

matter because of the use to which he put this traditional raw material: he made a thing of beauty (εἰς τὸ καλόν) from this unpromising origin.

To allude to something drawn from this material as ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ will not do. How can the songs of a rope-twister, whatever they are, be regarded as a *noble* source?⁷ Nor does the phrase work better with what follows. Here Aeschylus' professed purpose (ἵνα μῆ) is to be seen drawing his songs from a different source from Phrynichus—but how can something as vague as τὸ καλόν be presented as a contrast to the source of Phrynichus, who is celebrated for the sweetness of his verse elsewhere in Aristophanes?⁸ Finally, we can note that the phrase εἰς τὸ καλόν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ seems to occur nowhere else in Greek, which surely demolishes Denniston's suggestion (*ap. Dover*) that it was colloquial and possibly a proverb.

The phrase εἰς τὸ καλόν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ is so weak, neither agreeing with the charge in ἰμονιοστρόφου μέλη (as ἀλλ' οὖν obliges it to) nor distinguishing Aeschylus' source from Phrynichus' (as Aeschylus is explicitly trying to do here), that the text needs challenging. Tyrrell's emendation neatly solves both problems and restores a joke as well: truly an instance of *utile dulci*.

The corruption is not difficult to explain. It is likely that at some stage in transmission κάλω became the more regular, non-Attic and contemporary form κάλου, just as Attic κάλως became the easier κάλοις in the major MSS at *Peace* 458. In the case of *Frogs* 1298, however, a mere change of accent was then enough to bind in the incorrect reading—but not, as we have seen, without damage to the Greek.⁹

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⁷ The *Suda* (ι 357) glosses ἰμονιοστρόφος with εὐτελής. The view that ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ refers to the κιθαρωδικοὶ νόμοι of 1282 occurs already in the scholia and has modern supporters, but it does not solve the problem: ἀλλ' οὖν introduces a sentence addressed to Dionysus (note ἐγὼ μὲν . . . οὗτος δ'), and can only be a response to *his* words, not those of Euripides, so its concessive force remains unexplained.

⁸ *Wasps* 220, *Birds* 748–51.

⁹ We may prefer an explanation based on simple assimilation of endings (at *Frogs* 91 *Εὐριπίδου πλεῖν ἢ σταδίῳ* has produced the nonsensical variant *σταδίου*) or on the original form of Aristophanes' script, for he may have written both κάλω and καλοῦ as ΚΑΛΙΟ: for relevant pre-Euclidean material, see L. Thraette, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 1 (Berlin and New York, 1980), 33–4 (*O* for *Ω*) and 238–41 (*O* for the 'spurious diphthong' *OY*).

TELESTES, *PMG* 808¹

ἄλλος δ' ἄλλαν κλαγγὰν ἰεῖς
κερατόφωνον ἐρέθιζε μάγαδιν,
πενταρράβδωι χορδὰν ἀρθμῶι
χέρα καμψιδίαυλον ἀναστροφῶν τάχος.

2 ἐρατό- Wagener ἡρέθ- coni. Schweighäuser 3 ἐν πεντ. Athen.: ἐν del. Dindorf πενταρράβδωι Athen. A, πενταρόδωι E, πενταράδωι C, corr. recc.² χορδὰν A, corr. CE. ἀριθμῶι codd., corr. Bergk χεῖρα codd., corr. Wil. κάμψει διάυλον ἀναστροφῶν A, corr. CE³

¹ I am grateful to Professor C. Collard and *CQ*'s anonymous referee for several useful and apposite comments.

² πενταρράβδωι is no doubt correct, although Wilamowitz (*Timotheos. Die Perser* [Leipzig, 1903], 30, n. 1) and some earlier editors attempt to defend the difficult πενταράβωι < πεντ-ἄραβος 'producing five sounds'.

³ The apparatus is my own, after Kaibel (ed. Athen. 1887–90), Peppink (ed. *Epit.* 1936).

