

Notes on the Chronology and Career of Antiphanes

The precise chronology of the comic poet Antiphanes has often been a subject of controversy; in this paper I shall re-examine the ancient evidence and the questions raised by modern scholars and attempt to provide a coherent outline of the poet's career. The main problems, on which particular sections will focus, concern the following points: (1) the date of Antiphanes' birth and first production in Athens; (2) the number of plays he composed and the date of his death (these two questions are closely connected and must be discussed together); and (3) two plays (*Parekdidomene* and *Didymoi*) which have often been regarded as incompatible with Antiphanes' traditional chronology. Since certain scholars have attributed these plays to a supposed later poet of the same name, the evidence usually adduced in connection with that «younger Antiphanes» will be discussed in a fourth section.

Apart from the preserved fragments, the two main sources for Antiphanes' life and work are *Prolegomenon Περὶ Κωμωδίας* III 47-52 Koster and *Suda* α 2735. In general, *Prolegomenon* III is a valuable source, offering a wealth of detailed and precise information about comic literary history, e.g. the number of poets in each period (old, middle, new) of Attic comedy, the total number of their preserved plays, the number of plays composed by individual poets (sometimes indicating also how many of them are spurious), as well as chronological information about each poet's period of activity or the date of his first production; such detailed and exact data must ultimately derive from a comprehensive bibliographical compilation, composed by a scholar with access to a large library like the Alexandrian¹. The *Suda* entry, like many of its biographies, derives from the epitome of Hesychios' of Miletos *Ὀνοματολόγος* (6th century A.D.), who compiled, in his turn, his work from earlier (though not easy to determine in each particular case) sources².

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¹ See U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, «Hermes» IX (1875) 335; O. Regenbogen, *RE* XX/2 (1950) 1457; Mekler, *Nachrichten* 34-46; Nesselrath, *MK* 7 n. 19, 45-51, 174f., 185.

² See Flach, *Hesych.* xii-xxiv; Daub, *Studien* 124-153; F. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form*, Leipzig 1901, 30f.; Wagner, *Symb.* 30ff.; Adler, *Suidas* 706-709; H. Schultz, *RE* VIII/2 (1913) 1323-1327; Blum, *Kallimachos* 202-210; Arnott,

1. Antiphanes' birth and first production

Concerning the beginning of Antiphanes' career, our two main sources are in agreement. According to the *Suda*, Antiphanes was born (γέγονε)³ κατὰ τὴν 97' (93) ὀλυμπιάδα, *i.e.* 408/7-405/4. *Prolegomenon* III reports that Antiphanes ἤρξατο διδάσκειν μετὰ τὴν 97' (98) ὀλυμπιάδα: Meineke emends μετὰ into κατὰ⁴, thus placing Antiphanes' first production between 388/7 and 385/4. If, on the other hand, we retain μετὰ, since *Prolegomenon* III is here reckoning by olympiads, the text might mean that Antiphanes produced his first comedy in the olympiad following the 98th – *i.e.* in the 99th olympiad, 384/3-381/0⁵. In any case, the dates fit together: Antiphanes will have started producing in his early twenties. Indeed, one of the dates has very probably been calculated from the other: hellenistic scholars would find the date of Antiphanes' first production in Aristotle's *Didaskaliai*, which was based on the Athenian didascalic records; from that they could calculate the probable date of his birth, assuming – as was their usual practice – that Antiphanes embarked on his creative career at (or after) his twentieth year (half ἄκμῃ)⁶. If so, the birth-date given by the *Suda* is only a scholarly guess – but in this case at least it is a sensible one: the extremely productive Antiphanes composed so many plays (overall about 260) that, notwithstanding his long career (cf. below, section 2), he is likely to have started writing quite early in life.

The agreement of our two main sources on this matter is particularly noteworthy.

«Studi Monaco» 328-330. *Suda* α 2735 cites by name only Dionysios (presumably Dionysios ὁ μουσικός, a grammarian of Hadrian's age) as source for the tradition that Antiphanes came from Rhodes. The article reports variant traditions about several matters (Antiphanes' father: Δημοφάνους, οἱ δὲ Στεφάνου. His origins: Κιανός, ὡς δὲ τινες Σμυρναῖος κτλ. The number of his plays: τξξ', οἱ δὲ σπ'). Therefore, it must be ultimately based on more than one sources, which often disagreed about particular points of Antiphanes' biography.

³ γέγονε here clearly = «*natus est*», a rarer but attested meaning in the *Suda*, see E. Rohde, «RhM» n.s. XXXIII (1878) 164f. and «RhM» n.s. XXXIV (1879) 620f., collecting 9 examples.

⁴ Meineke I 304f.; cf. F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik. Eine Sammlung der Fragmente*, Berlin 1902, 301 n. 1.

⁵ So H.F. Clinton, «PhMus» I (1832) 607; cf. H.-G. Nesselrath, in *Der neue Pauly* I (1996) 781. In this case, however, it remains a problem why *Prolegomenon* III did not write simply κατὰ τὴν 98' ὀλυμπιάδα. Is perhaps μετὰ τὴν 97' ὀλυμπιάδα intended to mean «the first year after the 98th olympiad», *i.e.* 384/3? On the whole, Meineke's emendation into κατὰ seems a better solution.

⁶ See Jacoby, *o.c.* (above n. 4) 301 n. 1; Wilhelm, *Urkunden* 55. This is better than to assume conversely that hellenistic scholars knew that Antiphanes was born in 408/7-405/4 and calculated from this that he must have started producing after his twentieth birthday (388/7-385/4): they could easily find, in any case, his earliest production recorded in Aristotle's *Didaskaliai*, which was based on Athenian didascalic records, but how could they have discovered his exact date of birth?

thy, because the *Suda* and *Prolegomenon* III are at variance about almost every other point of Antiphanes' life (e.g. his place of origin, father's name and number of plays; compare also what they report about his death). The *Suda* itself, which reports more than one different versions for each one of the above points («coming from Kios or Smyrna or Rhodes; son of Demophanes or Stephanos; wrote 365 or 280 plays»), records only one tradition about his date of birth. It seems, therefore, that at least about the beginning of Antiphanes' career in the 380s general agreement reigned in antiquity; ancient scholars do not seem to have disputed this one point – a point, indeed, which could be ascertained by recourse to no less an authority than Aristotle's *Didaskaliai*.

Among modern scholars only Capps (*Chronological Studies* 54-58) has doubted this double testimony, because on the inscription IG II² 2325,146 = V C 1 c. 3,7 Mette, which lists poets victorious at the Lenaia according to the chronological order of their first victory, Antiphanes' name comes after those of Anaxandrides, Philetairos, Euboulos and Ephippos. Assuming that Anaxandrides' first Lenaian victory must have occurred about the same time as his first Dionysian one (376, *Marm. Par. FGrHist* 239 A 70) and that the poets around Antiphanes are more or less «evenly spaced», Capps calculates that Antiphanes must have won his first Lenaian victory at ca. 367 – too late for a poet active from 388/7-385/4. Thus, he attempts to transfer Antiphanes' *début* twenty years later, by emending (necessarily) both sources: in the *Suda* biography he writes γέγονε κατὰ τὴν ργ' (for ργ') ὀλυμπιάδα (i.e. 368/7-365/4, with γέγονε for Antiphanes' «half ἄκμή») and for *Prolegomenon* III he postulates an original text reading ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ τῆς ρη' ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν κατὰ τὴν ργ' ὀλυμπιάδα. The emendation of the *Suda* is palaeographically easy, but the extensive changes required for *Prolegomenon* III and, especially, the need to emend both sources make Capps' theory appear obviously strained. Besides, his «calculations» from the Lenaian list are hypothetical and questionable: there is no way to tell how «evenly spaced» are the poets in the list; we cannot exclude that a poet may have gained his first victory very early or very late, and it is impossible to calculate at what intervals he gained his remaining victories⁷. I could easily suggest, *exempli gratia*, an alternative calculation: Anaxandrides apparently started producing already from ca. 385⁸; his first Lenaian victory could therefore have taken place already in ca. 385-380, so that Antiphanes' first Lenaian victory could be placed as early as ca. 375⁹. This is still a late first victory for a poet who began producing in the 380s,

⁷ Cf. Hunter, *Eubulus* 7.

⁸ See Nesselrath, *MK* 195: Anaxandrides' *Protesilaos* fr. 42,3ff. describes at length the feast at the wedding of Iphikrates and Kotys' daughter early in 386 (U. Kahrstedt, *RE* IX/2 [1916] 2019; J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971, 249f.) – clearly a fresh, recent event at the time of the play.

⁹ Euboulos and Philetairos (Aristophanes' son) were apparently also active from ca. 380: see Hunter, *Eubulus* 10; Nesselrath, *MK* 193.

but not so late as to be unbelievable. We might assume *e.g.* that Antiphanes was not particularly successful at the beginning of his career, that perhaps he took some time to develop fully his talents and gain the favour of the audience: once this happened, however, he enjoyed great success, winning overall, according to the list, eight Lenaian victories. Nor is this large number incompatible with a relatively delayed first victory: his apparently quite long career (see below, section 2) would leave Antiphanes enough time to amass a considerable number of victories. But we should note that, apart from the quality of a poet's work, many other, unpredictable factors might influence his success in dramatic competitions (cf. Arnott, *Alexis* 17); also, we do not know when Antiphanes won his first victory at the City Dionysia.

