



# Fragmenta Comica

## Nikostratos II – Theaitetos

Nikostratos II

Philippides

Sosippos

Stephanos

Theaitetos

V&R

Verlag Antike



HEIDELBERGER AKADEMIE  
DER WISSENSCHAFTEN



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## Fragmenta Comica (FrC)

Kommentierung der Fragmente der griechischen Komödie

Projektleitung Bernhard Zimmermann

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herausgegeben von Glenn W. Most, Heinz-Günther Nesselrath,  
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## Band 22.2 · Nikostratos II – Theaitetos

**Andrew Hartwig**

# **Nicostratus II – Theaetetus**

Introduction, Translation, Commentary

**Verlag Antike**

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*τοῖς ἐμοῖς φίλοις*



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## Preface

This volume contains the surviving fragments and testimonia of several comic poets active around the late fourth century through to the early third century BCE – Nicostratus II, Philippides, Sosippus, Stephanus and Theaetetus. In the case of two of these poets, Sosippus and Theaetetus, there is doubt whether they wrote comedy at all. The most substantially represented author in this volume is Philippides about whose life we know considerably more than most other comic poets due to the chance survival of a contemporary decree in his honour (test. 3), as well as his defensive attack on one of the leading Athenian politicians of the time, Stratocles of Diomeia, preserved in the writer Plutarch (fr. 25). The latter has forced a rethink on traditional ideas about the scope and pungency of New Comedy as reconstructed from the more benign works of Menander and the Roman playwrights Plautus and Terence.

Apart from an individual fragment or two of Philippides, the poets and fragments in this volume have not previously received a comprehensive modern scholarly commentary. The approach here has been to take play titles as a starting point to provide the larger historical, socio-cultural and literary background to each drama. Close analysis of the individual fragments also offers parallels of comic themes, motifs and characters which may indicate how these comedies fit within the broader comic tradition. Interpreting fragments is inevitably full of pitfalls and difficulties, and the analysis here can only suggest possibilities with comic precedents.

Part of the research for this volume was assisted by an Australian Research Council Discovery Grant (Postdoctoral Fellowship) held at the University of Sydney, which I gratefully acknowledge here. The Centre for Classical and Near Eastern Studies of Australia at the University of Sydney (CCANESA) provided a collegial and supportive environment for my work. Among the many individuals who have helped in various ways during the writing of this commentary I thank Han Baltussen and Peter Davis for inviting me to contribute to their workshop on self-censorship in the ancient world where I first grappled with Philippides in earnest. Stelios Chronopoulos, whom I had met at a conference many years ago as a fellow graduate student of comedy, suggested (via Eric Csapo) that I contribute to the KomFrag project. At Sydney, Eric Csapo and Peter Wilson have since been a constant support, hosting theatre seminars, reading work samples, and always sharing their ideas and expertise. Many other colleagues, both at Sydney and elsewhere, have given helpful advice and suggestions. I take the opportunity to thank Francesco Bianchi, James Collins, Federico Favi, Dick Green, Elisabeth Günther, Daniel Hanigan, Frances Muecke, Sebastiana Nervegna, Douglas Olson, Christian Orth, Elodie Paillard, Reuben Ramsey and Nello Sidoti. Particular thanks go to Bernhard Zimmermann for his constant positivity, encouragement and patience, and especially to Virginia Mastellari for her ever-prompt feedback and suggestions. Finally, but not least, I thank my family for their support during the time needed to complete this book.

Sydney, 3 July 2021

## Note

Unless indicated otherwise, all comic fragments [fr.] and testimonia [test.] are cited according to the numbering in Kassel and Austin's *Poetae Comici Graeci* (also abbreviated as K.-A. or PCG). Citations of Aristophanes follow the OCT edition of Wilson (2007), as do references to the Hypotheses of individual plays. The scholia [Σ] on Aristophanes follow the edition of Koster and Holwerda (1960–2007). Fragments of Menander follow Kassel and Austin (1998 VI 2), while references to Menander's plays (e.g. *Dysc.*, *Epit.*, *Sam.*, etc.) follow the numbering in Arnott (1979–2000). The fragments of Matro of Pitane and Arcestratus of Gela follow the editions of Olson and Sens (1999 and 2000). References to fragments of the tragic poets follow Snell *et al.* (*TrGF* 1971–2004). Most other ancient works follow the editions used by *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