As it stands, the fragment consists mainly of melic anapaests, the first and third lines showing the high degree of contraction of bicipitia expected in the late fifth century,⁴ interrupted in line 2 by what look like three cretic-paenics of the form uu u – (^{uu}cr).⁵ In line 3 ἀρθμῶι is Bergk's conjecture for the codices' ἀριθμῶι, but although such an error would be perfectly comprehensible (cf. ἀριθμός v.l. for ἀρθμός at [A.] *Pr.* 191, Callim. fr. 497a Pf., A. R. 2.755), the conjecture in fact seems indefensible and the meaning unclear. ἀρθμός is only found in an extremely limited group of phrases. It first appears at *h. Hom.* 4.524 ἐπ' ἀρθμῶι καὶ φιλότῃ, then only [A.] *Pr.* 191 εἰς ἀρθμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότῃ (‘almost a formula’ according to Griffith; cf. also *Il.* 7.302 ἦδ' αὖτ' ἐν φιλότῃ διέτμαγεν ἀρθμήσαντε), Callim. fr. 497a Pf. ἀρθμὸν (codd. ἀριθμὸν, corr. Stephanus) δ' ἀμφοτέροις καὶ φιλήν ἔταμες (this formula also occasionally influences the use of the adjective ἄρθμιος; cf. esp. Thgn. 326 ἄρθμιοι οὐδὲ φίλοι, 1312), and A. R. 2.755 ἀρθμὸν ἔθεντο μετὰ σφίσι τοῖο ἔκῃτι ‘therefore they made a league with them’ (where ἀρθμὸν is glossed by Σ L⁸ (p. 186 Wendel) as φιλίαν). For ἀριθμός with a dependent genitive we may compare S. *O.C.* 382 ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀριθμός ἐστιν . . . λόγων, ἀλλ' ἔργα δεινά; Jebb adduces E. *Tro.* 475–6 to support his translation ‘these are no vain words . . . , but deeds terrible’, but there ἀριθμός is not followed by a genitive. Closer is E. *Herc.* 667–8 ἄστρον . . . ἀριθμός, where the meaning appears to be little more than ‘group’ or ‘collection’ (see Bond on the passage). Nor will the metre be disturbed by this: ἀριθμῶι can be scanned u u – as at E. *El.* 1132, Ar. *Nub.* 1203 to preserve the anapaestic rhythm.

Barker, who defends ἀρθμῶι, has recently attempted to explain πενταρράβδωι as a description of the human hand, and suggests that lines 3–4 together should mean ‘repeatedly turning his hand back and forth in a five-rodded joining of the strings’.⁶ In his view this interpretation is confirmed by χέρα in line 4: ‘The “joining” of the strings to make from their separate sounds a musical sequence or melody involves the “five-rodded” activity of all the fingers of the hand.’⁷ But (1) I see no justification for his view that line 3 should explain χέρα, especially since ῥάβδος primarily refers to a piece of wood, and has few derived senses; and (2) Athenaeus (14.637a; iii.406 Kaibel) quotes the fragment to support the view that the magadis could have five strings, and Barker's explanation, although it does not prohibit Athenaeus' interpretation, certainly does not support it, as any reasonably small number of strings could be joined by five fingers. Although there was some debate in antiquity concerning the precise nature of the magadis, by the time of Aristoxenus and later it was generally regarded as a specific stringed instrument. The accuracy of this view has recently been questioned,⁸ but should not affect our understanding here; however we take μάγαδιν in line 2, it is clear that Athenaeus believed that line 3 was a periphrasis for ἐν πέντε χορδαῖς, and there is no *prima facie* reason to reject this view. In view of the primary

⁴ See M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1982), 121.

⁵ These would be disturbed by Schweighäuser's ἡπέθιζε; cf. further U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin, 1921), 334 and n. 3. See further the remarks below on κερατόφωνον.

⁶ A. Barker, *CQ* 48 (1998), 75–81.

⁷ Barker (n. 6), 77. Barker also compares πέντοζος ‘five-branched’, used substantively of the hand at Hes. *Op.* 542, but that appears to be an old IE formation, and therefore not a valid parallel (see West's note on the line and G. P. Edwards, *The Language of Hesiod in its Traditional Context* [Oxford, 1971], 111–13).