A delayed first Lenaian victory finds, in any case, parallels in other poets' careers: Timokles was already producing from ca. 345¹⁰, but appears on the Lenaian list just two places before Menander, who won his first victory after 321¹¹; between Timokles and Menander comes Prokleides, who was producing already from 332 (*IG* II² 2318,325-327 = I c. 15,104-106 Mette); and Philemon (born ca. 360) started producing at the latest in 329 (*Prolegomenon* III 56 Koster)¹², but appears on the list after Menander, *i.e.* cannot have won before 320.

Capps' arguments are therefore too weak to justify emendation of both sources. Besides, Antiphanes' fragments offer indications that he was active in the 380s and 370s¹³. Fr. 174 (*Omphale*) mentions the baker Thearion, otherwise mentioned in classical sources only by Aristophanes (fr. 1, 177)¹⁴ and Pl. *Gorg.* 518b (ca. 390-385, cf. E.R. Dodds, *Plato. Gorgias*, Oxford 1959, 18-27) and never appearing in any other 4th century comic poet: this dates *Omphale* early in the 4th century, probably in the 380s. Fr. 37 (*Anteia*) mentions the perfume-seller Peron, otherwise mentioned only by Anaxandrides (*Protesilaos* fr. 41, shortly after 386)¹⁵ and Theopompos fr. 1, 17 (active up to ca. 370)¹⁶; *Anteia* probably therefore comes from the late 380s or the 370s. Finally, *Aphrodites Gonai* belongs to a type of comedy (plays about θεῶν γοναί) which flourished, as Nesselrath has shown,

¹⁰ Wagner, *Symb.* 60ff.; V. Bevilacqua, «Dioniso» VII (1939) 25f., 38ff.; A. Körte, *RE* VI A/1 (1936) 1261; Nesselrath, *MK* 200.

¹¹ Schröder, *Lebensdaten* 36-38; testt. 3 and 49 K.-A.

¹² Cf. A. Körte, *RE* XIX/2 (1938) 2137f.; Webster, *Studies* 125-127.

¹³ Cf. Clinton, *o.c.* (above n. 5) 607; Webster, *Chronological Notes* 14f.; Nesselrath, *MK* 194.

¹⁴ Fr. 177 from *Gerytades*, usually dated 408/7, although some place it in the early 380s (Geissler, *Chronologie* xvii, 61f.; Kassel-Austin III/2 101); fr. 1 from *Aiolosikon*, but it is not known if this is *Aiolosikon A* (5th century) or its revision *Aiolosikon B* (shortly after 387; Geissler, *Chronologie* 76f.; Kassel-Austin III/2 34).

¹⁵ See above, n. 8.

¹⁶ See A. Körte, *RE* V A/2 (1934) 2174-2176; Geissler, *Chronologie* 77; Nesselrath, *MK* 203f.

mainly in the period ca. 410-380¹⁷. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the traditional date for Antiphanes' *début*: born near the end of the 5th century our poet began producing in 388/7-385/4 or a little later, in his early twenties.

2. The number of the plays and the date of death

According to *Suda* α 2735, Antiphanes wrote 365 or 280 plays (ἔγραψε κωμωδίας τξε', οἱ δὲ σπ'); *Prolegomenon* III 52 gives a third figure, 260 plays (ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ δράματα σξε'). The first of these numbers (365) diverges greatly from the other two and seems too large to be credible. There are two solutions: we may emend τξε' into σξε' (265; numerals in the *Suda* are notoriously prone to corruption), thus bringing it into harmony with the other two figures; or we may take 365 as a symbolic or conventional number used here to signify «a lot of plays» («numerous like the days of the year»)¹⁸; ancient texts offer several examples of this 'symbolic' or conventional use of the numbers 360 and 365¹⁹.

Between the other figures (260 and 280) the discrepancy is not great. They are also remarkably high figures for a playwright's output, but this should not be regarded *a priori* as a reason to reject them. All the major 4th century comic writers (Alexis, Euboulos, Menander, Philemon, Diphilos) were very prolific²⁰; Alexis in particular produced (*Suda* α 1138, cf. Arnott, *Alexis* 13f.) 245 plays – a number quite close to the 260 comedies recorded for Antiphanes in *Prolegomenon* III. There are indications that Antiphanes was known to be a remarkably productive playwright: *Prolegomenon* III 49f. γενέσθαι δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν εὐφυέστατον εἰς τὸ γράφειν καὶ δραματοποιεῖν clearly implies a great facility in the composition of plays; the fact that someone attributed to him the 'symbolic' figure of 365 plays also indicates that he was regarded as immensely prolific. The number of Antiphanes' titles known today suggests that his total *oeuvre* comprised well over 200 plays. In the cases of Alexis and Euboulos, the two other major Middle Comedy poets, the ratio of the number of titles known today to the total reported number of plays is approximately the same: 138/245 (ca. 1,13/2) for Alexis, 57/104 (ca. 1,09/2) for Euboulos. For Antiphanes we know the titles of 139 or 140 plays²¹:

¹⁷ See Nesselrath, *MK* 203, 229 n. 140 and in G. Dobrov (ed.), *Beyond Aristophanes. Transition and Diversity in Greek Comedy*, Atlanta 1995, 2, 12-27.

¹⁸ See Meineke I 310; Mekler, *Nachrichten* 33f.; Kaibel, *Antiphanes* 2519 and *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Berolini 1899, 7, 9.

¹⁹ E.g. Hom. *Od.* XIV 20, Hdt. III 47, Schol. Hom. *Il.* III 334c, Plut. *Mor.* 724e, Artax. 27, Diod. Sic. II 7,3, XVII 77,6, Athen. XIII 557b, Curt. Ruf. III 3,10 and 24, VI 6,8, Procl. *Chrestom.* 248,18f. West.

²⁰ See Körte, *Komödie* 1265f., 1274f.; Mensching, *Produktivität* 45-49; Hunter, *Eubulus* 10-12; Arnott, *Alexis* 13f.

²¹ *Theogonia* is a doubtful case, see Kassel-Austin II 366f.

assuming a similar ratio (e.g. 1,1/2) of preserved titles to total of plays, we get a figure of 252-254 plays – again quite close to the 260 comedies of *Prolegomenon* III²².

The figure of 260 plays, therefore, may not be very far from the truth. It is to be preferred to the larger figure (280) of the *Suda* perhaps also for another reason – the overall better quality of *Prolegomenon* III as a source for comic literary history: as we saw, the wealth of precise numerical data in *Prolegomenon* III apparently derives from a comprehensive, accurate hellenistic bibliographical compilation. The entry of the *Suda* on Antiphanes, on the other hand, looks rather muddled, confusingly reporting conflicting versions on almost every point of Antiphanes' life. The figure of *Prolegomenon* III would thus appear to merit greater credit²³. The variant figure of 280 plays perhaps arose from a different calculation, which may have falsely raised the total number of Antiphanes' comedies in a variety of ways: e.g. it may have counted twice every play which bore a double/alternative title²⁴ (seven known plays of Antiphanes bear alternative titles; but we know little more than half of his plays, and even among the known ones there may have been more plays bearing an alternative title, which did not happen to be recorded anywhere in our sources). Or it may have included plays falsely or doubtfully ascribed to Antiphanes²⁵, or comedies which Antiphanes only produced as διδάσκαλος but did not write himself²⁶.

An Antiphanean *oeuvre* of about 260 plays is, therefore, likely, but it clearly implies that Antiphanes enjoyed a very long career. Alexis, the only other Greek playwright who composed well over 200 plays, enjoyed indeed an active career of 75-80 years (born in the 370s, he produced his first plays in the 350s and died, still producing, in the 270s; Arnott, *Alexis* 15-17). The generally reliable *Prolegomenon* III reports nothing about Antiphanes' date of death – only that ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐν Χίῳ καὶ τὰ ὅστ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας μετηνέχθη. If this were our only source of information, there would be no problem in assuming for Antiphanes a career as long as Alexis' – indeed, given the bulk of his output, this would be the most natural assumption. The *Suda*, however, reports that Antiphanes died aged 74 (τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐν Κίῳ ὁδ' ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων κατὰ τινὰ τύχην ἀπίῳ βληθείς), allowing Antiphanes a career of 50-54 years. This is much shorter than the career of Alexis and does not seem long enough for the production of 260

²² Cf. Hunter, *Eubulus* 10f.; Arnott, *Alexis* 14f. n. 2.

²³ It is preferred also by Meineke I 310f. and Mekler, *Nachrichten* 34f.

