myth prevalent

[62] Borthwick, 1967: 111; also, Rau (1967: 153 n. 46), who sees a reference to *Hipp.* 215–216, 219, 230 in Aristophanes' *Vesp.* 749–751. However, the linguistic similarities are not as obvious as in the rest of the examples in this article. This fragment was probably part of the scene depicted on a bell crater that shows a comedic depiction of the Phaidra-Nurse scene in *Hippolytos*, behind which Green (2013: esp. 121–124, 130) also suspects an Aristophanic model.
[63] Tsantsanoglou (1984: 82–84) connects this fragment with fr. 55 suggesting that out of extreme hunger, they would have to catch even mice to eat: κἂν μηδὲν ἕλῃς, στῆσον μυάγραν [trans. and if you catch nothing, set a mousetrap].
[64] Cf. Orth, 2017: 224, 290.
[65] For more details on Theseus' deeds, see Walker, 1995: 15–20.
[66] Another interesting point in reference to this passage is made by Sommerstein (2014: 178), who draws our attention to *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos* fr. 429: "a chorus of women describe womankind as *ἀντὶ πυρὸς… ἄλλο πῦρ μεῖζον… πολὺ δυσμαχώτερον* [trans. in place of fire… a different fire, greater and much harder to fight]. K-A on Aristophanes fr. 469 sees no connection ('minus apte comparatur'), but Collard and Cropp on Euripides fr. 429 take the Aristophanic fragment as 'almost certainly an allusion' to the *HippK* passage".

in Athens as it involved the great local hero Theseus. In this article, I examined the most striking references of paratragedy along with some less obvious ones, but they are still reminiscent of the tragic play linguistically. I have demonstrated that Aristophanes refers to the tragic myth in the *Knights*, *Frogs*, *Thesmophoriazousai, Acharnians*, *Lysistrata*, and the fragmentary *Anagyros* and *Polyeidos*.

Euripides' Phaidra speaks of words that should not be uttered (*Knights*) and is guilty of unjust deeds (*Thesmophoriazousai*). Phaidra is the leading example of an immoral woman (*Frogs*) who expresses her affection towards Hippolytos through references to horses (*Thesmophoriazousai, Anagyros*). Hippolytos', Mnesilochos', and Dionysos' mouthed vows do not match what is on their mind. In the *Acharnians*, the Megarian borrows the chorus' line to speak of the beginning of troubles which could be signalled by the presence of a woman like Phaidra and Hippolytos' tragic death is made comic through Lamachos' funny accident. Phaidra's philosophical wanderings are degraded to wanderings about gluttony and birds (in the *Knights* and *Frogs*). In *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes opens a dialogue between Phaidra and Lysistrata over the tears of the former, and Theseus and Kinesias appear to have lost what they held most dear to their life. Phaidra's hunting is minimised in *Anagyros*, a play that demonstrates that a comic author could easily handle a tragic myth, creating a parody of a tragedy at the same time.

In the *Knights*, Aristophanes uses Phaidra's words and ensures that the audience will pick up on them by mentioning the "elegant Euripidean ways". *Hippolytos* was produced four years before the *Knights*; therefore, Aristophanes wanted to be sure that everyone in the audience could draw the connection and remember the play's details. In the *Frogs*, the audience should bring and keep Euripides' work in mind as he is central to the plot; it is a comedy that contains a type of commentary on the tragedian's style and choice of characters. It was produced twenty-three years after *Hippolytos*, so Aristophanes had to be very clear regarding the paratragic references; everyone would remember the myth but not necessarily the details of the tragic script. A similar device is employed in *Thesmophoriazousai*, which was produced seventeen years after *Hippolytos* and in which Euripides is a main character again. The *Acharnians* were produced much closer to *Hippolytos*, only three years later, so it is possible that the audience would have been able to draw on the parodic references more easily. However, explicit reference to Euripides is made again by Aristophanes (*Ach*. 393–489). *Lysistrata*, produced seventeen years after *Hippolytos*, is a more challenging case of paratragedy for the contemporary audience acknowledgement, although Euripides and his portrayal of women as shameless is briefly mentioned here too (ll. 283, 368–369). *Anagyros*, produced approximately eleven years after its model, must not have been too hard to be recognised as a parody as it followed the original's plot closely, even though it is not possible to know the exact level of similarity between the tragic and the comic play. Finally, in its few surviving fragments, *Polyeidos,* produced at least fifteen years after Hippolytos, contains a parodic reference to the myth and a linguistic paratragic reference to *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos*.