Abbreviations of all ancient Greek authors and their works follow the conventions used in LSJ. Roman authors follow the abbreviations in *Brill's New Pauly* [BNP]. Frequently cited lexicographers follow the numbering used in these editions: Antiatticist = Valente (2015), Hesychius = Latte *et al.* (1953–2009), Photius = Theodoridis (1982–2013), and the *Suda* = Adler (1928–1938). Journal abbreviations follow *L'Année philologique* or else the *Journal of American Archaeology*. Botanical and zoological names which use the nomenclature of Carl Linnaeus are indicated by [L.]. For further abbreviations, see the Bibliography.

The printed text of the comic fragments in this volume closely follows the text as found in the edition of Kassel and Austin. Sometimes, however, a different text is preferred and presented (see e.g. Philippid. fr. 4, 7, 13, 22, 25, 27). Likewise, the textual apparatus relies for the most part on the readings reported by Kassel and Austin, but occasionally contains additions. All English translations of ancient authors are my own and are primarily meant to elucidate the Greek without making any claim to literary merit.

## Nicostratus II (Νικόστρατος)

### Introduction

#### 1. Name and Identity

Nicostratus II (PA 11038; PAA 717838) was a poet from the period of New Comedy. Because of his shared name and profession, he is thought by some scholars (e.g. Kirchner in PA and Sutton 1987) to belong to the same family as the Middle Comedy poet Nicostratus I (PA 11038; PAA 718525)<sup>1</sup> who in turn may have been a son of the Old Comedy poet Aristophanes (PA 2090; PAA 175685; see *Proleg. de com.* XXXI.11–14 Koster; Σ<sup>rec.</sup> Pl. Ap. 19c [= Ar. test. 3.13–16; Dicaearch. fr. 103 Fortenbaugh-Schuttrumpf; Apollod. fr. 50 Jacoby; *FGrH* 244 F 75]) τρεῖς δ' ἔσχεν υἱούς, Φίλιππον ... καὶ Ἀραρότα ... καὶ τρίτον, ὃν Ἀπολλόδωρος μὲν Νικόστρατον καλεῖ, οἱ δὲ περὶ Δικαίαρχον Φιλεταῖρον, ('Aristophanes) had three sons, Philippus ... and Araros ... and a third, whom Apollodorus calls Nicostratus, but those around Dicaearchus call Philetaerus' (see Kirchner at PA 11038; Sutton 1987. 20–1; Millis and Olson 2012. 74).<sup>2</sup> If the family connection is genuine, then Nicostratus II would have been an Athenian from the deme Kydathenaion. The comic poet Nicostratus III (PAA 717840; Kassel and Austin 1989 VII. 94), who competed at the Dionysia of 186/5 BCE (*SEG* 38.162 line 153 = *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2323.279 M-O = Nicostr.Com. III test. 1), may also be from the same family (cf. Millis and Olson 2012. 104, 190). Nonetheless, despite these possible links, the name Nicostratus was very common in the Greek world, with more than six-hundred individuals by this name recorded in *LGPV*, and some twenty or so attested in Athens from the fourth century to the middle of the third century BCE.<sup>3</sup> If our Nicostratus is unrelated to these earlier comic poets, he may not have been Athenian at all.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ath. 13.587d Νικόστρατος δὲ ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας ποιητής, 'Nicostratus the poet of Middle Comedy', and *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3094 = *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4, 497 dated ca. 400–375 BCE; although see Csapo and Wilson 2020. 163–4 for doubts about the identity of Nicostratus there.

<sup>2</sup> Leaving aside difficulties in evaluating the respective merits of Dicaearchus and Apollodorus of Athens in their judgement on the sons of Aristophanes, proposed solutions to the dilemma (found in Sutton 1987. 20) include the idea that both were Aristophanes' sons, with one possibly illegitimate; or that both are the same person; or that one of them was related to Aristophanes in some other capacity. Interestingly, Nicostratus I and Philetaerus are both attributed with the authorship of the comedy *Antyllos* (Ath. 2.65d; 3.108c; 3.118e; *Suda* v 405). But how one should interpret this in relation to the proposals above remains an open question.

<sup>3</sup> Mette (1977. 216) tentatively identifies him instead with a Nicostratus, son of Nicostratus, from the deme Cholargos (PA 11058; PAA 718840, perhaps the same person as PA 11057 = PAA 718845).