²⁴ Cf. *Suda* α 3737 for Araros (test. I K.-A.), listing Καμπυλίων and Παρθενίς as separate plays, while *P.Oxy.* 2659 fr. I c. I.10f. records [Παρ]θενίς ἢ Καμπαλι° (apparently an error for Καμπυλίων) as one play; see J. Rea, in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XXXIII, London 1968, 72; Hunter, *Eubulus* 12, 131.

²⁵ Cf. A.C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles*, I, Cambridge 1917, xiii-xiv; Mensching, *Produktivität* 19.

²⁶ Cf. Arnott, *Alexis* 13.

plays. It would require for Antiphanes a rate of productivity considerably greater than that of even the most productive Greek comic poets: Euboulos wrote 104 plays in about 45 years (ca. 380-335: see Hunter, *Eubulus* 7-12), which gives on average standardly two, often three plays per year; Alexis wrote 245 plays in 75-80 years, *i.e.* on average standardly three, sometimes four plays per year; Menander wrote 105 plays in 31 or 32 years²⁷, *i.e.* on average standardly three, often four plays per year. But if we attempt to accommodate Antiphanes' 260 plays in a career of about 50 years we get an unparalleled average of standardly five, sometimes six plays per year. In itself this is not impossible to achieve, but the practical conditions of 4th century Attic theatre question its credibility: how could a playwright writing on average 5 to 6 plays per year get them produced? If he participated uninterruptedly in both major Attic festivals (City Dionysia and Lenaia), he could only stage two plays per year. Poets composing on average three to four plays per year (Alexis, Menander) would more or less easily dispose of the surplus plays – on average one or two per year – by giving them for production to theatres in Attic demes or festivals of other cities, or even circulating a few unperformed plays in book-form (see below); but an average surplus of three to four plays per year seems too large to be accommodated even by those additional outlets. This problem, however, is solved if we reject the single testimony of the *Suda* about Antiphanes' death at 74 and assume that the poet enjoyed a very long career of about 75-80 years, like Alexis²⁸; in that case, his rate of productivity falls to an average of standardly three, often four plays per year – the same as that of Menander and Alexis.

Other indications also suggest that the information of the *Suda* on this point cannot be right. Born about 408/7-405/4, Antiphanes would reach his 74th year in 334/3-331/0: yet his fragments offer indications that he remained active after 330. *Kitharistes* fr. 115 (Λάκωνες ... νυνὶ δ' ὀμηρέουσ' ἔχοντες πορφυροῦς κεκρυφάλους) refers to Antipater's victory over the Spartans at Megalopolis, probably in early spring 330²⁹, after which the Spartans were obliged to send fifty distinguished men as hostages to Alexander in Asia. At the time of Aeschines' prosecution of Ktesiphon (August 330)³⁰ these men were still in Greece, waiting to set off: Aeschin. 3,133 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ... ὀμηρέουσιν τε καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς

²⁷ A.W. Gomme-F.H. Sandbach, *Menander. A Commentary*, Oxford 1973, 1; Schröder, *Lebensdaten* 35-42.

²⁸ Nesselrath, *MK* 193f. and in *Der neue Pauly* cit. (above n. 5) also notes that Antiphanes' great number of plays indicates a very long career; cf. Meineke I 304-307; Di Marzio, *Brindisi* 176.

²⁹ See P.A. Brunt, *Arrian*, I, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1976, 480-485; A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire. The Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1988, 202-204; W. Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire*, London-New York 1992, 42; E. Badian, in I. Worthington (ed.), *Ventures into Greek History*, Oxford 1994, 272-277.

³⁰ H. Wankel, *Demosthenes. Rede für Ktesiphon über den Kranz*, Heidelberg 1976, 25-33.

ἐπίδειξιν ποιησόμενοι μέλλουσιν ὥς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναπέμπεσθαι. Fr. 115, on the other hand, suggests that the hostages have already been dispatched on their journey (ὁμηρεύουσ'), dating *Kitharistes* after August 330 – i.e. (at the earliest) in late 330 (in the Rural Dionysia of December) or in the festivals of 329. *Kitharistes* thus barely fits in the chronology of the *Suda*. *Skythai* (or *Skythes*) appears to date from even later: fr. 197 mentions the parasite Chairephon, whose period of notoriety has been convincingly fixed as ca. 325-310³¹; and fr. 198, about an «unpaid ekklesiast», may be seen in connection with the abolition of payment for participation in the Assembly under the oligarchic reform of 321 or the regime of Demetrios of Phaleron (317 onwards)³². *Skythai*, then, may belong to the late 320s (or even later), thus casting serious doubt on the date of death suggested by the *Suda*. Another play, *Parekdidomene*, dates from even later, ca. 312-306, but it poses a special problem and will be considered in section 3 below.

The fact that *Prolegomenon* III, although referring to Antiphanes' death and the transportation of his remains to Athens, omits the detail that he died aged 74, as reported by the *Suda*, may also cast doubt on that detail. The (ultimate) author of *Prolegomenon* III, apart from drawing from excellent sources, seems also to have showed a certain caution and critical spirit in the selection of his material, generally omitting information which is evidently anecdotal or doubtful and unverifiable³³: so e.g. he omits the fables of other *Prolegomena* (e.g. XIa I, XIb Koster) about Sousarion's first appearance in the theatre and misogynistic verses and such anecdotal stories as e.g. that Antiphanes died «struck by a pear» (see below), Philemon died after laughing too much (*Suda* φ 327) and Menander was mad about women (*Suda* μ 589)³⁴. That this author, so well-informed and generally cautious, either found nowhere any statement about Antiphanes dying at 74 or, if he did, did not regard it as worthy of recording, is significant³⁵.

³¹ Webster, *Chronological Notes* 22 and *Studies* 152 n. 3; Arnott, *Alexis* 609f., 724. Chairephon is otherwise mentioned very often in New Comedy (Men. *Sam.* 603, fr. 55, 215, 225, 265, Apollod. *Caryst.* fr. 29, 31) and by Middle Comedy poets whose career extended well into the 310s (Alexis fr. 213, 259, Timokles fr. 9; so presumably Timotheos fr. 1, cf. A. Körte, *RE* VI A/2 [1937] 1338). Machon 10ff. Gow and Athen. XIII 584e connect him with Diphilos and his mistress Gnathaina, Athen. VI 245a with Demetrios' of Phaleron γυναικονόμοι (after 317).

³² See Webster, *Chronological Notes* 14 n. 2, 22; W.S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens. An Historical Essay*, London 1911, 22f., 57f.; G. Busolt-H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, II, München 1926³, 926f.; G. de Sanctis, *Scritti minori*, I, Roma 1970, 249; H.J. Gehrke, *Phokion. Studien zur Erfassung seines historischen Gestalt*, München 1976, 94 and in «Chiron» VIII (1978) 154, 183 n. 175, 184f.; C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1997, 59.

³³ See above n. 1, especially Nesselrath, *MK* 7 n. 19, 45f., 48-51; Mekler, *Nachrichten* 39f., 42-44.

³⁴ See below, however, for an unfortunate exception, concerning Kratinos' death.

³⁵ Cf. Kaibel, *Antiphanes* 2519.

For all these reasons, I suggest that the information of the *Suda* about Antiphanes' age of death is mistaken. There are three possible explanations as to how this error arose:

(1) The *Suda* mentions Antiphanes' age of death as part of a sentence describing the manner of his death: τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐν Κίῳ ὁδ' ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων κατὰ τινὰ τύχην ἀπίῳ βληθείς. In recent times it has been repeatedly demonstrated that such ancient biographical accounts about a poet's death are fictitious, based on legends or anecdotes, arising from misinterpretation or distortion of something the poet has written in his work, or inspired by jokes made about him in comedies³⁶. The *Suda*-biographies drawn from Hesychios' *Onomatologos* contain several such fables (e.g. φ 327 Philemon ἐτελεύτησε ... ὑπὸ σφοδροῦ γέλωτος, ε 3695 Euripides was torn apart by dogs or by women on his way to commit adultery etc.)³⁷. That the story about Antiphanes dying «accidentally struck by a pear» is also a fictitious fable has long been recognized³⁸; compare e.g. the story that Aeschylus died struck by a tortoise shell, which an eagle dropped on his head³⁹ (perhaps deriving from a comic parody of Aeschylus' own *Psychagogoi*)⁴⁰. Similarly, the anecdote about Antiphanes' death may be based on a malicious joke made against him in a comedy by a rival poet⁴¹.

³⁶ See M.R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, London 1981, 4-8, 17-19, 37f., 60, 67, 72f., 85f., 90, 96f., 104, 112-116; also J. Fairweather, «Ancient Society» V (1974) 231ff., 238, 244, 269-271; J. Labarbe, «BAB» LV (1969) 265-292.

³⁷ Cf. Blum, *Kallimachos* 207; Arnott, «Studi Monaco» 329f.

³⁸ Kaibel, *Antiphanes* 2519; Nesselrath, *MK* 50 n. 51.

³⁹ *Vita Aeschyli* test. 1,36-39 R., *Suda* α1 357, cf. Radt, *TrGF* III 64-66.

