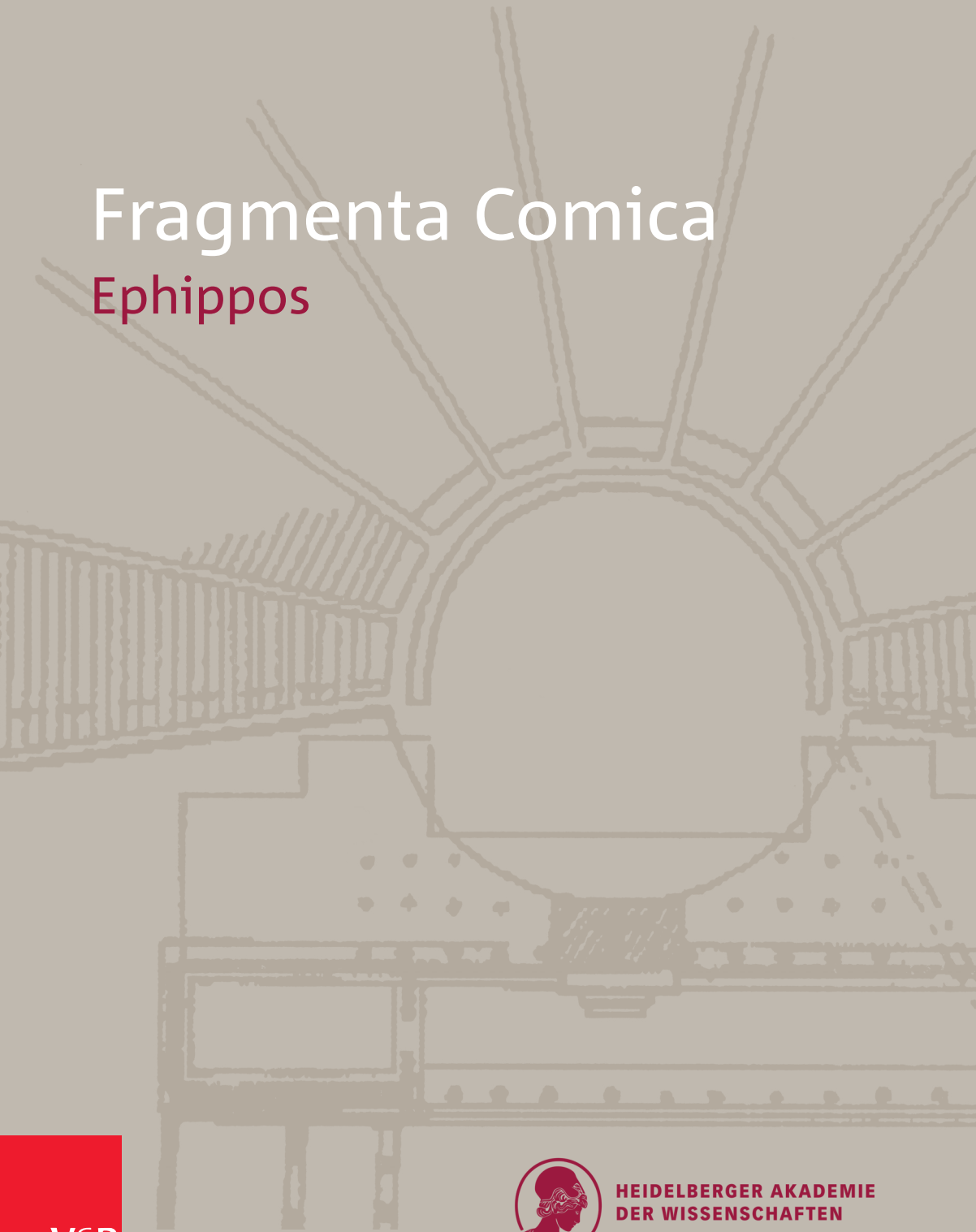
Fragmenta Comica

Ephippos



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herausgegeben von Glenn W. Most, Heinz-Günther Nesselrath,
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Athina Papachrysostomou

Ephippus

Introduction, Translation, Commentary

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to the memory of my grandparents,
Athina and Andreas,
deux étoiles

"Quand tu regarderas le ciel, la nuit, puisque j'habiterai dans l'une d'elles, puisque je rirai dans l'une d'elles, alors ce sera pour toi comme si riaient toutes les étoiles"
(Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Le Petit Prince*)

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Preface

It is a great honour and a special privilege for me that Professor Dr Bernhard Zimmermann, following the publication of the *Amphis* volume in 2016 (FrC 20), entrusted me with the production of a second volume within the internationally acclaimed KomFrag project, under the auspices of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences.

Methodologically, my approach to Ephippus' surviving material features four stages: (i) analysis of each play-title, (ii) discussion of possible date for each play (provided that available evidence allows it), (iii) translation, contextualization, critical discussion, metrical analysis, and interpretation for each fragment, (iv) commentary on individual terms and expressions featuring in every fragment. Given the tiny fraction that we possess from Ephippus' dramatic output, I make every possible effort to extract all information available and associate it with comic and non-comic parallels, literary antecedents and posterior material, in terms of thematic motifs, stylistic patterns, syntactical structures, and grammatical forms. After meticulously studying all evidence, I regularly present the reader with a plausible reconstruction of both the play's plot and each fragment's (immediate) context (often including speaker identification). Whilst doing this, I am aware of – although I do not disrespect – the opposite view that advises against any reconstruction attempt in the absence of solid and irrefutable evidence. As I have argued elsewhere (2008: 23–25, 2012–2013: 165–166), whilst acknowledging the sheer inconclusiveness that lies at the very heart of (comic) fragments, I strongly believe that it is a scholar's duty to pursue all implications, allusions, and data available to the furthest possible extent, in an attempt to project and understand every fragment against the bigger, catholic picture. Accordingly, I often take a leap of faith (always setting off from the safe platform of evidence) and I invite the reader to do the same, in the belief that, until more papyri scraps are unearthed and more palimpsests are discovered, we need to approach and comprehend fragmentary comic evidence not *in vacuo*, but as an integral part of a meaningful entity.

Regarding the volume's practical issues of abbreviations (for authors and works) and translations, I follow the abbreviations of the Liddell–Scott–Jones Greek-English Dictionary (^{9}1940, with suppl. 1996), while for Greek and Latin texts I use the corresponding English translations of the Loeb Classical Library series (slightly adapted on a few occasions), except for the case of Amphis, where I use my translation (FrC 20, 2016). I have also put together a set of abbreviations of commonly referred works, which can be found in the relevant section of this volume. The editions of Ephippus, mentioned separately and in chronological order at the beginning of Bibliography, are referred to throughout the volume only by the editor's name.