Aristophanes refers to Euripides in a comic/parodic way and ridicules what the tragedian did by copying him in a way that effectively uses Euripides' creations/ideas in his comedies. In a spirit of competition and as part of the poetic discourse, the comic poet opposes Euripides through comic/parodic imitation. Whether by embodying Hippolytos' story in his comedies or dedicating a whole play to it through parody and ridicule, Aristophanes seeks to prove that he is better than his fellow playwright, elevating his work as more important and worthy of their attention.[67] He mocks Euripides to reveal his cheap tricks to his audience, who were easily tricked into giving him the first prize for the production of *Hippolytos*.

[67] Cf. Lauriola, 2010: 74.

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Abstract (Greek) | Περίληψη

Το παρόν άρθρο επικεντρώνεται στη επανειλημμένη χρήση του μύθου του Ιππόλυτου στον Αριστοφάνη, όπως αυτός απαντά στον *Ιππόλυτο* του Ευριπίδη. Ο τίτλος του άρθρου υποδηλώνει ακριβώς αυτό, πώς ο Αριστοφάνης μιμείται τον Ευριπίδη και ανακαλεί τον τραγικό ποιητή και τα έργα του στον νου του θεατή (δηλ. *Εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν*) μέσα από τις πολυάριθμες αναφορές στο συγκεκριμένο έργο, τον *Ιππόλυτο*. Επομένως, θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι ο Αριστοφάνης Ιπολυταριστοφανίζει (*Ἱπολυταριστοφανίζειν*: μιμείται και επιστρατεύει δημιουργικά τη συγκεκριμένη τραγωδία) στις κωμωδίες του για να εξυπηρετήσει τους δικούς του σκοπούς, οι οποίοι και διερευνώνται εκτενώς στην πορεία αυτού του άρθρου. Συζητούνται οι αναφορές στον *Ιππόλυτο* που βρίσκονται στα πλήρως και αποσπασματικά σωζόμενα έργα του Αριστοφάνη, καθώς και η υποδοχή και η αναγνώρισή τους από το κοινό. Ο Αριστοφάνης το πετυχαίνει αυτό είτε άμεσα με την ονομαστική αναφορά στην τραγωδία και τους χαρακτήρες της είτε έμμεσα μέσω του περικείμενου και της γλωσσικής υιοθέτησης του τραγικού ύφους.

Το άρθρο ξεκινάει με το θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο και τον ορισμό της έννοιας της παρωδίας και της παρατραγωδίας, και πώς αυτές υλοποιούνται στα διάφορα λογοτεχνικά είδη της αρχαιότητας. Το έπος και η τραγωδία αποτελούσαν τυπικό στόχο παρωδίας λόγω της φύσης των χαρακτήρων που αναδείκνυαν. Οι χαρακτήρες αυτών των ειδών κινδύνευαν συχνά να θεωρηθούν καρικατούρες λόγω της υπερβολικής μονοδιάστατης συμπεριφοράς και των πράξεων τους. Έτσι, πληρούσαν άριστα τις προϋποθέσεις για να μετατραπούν σε θύματα γελοιοποίησης. Το ίδιο συμβαίνει και με τους χαρακτήρες του *Ιππόλυτου* με τα παράλογα χαρακτηριστικά και τις πράξεις τους. Η Φαίδρα ερωτεύεται τον θετό γιο της (ανάμεσα σε όλες τις άλλες διαθέσιμες επιλογές), ο οποίος τυχαίνει να έχει πάρει όρκο αγνότητας, και φτάνει στο σημείο να αυτοκτονήσει μετά την απόρριψή του (αν και δεν υπήρχε κίνδυνος να αποκαλύψει την αλήθεια στον πατέρα του ή σε οποιονδήποτε άλλον, καθώς είχε δώσει όρκο σιωπής). Έπειτα, ο Θησέας πιστεύει χωρίς δεύτερη σκέψη τις κατηγορίες της Φαίδρας, δεν δίνει την ευκαιρία στον Ιππόλυτο να δώσει εξηγήσεις και εύχεται τον θάνατο του μοναχογιού του! Ακόμα και η νοσοκόμα φάνηκε να ενεργεί παράλογα, όταν, αντί να προσπαθήσει να συνετίσει την κυρά της, την έπεισε να προσπαθήσει να κερδίσει την αγάπη του Ιππόλυτου. Πρόκειται για μια πλοκή που φέρει πολλά κωμικά στοιχεία ως έχει και που αν αλλάξει η προσέγγιση του συγγραφέα, θα μπορούσε να μετατραπεί σε κωμωδία.