⁴⁰ O. Crusius, «RhM» n.s. XXXVII (1882) 310-312; Lefkowitz, *o.c.* (above n. 36) 73 n. 16.

⁴¹ Exactly what the original joke was is a matter for speculation; the *Suda*, as in other cases (compare its account of Aeschylus' death, α1 357, with the fuller one of *Vita Aeschyli*) gives only a shortened and colourless version of it. Perhaps originally the story was set in a symposion (pears were served in drinking-parties as τραγήματα to accompany wine: Pherekrates fr. 8, Alexis fr. 34, Matron *SH* 534,112, Athen. X 420a, XIV 649a), with Antiphanes 'dying' when another guest threw to him a pear during a drunken quarrel; death in a drinking-party seems especially suitable for a comic poet. Alternatively, we may recall that in Men. *Dysc.* (100ff., 120f., cf. Ael. *Ep.* 13f.) Knemon the misanthrope attacks those who approach him by throwing to them pears, which he had been collecting (ἀχράδες are wild pears, while ἄπια are cultivated pears, but the two are often equated or used interchangeably by the *Suda* [α 4713, ο 27] and other lexis and grammarians [Plut. *Mor.* 303a-b, Hesych. ο 8907, 8909, 8910, Schol. Ar. *Eccl.* 355]). Pears play a part already in the pre-Menandrian misanthrope-legend (Timon died «after falling from a pear-tree», Neanthes *FGrHist* 84 F 35 = Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 808) and it has been suggested that perhaps even before Menander the misanthrope had been portrayed throwing pears at people (W. Schmid, «RhM» n.s. CII [1959] 161f., cf. W. Görler, «Hermes» XCI [1963] 269f.). Perhaps then Antiphanes in a play about a misanthrope (e.g. *Misoponeros* or *Timon*) had presented him attacking visitors with pears, and a rival comic poet turned this into a joke against Antiphanes himself (e.g. «you know Antiphanes? He perished miserably: going about in the countryside he fell upon a misanthrope, who crushed him with pears»).

If this story is fictitious, the age of death given in the same sentence may seem equally doubtful. The «74 years» may have been part of the same joke or arisen from a grammarian's misinterpretation of it: *e.g.* the joke may have been made in a comedy produced in 334/3-331/0 (when Antiphanes would be 74 years old), and a grammarian, knowing the date of that comedy, inferred that Antiphanes must have died by then. Fictitious ancient accounts about poets' deaths sometimes include false chronological indications which, if taken seriously, would place a poet's death several years before it actually occurred. So *e.g.* even such an otherwise good source as *Prolegomenon* III (20ff. Koster) cites Ar. *Pax* 702f. to support the claim that Kratinos died «when the Spartans first invaded Attica» (τελευτᾷ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς Ἀττικὴν εἰσβαλόντων τὸ πρῶτον); it thus makes Kratinos die in 431 (the year of the first Spartan invasion), while in fact he was still alive in 423, producing *Pytine* (*Arg. A6 Nub.*, p. 4 Holwerda). A tradition going back to Douris of Samos (*FGrHist* 76 F 73, cf. *Prolegomenon* I 18f., XIa I 87-97 Koster, Kassel-Austin V 331-333, perhaps from a misinterpretation of a passage in Eupolis' *Baptai*)⁴² claims that Alkibiades drowned Eupolis while sailing for Sicily, *i.e.* in 415, while Eupolis was still alive in 412, producing *Demoi*⁴³. *Vita Sophoclis* (test. 1, p. 37,61f. R.) claims that Sophocles died of joy after winning first prize with *Antigone* (usually dated 442)⁴⁴, absurdly placing Sophocles' death over 35 years before its real date. A similar error may lie behind the report about Antiphanes' age of death.

(2) Alternatively, we may emend the *Suda*'s οδ' into ϙδ' (94) or ρδ' (104)⁴⁵. The latter is not an incredible number for the *Suda* to report: according to ϕ 327 and ϕ 328 Philemon lived 101 years; Plut. *Mor.* 420d claims that Alexis lived double the time of Metrodoros (who died at 53, Diog. Laert. X 23), *i.e.* 106 years. It is a different question whether these numbers are mathematically accurate: perhaps they are not to be taken literally but signify that these poets died at a very advanced age⁴⁶.

(3) Finally, the phrase οδ' ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων may be due to confusion of the comic poet Antiphanes with another person bearing the same or a similar name – a very common error in the *Suda* biographies derived from the epitome of Hesychios' *Onomatologos*: information concerning a certain author has often been transferred and inserted into the biography of another (homonymous or nearly homonymous) author; frequently it is not clear whether this was done by the epitomator of

⁴² Cf. J. Schwarze, *Die Beurteilung des Perikles durch die attische Komödie und ihre historische und historiographische Bedeutung*, München 1971, 113-115.

⁴³ Meineke I 104-106; W. Schmid-O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, I/4, München 1946, 112f.; G. Kaibel, *RE* VI/1 (1907) 1230-1233; Geissler, *Chronologie* 54f.

⁴⁴ See Lesky, *GTP* 132f.

⁴⁵ Cf. Meineke I 307.

⁴⁶ Cf. Arnott, *Alexis* 15f. and «Studi Monaco» 333.

Hesychios or the compiler of the *Suda* (in which case it must be due to a mechanical compilation error: phrases were transferred from one biography to another placed nearby in the alphabetical arrangement) or by Hesychios himself (in which case the confusion may go back to earlier sources)⁴⁷. Such false insertions may also concern chronological details, cf. e.g. *Suda* α 4264 (ἄκροασάμενος ... Ἰσοκράτους, concerning in fact Astydamas the younger, but falsely transferred to Astydamas the elder)⁴⁸, σ 863 (ἐκ τῶν ζ' τραγικῶν οἵτινες ὀνομάσθησαν Πλειάξ inserted into the biography of the 4th century tragedian Sosiphanes of Syracuse, while it concerns a later one)⁴⁹, φ 212 (ὅς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνεστράτευσεν in the life of the 5th century poet Pherekrates). So οδ' ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων may have been mistakenly inserted in the comic poet Antiphanes' biography, while pertaining in fact e.g. to the antiquarian Antiphanes who wrote *Περὶ ἐταιρῶν* (probably the Ἀντιφάνης ... νεώτερος of *Suda* α 2734, see below), the fabulist Antiphanes of Berge, the epigrammatist Antiphanes of Philip's *Garland* or the medical writer Antiphanes of Delos (the latter three not listed in the *Suda*, but it or the epitomator has doubtless omitted some of Hesychios' biographies)⁵⁰.

The doubtful testimony of the *Suda* about the poet's age of death can then be discarded, and we may allow Antiphanes a career commensurate with his large number of plays, i.e. about 75-80 years. Antiphanes will then have died near the end of the 4th century (in the late 310s or even later), at a very advanced age but still writing – cf. Alexis and Philemon, also reported to have been active until a very old age⁵¹.

Not all of Antiphanes' plays can have been produced in the two major Athenian festivals: if he participated every year in both the City Dionysia and the Lenaia, he would produce in them 150-160 plays. Occasionally he may also have entered a second play in one of those contests, like Diodoros in the Lenaia of 285/4 (*IG* II² 2319,61-64 = III C 2 14-17 Mette)⁵². Or, if this were not possible in the 4th century, he could have entered one play under his own name and ceded the other to someone else, to be presented in the same festival but as that other man's work, as apparently did Aristophanes in the Lenaia of 422 (entering *Wasps* as his own play and ceding *Proagon* to Philonides)⁵³ and perhaps Phrynichos in the

⁴⁷ See Flach, *Hesych.* v, xxi-xxiii; Wagner, *Symb.* 56f.; Adler, *Suidas* 680, 686, 707; Daub, *Studien* 7, 19-24, 28-30, 41f., 46f., 53, 61f., 68-71, 84f., 116; Blum, *Kallimachos* 207; Arnott, *Alexis* 11 and «Studi Monaco» 330f.

⁴⁸ Capps, *Chronological Studies* 42-44; Snell-Kannicht, *TrGF* I² 198.

⁴⁹ Jacoby, *FGrHist* II D *Komm.* 701 (*ad Marm. Par.* 239 B 15, 22); Snell-Kannicht, *TrGF* I² 261.

⁵⁰ See Flach, *Hesych.* xxi; Adler, *Suidas* 707.

⁵¹ Alexis: Arnott, *Alexis* 15f.; Philemon: *Suda* φ 327-328, also *Plut. Mor.* 785b, *Diod. Sic.* XXIII fr. 6, [Luc.] *Macrob.* 25, *Apul. Flor.* 16, p. 24-26 Helm.

⁵² Wilhelm, *Urkunden* 61; G. Kaibel, *RE* VI/1 (1903) 661.