As mentioned above, my participation in the KomFrag project is a cherished privilege and a distinct honour. Above all, heartfelt and sincere thanks are due to the mastermind of this initiative, Professor Dr Bernhard Zimmermann, not only for

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his spot-on feedback, but primarily for his continued trust in me, his authenticity, and his exemplary academic ethos. I am also grateful to the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences for generously funding the publication of this volume and all other aspects of the KomFrag project. Many thanks are also due to the KomFrag team members Dr Virginia Mastellari, for taking the time to read my manuscript and make helpful suggestions, and Dr Christian Orth, for providing me with essential bibliographical items. Further thanks are due to Ms Sue Willetts at the 'Combined Library of the Institute of Classical Studies and the Hellenic and Roman Societies' in London, who went the extra mile to promptly provide me with hard-to-find bibliographical material, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic (where physical presence at the libraries was not an option); without her invaluable help, the publication of the present volume would have been seriously delayed. Of course, special thanks are due to my husband George for his unremitting support and for discussing classical stuff with me (albeit not a classicist himself!). And, as always, a huge thank-you goes out to my one-of-a-kind parents, Antonia and Christoforos, for teaching me to think outside the box and look life – and people – in the face.

This volume is dedicated to the loving memory of my grandparents, Athina and Andreas, who passed away some time ago, but whose words have stayed with me ever since. My grandmother Athina, a manual labourer, used to quote a Cypriot proverb about how the eyes can get scared at the sight of heavy workload, but the hands always come to the rescue and save the day (a proverb that always reminded me of Gorgias' argument about the power of sight); *mutatis mutandis*, I often find myself identifying with the quintessence of that proverb. My grandfather Andreas, also a manual labourer, whenever adversities occurred, would always smile peacefully and say, "this too shall pass". Being an optimist by nature myself, I always keep his words in my mind, especially during the trying times of the Covid-19 world pandemic that has changed our lives in an unprecedented way.

Athina Papachrysostomou
Athens, August 2020

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Introduction

1. Name / Identity

Ephippus (Ἔφιππος) was an Athenian comic playwright, who lived and flourished during the fourth century BC (*IG* II^2 2325.145 = *IRDF* 2325E.40, *PA* 6160 + add., *PAA* 452960). Suda ε 3929 (test. 1) and Athenaeus 9.482c (test. 5) classify him among the poets belonging to the period of Middle Comedy. The ancient Scholiast on *Iliad* 5.76a (test. 4) also mentions Ephippus as a comic poet, albeit not out of literary interest in his work.

The proper name Ἔφιππος is a speaking one; it etymologically pertains to horses (Ἔφιππος < ἐπί + ἵππος). As an adjective, ἔφιππος signifies the person who is *on horseback*, *riding*. Accordingly, the proper name Ἔφιππος may – theoretically, at least – allude to the aristocratic, equestrian class of Athens, the class of Ἱππεῖς (*Knights*); yet, no such real-life connection can be established in the case of the comic playwright Ephippus. Dover (commenting on the cognate proper name Φειδιππίδης in Aristophanes' *Clouds*) notes that "there was nothing unusual about names beginning with Ἱππο- or ending in -ιππος" (1968: xxvi); cf. Olson (1992) 308.

In general, the proper name Ἔφιππος is a rather infrequent one, both within and outside the boundaries of Attica. Indicative of the name's rarity is the fact that it only features four times in *PAA* (including the entry of Ephippus the comic poet). On the whole, the surviving evidence (inscriptional and other) is meagre but interesting. Within Attica the name is first attested on a black-figure hydria from Athens (*ca*. 520 BC), which is the work of a prolific painter called 'the Antimenes painter' (Beazley 1927: 63). On this hydria, the name Ἔφιππος is most appositely assigned to a youth attending to horses (Beazley 1927: 88). Additionally, on a mid-fourth century inscription (*ca*. 360–350 BC) from the Athenian deme of Melite (*IG* II^2 2383,20) the name Ἔφιππος is borne by both a father and a son (*LGPN* 2,191, *PAA* 452970). Outside Attica the name is attested on three inscriptions from three different locations in Boeotia (dating to the sixth, fifth, and second centuries BC; *LGPN* 3B,171). Ephippus was also the name of the celebrated writer at the court of Alexander the Great (*FGrH* 126) and author of the anecdotal work *On the Life and Death of Hephaestion and Alexander* (see Pearson 1960: 61–67; Badian 1964: 253–254); this Ephippus is commemorated on a fourth-century BC inscription from Olynthus (*LGPN* 4,140).

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2. Chronology and Career

Ephippus belongs to the period widely acknowledged and referred to as 'Middle Comedy'.[1] He won a single victory at the Lenaea of an unknown year. On the so-called 'Victors List' for that festival (*IRDF* 2325E) Ephippus' name appears in line 40 (*IRDF* 2325E.40 = test. 2), immediately following Eubulus (line 39) and directly preceding Antiphanes (line 41). Ephippus' adjacency to these two comic playwrights allows us to date his victory *ca*. 378–376 BC (see further comm. under test. 2). With all probability, Ephippus' agonistic record is also preserved on *IGUR* 218.15 (= test. 3).

Nesselrath (1990: 196–197) dates Ephippus' floruit to the years 375–340 BC, based on the topicality of the political references featuring in (at least) three of his fragments (frr. 1, 16, 17). In addition, certain pieces of internal evidence from Ephippus' surviving output (such as references/allusions to contemporary individuals or events) allow us to provide *probable*, *possible*, or *tentative* dates (mostly termini post quem) for seven out of his twelve play-titles. We can further identify an early career period (featuring the plays *Artemis*, *Geryon*, *The Look-alikes or The Spit-bread Bearers*, and *Philyra*) and a late career period (featuring the plays *Busiris*, *The Peltast*, and *Sappho*).

3. Tradition and Reception

The surviving dramatic production of Ephippus is preserved by Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistae* and consists of twelve play-titles and twenty-eight fragments (some of which are fairly substantial); five of these fragments, preserved in the Epitome of *Deipnosophistae*, are *IFF* (*incertarum fabularum fragmenta*), i. e. they are not assigned to any particular play. Regarding Athenaeus' reliability, in terms

[1] The – (until recently) fairly controversial – period of Middle Comedy conventionally begins after the performance of Aristophanes' last intact surviving play, *Plutus* (388 BC), and ends with Menander's first stage appearance, with the play *Orge* (either in 324/3 or in 321 BC). For discussion of divergent and/or original views and for further bibliographical references, see Papachrysostomou (2008) 10–14, Arnott 2010, Shaw (2014) 106–122, Hartwig 2014. Paramount and unsurpassed remains Nesselrath's synopsis of both ancient views and modern scholarship on Middle Comedy (1990: 1–187); and so does Nesselrath's discussion of the interesting "Merkmalkombination" (1990: 331–340), which uniquely marks off this period (cf. Papachrysostomou 2011, Konstantakos 2015); see also Nesselrath 2015, where the author convincingly establishes that the tripartite division of the comic genre (into Old, Middle, and New Comedy) traces back to the Alexandrian scholars (but not earlier than that). For some radical challenges of the traditional view of Comedy's tripartite division, see Sidwell 2000a and 2014, Csapo 2000a, Fielitz 1866.