Η τεχνική του Αριστοφάνη να συνθέσει κωμωδία χρησιμοποιώντας το σοβαρό, υψηλού επιπέδου είδος της τραγωδίας ήταν μέρος ενός προσωπικού ανταγωνισμού μεταξύ του ίδιου και του τραγικού ποιητή. Πράγματι, υπάρχει μια πολύπλευρη διακειμενική σχέση μεταξύ των δύο ποιητών, η οποία περιλαμβάνει επίσης ένα στοιχείο θαυμασμού που δείχνει ο Αριστοφάνης προς τον Ευριπίδη μέσω της μίμησης. Οι αναφορές στον *Ιππόλυτο* του Ευριπίδη αφθονούν στα έργα του Αριστοφάνη, ακόμη κι αν δεν είναι πάντοτε σαφές ποια από τις δύο ευριπίδειες εκδοχές επιλέγει (δηλαδή τον *Ιππόλυτο Καλυπτόμενο*, που έχει διασωθεί αποσπασματικά ή τον *Ιππόλυτο Στεφανηφόρο*, που έχει διασωθεί πλήρως). Ωστόσο, αυτό δεν είναι τόσο σημαντικό, δεδομένου ότι και οι δύο εκδοχές γράφτηκαν από τον ίδιο ποιητή και αναφέρονταν στον ίδιο ακριβώς μύθο, έναν μύθο που ήταν πολύ δημοφιλής στην Αθήνα, καθώς αφορούσε τον μεγάλο της ήρωα Θησέα. Σε αυτό το άρθρο εξετάζονται οι πιο πρόδηλες περιπτώσεις παρατραγωδίας μαζί με κάποιες λιγότερο προφανείς, που όμως εξακολουθούν να θυμίζουν γλωσσικά το τραγικό έργο. Συγκεκριμένα, συζητούνται οι σχετικές αναφορές στους *Ιππείς*, στους *Βατράχους*, στις *Θεσμοφοριάζουσες*, στους *Αχαρνείς*, στη *Λυσιστράτη* και στα αποσπασματικά σωζόμενα έργα *Ανάγυρος* και *Πολύειδος*.