⁵³ See Geissler, *Chronologie* 38f.; T. Gelzer, *RE Suppl.* XII (1970) 1405; Mensching,

Dionysia of 414⁵⁴. This practice may explain some cases of disputed authorship, e.g. *Argyriou Aphanismos* by Antiphanes or Epigenes (Athen. IX 409d) or *Dyspratos* by Antiphanes or Epikrates (Athen. VI 262c-e): Epikrates and Epigenes were minor poets, active during the earlier part of Antiphanes' career (380s-370s)⁵⁵; the young Antiphanes perhaps ceded to them some of his plays, to present under their own names in festivals where he had already entered a comedy himself. Later in Antiphanes' career the same function might be undertaken by his son Stephanos⁵⁶, for whom *Prolegomenon* III reports τῶν δὲ κωμῳδιῶν αὐτοῦ (= Ἀντιφάνους) τινὰς καὶ ὁ Στέφανος ἐδίδαξεν (compare Aristophanes and Araros⁵⁷ and rumours about a similar relationship between Sophocles and Iophon⁵⁸). Even so, however, a great number of plays could not be accommodated in the City Dionysia or Lenaia; for them three outlets were possible:

(1) Many may have been performed at the Rural Dionysia, in theatres of Attic demes⁵⁹. No doubt many performances in those peripheral festivals were revivals of plays already presented in the city; but new, fresh comedies may also have been presented in them.

(2) It cannot be excluded that some plays were not performed but only circulated in book-form for reading – not because they were intended as pure *Lesedramen* but because Antiphanes did not manage to enter them in a festival (this is not unlikely to have happened occasionally to a poet writing so much). Already from the late 5th century a certain 'reading public' for play-texts existed in Athens (the texts of performed plays circulated as books⁶⁰, Aristophanes may have circulated his unperformed second *Clouds* as a written text⁶¹, cf. Metagenes' *Thouriopersai*

Produktivität 43; A. Sommerstein, *Aristophanes. Wasps*, Warminster 1983, xv; C.F. Russo, *Aristophanes. An Author for the Stage*, London 1994, 121f., 240.

⁵⁴ Meineke I 155; Geissler, *Chronologie* 54; Mensching, *Produktivität* 36; Kassel-Austin VII 401.

⁵⁵ Epigenes: Meineke I 354f.; G. Kaibel, *RE* VI/1 (1907) 64; Kassel-Austin V 168. Epikrates: Meineke I 414; Nesselrath, *MK* 197f.

⁵⁶ Meineke I 485f.; A. Körte, *RE* III A/2 (1929) 2364.

⁵⁷ *Arg.* IV *Plut.* (p. 323 Dübner) = *Aiolosikon* test. iv K.-A. quite clearly suggests that *Kokalos* and *Aiolosikon* were presented under Araros' name; cf. Capps, *Epigraphical Problems* 192; Blum, *Kallimachos* 39f.

⁵⁸ *Ar. Ra.* 78f., Schol. *Ar. Ra.* 73, 78.

⁵⁹ See G.V. Vitucci, «Dioniso» VII (1939) 210-225, 312-325; Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA* 45-54; D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica, 508/7-ca. 250 B.C. A Political and Social Study*, Princeton 1986, 215-222 and in «ZPE» LXII (1986) 213-220.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Ar. Ra.* 52f.; Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos*, I, Berlin 1924, 98; Zwierlein, *Rezitationsdramen* 127f.; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford 1968, 28.

⁶¹ See K.J. Dover, *Aristophanes. Clouds*, Oxford 1968, lxxxif., xcvi; Russo, *o.c.* (above n. 53) 104-106; A.H. Sommerstein, *Aristophanes. Clouds*, Warminster 1982, 2.

and Nikophon's *Seirenes*, called ἀδίδακτα in Athen. IV 270a⁶²). In the 4th century, with the growth of book circulation⁶³, it may have been further expanded; we hear that Chairemon's tragedies found great favour with readers (Aristot. *Rhet.* 1413b 12f.)⁶⁴, and the cynic Diogenes' plays seem to have been composed solely for reading⁶⁵. 4th century poets like Alexis and Antiphanes would therefore have a potential readership, among which they could circulate even the texts of their unperformed comedies.

(3) Finally, some plays may have been performed outside Attica, in theatres of other Greek cities. In the 4th century Attic comedy acquires a 'panhellenic' character, and indications for performances of it outside Attica are not lacking: monuments illustrating Middle Comedy (e.g. replicas of Attic terracottas presenting comic characters, from ca. 400-325) have been found throughout the Greek-speaking world⁶⁶; the so-called 'phlyax' vases probably reflect performances of Attic comedies in Magna Graecia during 400-320⁶⁷; an inscription in Thasos, now redated in mid-fourth century⁶⁸, records a local comic performance. Dramatic presentations were given in the court (or camp) of Philip and Alexander, cf. e.g. the Olympia at Dion in 348, after the fall of Olynthos, where Satyros acted a comedy⁶⁹; Anaxandrides appears to have presented a comedy of his at that festival (*Suda* α 1982 γεγωνὼς ... ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνοϋ)⁷⁰. Similarly, the anecdote (Athen. XIII 555a) about Antiphanes reading a comedy of his to Alexander may suggest that Antiphanes too had connections with the Macedonian court – perhaps not just 'reading' but also staging his plays there. The 'interna-

⁶² Cf. Wilamowitz, *o.c.* (above n. 60) 98; G. Kaibel, «Hermes» XXIV (1889) 42f., 46; Mensching, *Produktivität* 16-19.

⁶³ See T. Kleberg, *Buchhandel und Verlagswesen in der Antike*, Darmstadt 1969, 4-11; Pfeiffer, *o.c.* (above n. 60) 25-31; B.M.W. Knox, in P.E. Easterling-B.M.W. Knox (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, I, Greek Literature*, Cambridge 1985, 7-16; W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1989, 84-88; R. John, «Philologus» CXXXV (1991) 45-54; H. Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike*, München 1992, 114-118.

⁶⁴ See Zwierlein, *Rezitationsdramen* 128-134; B. Snell, *Szenen aus griechischen Dramen*, Berlin 1971, 158-160; K. Ziegler, *RE* VI A/2 (1937) 1966; Lesky, *GTP* 399f.; G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Studies in Fourth-Century Tragedy*, Athens 1980, 6-8.

⁶⁵ Zwierlein, *Rezitationsdramen* 134-137; Lesky, *GTP* 400.

⁶⁶ See J.R. Green, «Lustrum» XXXI (1989) 74f.; Green, *Theatre* 38, 64-72, 106-108 and *Production* 151-153; Taplin, *Comic Angels* 10; Handley, *Comedy* 398.

⁶⁷ See Green, *Theatre* 65-67; E. Csapo, «Phoenix» XL (1986) 379-392; Taplin, *Comic Angels* 30-99, and further bibliography in Green, *Production* 143f.

⁶⁸ F. Salviat, in *Thasiaca*, Paris 1979, 155-167.

⁶⁹ Dem. 19, 192-195, Diod. Sic. XVI 55; cf. further Diod. Sic. XVII 16,3, Arr. *Anab.* I 11,1, VII 14, Plut. *Alex.* 29, 72, *Mor.* 334e, Athen. XII 538f, 539a.

⁷⁰ See Meineke I 367f.; A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, II, Leipzig 1886², 155 n. 1; G. Kaibel, *RE* I/2 (1894) 2078.

tionalization' of comedy⁷¹ is also reflected in the fact that several Middle Comedy poets came from outside Athens⁷². Again, many of the 'exported' comedies will have been revisions of plays already staged in Attica, but the most productive 4th century poets may also have composed fresh comedies for first production in festivals outside Attica⁷³, or ceded unperformed plays to companies of players touring the Greek world. Some of the variant traditions about Antiphanes' birth-place (*Prolegomenon* III 48f., *Suda* α 2735)⁷⁴ may be due to the performance of his plays in places outside Attica: if during his career Antiphanes had formed a special 'professional' relationship with some particular cities, offering frequently plays to be staged at their festivals, traditions might arise that he was an originary of those cities; e.g. inscriptions commemorating local performances of his comedies might be misinterpreted by a later antiquarian or local historian as indications that Antiphanes actually came from there⁷⁵.

From where did hellenistic scholars derive their knowledge about the total number of Antiphanes' plays? It seems improbable that all his 260 comedies reached the Alexandrian library. Aristotle's *Didaskaliai* would record the titles of the plays performed in the City Dionysia and Lenaia up to about 335, and his pupils or later recorders may have continued the list to cover subsequent periods⁷⁶; but we do not know of any full record for comedies performed in the Rural Dionysia or in other cities, and we cannot assume that all those comedies happened to be included in the preserved plays⁷⁷. An answer might be sought in the treatise *Περὶ Ἀντιφάνου* by Demetrios of Phaleron (1,102, 118,11 S.-O.-D., Diog. Laert. V 81). Born ca. 360 and ruling Athens during 317-307, Demetrios may have met Antiphanes (who survived, as we saw, at least to the late 310s) and obtained from him, or from his son Stephanos after the poet's death, a full cata-

⁷¹ Cf. also in general Isocr. *De pace* (ca. 355) 14, and see Körte, *Komödie* 1266; K. Schneider, *RE Suppl.* VIII (1956) 228f.; H.D. Blume, *Einführung in das antike Theaterwesen*, Darmstadt 1984, 29f., 109f.; Handley, *Comedy* 398f.; Taplin, *Comic Angels* 1-6, 89-99 and in A.H. Sommerstein et al. (edd.), *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis*, Bari 1993, 536-539.