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of both the context and the content of the fragments that he quotes, it is generally agreed that he made every effort to assure the authenticity and correctness of his quotations; cf. Rudolph 1891, Düring 1936, Nesselrath (1990) 65–79. As far as Athenaeus' manuscript tradition is concerned, codex Venetus Marcianus 447 (noted with the siglum A) is of paramount importance, since it is the only manuscript of independent value, which preserves the unepitomized version of *Deipnosophistae* (codex Marcianus was written by John the Calligrapher in the early tenth century AD; Marcianus' apographs have no independent value). The Epitome of *Deipnosophistae* is widely acknowledged to be an inferior substitute of the unepitomized work; in Arnott's words (2000: 47), "the practice of the compiler was haphazardly to omit some of the original citations and to abridge, rearrange and paraphrase some of the citations that he retained, while removing virtually all the titles of the works that were cited" (see further Arnott 2000 for a detailed study of Athenaeus' manuscript tradition in general). On Athenaeus' value as a huge reservoir of fragmentary material, his method(s) of quotation, his ur-encyclopedic style, his *modus scribendi*, etc. see Lukinovich 1990, Braund & Wilkins 2000 (multiple essays featuring thorough analyses of individual issues), Jacob 2013, Murray 2015, Papachrysostomou (2016) 12–13.

Additionally, regarding the structure of *Deipnosophistae*, it should be borne in mind that the work features two narrative levels, the second being embedded within the first. Athenaeus simultaneously assumes the twofold role (i) of the external narrator (addressing his acquaintance Timocrates) and (ii) of the actual participant in the symposion that he recently attended, conversing with the other banqueters (cf. 1.2a); for a list of the symposion characters and a brief introduction to the narrative, see Olson *Athenaeus* I, vii-xxiv. Inherent to this twin narrative technique is the riveting 'mirror-effect' that Athenaeus establishes between the text and the symposium; as Jacob (2000: 85) puts it, "from eating food and drinking wines, there is a shift towards eating words, quotations and scholarly comments about drinks and food" (for the mirror-like construction of *Deipnosophistae* in general, wherein Athenaeus emerges as both a reader and a scholar, see analytically Jacob 2000). See also Wilkins 2000b, who delves into the structure of the *Deipnosophistae* highlighting Athenaeus' key methodological techniques and essential structural devices, which underpin the bulk of information and serve as the backbone of the entire work. Furthermore, despite the initial claim (Ath. 1.1f) that δραματουργεῖ δὲ τὸν διάλογον ὁ Ἀθήναιος ζήλῳ Πλατωνικῷ (*Athenaeus imitates Plato in his dramatization of the dialogue*), Wilkins (2000b: 36) evinces that Athenaeus "makes little attempt to imitate the elegant narrative development of a Platonic dialogue; rather, Athenaeus revels in the excesses of the bookstack of a library" (in that regard see also Trapp 2000: 353–355). Fortunately, because of this 'revel' by Athenaeus, we now have invaluable fragments from lost works not only from Comedy but from every single literary genre.

A few fragments of Ephippus are additionally preserved (in their entirety or in part) by Eustathius in his Commentaries on *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In all these cases,

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Eustathius' indebtedness to Athenaeus' Epitome can be confidently established (Eustathius' manuscript tradition preserves the same readings with the Epitome codices C and E); this agrees with our knowledge that Eustathius made extensive use of Athenaeus' Epitome. It is also likely (as argued by Morelli 1963: 342–346, and Olson *Athenaeus* I, xvi) that Eustathius had his own copy of the Epitome, which was superior to the text preserved by the codices C and E. On Eustathius' use of Athenaeus' Epitome see the discussions (featuring further bibliography) of Collard (2007) 74–76 (= 1969: 164–168) and Fowler 2010 (on Maas' hypothesis that Eustathius was the author of the Epitome); cf. Aldick's 'Index locorum ab Eustathio ex Athenaei Epitoma exscriptorum' (1928: 61–72), which features more than 1750 entries that Eustathius copied from Athenaeus' Epitome.

One fragment of Ephippus (fr. 2) is also preserved by Macrobius in his *Saturnalia*. On Macrobius' manuscript tradition see Kaster (2010) *passim* but esp. 3–28, 85–112.

4. Themes and Motifs

The surviving fragments of Ephippus feature a wide array of thematic trends and touch – directly or tangentially – on a number of common comic topoi:

(a) Food, wine, symposion The sympotic dyad of food and wine is part and parcel of the comic genre. Especially during the period of Middle (and New) Comedy food and wine are much celebrated, unrestrainedly pursued, and extravagantly consumed. Most outstanding are the lengthy food lists/catalogues (asyndetic or paratactic enumerations of food items), which – along with eclectic wine imagery – enjoy a ubiquitous presence throughout the surviving comic material, typically within a largely sympotic setting. Ephippus' comic output finds itself in the very middle of this overwhelmingly sympotic atmosphere, since a high percentage (almost two thirds) of his surviving fragments pertain (either straightforwardly or peripherally) to some aspect of commensality and/or wine drinking, always against a sympotic backdrop. Regarding especially the comic topos of list/catalogue, Ephippus' contribution is significant in that regard, since he provides us with singular samples of two unparalleled kinds of lists: (i) the single surviving food list consisting exclusively of fish (fr. 12), and (ii) the single surviving food list consisting almost exclusively of desserts (fr. 13). Additionally, fr. 4 is a minuscule, albeit valuable, piece of evidence regarding a rarely attested, specific type of symposion called *collective* (συναγώγιμον), where everyone was expected to contribute their share. Regarding wine and its multifarious effect (from rendering people intrepid to making them confess the truth), different wine blends, along with a couple of high-quality wines (Lesbian and pramnian), these are issues addressed in frr. 2, 10, 11, 18, 25, and 28. Furthermore, fr. 9 is the only surviving piece of evidence from the comic genre visualizing a rowdy sympotic scene of a 'drinking-cup war':

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banqueters bring along their own supply of 'ammunition', i. e. drinking-cups, which they use as weapons, throwing them at each other (the fragment foreshadows Lucian's *Symposion*). In addition to these fragments, sympotic atmosphere is explicitly present in frr. 8, 24, and 26, and is alluded to (e. g. shopping and cooking instructions, etc.) in frr. 15, 19, 20, 21, and 22. Of course, a *caveat* is in order here: Ephippus' seeming penchant for sympotic matters may not truly represent the poet's thematic preferences; the surviving evidence could be misleading, especially since it is exclusively the result of Athenaeus' choices that were meant to meet the purposes of his quintessentially sympotic text.