Το κύριο μέρος του άρθρου αποτελείται από δύο ενότητες, στις οποίες μοιράστηκε το υλικό ανάλογα με τη σαφήνεια των παρατραγικών/παροδικών αναφορών που εντοπίζονται στα έργα του Αριστοφάνη, η οποία επηρεάζεται σε μεγάλο βαθμό από την κατάσταση διατήρησης του έργου. Έτσι, στην πρώτη ενότητα εξετάστηκαν τα πλήρως σωζόμενα έργα, των οποίων η ολοκληρωμένη κατάσταση επιτρέπει την επισκόπηση και εξέταση κάθε παρατραγικής αναφοράς στο πλαίσιό της. Στη δεύτερη ενότητα, εξετάζονται οι παρατραγικές αναφορές στα αποσπασματικά έργα του Αριστοφάνη, οι οποίες εντοπίζονται σε μεμονωμένα αποσπάσματα και μπορούν να συναχθούν από όσα γνωρίζουμε για το χαμένο πλέον έργο μέσω άλλων πηγών. Η πρώτη ενότητα διαιρέθηκε περαιτέρω σε δύο υπο-ενότητες, η πρώτη από τις οποίες περιλαμβάνει τις πιο εξέχουσες περιπτώσεις *Ἱπολυταριστοφανίζειν* που απαντούν στα πλήρως σωζόμενα δράματα. Αυτές είναι αδιαμφισβήτητες περιπτώσεις παρατραγικών αναφορών στην τραγωδία του Ευριπίδη που αναφέρουν ρητά το έργο, τον συγγραφέα, τους χαρακτήρες και χρησιμοποιούν το ευριπίδειο κείμενο με μικρές μόνο τροποποιήσεις. Η δεύτερη υπο-ενότητα περιλαμβάνει τις παρατραγικές αναφορές στις πλήρως σωζόμενες κωμωδίες, οι οποίες δεν είναι τόσο σαφείς ή ρητά διατυπωμένες όσο στην πρώτη υπο-ενότητα. Αυτές είναι πιο σύντομες, ενώ ο Αριστοφάνης έχει παρέμβει αρκετά σε ορισμένες από αυτές. Ωστόσο, εξακολουθούν να παρουσιάζουν αρκετά στοιχεία ώστε να μπορούν να χαρακτηριστούν ως παρατραγικές αναφορές. Οι δύο ενότητες συμβάλλουν σημαντικά στην κατανόηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο ο Αριστοφάνης χρησιμοποίησε τον *Ιππόλυτο* στα έργα του, κυρίως επειδή ο κωμικός ποιητής υιοθετεί διαφορετικές τεχνικές. Στα πλήρως σωζόμενα έργα, οι παρατραγικές αναφορές είναι ενσωματωμένες σε ένα ανεξάρτητο σενάριο, που γενικά δεν σχετίζεται με την πλοκή της τραγωδίας. Αντίθετα, στο αποσπασματικά σωζόμενο έργο *Ανάγυρος*, ο Αριστοφάνης φαίνεται να προχωράει σε πολύ μεγαλύτερης κλίμακας *imitatio* και *aemulatio*, ακολουθώντας (τουλάχιστον σε αδρές γραμμές) το τραγικό σενάριο.

Εν κατακλείδι, ο Αριστοφάνης αναφέρεται στον Ευριπίδη με κωμικό/παρωδιακό τρόπο και γελοιοποιεί αυτό που κάνει ο τραγωδός αντιγράφοντάς τον, κατά κάποιον τρόπο, καθώς χρησιμοποιεί τις δημιουργίες/ιδέες του Ευριπίδη στις δικές του κωμωδίες. Μέσα σε ένα πνεύμα ανταγωνισμού και ως μέρος του ποιητικού διαλόγου, ο κωμικός ποιητής αντιπαρατίθεται στον Ευριπίδη χρησιμοποιώντας τις τεχνικές της κωμικής/παρωδιακής μίμησης με ιδιαίτερα ευρηματικούς τρόπους. Είτε ενσωματώνοντας την ιστορία του Ιππόλυτου στις κωμωδίες του είτε αφιερώνοντας ένα ολόκληρο έργο σε αυτήν μέσω της παρωδίας και της γελοιοποίησης, ο Αριστοφάνης ανοίγει διακειμενικό διάλογο και παρουσιάζεται ως άξιος ανταγωνιστής των θεατρικών του σύσκηνων, το έργο του οποίου δεν στερεί σε τίποτα σε σχέση με το υψηλό λογοτεχνικό είδος της τραγωδίας.