## 2. Chronology and Career

Our earliest date for Nicostratus II's activity is the City Dionysia of 311 BCE (test. 1) where the first half of his name is restored with reasonable certainty as the second-prize winner that year. The evidence of the Lenaeon victors' list (test. 3) suggests that his first victory at that festival could have been as early as 315 BCE, and it is reasonable to suppose that his dramatic debut was even earlier than this. He was still active as late as 280 BCE when he is recorded competing alongside Philemon and Aminias at Delos (test. 4), and therefore apparently sustained a reasonably long career of more than thirty years. His record in the Lenaeon victors' list indicates he won at least one victory in Athens (test. 3).

## 3. Nicostratus II and Other Comic Poets

Several plays and fragments assigned to Nicostratus I in Kassel and Austin (1989 VII. 74–92) are sometimes attributed to Nicostratus II. Early editions of the comic fragments (e.g. Meineke, Kock) did not yet have the epigraphical evidence at their disposal, and so did not recognise the later poet, but attributed all the fragments to Nicostratus I despite occasional references to 'New Comedy' in the sources (see e.g. Meineke 1839. 346). Most citations in Athenaeus refer to Nicostratus by name alone with no distinguishing epithet, and it seems doubtful he knew there was more than one poet by this name,<sup>4</sup> although at Ath. 13.587d (= Nicostr. Com. fr. 20) he does identify the poet in question more specifically as the 'poet of Middle Comedy' (see Nesselrath 1990. 61–2). The comedies and fragments listed below have been suspected for various reasons, and with varying degrees of probability, as belonging to Nicostratus II. Since we do not know with certainty when Nicostratus I finished his career and whether he was still active in the second half of the fourth century, some of the dating criteria should be treated cautiously. The most likely among the candidates below for authorship by Nicostratus II are *Basileis* and *Ornithēutēs*.

*Apelaunomenos*: Bain (1977. 190 n. 4), on the basis of fr. 7.1 (ἄνδρες), suspects this may be a direct address to the audience, suggesting this was more typical of New Comedy. But comedy has always addressed the audience directly, including Middle Comedy, where direct address can be found, for example, at Henioch. fr. 5 (speaker anticipating audience questions and setting the scene at Olympia) and Timocl. fr. 19.6–7 (interlocutor asking the audience not to hiss at a 'frigid' joke). Webster (1952. 22 n.1) also notes the reference at fr. 7.1 to *mattyē* – a Thessalian

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<sup>4</sup> Contrast, for example, citations by Athenaeus of Cratinus and Cratinus Junior where in the case of the latter he always uses the distinguishing epithet Κρατίνος ὁ νεώτερος (see frs. 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 14).

dish apparently introduced to Athens during the period of Macedonian hegemony and so suggests it would better suit Nicostratus II and the period of New Comedy (cf. Ath. 14.662f; Antiph. test. 7; Macho fr. 19.463 Gow = fr. 1 K.-A.; Poll. 6.70; Hsch. μ 412).<sup>5</sup>

*Basileis*: Körte (1936. 546; see also Wilhelm 1906a. 132–3, 181) argues that the title probably refers to the Successors of Alexander and the sudden efflorescence of ‘kings’ after the Antigonids first assumed the title in 306 BCE (see on Steph.Com. fr. 1.1 this volume). The play also features a braggart soldier, a character more typical of late fourth-century comedy (see on Steph.Com. fr. 1 ‘Interpretation’ for references; Nesselrath 1990. 326 n. 120). In addition, our only fragment from this comedy (fr. 8.2) features the word εὐπάρυφος, attested only here in comedy, and which Poll. 7.46 tells us was a ‘New Comedy’ term for χλαμύς (χλαμύς ... ὡς ἡ νέα κωμωδία εὐπάρυφος). Edmonds 1961. 182–3 assigns the play to Nicostratus II.

*Ageiros*: Like *Apelaunomenos* it contains a reference to the Thessalian dish *mattyē* (fr. 16.3) and is therefore thought to be later (Webster 1952. 22 n. 1).