(b) Politics & personal mockery As a general rule, during the period of Middle Comedy the comic satire (political and other) is largely allegoric, veiled and/or enigmatic, as ancient testimonies already notice; e. g. sch. on Dion. Thrax (XVIIIa.37–39 Koster): τρεῖς διαφορὰς ἔδοξεν ἔχειν ἡ κωμῳδία· καὶ ἡ μὲν καλεῖται παλαιά, ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φανερῶς ἐλέγχουσα, ἡ δὲ μέση ἡ αἰνιγματωδῶς, ἡ δὲ νέα ἡ μηδ' ὅλως τοῦτο ποιοῦσα πλὴν ἐπὶ δούλων ἢ ξένων (*it is believed that Comedy had three different periods; the first one is called 'Old', the one that from the beginning makes direct accusations, the 'Middle' period is the one that scoffs enigmatically, while the 'New' is the period that does not exercise satire at all, except against slaves and foreigners;* of course, this last statement about New Comedy does not hold water), and Tzetzes (XIa I.70–71 Koster): τῆς μέσης δὲ καὶ δευτέρας ἦν γνώρισμα τὸ συμβολικοτέρως, μὴ καταδήλως λέγειν τὰ σκώμματα (*mocking through symbolisms/metaphors and not openly was the characteristic of the second period, the Middle one*). Nevertheless, despite the conspicuous and uncontested withering of Comedy's political taste during the periods of Middle and New Comedy, there is still a good number of cases where the comic playwrights choose to directly engage in topical discussions on current/recent political affairs, or even name an entire play after a known political figure. For trenchant discussions see Webster (^{2}1970) 37–56; Nesselrath (1990) 218–225, and 1997; Papachrysostomou (2008) 18–19, 2009, and 2012; Henderson 2014; Rosenbloom 2014; Sommerstein (2014) 299–302, Mastellari 2016.

Within Ephippus' twenty-eight fragments there survive personal references and/or jibes (ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν) against several named individuals (see details below, under "*Kōmōdoumenoi*"). Among these there are three political figures (Alexander of Pherae, Dionysius I of Syracuse, and Nicostratus of Argos), all of whom are non-Athenians. In addition, it is probable that two of Ephippus' plays were large-scale political allegories: *Busiris* (alluding to Egypt's pharaoh Nectanebo II) and *Geryon* (alluding to Macedon's king Philip II); cf. below under "Myth". The pattern that clearly emerges is that Ephippus specifically chose to target non-Athenian political figures (albeit these figures, and especially Philip II, constantly kept the Athenian politicians busy), i. e. a tactic that fits nicely with Middle Comedy's changed political taste and idiosyncratic handling of political issues. Ephippus' proclivity for non-Athenian political targets is paralleled by several cases (from both Middle and New Comedy), the most remarkable ex-

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amples being Mnesimachus' *Philip* (*PCG* 7,23–26, about Philip II of Macedon; cf. Papachrysostomou 2008: 210–220, Mastellari 2020: 451–452), Eubulus' *Dionysius* (*PCG* 5,203–205, about Dionysius I of Syracuse; cf. Hunter 1983: 116–122), and Philemo's *Pyrrhus* (*PCG* 7,264f.; about the homonymous king of Epirus; cf. Dietze 1901: 10–12, Bruzzese 2011: 63–66); see further Orth 2017.

(c) Myth According to what numerous play-titles strongly suggest and what the surviving fragments commonly substantiate, mythological themes constitute an emblematic feature of the entire period of Middle Comedy (on Old Comedy's legacy on this matter see Bakola 2010: 180–208, Bowie 2010, Ruffell 2011: 314–360). The ways in which Middle Comedy employs and converses with the mythical tradition vary and can be distinctively idiosyncratic. Most typical is mythological parody, which is practically ubiquitous in Comedy's treatment of myth; the preposterous scenario described by Aristotle (*Po.* 1453^{a}37–39) serves as an example of the comic playwrights' uncontrollable imagination regarding twisting and distorting the mythical tradition (which was also staged in parallel by contemporary tragedy): οἳ ἂν ἔχθιστοι ὦσιν ἐν τῷ μύθῳ, οἷον Ὀρέστης καὶ Αἴγισθος, φίλοι γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐξέρχονται, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει οὐδεὶς ὑπ' οὐδενός (*those who are the worst enemies in myth, like Orestes and Aegisthus, leave the stage at the end having become friends and no one is killed by anyone*). This is what Webster (1948: 23) identified as "comic reversal of tradition". Simultaneously, and even more preposterously, mythological parody often entails – especially in the period of Middle Comedy – the incongruous transfer of mythical figures into the everyday life of fourth-century Athens. The comic playwrights love experimenting with the endless comic possibilities created when mythical characters are portrayed as stepping out from the mythical sphere into a very concrete here and now. Myth becomes the vehicle that bridges the chrono-topic gap with the present and facilitates the transfer/travelling of legendary figures (such as Heracles and Geryon in Ephippus' case) – through time and space – from a vague mythological chronotope to the play's practically tangible contemporary reality. The result of this whimsical technique is blatantly anachronistic and consists of an imaginative amalgamation of mythical tradition with contemporary reality (including contemporary politics), as the mythical realm infiltrates the real world and inextricably blends with it. See further Webster (^{2}1970) 16–19, 82–85; Nesselrath (1990) 188–241, and 1995; Casolari 2003; Mangidis 2003; Konstantakos 2014; Dixon 2015; Papachrysostomou (2016) 14 and 2017.

Ephippus' surviving material corroborates the widely acknowledged view regarding Middle Comedy's idiosyncratic relation with mythical tradition. Ephippus largely exercised the dramaturgic technique of allusive scenarios, where the mythical tradition intertwined with current affairs. In particular, we have good reason to believe that Ephippus' *Busiris*, *Geryon*, and *Circe* (and perhaps *Philyra*) featured mythological burlesque, to an indeterminable extent; the eponymous mythological title-figures probably functioned as mythological disguises for contemporary individuals, with whom they shared common traits and/or behavioural patterns. It is

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remarkable that Ephippus exhibited a pronounced penchant for Heracles-related mythical tradition; both *Busiris* and *Geryon* feature mythical enemies of Heracles in their title, and it is likely that they constituted full-scale political allegories, with Busiris standing for the Egyptian pharaoh Nectanebo II and Geryon being a dramatic persona for the Macedonian king Philip II (cf. Old Comedy's parallel cases, i. e. Aristophanes' *Knights*, Eupolis' *Marikas*, Plato's *Cleophon* and *Hyperbolus*).