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A Review of: Sammartano, Roberto, 2020. Alle radici della syngeneia. Parentele etniche nel mondo greco prima della guerra del Peloponneso. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

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Review

To introduce the theme of his book,[1] Roberto Sammartano opens it with a reference to Édouard Will's work on Dorians and Ionians, published in 1956, which offered a compelling counterargument to the then-prevailing idea of biologically distinct Greek races.[2] By adopting a Weberian notion of ethnic consciousness, Will insisted that the distinctions between *ethne* should be seen as a subjective construction of common ancestry rather than in terms of actual blood-relatedness. According to Sammartano, however, Will went too far in claiming that the differences between Dorians and Ionians are merely a product of fifth-century propaganda connected to the conflict between Sparta and Athens and that ethnic consciousness played no role in the archaic period. Sammartano thus aims to trace the origins of ethnic discourse and kinship diplomacy before appeals to interstate *syngeneia* and *oikeiotēs* became a standard trope with the outburst of the Peloponnesian War. In this way, he intends to compensate for the scarce attention to the archaic period that characterises the studies of Jones on kinship diplomacy and of Patterson on the diplomatic and political use of kinship myths.[3]

The author positions his work within the trend in scholarship started by Jonathan Hall and developed, for instance, by the works of Nino Luraghi.[4] This trend draws on modern anthropological approaches to consider ethnicity as a sociocultural construct and regards ethnic boundaries as flexible and open to negotiations. In this perspective, Sammartano's book aims to reconstruct how and when the boundaries between the two main *ethnē*, the Ionians and the Dorians, were defined. To do so, the author adopts a diachronic perspective and a 'stratigraphic' method, trying to go back to the earliest occurrences of the relevant themes and tracing their development. In opposition to Malkin and

[1] Chapter titles are listed at the end of this review.
[2] Will, 1956.
[3] Jones, 1999; Patterson, 2010.
[4] See, for example, Hall, 2002; Luraghi, 2008; 2014.

Fowler, who, according to Sammartano, provide unduly monolithic interpretations of an issue like the relationship between the Dorian and the Heraclidean strands of the Dorian *ethnos*,[5] the author chooses to highlight changes and adaptations rather than impose artificially coherent interpretations to these processes and traditions.

The book is divided into two parts, each consisting of four sections. The first part examines evidence from the archaic period, while the second delves into the development of ethnic and kinship discourse during the first half of the fifth century.

Sammartano begins the first part with a section (1.1) on the Homeric poems, which pay virtually no attention to the theme of ethnic kinship. While *Hellēnes* and *Iones* have a different and limited meaning in Homer (indicating populations located respectively in Southern Thessaly, corresponding to Achaia Phthiotis, and somewhere between Achaia Phthiotis and Attica), the only possible allusions to the canonical ethnic configurations are a reference to the colonisation of Rhodes by Herakles' son Tlepolemos (*Il.* 2.653-70) and to the Dorians living on Crete (*Od.* 19.177). Sammartano analyses both cases, interpreting them as anachronistic projections of the presence of Dorians on the two islands in the poet's own days to the period in which the poems are set.

The following section (1.2) examines the earliest mythic genealogies to determine their implications for ethnic consciousness. The main case study is the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, which represents the oldest attested genealogy of ethnic significance: Hellen and his sons, Aiolos, Doros, and Xouthos, and Xouthos' own sons, Ion and Achaios, clearly serve the function of eponym forefathers. Sammartano here disagrees partially with Martin West on the question of the poem's authorship.[6] While West claims that the whole *Catalogue* is spurious and should be ascribed to an anonymous poet connected to Athens and active around 550-500 BCE, the author believes that some parts probably date back to Hesiod, considering that the special place assigned to Aiolos as first-born among Hellen's sons might be a sign of Hesiod's pride in his Boiotian and Aiolic origins. He nonetheless agrees with the majority of scholars that the genealogy transmitted by the *Catalogue* should be interpreted in the context of the Delphic Amphictyony and its development, reflecting both the initial leading role of southern Thessaly (to which Hellen and his sons were connected) and the increasing influence of Athens (recalled through the role of Kreousa and her son Ion). Concerning the question of the potential origins of kinship diplomacy, Sammartano takes pains to stress that the genealogy should not be read as a form of propaganda for the Amphictyony but rather as a classification of the different communities that took part in it.