*Ornithētēs*: Harpocraton (p. 225, 17 Dindorf) explicitly mentions that this title by Nicostratus appears in the ‘New Comedy’: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ κωμωδίᾳ δράμα Ὀρνιθευτῆς Νικοστράτου, ‘in New Comedy there is also a drama of Nicostratus, *Ornithētēs* (Bird-catcher)’.<sup>6</sup>

*Pandrosos*: Weinreich (1931. 125) suspects this may belong to a later era based on stylistic criteria, more specifically fr. 18.4–5 with its proverbial conciseness on the themes of τύχη and πρόνοια, which he considers more typical of later comedy. This criterion is somewhat weak, and Athenaeus, in any case, explicitly attributes this comedy to Nicostratus the poet of ‘Middle Comedy’ (Ath. 13.587d = fr. 20).

*Syros*: Webster (1952. 22 n. 1) suspects this comedy may belong to the younger poet based on the reference to the wandering performer Cephisodorus (PAA 568055) at fr. 25.1. The same figure is also mentioned by Dionysius of Sinope (fr. 4) who won his first Lenaeon victory in the 330s (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2325.153 = 2325E.53 M-O; see Papachrysostomou 2008. 150).

*Tokistēs*: Fr. 26.3 refers to the parasite Chaerephon. Webster (1952. 22) dates most comic references to this figure to around 325–310 BCE (for references in Middle Comedy see Antiph. fr. 197; Alex. fr. 213, 259; Timocl. fr. 9; Timoth. fr. 1;

<sup>5</sup> For the dish in New Comedy, see Philem. fr. 8, 11 and 71; Macho fr. 1. For the dish in Middle Comedy writers, see Alex. fr. 50.3 and 208 (from *Pyraunos* dated ca. 305 to 295 BCE based on fr. 207; Arnott 1996. 590, and so from the period of New Comedy); Sophil. fr. 5.5 (date uncertain, but he mocks Stilpo, who died early 3rd c. BCE, in his *Gamos*); and Dionys.Com. fr. 1.1 (first Lenaeon victory ca. 339–332 BCE during the period of Macedonian domination: Papachrysostomou 2008. 150). All such references then – leaving aside the disputed attribution of Nicostr.Com. fr. 7 and 16 – could easily fit the late fourth century post 338 BCE during the Macedonian hegemony.

<sup>6</sup> On the problem of whether Harpocraton recognised ‘Middle Comedy’ at all, see Nesselrath 1990. 16.

in New Comedy: Men. fr. 215, 225, 265; Apollod.Car. fr. 29, 31), and therefore attributes this play to the younger Nicostratus (see also Kassel and Austin 1989 VII. 87).

Fr. 28: Edmonds (1959. 40 n. 2), tentatively and without any supporting argument, suggests that this fragment belongs to Nicostratus II.

Fr. 29: Weinreich (1931. 125) attributes fr. 29 to Nicostratus II due to the popularity of the Euripides quotation (E. fr. 661.1) among New Comedy poets (e.g. Men. *Asp.* 407; Philippid. fr. 18 this volume with note). The quote, however, already appears as early as Ar. *Ra.* 1217. Even less convincingly, he argues that the style of pithy wisdom used in this fragment was apparently more pronounced in the time of Nicostratus II (cf. on *Pandrosos* above).

Fr. 32: Nesselrath (1990. 326 n. 120) suggests the New Comedy poet may be in question here because Pollux, when citing the fragment, mentions Nicostratus alongside Menander as poets who used the word περισκελίδας ‘leg bands’ (Poll. 5.100) τῷ ὀνόματι κέχρηται Μένανδρος καὶ Νικόστρατος οἱ κωμωδοδιδάσκαλοι, ‘the comic poets Menander and Nicostratus have used the word’.

#### 4. Literature

Editions: Edmonds 1961. 182–3; Kassel and Austin 1989 VII. 93

Studies: Wilhelm 1906a. 132–3; Körte 1936. 545–6; Sifakis 1967. 27; Sutton 1987. 20–1; Bäbler 2006; Shaw 2019. 611