⁸ For recent discussions, see A. Barker in B. Gentili and R. Pretagostini (edd.) *La musica in Grecia* (Rome and Bari, 1988), 96–107, and M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992), 72–3.

sense given to *ράβδος*, I suspect that the reference is to a wooden tuning pin. Here is West on the subject:

One or two early Archaic and even Classical representations [of lyres] have been interpreted as showing fixed pegs, but this is uncertain. What clearly was common, from the seventh century on, was winding the string round the yoke and binding in some kind of solid piece that the player could move up and down to adjust the tension. Sometimes it seems to have been a straight slip of wood or some other hard material. This is the same means of tuning as was used for the early Mesopotamian lyres.⁹

Such a piece of wood might plausibly, I think, be described as a *ράβδος*, and there would have been one at the end of each string. It will be observed that the adjective should really apply to *χορδάν*, but enallage is common in the later fifth century; for an example in a contemporary dithyrambic poet, cf. Timoth. *PMG* 791.119f.¹⁰ Thus, the whole line should be translated 'on the five-pinned collection of strings'.

A final note: in his discussion of *κερατόφωνον* Barker seems unaware of Wagener's conjecture *ἐρατόφωνον*,¹¹ but is no doubt right to assume that 'horn-voiced', meaning 'soft-voiced' or 'mellow', is the required sense. But adjectives in *κερατο-* normally exhibit a long second syllable; the only exceptions are a fragment of the epic poet Phaestus (3rd c. B.C.), *Ζεῦ Λιβύης Ἄμμων κερατηφόρε κέκλυθι μάντι*, 'Libyan Zeus, horned Ammon, hearken to the seer' (p. 28 *CA*), the MS reading at Nonn. *D.* 3.76 *κερατοξόος* 'horn-polishing' (where Meineke and Ludwig read *κεραο-* after *Il.* 4.110 *κεραοξόος* . . . *τέκτων* 'a craftsman who polishes horn'; Keydell prints *κερατο-* with Rebmann), and Manetho 4.91 *κερατώπις* 'looking like horn' (4th c. A.D.). We might better read *κεραόφωνον* here (tent. Bergk, *PLG*³) on the model of *κεραοξόος* (*Il.* 4.110, and its imitation at Simias *AP* 6.113.3 = *HE* 3278); the same error occurs at *Il.* 4.110 in one of the Homeric MSS (*U*² = Venet. 455, s. xiii-xiv).

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⁹ M. L. West (n. 8), 61.

¹⁰ See in general V. Bers, *Enallage and Greek Style* (Leiden, 1974), W. Breitenbach, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der euripideischen Lyrik* (Stuttgart, 1934), 182ff.

¹¹ In F. A. Gevaert, *La Musique de l'Antiquité* (Ghent, 1875-81), 2.633.

THE DISORDERS OF THE 170s B.C. AND ROMAN INTERVENTION IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN GREECE

In the settlement after the Roman defeat of Philip V of Macedon at Cynoscephalae, T. Quinctius Flamininus freed the Thessalians, Thessalian Perrhaebians, Magnesians and Euboeans, and endowed these peoples with federal constitutions. Most scholars assume that these constitutions were narrowly oligarchic, intended to ensure the predominance of the propertied Greeks with whom Roman aristocrats naturally identified.¹ The social disorders of the 170s in central Greece are adduced as evidence for the Thessalian aristocrats' domination in the Thessalian League's

¹ Representative of this view are G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei romani*² iv.1 (Florence, 1969; orig. Turin, 1923), 94-5; M. Holleaux, 'Rome and Macedon: the Romans against Philip', in *CAH* viii.197-8; J. A. O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford, 1968), 284-5; G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient World* (London, 1981), 525. Dissent is rare: A. Passerini, 'Studi di storia ellenistico-romana, VI: I moti politico-sociali della Grecia e i Romani', *Athenaeum* 11 (1933), 322-4; E. Gruen, 'Class conflict and the third Macedonian war', *AJAH* 1 (1976), 39, is vigorously sceptical of the *opinio communis*.