⁷² Three of the greatest Middle Comedy poets were non-Athenians: Alexis of Thourioi (*Suda* α 1132), Anaxandrides of Kameiros or Kolophon (*Suda* α 1982) and Antiphanes – apparently also a foreigner, who was later granted Athenian citizenship (cf. M.J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, III/IV, Bruxelles 1983, 76-78); cf. further Dionysios of Sinope (Athen. XI 467d, 479e, XIV 615e), Epikrates of Ambrakia (Athen. X 422f), Sophilos of Sikyon or Thebes (*Suda* σ 881).

⁷³ Cf. Taplin, *Comic Angels* 5f.

⁷⁴ Attributed otherwise to confusion of him with another, homonymous person: cf. Jacoby, *FGH Hist* IIIb *Komm.* 114f. (ad 347-351).

⁷⁵ Cf. Satyros called «Olynthian» (Athen. XIII 591e), a mistake probably due to his participation in the Olympia celebrated after the fall of Olynthos; cf. M. Bonaria, *RE Suppl.* X (1965) 875; Osborne, *o.c.* (above n. 72) 127.

⁷⁶ See Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA* 70-73, 107f.; Blum, *Kallimachos* 26-43.

⁷⁷ Cf. Mensching, *Produktivität* 16-18, 46f.

logue of Antiphanes' works; this he would incorporate in his treatise *Περὶ Ἀντιφάνους*, from which the Alexandrians' knowledge about the total number of Antiphanes' plays may then derive. Demetrios himself fled to Alexandria after 297, finding refuge at the court of Ptolemy I, and may have played there some part in the organization of the library⁷⁸.

3. *Parekdidomene* and *Didymoi*

These two plays present a special problem. *Parekdidomene* clearly dates (and *Didymoi* has been sometimes thought to date) from well after 334/3-331/0 – the supposed date of Antiphanes' death according to the *Suda*; some scholars have therefore argued that they must be the work of a later comic poet named Antiphanes, active at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century⁷⁹, for whom independent evidence was also thought to exist. I shall discuss below (section 4) whether the evidence usually adduced in this connection does constitute reliable proof for the existence of a second comic poet Antiphanes. First, however, we must examine the two plays to discover if attribution to the well-known Antiphanes is really impossible – especially in the light of the redating of his death proposed above.

The one extant fragment (185) of *Parekdidomene* reads:

ὄμνυμι δ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες, αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν
 ἐξ οὗ τὸ μεθύειν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν γίγνεται,
 ἢ μὴν ἐλέσθαι τοῦτον ἂν ζῆν τὸν βίον
 ἢ τὴν Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπεροχὴν.
 ῥοφεῖν φακὴν ἐσθ' ἢδὲ μὴ δεδοικότα,
 μαλακῶς καθεύδειν ἄθλιον δεδοικότα

Seleukos assumed officially the title of βασιλεύς in 306/5, shortly after Antigonos and Demetrios Poliorketes (who proclaimed themselves «kings» in summer 306)⁸⁰; this appears, therefore, to be a *terminus post quem* for *Parekdidomene*. Wilhelm⁸¹

⁷⁸ For Demetrios' role in the Alexandrian library see Blum, *Kallimachos* 99-103; S.V. Tracy, in W.W. Fortenbaugh-E. Schütrumpf, *Demetrius of Phalerum. Text, Translation and Discussion*, New Brunswick-London 2000, 343-345. For his treatise on Antiphanes see F. Montanari, in Fortenbaugh-Schütrumpf, *o.c.* 392.

⁷⁹ So Wilhelm, *Urkunden* 56-58; Webster, *Chronological Notes* 14 n. 2.

⁸⁰ Plut. *Demetr.* 18, Diod. Sic. XX 53.2-4; see especially A. Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator und sein Reich, I, Seleukos' Leben und die Entwicklung seiner Machtposition*, Leuven 1986, 148-150; also J.D. Grainger, *Seleukos Nikator. Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom*, London 1990, 112; E.S. Gruen, in J.W. Eadie-J. Ober (edd.), *The Craft of the Ancient Historian. «Essays in Honor of C.G. Starr»*, Lanham-New York-London 1985, 253-259; D. Musti, «SCO» XV (1966) 84f.

⁸¹ Wilhelm, *Urkunden* 56.

would like to date the play even later, after the battle of Ipsos (301), in which Seleukos crushed Antigonos, arguing that ὑπεροχήν must mean Seleukos' superiority over the other hellenistic kings, but this is unnecessary: ὑπεροχήν here may have an absolute sense, 'authority', 'majesty' (cf. *e.g.* Diod. Sic. XX 79,2, 92,3, Athen. IV 152e); or, if it has a relative one, it will simply mean king Seleukos' superiority (in wealth, power etc.) over the common man (with whose life the king's fortune is indeed compared in this fragment; cf. Aristot. *Pol.* 1289b 1, 1314a 8, 1332b 21, Diod. Sic. XIII 93,3 etc.).

Even if we assumed that 306/5 falls after the latest possible limit of Antiphanes' career, there would still be no need to attribute the play to a second Antiphanes. A better solution, already proposed by earlier scholars, is that the passage comes from a διασκευή of *Parekdidomene*, produced after Antiphanes' death⁸²: the play was originally composed by Antiphanes and first produced during his lifetime; after his death it was revived, and the producer made some revisions of the original script for the second production, *e.g.* removing all topical references which had gone out of date and replacing them with fresh ones to persons and events of contemporary actuality – among them the reference to «King Seleukos» in fr. 185,4. Note that this reference serves only as an example of a grandee's life (full of luxury, but also of dangers), to be contrasted with the life of a common man like the speaker; any other great prince or king in place of Seleukos would do equally well. Further, the line containing this reference (l. 4 ἢ τὴν Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπεροχήν) is self-contained and detachable; it could easily have been added to the fragment in replacement of another line. So in the original version Antiphanes may have written a different line after l. 3, making the speaker compare his life not with Seleukos' majesty but with that of some earlier grandee, *e.g.* the Persian king, Philip or Alexander; the reviser, then, removed the original line and replaced it with the more up-to-date reference to Seleukos. An occasion for the second production of *Parekdidomene* after Antiphanes' death might have been provided *e.g.* by the practice of yearly reviving an earlier comedy at the City Dionysia (a regular part of the programme by 311)⁸³; at the end of the 4th century the παλαιὰ κωμωδία revived could be chosen from among the earlier plays of Middle Comedy (in 311 it was Anaxandrides' *Thesauros*)⁸⁴. The revised text of the second production will then have been circulated, naturally under Antiphanes' name (the παλαιὰ κωμωδία revived at the Dionysia were of course presented under the name of their original author)⁸⁵, and survived to be excerpted by Athenaeus' source.

Nevertheless, if we accept the extended lifetime proposed above for Antiphanes,

⁸² See Kaibel, *Antiphanes* 2519; Bethe, *Zeit* 280; Di Marzio, *Brindisi* 180f.

⁸³ See Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA* 72-74, 83, 99-101, 123f.; Di Marzio, *Brindisi* 181f.

⁸⁴ See III B 2 c. I,14f. Mette.

⁸⁵ See III B 2 c. I,14f., III B 3 c. I,17f., c. IIIb,17f. Mette etc.

Parekdidomene could perhaps be accommodated in it. If Antiphanes was born in the final year of the 93rd olympiad (405/4), then it is just possible that he might still be alive in 306/5 to hear of Seleukos' assumption of the king's title and refer to it in *Parekdidomene*, presumably his last play (cf. Alexis and Philemon, who both seem to have approached 100 years). The comedy might then have been produced after Antiphanes' death, e.g. in 305/4, perhaps by his son Stephanos (cf. above)⁸⁶.