## Commentary

### Testimonia

#### test. 1 K.-A.

- IG II<sup>2</sup> 2323a.39–53 = 2323a.5–19 M-O  
 312/11 BCE
- 40 [ἐπὶ Πολέμ]ωνος παλαιᾷ  
 [...<sup>6</sup>... Θ]ησαυρῶι Ἀναξαν  
 [ποη : Φιλίπ]πίδης Μύστιδι  
 [ὔπε : Ἀσκ]ληπιόδωρος  
 [Νικόστ]ρατος δεύ  
 [...<sup>4-5</sup>...]οσκόπῳι
- 45 [ὔπε : Κ]άλλιππος νεώτε  
 [Ἀμεινί]ας? τρί : Ἀπολειπούσει  
 [οὔτος ἔ]φηβος ὧν ἐνεμήθη  
 [ὔπε : Ἀσκ]ληπιόδωρος  
 [Θεόφιλο]ς? τέ : Παγκρατίας
- 50 [ὔπε : ...ιπ]πος  
 [...<sup>8</sup>... πέμ : Π]αίδιῳι  
 [ὔπε : — —]  
 [ὔπο : Ἀσκληπιόδωρο]ς ἐνίκ[α]

43 [Νικόστ]ρατος Wilhelm 44 [Ἀργυρ]οσκόπῳι Wilhelm : [Μετωπ]οσκόπῳι Wilhelm : [Τερατ]οσκόπῳι Wilhelm, Körte : [Ὀρνιθ]οσκόπῳι Kassel and Austin : [Θυνν]οσκόπῳι Millis and Olson : fortasse [Ὀρνε]οσκόπῳι aut [Χεῖρ]οσκόπῳι

- [In the archonship] of [Polem]on, with an old (comedy) 312/11 BCE
- 40 [—] with [*Th*]ēsauros of Anaxandrides.  
 [The poet was Philip]pides with *Mystis*,  
 [the actor was Ask]lepiodoros.  
 [Nicast]ratus was second  
 [with -]oskopos,
- 45 [the actor was K]allippos the Younger.  
 [Amini]as? was third with *Apoleipousa*,  
 [this one] was distributed (a chorus) while an [e]phebe,  
 [the actor was Ask]lepiodoros.  
 [Theophilu]s? was fourth with *Pankratiastēs*,
- 50 [the actor was -ip]pos.  
 [— was fifth with P]aidion,  
 [the actor was —]  
 [The actor Asklepiodoro]s was the winne[r]

**Discussion** Wilhelm 1906a. 45–50; Edmonds 1961. 182–3; Pickard-Cambridge 1968. 94, 109–10; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976. 40–2; Mette 1977. 114–15; Nesselrath 1990. 190; Millis and Olson 2012. 70–5.



**Citation context** From the so-called *Didascaliae* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2319–2323a, *Agora* I 7151), an inscription which preserved records of tragic and comic performances at the Athenian dramatic festivals of the Lenaea and the City Dionysia (see more recently Millis and Olson 2012. 59–60; Millis 2014. 434–40). Here it evidently records participants at the City Dionysia as the inclusion of an ‘old (comedy)’ suggests at lines 39–40 (a feature added to that festival in 339 BCE, see *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2318.316–18 = 1563–5 M-O; Millis and Olson 2012. 70). This fragment of the inscription was found on the south slope of the Acropolis of Athens and is now held in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (EM 8229). See also on Philippid. test. 8 this volume.

**Text** Wilhelm (1906a. 45) restored [Nicostratus] in the lacuna at line 43. No other comic poet from this period has the same name ending. The obscure figure Callistratus (Kassel and Austin 1983 IV. 56), active in the fifth century, and Timostratus, active in the second century BCE (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2323.141, 155 = 262, 291 M-O), are the only other known comic poets with the same ending. The restoration of Nicostratus receives further support from the relative position of his name on the Lenaeian victors’ list (test. 3) which indicates he won his first victory at the Lenaea around 315 BCE or soon after, approximately the same time as the production recorded here. For the restorations to the dramatic title in line 44 as listed in the apparatus (and other possibilities), see the commentary below under ‘Title’.

**Interpretation** Of the five comic poets who competed at the City Dionysia on this occasion, Nicostratus (as restored) took second place after Philippides, with Aminias? third, and probably Theophilus? and Menander? fourth and fifth respectively.

test. \*2 K.-A.