(d) Hetairai Hetairai enjoy a ubiquitous presence in Middle (and New) Comedy, featuring both in individual fragments and in play-titles; in the latter case the reasonable assumption is that these plays dealt with the corresponding hetairai in a number of irrecoverable ways. Ephippus' case is no exception. With all probability, Ephippus' *Philyra* referred to the homonymous historic hetaira, presumably within a scenario where reality and myth amalgamated. Likewise, it is probable that his *Circe* alluded to some bewitching hetaira (real or fictitious), who shared certain features with her mythical counterpart. A most conspicuous case is fr. 6 (from the play *Merchandise*), which features a description of a complaisant hetaira; as such, the fragment exemplifies the relatively rare comic topos of praising and defending hetairai. On the presence of hetairai in Comedy see Hauschild 1933; Keuls (1985) 153–186, 267–273; Henry 1985 and 2006; Konstan 1987; Nesselrath (1990) 318–324; Davidson 1997; Kurke 1997; Henderson 2000 and (2014) 191–193; Suoto Delibes 2002; McClure 2003; Auhagen 2009; Llopis 2014.

(e) Plato Satire against philosophers is a common comic topos throughout the comic genre. Middle Comedy's *enfant terrible* is Plato (who succeeds Socrates as Comedy's favourite comic butt); aspects of his philosophy, his alleged habits and behaviour, his students, are all subject to regular ridicule and satire. Although Middle Comedy draws a largely anodyne portrait of Plato (e. g. greedily snatching the Academy's sacred olives, whilst aimlessly meandering and endlessly prattling about incomprehensible stuff), Ephippus fr. 14 constitutes a rather harsh critique against Plato and the Academy.

5. *Kōmōdoumenoi*

Prompted by Revermann's truism (2006a: 159), "there is no theatre without an audience", I wish to highlight a quintessential parameter regarding comic satire, and this is the audience; for there is no satire without an audience. The regular exposure of Athenian citizens to the experience of dramatic performances resulted in a deep, subconscious theatrical training, to the point that the spectators could prove both instrumental in making a theatrical performance meaningful and catalytic in unravelling the (often knotty) threads of comic satire (on Middle Comedy's largely enigmatic, veiled satire, see Intro. 4b above). The spectators' theatrical competence is inseparably linked to and reciprocally related with their erudition, which in turn pertains to other germane issues, such as the (varying)

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politicization level and their socio-economic status (élite and non-élite).[2] Besides, it has been shown (Hall 1995: *passim*, esp. 44) that ancient Greek audiences were more interventionist than modern ones; in this regard, one can safely agree with Revermann (2006a: 159) that "audiences, like actors, can justly be said to 'perform', to 'stage' themselves". Hence, for the satire to work against the *kōmōdoumenoi* listed below, the audience's 'participation' was indispensable; and the comic poets relied on it to drive their point home.

A number of historic figures are mentioned (albeit not always ridiculed) in Ephippus' fragments as follows (NB I chose to include even the non-ridiculing references, since a satirical comment might have occurred in the missing context):
- Alexander despot of Pherae: fr. 1
- Chaeremon (tragic poet): fr. 9
- a certain Euripides (not the tragic poet): fr. 9 and fr. 16
- Plato (philosopher): fr. 14
- Bryson of Heraclea Pontica (philosopher): fr. 14
- Thrasymachus of Chalcedon (sophist): fr. 14
- Dionysius I tyrant of Syracuse: fr. 16
- Demophon (poet): fr. 16
- Cotys king of Thrace: fr. 16
- Theodorus (tragic actor): fr. 16
- Menecrates of Syracuse (physician): fr. 17
- Nicostratus of Argos (general): fr. 17
- Philyra (hetaira): title-figure in *Philyra*

Additionally, Nectanebo II, Pharaoh of Egypt, was possibly alluded to via the mythical persona of Busiris in the homonymous play. Likewise, in the play *Geryon* the mythical title-figure probably functioned as a dramatic disguise for Philip II of Macedon, in an amalgamation of myth with reality (cf. above Intro. 4c Myth).

6. Language

Ephippus' language presents a number of interesting peculiarities, including the following seven hapaxes:
- πεντεσκάλμους (adjective πεντέσκαλμος: *five-tholed* vessel): fr. 5.17 and fr. 19.17 (NB in the latter fragment Ephippus reuses his own material)
- the expression ᾠῶν ἑκατόμβη (*hecatomb of eggs*): fr. 8.4 (variation on the phrase βοῶν ἑκατόμβη)

[2] Certain scholars (like Sommerstein 1997, 1998b, and Bowie 1998) make a case for a predominantly élite audience in fifth-century Athens, but others (like Dawson 1997, Wilson 2000, and Revermann 2006b) argue in favour of a broadly stratified one.

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- παραβόσκομεν (verb παραβόσκω: *maintain besides*, *feed* – with explicit reference to parasites): fr. 8.6 (variation on the synonymous verbs παρατρέφω, παρασιτέω, and παραδειπνέω)
- the noun κανναβίδες (*hemp-seeds*): fr. 13.5 (forming a homoioteleuton, following σησαμίδες in line 3 and πυραμίδες in line 4)
- the astonishing compound formation Βρυσωνοθρασυμαχειοληψικερμάτων (*one of those taking coins like Bryson and Thrasymachus*): fr. 14.3 (evoking Aristophanes' compound hapaxes)
- ῥοδόπνοα (adjective ῥοδόπνοος: *breathing of roses*, *rose-scented*): fr. 26.2 (variation on the synonymous ἡδύοσμος: *sweet-smelling*, *fragrant*)
- ψακαστοῖς (adjective ψακαστός: *dripping*): fr. 26.3 (variation on the synonymous στακτός: *trickling*)

It is noteworthy that four of the hapaxes (ᾠῶν ἑκατόμβη, παραβόσκομεν, ῥοδόπνοα, and ψακαστοῖς) are innovative variations on established forms, while fr. 8 and fr. 26 feature two hapaxes each.

Furthermore, a hapax meaning is assigned to the following terms: (i) the noun μνοῦς is unprecedently used to designate some sort of *fluffy dessert*, *fluffy pastry* in fr. 13.4; (ii) the noun παίγνια features the otherwise unattested sense of *dainties* (at a symposion) in fr. 24.3; (iii) the verb ὑποκαθίημι is singularly used in fr. 14.7 with the sense of *letting* the beard *grow long*, instead of the simplex καθίημι, which is the common *terminus technicus* for this notion.