If this seems too strained, there is also a third alternative. Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως in fr. 185,4 need not presuppose the official assumption of the title of «king» by Seleukos in 306/5. Seleukos had been an independent ruler, exercising his authority over Babylon and other territories, from much earlier, ever since he reconquered Babylon in 312; as Grainger puts it, «he had been effectively king in Babylon since 312», no matter what official title he bore⁸⁷; cf. Diod. Sic. XIX 92,5 (after conquering Babylon in 312 Seleukos displayed ἡδὴ βασιλικὸν ἀνάστημα καὶ δόξαν ἀξίαν ἡγεμονίας, cf. also XIX 90,4), Plut. *Demetr.* 18,3 (already before assuming officially the title of βασιλεύς, Seleukos behaved as king, ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐχρημάτιζε, with his subjects). A comic writer, then, could call Seleukos βασιλεύς already from 312/11, without bothering much if this did not reflect accurately the ruler's official title⁸⁸; comedy is not obliged to observe strictly the official diplomatic terminology. There are parallels for such a 'loose' comic usage of βασιλεύς: Eupolis fr. 137 called Peisistratos βασιλεύς; more significantly, in the 4th century Epigenes fr. 6,4f. designates Pixodaros' father, Hekatomnos, the satrap of Karia (Isocr. 4,162 Ἐκατόμνω ... ὁ Καρίας ἐπίσταθμος, Diod. Sic. XIV 98,3, XV 2,3)⁸⁹ as βασιλέως ... <Καρῶν>; in Philemon fr. 15 Pythionike, the concubine of Harpalos, Alexander's treasurer in Babylon, is called βασίλισσ' ... Βαβυλῶνος. In the same way, then, fr. 185 can have been written at any moment after Seleukos' conquest of Babylon, and *Parekdidomene* could be dated as early as 312/11. The play falls thus more comfortably within the limits of Antiphanes' career: enjoying a life as long as Alexis' (95-100 years), the poet may well have survived, as we saw, until the late 310s.

Didymoi has also been attributed to a second Antiphanes, although in other

⁸⁶ For posthumous production of an illustrious dramatist's last play(s) by a descendant cf. Arg. Soph. *OC* II p. 2 de Marco = Soph. test. 41 R.; *Vita Euripidis* p. 2,14 Schwartz, Schol. Ar. *Ra.* 67, *Suda* ε 3695; Capps, *Epigraphical Problems* 190f.

⁸⁷ See Grainger, *o.c.* (above n. 80) 112, cf. 102; cf. also E.R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, I, London 1902, 54, 57; E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris 1938, 12 n. 5; F. Stähelin, *RE* II A/1 (1921) 1213, 1215; D. Musti, *o.c.* (above n. 80) 85-87; E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323-30 av. J.C.)*, I, Nancy 1966, 58f., 65; O. Müller, *Antigonos Monophthalmos und "Das Jahr der Könige"*, Bonn 1973, 71-77; Mehl, *o.c.* (above n. 80) 138ff.

⁸⁸ Cf. Capps, *Chronological Studies* 58; Di Marzio, *Brindisi* 180.

⁸⁹ Cf. U. Kahrstedt, *RE* VII/2 (1912) 2788; Kassel-Austin V 168.

respects it seems firmly established among the works of the well-known Middle Comedy poet. Athenaeus quotes from it not once but four times (III 127d, VI 237f, IX 380f, X 423c), always attributing it simply to Antiphanes: he never once calls the author of this comedy ὁ νεώτερος Ἀντιφάνης (although elsewhere he distinguishes e.g. the younger Kratinos or Philemon with Κρατῖνος / Φιλήμων ὁ νεώτερος, see below); nor does he ever imply that its authorship was disputed (although he records several cases of disputed authorship in the Antiphanean corpus, cf. above for Antiphanes and Epikrates / Epigenes, also II 66f, III 123b, 127b-c, XIII 572b for plays disputed between Antiphanes and Alexis); the play clearly seems to have passed in antiquity for an undisputed creation of the well-known Antiphanes. Its remains present motifs which seem firmly rooted in the tradition of Middle Comedy: the play contained a parasite who makes (fr. 80) a 'self-encomium', enumerating his abilities and the ways he may prove useful to his patron in a manner which unmistakably recalls other parasites of Middle Comedy (cf. especially Timokles fr. 8 and, with a more burlesque tone, Antiphanes fr. 193, Aristophon fr. 5)⁹⁰.

The apparent problem is created by fr. 81, where the speaker describes a banquet he has participated in:

τὸ ποτήριόν μοι τὸ μέγα προσφέρει λαβών.
ἐπεχεάμην ἄκρατον. «ἔγχει, παιδίον,
κυάθους θεῶν τε καὶ θεαινῶν μυρίους.
ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι τῆς σεμνῆς θεᾶς
καὶ τοῦ γλυκυτάτου βασιλέως διμοιρίαν»

Some scholars identify this γλυκύτατος βασιλεύς with Demetrios Poliorketes, and date the play in 304/3, when Demetrios occupied the *opisthodomos* of the Parthenon (the σεμνὴ θεά is then Athena, his temporary 'neighbour')⁹¹, or in 291, connecting it with the 'ithyphallic hymn' which the Athenians sang in honour of Demetrios (the σεμνὴ θεά is then Demeter, with whom Demetrios is coupled in that hymn)⁹². In both cases the play would postdate the latest possible limit of Antiphanes' lifetime. We may assume, of course, that fr. 81 comes from a later διασκευή of *Didymoi* (cf. above on *Parekdidomene*)⁹³, prepared for a posthumous revival of the comedy: note that again the two lines 4 and 5, which refer to the

⁹⁰ Cf. Nesselrath, *MK* 311f.

⁹¹ Ferguson, *o.c.* (above n. 32) 118; Wilhelm, *Urkunden* 57f.; Schröder, *Lebensdaten* 46f. n. 61; cf. also Di Marzio, *Brindisi* 176-179, who dates the play after 307 (when Demetrios 'liberated' Athens and was acclaimed by the Athenians as Σωτήρ), but identifies the σεμνὴ θεά as Aphrodite, comparing Alexis fr. 116.

⁹² Scott, *Deification* 149-152, 233f.; V. Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the Ancient World. Essays and Reviews*, Oxford 1946, 185.

⁹³ Cf. Di Marzio, *Brindisi* 179.

goddess and the king, are detachable from the rest of the fragment, and may easily have been inserted in the revision (perhaps replacing something else, although here this is not necessary: the original toast could well have been limited to the «gods and goddesses» of l. 3).

However, we need not assume that the king of fr. 81 must in any case be Demetrios Poliorketes: the passage contains no conclusive indication as to the identity of the unnamed βασιλεύς; other candidates, suitable to Antiphanes' life-time, may also be considered, *e.g.* Alexander⁹⁴. The objection raised by Wilhelm (*Urkunden* 57) that Athenians would never speak of Alexander in this way is obviously not valid: the passage comes from a comedy, and we do not know who the speaker of fr. 81 is. He may be *e.g.* a comic soldier, who has served under Alexander in the Macedonian army: a soldier can naturally refer to the king he serves as simply ὁ βασιλεύς, «the king», meaning «my king»⁹⁵; here he calls him in addition «my sweetest / dearest king» (τοῦ γλυκυτάτου βασιλέως) perhaps to imply that he himself is on very intimate terms with the king, one of his closest and most beloved friends (cf. Thraso in Ter. *Eun.* 397-410, Theophr. *Char.* 23,3f., also Pyrgopolynices in Plaut. *Mil.* 75ff.). If the banquet of fr. 81 took place in Athens, the σεμνὴ θεὰ may be Athena: the soldier drinks a special toast to the patron goddess of the city he happens to be in and to the king whom he serves⁹⁶. But other interpretations are also possible: the speaker may *e.g.* have served as a soldier in Cyprus under a local king (cf. the soldier in Antiphanes' *Stratiotes* fr. 200) and be here describing a banquet which took place (before play-time) in Cyprus, while he was serving there (cf. again fr. 200); in that case the σεμνὴ θεὰ would be Aphrodite (called σεμνή *e.g.* in Eur. *Hipp.* 99, 103, *CEG* I 400, II 775, *Orph. Hymn.* 55,2, 7, Babr. 32,2), the great goddess of Cyprus, and the γλυκύτατος βασιλεύς the Cypriot king. *Didymoi* could then be roughly contemporary with *Stratiotes* (which may date from shortly after the revolt of the Cypriot kingdoms in 345-343).

The problems posed by those two plays can, then, be solved in other ways, and neither of them needs to be attributed to a second, later Antiphanes.

4. The 'younger Antiphanes'

The theory about a younger comic poet Antiphanes, active in late fourth-early third century was in the first place proposed⁹⁷ in order to explain the cases of

⁹⁴ See Meineke III 46; Bethe, *Zeit* 281.

⁹⁵ See Bethe, *Zeit* 278.

⁹⁶ For toasts in honour of Alexander – with unmixed wine, as in fr. 81 – cf. Plut. *Mor.* 454d-e, 623f-624a, Athen. X 434d, also Plut. *Alex.* 54; see Scott, *Deification* 155f.; L.R. Taylor, «JHS» XLVII (1927) 59f.

⁹⁷ By Wilhelm, *Urkunden* 55-58; cf. Webster, *Chronological Notes* 14 n. 2.

Parekdidomene and *Didymoi*; the evidence supposed to prove the existence of such a poet was then adduced to support this theory. We have seen, however, that the apparent difficulties in those two plays can be easily explained without resorting to a second Antiphanes, and thus the very reason which gave rise to the theory is removed.