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2323a.38–52 = 2323a, col. ii.4–18 M-O  
 ἐ[πλ — — —]  
 [— — —]  
 40 .[— — —]  
 Ι[— — —]  
 Γ[— — —]  
 Μ[— — —]  
 [— — —]  
 45 .[— — —]  
 Φ[— — —]  
 Τ[— — —]  
 Στ[— — —]  
 ὑπ[ε — — —]  
 50 Νι[κόστρατος? πέμ? (αὐτ ἔκτ ?) : —]  
 ὑπ[ε — — —]  
 ὑπ[ο — — —]

38 ἐ[πὶ — — οὐκ ἐγένετο?] Mette      39 ἐ[πὶ — — παλαιαῖ] Mette      42 Γ Wilhelm : Π  
 Mette      46 fortasse Φ[ιλήμων—] aut Φ[ιλιππίδης—]      48 Στ[ράτων? τέ : —] Wilhelm :  
 fortasse Στ[έφανος τέ : —] aut Στ[έφανος πέμ : —]      50 Νι[κόστρατος? πέμ : —]  
 Wilhelm : fortasse Νι[κόστρατος ἕκτ : —]

I[n the archonship of — —]  
 [— — —]  
 40 .[— — —]  
 I[— — —]  
 G[— — —]  
 M[— — —]  
 [— — —]  
 45 . [— — —]  
 Ph[— — —]  
 T[— — —]  
 St[— — —]  
 the act[or was —]  
 50 Ni[costratus? was fifth? (or sixth?) with —]  
 the act[or was —]  
 The act[or — was the winner]

**Discussion** Wilhelm 1906a. 45, 49–50; Pickard-Cambridge 1968. 109–10; Mette 1977. 116; Millis and Olson 2012. 72–3, 75.

**Citation context** From the *Didascaliae* (see on test. 1 above) listing comic poets and actors at the City Dionysia ca. 302 BCE. Our text appears on the right-hand edge of the same stone fragment as test. 1 (Athens EM 8229), forming the initial letters of entries found in the adjacent column of text (image in Millis and Olson 2012. 71).

**Text** At line 38 we either have the beginning of a new annual entry, or else an indicator that no contest was held that year, in which case the beginning of the next annual entry would have appeared at line 39. If the record begins at line 38, the length of the annual entry would be 15 lines, although normally one might expect 13 lines. The additional two lines may therefore suggest that six poets competed at the Dionysia that year, with the extra two lines containing details for another poet, play and actor. However, it is also possible that the two extra lines were added due to overlap or supplementary detail, as we find in *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2323a* lines 44 and 47 (= test. 1 above; cf. Wilhelm 1906a. 49; Millis and Olson 2012. 70). If six poets are listed here, their names presumably appeared at line 40 (as the second word after the formulaic ποη), and at the beginning of lines 42, 44, 46, 48 and 50.

At line 40 Millis and Olson (2012. 73) note a vertical trace along the break and suggest that ‘any letter that has a left vertical is possible’. Since this is where we might expect the word ‘Poet’ to appear, a Π is attractive.

At line 42 the Γ might instead be read as Π, so Mette (cf. Millis and Olson 2012. 73: ‘Dotted *gamma*: the letter is along the break, and *pi* is also possible’).

At line 46, if we have a line here denoting a poet (see below) we might propose Ph[ilemon] or Ph[ilippides] as possible restorations.

At line 48 we might propose St[ephanus] (*PCG* VII. 614–15; see this volume) who still appears to have been active at this time (see on Steph.Com. fr. 1.1), rather than Wilhelm's suggestion of the comic poet St[rato] (= Strato test. \*2).

At line 50, the name Ni[costratus] is the most likely supplement based on known names of comic poets. The comic poet Nicomachus was active around the middle of the third century BCE (Nicom.Com. test. 1–3) and therefore remains a distant second option. Based on the possibility that six comic poets competed at the Dionysia at the end of the fourth century (see discussion below), Nicostratus (if the restoration is correct) might be restored as taking sixth place.

Throughout this part of the inscription there is a conspicuous absence of the letter *upsilon*, usually found at the beginning of every second (or sometimes) third line, to denote the actors (i. e.  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon$ , cf. test. 1 above). On the assumption that six poets competed, and working backwards from line 51 where the last actor is mentioned, we might expect an *upsilon* to appear at the beginning of line 49 (as it does), at line 47 (where we have T), at line 45 (where it may have appeared in the lacuna), at line 43 (where we have M), and at line 41 (where we have an underdotted *iota*). Its absence at the beginning of 43 and 47 (if this reconstruction is correct) might be explained as being postponed and written second after the actor's name, as apparently paralleled at *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2322.95 = 5 M-O (see Millis and Olson 2012. 111; cf. also *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2323.103 = 17 M-O). Or it may be that play titles that properly belonged to the lines immediately above beside the name of the poet were instead inserted into the next line due to a lack of space, with the actor's name written immediately after on the same line (cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2320, a section of the *Didascaliae* recording productions of tragedy ca. 341–339 BCE where the verb abbreviation  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon$  denoting the actor regularly appears as the second item in the line due to overlapping play titles). In both cases no extra lines would have needed to be added to the annual entry.

