presented on the basis of comparative measurements are less than compelling and the computer-enhanced photographs are still open to interpretation.

Thus we really are back to where we were. Those who wish to read *'Αντ]ιφῶν* will do so; others will refuse. We still lack hard, irrefutable evidence.

I assess the present state of play as 40–30 in favour of the Habronists, and eagerly await the next service to see if the Antiphonists can claw their way back to deuce.

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ARISTOPHANES, *LYSISTRATA* 231

οὐ στήσομαι λέαιν' ἐπὶ τυροκνήστιδος.

In his admirable commentary, Jeffrey Henderson notes the significance of posture and of physical setting. He does not remark that the statue of Leaina near to which Lysistrata and Kalonike are standing on the Akropolis was intimately tied to the obscure story of the later years in the Athenian tyranny. With minor variations of detail or colour the story was that Leaina, a *hetaira* beloved of Harmodios or Aristogeiton, had been tortured by Hippias after the murder of Hipparchos but, brave girl, had preferred to die than say yes, or indeed say anything. She bit out her tongue.[1] The Athenians set up a bronze lioness, the work of Amphikrates, to commemorate her martyrdom.[2]

It is towards this crouching figure that Lysistrata raises her hand as she asks her sorority to swear 'I shall not squat like a lioness *ἐπὶ τυρ* . . . .'. On what would the audience have expected that particular lioness to squat? On a cheese-grater? Hardly. On a tyrant, surely, or even more precisely, on a tyrant-slayer. An able actor would have had no trouble with a minor clash of stress or tone. A very alert auditor might have picked up an earlier suggestion of sex and politics at vv.59/60—*ἱππικὴ*. But even the dumbest would be alive to an issue that had been tickling his fancy and his fears for nearly four years now.

Thucydides' petulant outburst at 6.53 owes much to his arrogance and something, no doubt, to his family tradition[3] but the fact of popular panic was real enough and behind it lay two anxieties that were always lurking in Athenian minds, tyranny and Sparta; to give body to the former there was Alkibiades who, like another Olympic victor in the past, might have been thought to be 'growing his hair long with a view to tyranny'.[4] By spring 411 the panic had subsided, *Lysistrata* is a confident play, but there was talk of Alkibiades' return, of being 'democrats with a difference', and the Spartans were at Dekeleia. Sensitivity was there to be rekindled.

[1] It is strange that the learned Pausanias (i 23.2–3) should have to rely on Athenian gossip for the story, which was certainly 'in print' for Cicero (*de Gloria*, fr. 12) and flourished thereafter on both sides of the periegete (Pliny, *N.H.* 7.87 and 34.72; Plut. *De Garrul.* 8, certainly before; then, Polyainos 8.45; Athenaios 569f; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* I 20; Euseb. (Jerome) *s.a.* 512). Pliny hints at the source—'lyrae cantu'.

[2] Amphikrates is, to me, otherwise unknown. For cheese-graters (and lionesses) see P. Jacobsthal, *Ath. Mitt.* 37 (1932), 1–7.

[3] Sad that it is still necessary to repeat that through the son of Melesias and Kimon and Kimon's wife, Thucydides belonged to the Athenian right; that his infatuation with Perikles did not lead him to appreciate the implications of Periklean policies. Was Thuc. old enough to understand [. . . .] *κλες*' affirmation of rights for the tyrannicides in *IG* I^3 131?

[4] Hdt. 5.71. Kylon does not seem to have figured in all the brouhaha of 414–11.

The events of 514–510 offered a perfect maze from which to tease out vice or virtue according to taste and purpose. Who freed Athens? The blameless young heroes, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, or the Alkmeonidai with the Spartans? Were the young heroes blameless or just erotically miffed? Were the Alkmeonidai supported by Apollo's will or Apollo's venality? Thucydides is better evidence for the existence of the arguments than for the facts behind them. But whatever the facts there was something here for every taste, intrigue in high places, violence, sex in many shapes. Small wonder that with Spartan alliance as part of his plot and the Akropolis as his setting, Aristophanes should exploit what lay to hand. The hint at 59/60 and the firm allusion at 231 are followed by a stream of titbits about tyrants, tyrannicides, Alkmeonidai and Spartans (vv. 271–80; 616–25; 630–35; 667–9; 1150–56) not forgetting a makeweight in Athens' aid to Sparta at 1137–48. All natural enough.

There may, however, be more to it. Between *Lysistrata* and earlier plays I sense a shift, both qualitative and quantitative, in allusions to Athens' past. Contrast the vagueness of the old men in *Acharnians* (vv. 179–81) or *Wasps* (vv. 235–8) with the precision, however unreliable, here. I renew a suggestion made in *GRBS* 10 (1969), 277–86 (cf. *Phoenix*, 17 (1963), 160ff.) that some work of 'scholarship' had come to Aristophanes' attention and that that work might have been part of what later became Hellanikos' *Atthis*. For me, following Jacoby,[5] Hellanikos was in the Athenian democratic tradition; Sparta always needed foreign aid; Athens could solve its own problems. Hence Kimon's glorious mission to Messenia (1137ff.; contrast Thuc. 1.102), hence emphasis on the tyrannicides at the expense of Sparta and the Alkmeonids: 231 (I believe), 621 (perhaps, see n. 5), 630ff., 665ff. (perhaps); contrast Hdt. 5.55–65, Thuc. 6.53ff. Other Aristophanic oddities, notably the curious role of the old men at Leipsydrion, could be welded into a Hellanikan story, but it would scarcely be profitable to create it.

Better to conclude with a sort of parallel. The role of the monarchy in this country has been discussed for some time; recent activities of the royal family occasioned rumour and more debate; it was the appearance of Andrew Morton's book which added a pretence of scholarly accuracy. Hellanikos could well have given a lecture or two on Hippias, Aristogeiton—and Leaina, the girl who kissed but would not tell.

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[5] *F. Gr. Hist.* 323a, Introd to Komm. pp. 19–21. Critics would call our arguments circular. I prefer to ask 'If not Hellanikos, who?'

I am very grateful to the editor's adviser for his comments, also to Miss Nan Dunbar, *πρόβουλος Λυσιπόνῳ*.

A TRIREME FOR HIRE (IS. 11.48)

In the extensive cast of characters named in Isaeus' *On the Estate of Hagnias* are two brothers, Chaereleos and Macartatus. The speaker, their brother-in-law, is anxious to impress upon the members of the court that neither was a rich man. 'You are all my witnesses,' he asserts, 'that... they were not in the class of those who perform liturgies but rather of those who possess a modest estate.' Chaereleos on his death left land worth no more than 3000 drachmas. Macartatus left nothing at all. 'For you know,' the speaker reminds his audience, 'that he sold his land, bought a trireme, manned it, and sailed off to Crete, (you know it) because it was by no means a covert