Most conspicuous and noteworthy are also the two metonymies that Ephippus employs for wine: κύλικας εὐζωρεστέρας (*stronger cups*) instead of οἴνου εὐζωρεστέρου (*stronger wine*) in fr. 3.11; and Λεσβία σταγών (*Lesbian drop*) instead of Λέσβιος οἶνος (*Lesbian wine*) in fr. 28.2.

Apart from homoioteleuton in fr. 13.3–5 (cf. the hapax κανναβίδες above), Ephippus also practises enjambment four times; in fr. 1 (following Kock's emendation), twice in fr. 2, and in fr. 11.

7. Metre

As Nesselrath notes (1990: 267), Ephippus has the highest percentage of anapaestic dimeter lines of all poets of Middle Comedy. Either Ephippus had a special predilection for this metrical pattern or the surviving evidence from other poets is accidentally disproportionate compared to their original output (Nesselrath *l. c.* favours the latter possibility). Five fragments of Ephippus feature the anapaestic dimeter: fr. 1 (fraction of a food list), fr. 5 (narration of preposterous events), fr. 12 (fish list), fr. 13 (dessert list), fr. 19 (report of narration of preposterous events). These five fragments yield a total of 62 lines (NB Ephippus' total surviving output consists of 163 lines).

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As already noted by Meineke (1,302–303), the (recitative) anapaestic dimeter is the metre *par excellence* for food catalogues in Middle and New Comedy.[3] Accordingly, Ephippus frr. 1, 12 and 13 expectedly feature this metre (see Nesselrath 1990: 267–276). Yet, in other fragments (by Ephippus and other poets) the reason for the use of anapaestic dimeter is not immediately discernible. Nesselrath (1990: 276–280) studies these idiosyncratic instances and argues that in these cases the anapaestic dimeter is used by the poets for "Kunstvolle Ekphraseis" of various sub-types; regarding Ephippus fr. 5, Nesselrath detects connotations of what he describes as "märchenhafter Phantasie" (1990: 276), while in fr. 19 the anapaestic pattern seems an appropriate match for the speaker's bombastic style (Nesselrath *l. c.* identifies the speaker with a soldier figure). For a meticulous study of all aspects of the anapaestic metre in Comedy, see White (1912) 108–138, Dale (^{2}1968) 47–68, Gentili & Lomiento (2003) 108–119. West's arguments against the metrical reality and validity of anapaestic dimeters and monometers (1977: 89–94 and 1982: 95) are opposed by Parker (1997) 56.

Apart from the five fragments in anapaestic dimeter, the remaining twenty-three fragments (101 lines) of Ephippus feature the iambic trimeter. Below are some interesting data regarding these fragments:

- violation of Porson's law occurs three times; once in a line without caesura (fr. 15.3), and twice in a line with middle caesura (fr. 16.3, fr. 22.3)
- there are two lines with no caesura: fr. 14.3 (consisting of one long compound word), and fr. 15.3 (also featuring violation of Porson's law and three resolutions of longa)
- there are four lines with middle caesura: fr. 6.1, fr. 8.6, fr. 16.3, fr. 22.3
- there are two lines with triemimeral caesura: fr. 2.2, fr. 28.2
- penthemimeral caesura occurs more often, almost by double, than hephthemimeral caesura
- resolution of anceps occurs seven times: fr. 2.2, fr. 15.4, fr. 16.1, fr. 17.1, fr. 20.4, fr. 23 (in both lines of this fragment)
- there are 46 resolutions of a long element; occasionally, resolution occurs twice in the same line (fr. 14, lines 7 and 11; and fr. 21 in the same position in lines 2 and 4), and even thrice in the same line (fr. 15, in the same position in lines 3 and 10; and fr. 22.2)
- there are nine resolutions of a short element; in fr. 21 resolution occurs twice, in lines 2 and 4, in the same position (first metre)
- sequence of multiple brevia is detected in fr. 9.1 (six brevia), fr. 14.10 (four brevia), and fr. 22.2 (five brevia)

[3] e. g. Mnesim. fr. 4 (a most typical, lengthy example; cf. Papachrysostomou 2008: 186–209, Mastellari 2020: 372–440), Alex. fr. 167, Anaxandr. fr. 42, Antiph. frr. 130 and 131, Eub. fr. 63 (cf. Hunter 1983: 149), etc.

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As far as both iambic and anapaestic lines are concerned, Ephippus practices *correptio epica* once (fr. 22.3) and *correptio attica* twenty times (twice in anapaest and eighteen times in iambos).

8. Ephippus and other comic poets

With all probability, Ephippus won his single Lenaean victory within the same decade as Eubulus and Antiphanes did (cf. "Chronology & Career" above, and test. 2). Mnesimachus, whose name follows immediately after Antiphanes' on the Victors List (*IRDF* 2325E.42) can also be considered Ephippus' younger contemporary.[4] There seems to have been some thought-provoking thematic affinity between these four poets. To begin with, it is striking that the fourth century BC saw the production of three *Busiris*-plays: by Ephippus, Antiphanes and Mnesimachus. We cannot determine who pioneered this thematic trend (Ephippus' *Busiris* was probably produced after 343 BC, but we have no means to date Mnesimachus' play; cf. Mastellari 2020: 351); yet, the common thematic motif is at least intriguing. Furthermore, Ephippus fr. 3 is virtually identical to Eubulus fr. 148; instead of blaming the Epitome scribe for carelessness, it is wiser to accept the manuscript tradition as preserved and acknowledge that poets felt free to recycle and reuse (in a more or less adapted version) another poet's lines and/or draw from the same stock material (cf. "Citation Context" for Ephipp. fr. 3); additionally, Eub. fr. 109.1–2 is practically identical to Ephipp. fr. 15.3–4. Equally astonishing is the thematic and verbal propinquity attested between Ephippus fr. 12 and Mnesimachus fr. 4; a total of twenty-three fish names feature in both fragments in largely the same order, albeit grouped differently (cf. "Citation Context" for Ephipp. fr. 12). What all these instances confirm is that mobility of comic material was a commonly practised technique, especially (though not exclusively) among roughly contemporary poets, as the available evidence suggests.

9. Literature

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[4] Mastellari (2020) 339 dates Mnesimachus' victory to the years 370/365–350 BC.

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Commentary

Testimonia

test. 1

Suda ε 3929
Ἔφιππος, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικὸς τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας.

Ephippus, an Athenian, a comic poet of Middle Comedy.

This pithy lemma of Suda informs us about three key aspects of Ephippus' personality: (i) his origin (an Athenian), (ii) his profession (a comic playwright), and (iii) the period of his floruit (Middle Comedy).