The final two sections of the book's first part explore the origins of ethnic discourse concerning the Dorians and Ionians, respectively. In section 1.3, then, Sammartano accurately disentangles the traditions relative to the two mythical matrixes of Dorian identity, the migrations of Doros' descendants on the one hand and the Return of the Heraclids on the other, showing that, despite some later revisions (such as the one of Ephoros), there was no original notion of *syngeneia* between the Dorian and the Heraclid strands of the Dorian *ethnos*. Things are more complicated regarding the Ionians (section 1.4), but Sammartano carefully reconstructs the various stages of the process that led to the gradual expansion of the 'Ionian' ethnonym and the increasing connections with Athenian mythical and historical figures. In this case, too, the author argues that, during the archaic period, no notion of a collective *syngeneia* encompassing all the communities that later came to be identified as

[5] Malkin, 1994; Fowler, 2013.
[6] West, 1985.

Ionians can be found. Thus, Sammartano's conclusion aligns with the findings of Mac Sweeney on the traditions relative to the Ionian *ethnos*.[7]

The second half of the book begins with a section devoted to the vocabulary of ethnic kinship and, in particular, its first occurrences. The word family of *syngeneia* is predominant in Thucydides and Hellenistic diplomacy but is not employed in this sense in Herodotos, who also avoids using *oikeios*. Instead, Herodotos prefers to use kinship terms like *pateres* or *kasignētoi* or the term *homaimōn*, 'of the same blood'. As Sammartano further reinstates in a later section (2.3), Herodotos prefers to keep the biological and cultural elements distinct. In agreement with other scholars,[8] he highlights that Herodotos sees ethnic identity in dynamic terms, as subject to historical changes, and assigns great importance to contextual factors such as proximity to other peoples. At the same time, he places great value on some forms of ethnic kinship, such as colonial relationships. By employing the metaphor of fathers and sons, Herodotos reveals his implicit assumption that both parties should value and respect the ties between a *polis* and its colonies.

In section 2.2, Sammartano details the various interactions between ethnic discourse and politics in the fifth century, before the Peloponnesian War. Despite a somewhat confusing structure in this part, the lines of argument and the conclusions emerge relatively easily. Sammartano examines the emergence of the discourse of ethnic kinship from Aristagoras' embassy to the Spartans to the first decades of *pentecontaetia* (Hdt. 5.49). On the one hand, the author demonstrates the ultimate weakness of the rhetoric of blood-relatedness when it came to determining political decisions; on the other hand, he presents how Ionians and Dorians gradually came to be perceived as different by nature and potentially opposed to each other. Of particular interest are the subsections focusing on individual poets, including Panyassis of Halikarnassos (2.2.5.1) and Ion of Chios (2.2.5.2). Notably, the final subsection (2.2.7) concerns an inscription from Paros that appears to reflect hostility from the Ionian population of the island toward the Dorians.

The book's final two sections are devoted to Herodotos and Thucydides, respectively. Section 2.3 mainly recapitulates and occasionally expands the analyses and observations scattered in the previous sections concerning Herodotos' attitude towards the theme of ethnic relatedness and opposition. Then, in section 2.4, the author's investigation of this theme in Thucydides' account of the events leading to the Peloponnesian War reveals that the two historians actually have a comparable attitude towards this topic. Although they both believe in the value of solidarity towards related communities and the importance of shared cultural elements, in their perspective, ethnic sentiments were not a determining factor in political decisions.

In the conclusion, Sammartano provides a clarifying summary of the book. He reinstates that, in the archaic period, genealogies were used to classify and account for the various communities that belonged to a particular context; ethnic consciousness existed and was important on a cultural level but did not significantly impact politics and decision-making.

Overall, Sammartano's learned and meticulous study makes a valuable contribution to the debate on ethnicity and its intersections with history, historiography, and literature. Although it does not stand out as particularly original, as other scholars have investigated several aspects in detail,[9] the book

[7] See Mac Sweeney, 2013; 2017.
[8] See in particular Thomas, 2001, and Vignolo Munson, 2014.
[9] As highlighted above, for instance, the traditions relative to the Ionian *ethnos* had been analysed with comparable results already by Mac Sweeney (2013; 2017); with regard to Herodotos' attitude towards ethnic identity, Sammartano confirms the conclusion reached by Thomas (2001) and Vignolo Munson (2014).