It is further worth considering other known cases of younger comic poets who bear the same name as celebrated earlier ones (the younger Kratinos and Philemon) and observing how our fragment-citing sources quote from them. Athenaeus, Pollux and others frequently quote the younger Kratinos as Κρατῖνος ὁ νεώτερος (e.g. Athen. IV 177a, VI 241c, XI 460f, 469c, Poll. VII 58, 211); Athen. VII 291d and Stob. IV 38,6 cite from Φιλήμων ὁ νεώτερος. Naturally, some fragments of the younger poet may have been cited under the plain name «Kratinos» or «Philemon» (cf. Diog. Laert. III 28, VIII 37); but in both cases there are at least quoting sources which explicitly distinguish the younger poet and quote from his work. Similarly, Athen. XIII 599e cites from Αἰσχύλος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, distinguishing him from the 5th century Aeschylus, and Clem. Alex. *Protr.* II 30,4 from Σοφοκλῆς ὁ νεώτερος, distinguishing him from his famous grandfather. Citing sources also take often care to distinguish between the two Apollodoroi, quoting one as Ἀπολλόδορος ὁ Γελῶς (Athen. III 125a, XI 472c, Poll. IV 19, X 93, 138), the other as Ἀπολλόδορος ὁ Καρύστιος (Athen. VI 243d, VII 280d, XIV 664a, Poll. X 152 etc.). However, no source ever quotes from a comedy by Ἀντιφάνης ὁ νεώτερος; Athenaeus and Pollux (who usually distinguish, as we saw, between homonymous poets) know nothing of a younger comic poet Antiphanes and clearly regard all the comic fragments they cite under Antiphanes' name as composed by the famous Middle Comedy poet. This is not conclusive proof, but it does tell against the assumption that titles and fragments of a younger Antiphanes have slipped into the Antiphanean corpus.

It is now time to examine the evidence usually adduced and see if it does really prove the existence of a younger comic poet Antiphanes in late 4th-early 3rd century.

A comic actor Antiphanes appears on *IG* II² 2319,57 and probably also 66 (= III C 2 10 and 19 Mette) as having acted in the Lenaia of 285 and (probably) 284 in plays by Phoinikides. To a comic actor Antiphanes refers presumably also the new inscriptional fragment (q': D. Peppas-Delmousou, «MDAI(A)» XCII (1977) 239 = Vq' Mette, l. 3 [Ἀντιφ]άνης), which formed part (Peppas-Delmousou, *o.c.* 238-241) of the list of victorious comic actors in the Lenaia. Mette is mistaken, when he suggests that the fragment might alternatively list comic poets and identifies the Φιλοκράτης of l. 1 with the Philokrates reported to have ridiculed Philainis in Schol. [Luc.] *Amor.* 28 (p. 205 Rabe): such a comic poet Philokrates did not exist; the Φιλοκράτης of Schol. [Luc.] *l.c.* is only a mistake for the sophist Polykrates, who is indeed reported to have defamed Philainis in Athen. VIII 335c-d⁹⁸. All this

⁹⁸ See Meineke I 529; C. Austin, «ZPE» XIV (1974) 219; Kassel-Austin VII 805.

evidence, then, pertains to a comic actor named Antiphanes⁹⁹; there is no indication that this actor was also a comic poet (the two capacities might of course be combined in the same person, but need not); these inscriptions cannot serve as proof for a younger comic poet Antiphanes active in the 3rd century.

The only piece of 'evidence' that remains about him is *Suda* α 2734 – in itself highly problematic. In an obviously confused and corrupt entry (note the obscure reference to an ἕτερος Ἀντιφάνης Καρύστιος, †τρανος†, κατὰ Θέσπιν (?) γεγονὼς τοῖς χρόνοις, which immediately follows¹⁰⁰) the *Suda* reports: Ἀντιφάνης Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, νεώτερος τοῦ Παναιτίου. As it stands, this can hardly support any theory about a younger comic poet Antiphanes in the third century: νεώτερος τοῦ Παναιτίου (the article suggests that this Panaitios is a well-known person of that name, *i.e.* presumably the famous philosopher) would place this Antiphanes in the 2nd century – too late for him to have written *Parekdidomene* in 306/5 or acted in the Lenaia of 285. But the entry is odd in two respects: (a) it is strange that a κωμικός should be qualified by means of his relation to a Stoic philosopher; (b) the entry on Ἀντιφάνης ... κωμικός, νεώτερος ... (α 2734) precedes the entry on the famous, earlier comic poet Antiphanes (α 2735), though normally the earlier poet should be listed before a homonymous later practitioner of the same genre, cf. *e.g.* *Suda* σ 815 (the famous Sophocles), σ 816 (Σοφοκλῆς Ἀρίστωνος, his grandson), φ 327-328 (the famous Philemon), φ 329 (Φιλήμων ὁ νεώτερος). These two oddities suggest that in fact the Ἀντιφάνης ... νεώτερος of α 2734 was not a comic poet at all and the indication κωμικός is due to error or confusion.

Outside *Suda* α 2734, the only Antiphanes qualified as νεώτερος in our sources is the antiquarian or scholar Antiphanes, who wrote *Περὶ ἑταιρῶν* and may have lived in the 2nd century B.C.¹⁰¹ (*FGrHist* 349; called Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ὁ νεώτερος in Harp. N 2 = *Suda* ν 25; cf. Athen. XIII 586b, 587b). It has been plausibly suggested¹⁰² that the Ἀντιφάνης ... νεώτερος of α 2734 may refer to this person. Harp. N 2 and *Suda* ν 25 suggest one way, in which the error about this Antiphanes being a κωμικός arose: referring to the hetaira Nannion they write ἔστι δὲ αὐτῆς μνήμη καὶ ἐν τῇ κωμῳδίᾳ. Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ὁ νεώτερος ἐν τῷ *Περὶ ἑταιρῶν* τὴν Νάννιον φησι Προσκήνιον ἐπονομάζεσθαι. A careless reader might deduce from this that Ἀντιφάνης ὁ νεώτερος is adduced as an example of the comic playwrights (ἐν τῇ κωμῳδίᾳ) mentioned just before¹⁰³. Alternatively, we may here have another example of the common error (cf. section 2 above), by

⁹⁹ I. E. Στεφανής, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται*, Herakleion 1988, 58, nr. 220.

¹⁰⁰ For speculations about this mysterious 'Antiphanes Karystios' see G. Bernhardt, *Suidae Lexicon. Graece et Latine*, I, Halis et Brunsvigae 1853, 491; Meineke I 340; Daub, *Biographika* 261f.; K. Dieterich, *RE* I/2 (1894) 2518; Kaibel, *Antiphanes* 2521; Snell-Kannicht, *TrGF* I² 319.

¹⁰¹ See Athen. XIII 567a; Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIb *Komm.* 113-115 (*ad* 347-351).

¹⁰² See Bernhardt, *o.c.* (above n. 100) 490; Meineke I 340; Daub, *Biographika* 261; Kaibel, *Antiphanes* 2521; Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIb *Komm.* 114f.

¹⁰³ Cf. Kaibel, *Antiphanes* 2521.

which information about a certain author is inserted in the biography of another, homonymous author: the qualification κωμικός will then have been mistakenly inserted in the life of the antiquarian Ἀντιφάνης ὁ νεώτερος, while in fact it concerned another Antiphanes – obviously the famous Middle Comedy poet. Indeed, in the present case this error would have been very easy to commit during the transmission itself of the *Suda*: in the lexicon the entry α 2734 is immediately followed by the biography of the famous Antiphanes (α 2735), who is explicitly qualified as κωμικὸς τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας; from α 2735 the word κωμικός may easily have been transferred and inserted in the immediately preceding entry α 2734¹⁰⁴.

If so, the mention of Panaitios in *Suda* α 2734 can be explained: we need only write Ἀντιφάνης ... νεώτερος, <μαθητῆς> τοῦ Παναιτίου, assuming that the antiquarian Antiphanes was Panaitios' pupil¹⁰⁵. Jacoby further suggests that this Antiphanes was a Rhodian, but this is not necessary: Panaitios often resided in Athens and was head of the Stoa there from ca. 129 to 109¹⁰⁶, so the antiquarian Antiphanes may well have been an Athenian, as stated in *Suda* α 2734, and taught by Panaitios in Athens.

There is, then, no reliable proof for a younger comic poet Antiphanes, active in the 3rd century; it is far from certain that such a poet existed; and we certainly do not need to assume his existence to explain any apparent problems in the Antiphanean corpus, which may well be solved in other ways.

Cambridge

IOANNIS M. KONSTANTAKOS

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¹⁰⁴ Cf. Steph. Byz. 163 Mein. Βέργη ... ἐξ ἧς ὁ Βεργαῖος Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμικός. ἄπιστα δὲ οὗτος συνέγραψεν, where the fabulist Antiphanes of Berge (see Meineke I 340; W. Schmid, *RE* II/2 [1894] 2521f.; O. Weinreich, *Antiphanes und Münchhausen. Das antike Lügenmärlein von den gefrorenen Worten und sein Fortleben im Abendland*, Wien-Leipzig 1942, 11-44; Arnott, *Alexis* 239f.) is mistakenly called κωμικός, by confusion with the famous Middle Comedy poet.

¹⁰⁵ Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIb *Komm.* 114f.

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