Suda provides biographical lemmata for eighty-six comic playwrights in total. As known, Suda's main source for comic playwrights (and also for poets and authors of other literary genres) is the work *Ὀνοματολόγος ἢ Πίναξ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ ὀνομαστῶν* (*Anthology of names or Catalogue of those famous for their erudition*) by the biographer Hesychius of Miletus,[1] as well as the epitomized version of this work (cf. Sud. η 611 s. v. Ἡσύχιος Μιλήσιος). The attribution of the majority of Suda's biographical lemmata to this single source explains the striking similarities that these lemmata present (in terms of style, language, and typical content). Apart from Hesychius' work and its epitome, the Suda's author consulted on several occasions Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, mostly in search of play-titles. Wagner (1905: 33–35) put together an instructive catalogue of Suda's lemmata that are traceable to Hesychius' work. Suda' laconic lemma on Ephippus (cf. the similar or quasi-similar cases of Alcimenes, Amipsias, Amphis, Anaxilas, and Sotades) can be confidently traced to the epitome of Hesychius' work. See Wagner (1905) 30–55 (esp. 36–37 for Ephippus), Nesselrath (1990) 60, Lorenzioni (2012) 324–329, Orth (2013) 18–20.

test. 2

IRDF 2325E.40 (= *IG* II^2 2325.145)

line 39	Εὔβουλος ΠΙ
line 40	Ἔφιππος Ι
line 41	[Ἀ]ντιφάνη̣[ς] ΠΙΙΙ
line 39	Eubulus – six victories
line 40	Ephippus – one victory
line 41	[A]ntiphane[s] – eight victories

[1] Hesychius lived during the first half of the sixth century AD; his sources can be traced back to Alexandrian scholarship (see Kaldellis 2005).

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The inscription *IRDF* 2325E (= *IG* II^2 2325.116–189), also known as the 'Victors List' for the Lenaea, registers the comic poets who were victorious at that festival, on the chronological basis of their first victory (for technical description, editions, figures, etc., see *IRDF* pp. 133–140, 178–182). Admittedly, the available evidence, on which we need to rely to date Ephippus, is not utterly solid, but rather rests on a number of strong probabilities. Ephippus' name features in line 40; the adjacent names of Eubulus and Antiphanes are the ones that define the timespan into which Ephippus' victory occurred. According to Hunter (1983: 7–8), Eubulus' first victory fell in the period 380–370 BC (cf. Capps 1907: 188). The date of Antiphanes' first Lenaean victory is crucial in establishing a *terminus ante quem* for Ephippus' victory. Capps (1900: 54–57) dates Antiphanes' victory *ca*. 367 BC, whereas Konstantakos (2000b: 175), refuting Capps' arguments, maintains that Antiphanes was first victorious at Lenaea *ca*. 375 BC. If one follows Capps' dating, then Ephippus' Lenaean victory is to be dated before 367 BC; perhaps "early in the 'sixties", as Webster (^{2}1970: 42) confidently claims. Such a date (early 360s or late 370s) coincides with Nesselrath's estimate (1990: 196–197), who dates Ephippus' floruit to the years 375–340 BC (NB both Webster and Nesselrath's discussions are prior to Konstantakos'). On the other hand, if we adopt Konstantakos' standpoint (NB his argumentation is fairly convincing), Ephippus' victory must have occurred before 375 BC. Since we do not know how many years elapsed between the names listed on the inscription, and since we need to acknowledge some span for Eubulus towards the beginning of the decade, Ephippus' victory could be tentatively dated *ca*. 378–376 BC. Admittedly, this is a rather early victory date for a poet, whose at least three of his plays can be dated after the mid–340s (*Busiris*, *The Peltast*, *Sappho*). However, this seems to be the best possible date reconstruction, on the basis of critical evaluation of all surviving evidence: Ephippus won a single Lenaean victory quite early in his career, *ca*. 378–376 BC, and continued being productive (albeit never victorious again) for more than three decades.

test. 3

IGUR 218.15 (*IG* XIV 1098)
[– – – ἐ]νίκα Λήναι[α ἐπὶ – – –]

(lacuna) was victorious at the Lenaea on the archonship of (lacuna)

IGUR (*Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*), also known as the "Roman Fragments" or "Roman Fasti" (edited by Moretti 1968–1990), is a fragmentarily surviving and badly mutilated – albeit originally lengthy – inscription, probably a product of Alexandrian scholarship, which featured the entire agonistic history of Greek Comedy and was on display in a library of Imperial Rome (perhaps the Palatine Library). See futher Körte 1905 and Dittmer 1923.

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Wilhelm (1906: 200), followed by Dittmer (1923: 53–54), suggested that the missing name in the initial lacuna is that of Ephippus (on the basis of the preceding names on the inscription; cf. *IRDF* p. 229).

test. 4

> Schol. Hom. E 76a (*Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem, scholia vetera*; ed. Erbse vol. 2, 1971: p. 16):
> πῇ μὲν ψιλοῦμεν πῇ δὲ δασύνομεν … καὶ Ἔφιππος ὁ κωμικός.
>
> Ancient Scholiast on Hom. *Iliad* 5.76a (Erbse):
> there are cases where we exercise lenition and cases where we exercise aspiration (*sc.* of consonants) … and (*sc.* an example of the latter is) Ephippus the comic poet.

The ancient Scholiast mentions Ephippus' name as an example where aspiration is exercised in composition, in the case of certain proper names (ἐπί + ἵππος > Ἔφιππος, but e. g. Λεύκιππος, instead of *Λεύχιππος); see further Lehrs (^{3}1882) 313–315.

test. 5

> Athenaeus 9.482c: (post Ephipp. fr. 9)
> … ὥς φησιν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τῷ *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Μέσῃ Κωμῳδίᾳ Κωμῳδουμένων Ποιητῶν* …
>
> … as Antiochus of Alexandria says in his treatise "On the Poets who are being satirized in Middle Comedy" …

This testimonium indirectly – albeit indisputably – registers Ephippus amongst the poets of Middle Comedy.

Antiochus of Alexandria (see *LGGA* s. v.) was a Greek grammarian (doubtfully dated before the first century BC), who wrote a treatise on poets whom he found being ridiculed in plays of Middle Comedy. Athenaeus (9.482c) resorts to Antiochus and his work, on the occasion of the immediately preceding quotation of Ephipp. fr. 9 (see "Citation Context" *ad loc.*), where a certain Euripides is being satirized. Athenaeus explains that, according to Antiochus, this individual was not the celebrated tragic playwright, but rather some minor poet (*PAA* 444547). Antiochus' work and Athenaeus' reference to it are significant, for they demonstrate that both Antiochus and Athenaeus took for granted the fact that Ephippus belonged to the period of Middle Comedy.