represents a good summary of the state of the art on the development of kinship diplomacy and ethnic discourse in the archaic Greek world. Sammartano's book thus succeeds in filling the gap left by the works of Jones and Patterson with regard to the archaic period by providing a broad overview of the topic and gathering a wide range of sources. Given the nature of the sources, much of the interpretation is bound to remain speculative. Scholars in future might want to read the evidence in different ways and choose to formulate different answers to the questions of the emergence of ethnic feeling and its impact on politics and diplomacy. However, the rich collection of sources and the meticulous investigation make Sammartano's book a good starting point for further enquiries. The author's comprehensive and fine-grained analysis of traditions in the archaic Greek world and his recapitulation of the development of the discourse on ethnicity would be helpful to anyone working on these and related topics.

Alle radici della syngeneia: Contents

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An Interview with Roberto Sammartano on the Occasion of the Monograph, Alle radici della syngeneia. Parentele etniche nel mondo greco prima della guerra del Peloponneso (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2020)

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A Short Profile of the Author

Roberto Sammartano is Associate Professor of Ancient Greek History at the University of Palermo. In 2021, he obtained the qualification for academic teaching as a Full Professor. He is the Editor-in-Chief of the peer-reviewed journal *Kokalos. Rivista di Storia antica dell'Università degli Studi di Palermo* (ISSN: 0392-0887; 2035-276X), and Chairman of the Istituto Siciliano per la Storia Antica 'Eugenio Manni'. His research interests cover a broad spectrum of topics, such as the Ancient History of Sicily and the Western Mediterranean, Greek historiography, including the Greek historians of the West, ethnic identities and kinship between cities and people in the ancient world. He has published extensively on these themes in articles that appeared in peer-reviewed journals and conference proceedings, as well as in books: *Origines gentium Siciliae. Ellanico, Antioco, Tucidide* (*Kokalos*, Suppl. n. 14, Roma, 1998) and *Alle radici della syngeneia. Parentele etniche nel mondo greco prima della guerra del Peloponneso* (Studi di Storia greca e romana 19, Alessandria 2020).

The Interview

What motivated you to explore the topic of ethnic kinship in the Ancient Greek world?

RS | I was working on the topic of kinship between people and cities in the Greek world and about the relative terminology when I realised that there was no in-depth study on the use of ethnic descriptors and emotions before the Peloponnesian War.

How do you see your work contributing to the existing scholarship on Greek history and identity?

RS | I think that my study discusses a relevant topic that has never been dealt with so far: the development of ethnic identities and the rise of ethnic sentiments across localities in Old Greece from the end of the sixth century to the mid-fifth century.

Who do you believe will find your book most valuable or relevant, and what impact do you hope it will have in the field?

RS | I believe that my book can be relevant to a range of scholars, from historians of Ancient Greece to philologists and, broadly speaking, all those interested in Classical studies or Classical Antiquity.

What were the pivotal moments in your book's research and writing process?

RS | I completed this book during the lockdown due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This long period of isolation allowed me to work hard, in a kind of total immersion, on the massive bibliography on this topic I had previously collected.

Were there any challenges or discoveries you encountered during research or assumptions you had to revise?

RS | The main challenge was to study the topic of ethnic sentiments across the Greeks, as evident in the descriptions of interstate relations depicted in the *Histories* of Herodotos. This was something effectively challenging as it had never received due attention from scholars.

With hindsight, what would you want to go back and change?

RS | At the moment, I would not change anything.

What do you wish you could have done and did not do?

RS | I wish I had dealt with the subject of ethnic sentiments in the Greek colonies of Western Mediterranean areas.

What was the most important breakthrough?

RS | I guess… that I was able to highlight the importance of ethnic sentiments of different *poleis* and people and their interplay during the Greco-Persian Wars.

What is the coolest place you sat and worked on your book?

RS | Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, I worked at home – you could say in some sort of isolation. Then, the most exciting place of work was from the time before. At first, I collected all the bibliographic material I needed in the Library of the German Archaeological Institute of Rome and the Library of the Ecole Français at Rome.

On a more personal note, what would you do in life if you were not a Classicist?

RS | I do not know exactly. Maybe something completely different. Possibly, I would have studied natural sciences.