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Play-titles & Fragments

Ἄρτεμις (*Artemis*)
("Artemis")

Discussion Meineke 1,351; Bothe 489; Kock 2,250; Kock 1882; Breitenbach (1908) 158; *PCG* 5,131

Title Theoretically, the title-figure may refer to (a) the goddess Artemis or (b) some mortal woman (perhaps a hetaira). Option (a) is far more probable; and here is the reason why: despite Breitenbach's claim (1908: 158) that "nomina magnorum deum nusquam in comoediae titulis inveniri, velut Ζεύς,Ἥρα, Ἀπόλλων etc. … una fabula excepta, Platonis *Ζεὺς κακούμενος*" (nowhere did I come across any name of some great god, such as Zeus, Hera, Apollo, etc., featuring in a comic play's title ... , with the exception of Plato's *Ζεὺς κακούμενος*), parallels of comic plays featuring a deity's name in the title (in nominative case and on its own, i. e. with no other attribute, e. g. a participle as in Plato's play mentioned by Breitenbach) do exist within the surviving comic corpus. Philemo wrote an *Ἀπόλλων* (*Apollo*; *PCG* 7,234), Theopompus wrote an *Ἀφροδίτη* (*Aphrodite*; *PCG* 7,711f.), and Epicharmus wrote a *Κωμασταὶ ἢ Ἥφαιστος* (*Revellers or Hephaistus*; *PCG* 1,51). Plus, there are several comic plays entitled *Διόνυσος* (*Dionysus*): by Magnes (*PCG* 5,628f.), Eubulus (*PCG* 5,243–246), Timocles (*PCG* 7,760), and Alexander (*PCG* 2,18); yet, apparently, Breitenbach did not count Dionysus among the "magni dei". The list drastically increases, if we include all cases of comic plays featuring a deity's name plus some other term in the title (i. e. not only those cases where the deity's name features on its own and in nominative; and I am limiting the following list only to cases featuring one, or more, of the twelve Olympian gods, leaving out cases like *Πάν* and *Ἀσκληπιός*): *Ἀθηνᾶς Γοναί* by Hermippus; *Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ⟨Γοναί⟩* by Philiscus; *Ἀφροδίτης Γοναί* by Polyzelus, Nicophon, and Antiphanes; *Διόνυσοι* by Epicharmus and Cratinus; *Διόνυσος Ἀσκητής* by Aristomenes; *Διόνυσος Ναυαγός* by Aristophanes; *Διονύσου Γοναί* by Polyzelus, Demetrius I, and Anaxandrides; *Διὸς Γοναί* by Philiscus; *Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Γοναί* by Philiscus. In addition to all these cases, there are further play-titles that deal with either minor deities (e. g. *Μοῦσαι* by Epicharmus, Phrynichus, Euphanes, and Euphro) or aspects of godly affairs in general (e. g. *Θεοί* by Hermippus, and *Θεῶν ἀγορά* by Euphro).

Regardless of whether the deity's name features on its own in a comic play's title in nominative case or is otherwise defined/accompanied by an attribute and/or some other term, it is manifest – and this is the important, core element of this discussion – that gods and goddesses (both major and minor) are predominantly present in the play-titles of all comic eras. This remark alone suffices to substantially support option (a), i. e. that the *Artemis* featuring in Ephippus' present play-title is no other than the homonymous goddess.

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Besides, it is reasonable to assume that the choice of the specific goddess as title-figure was not haphazard, but instead her identity was related to the play's plot. In particular, the presence of Artemis in the title (a goddess worshipped in Thebes) and the politically topical content of fr. 1, featuring Alexander of Pherae (cf. "Interpretation" on Alexander's alliance with Athens and the Thebans' invasion of Thessaly in 368 BC), constitute a fairly substantial ground that allows us to tentatively argue in favour of a Theban air / theme for the entire play. Pausanias (9.17.1) tells us that Artemis was worshipped in Thebes and testifies to the existence of a local temple (near the Proetidian Gate) dedicated to *Artemis of Fair Fame* (Ἄρτεμις Εὐκλεία), which also featured a statue of her by the famous sculptor Scopas (first half of the fourth century BC). In addition, according to Plutarch (*Arist*. 20), Artemis' cult was well established in the whole Boeotia already by the early fifth century BC.

On the contrary, option (b), i. e. Artemis being a woman's name, is less likely. The thought was first put forward by Meineke (1,351: "an Dianam intellexerit, incertum est, cum Artemis etiam mulieris nomen fuerit"), on the basis of a reference to a slave girl called Artemis in D.L. 3.42 (*PAA* 202160). The fact that the name Artemis was occasionally borne by (both free and slave) women is confirmed by inscriptional evidence; see *LGPN* 2,66 (eight records), *PAA* 206160 – 206235 (twelve records); cf. Bechtel (1902) 76–77 and Fick (^{2}1894) 304. Nevertheless, the female proper names featuring in comic play-titles neatly fall into the following categories: deities (see above), mythical figures (e. g. there survive six *Μήδεια* play-titles), the poetess Sappho (a category in itself; there are six *Σαπφώ* play-titles), and hetairai, mostly real (e. g. *Νέαιρα*) or, rarely, fictitious ones (e. g. *Ἀντιλαΐς*). There are no comic plays named after ordinary, everyday women; so, if we exclude the category of deities, the only other category into which Ephippus' *Artemis* could belong is that of hetairai. But since we know of no historic hetaira called Artemis, we would need to assume that the title-figure of Ephippus' present play is a fictitious hetaira.

Overall, between an ordinary (and otherwise unknown) woman (with no comic parallels), a fictitious hetaira (entailing unnecessary surmise), and the goddess Artemis (bearing direct relation to and further substantiating a Theban-related plot for the play), it is evident that the safest and most reasonable interpretation of Ephippus' play-title (on the basis of surviving evidence), and also the one that needs the fewest (or, practically zero) assumptions (i. e. according to the Occam's razor theory) is to identify the title-figure with the huntress Olympian goddess, distinctively worshipped in Thebes and generally in Boeotia. Besides, this interpretation directly lands the play in the midst of a widely established comic tradition of plays dealing – in various ways – with members of the Greek pantheon. On the representation of gods in Greek Comedy and its multiple semantics, see Parker (2005) 147–152, Scullion 2014, and Revermann 2014.

Date The play *Artemis* belongs to Ephippus' early career (cf. Intro. 2 "Chronology & Career"). On the basis of the play's political flavour (cf. the reference to Alexander of Pherai; see "Interpretation" for fr. 1), Kock (1882: 135) suggests that Ephippus'

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