**Interpretation** Wilhelm restored the name of Nicostratus in line 50. The other remaining traces of letters have traditionally been thought to suggest he was the fifth-place getter in the City Dionysia of that year. However, it is also possible six poets may have competed, in which case Nicostratus would have come sixth (see below). Based on their reconstruction of the *Didascaliae* and the approximate number of lines for each column and for each yearly entry, Millis and Olson (2012. 70) estimate that this section of the inscription probably records the results of the comic competition at the City Dionysia some 9 or 10 years after test. 1 – i. e. in either 303/2 or 302/1 BCE.

There are some grounds for suspecting that six comic poets were competing at the City Dionysia by this time (ca. 302–301 BCE). By the late fourth century the comic *choregia* at the City Dionysia had been reorganised along tribal lines, with each of the ten tribes apparently forming pairs to support the five comic

poets and their choruses (Arist. *Ath.* 56.3; see also Csapo 2016. 279–80 on the change to a tribal basis for the organisation of comedy sometime before ca. 325 BCE). Although the choregoi were replaced by a single agonothete ca. 308/7 BCE, the same theatrical networks used by the tribes and the earlier choregoi for recruitment and training presumably continued. Indeed, the agonothete, who was now solely in charge of the entire festival (at least nominally) and who was now responsible for a task formerly done by five choregoi, must have relied heavily on these pre-existing structures to relieve what would otherwise have been an enormous burden. With the introduction of two new tribes, increasing from ten to twelve, soon after in 307/6 BCE, and the necessary allocation of demes to the two new tribes, the number of comic poets at the Dionysia also presumably increased from five to six, not only due to the pre-existing tribal organisational structure of the contest, but to ensure that the two new tribes were not excluded but could participate in the competitive rivalry which had long been established in the comic competition. The fact that six poets were competing at the City Dionysia by 215 BCE (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2323.100–12 = 14–28 M-O) is best explained (in lieu of any other obvious reason) by this underlying tribal arrangement and increase in tribes (cf. esp. Csapo and Wilson 2014. 406), and so the increase was presumably made sooner rather than later.

An increase in the number of comic poets in the late 300s BCE might appear to be contradicted by the inscriptional evidence for the Lenaea festival. There we find five comic poets still competing in 286/5 BCE (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2319, col. i.56; see Millis and Olson 2012. 109). However, the Lenaeian choregia was never organised along tribal lines. The *Athenaion Politeia* (56.3) only mentions tribally appointed choregoi in relation to the City Dionysia and Thargelia festivals. The Lenaea was also administered by a completely different official (the archon basileus) and made use of non-citizen metic choregoi ( $\Sigma^{\text{VE}}$  Ar. *Pl.* 953d; *SEG* 32.239; Wilson 2000. 29–31) which precluded any tribal-based appointment of choregoi at that festival. In fact, we have no evidence that six comic poets ever competed at the Lenaea at all. The increase is only attested by inscriptional evidence for the City Dionysia. Considering that the records for comedy at the City Dionysia as preserved in the *Didascaliae* are lacunose between the years 311 and 215 BCE, this increase in the number of poets, theoretically, could have occurred at any point between those dates. A date much closer in time to the increase of tribes from ten to twelve (i. e. 307/6 BCE) would seem more realistic for this change, especially if the increase in poets was closely tied to the increase of tribes. Our inscription above, then, may provide our earliest (albeit fragmentary) evidence of this change.

**test. 3. K.-A.**

*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2325.160–7 = 2325E.60–7 M-O

- 160 M[έν]ανδρος I[—]  
 Φ[ι]λήμων III  
 Ἀπολλόδωρο[ς —]  
 Δίφιλος III  
 Φιλίππιδης II[—]  
 165 Νικόστρατος [—]  
 Καλλιάδης I  
 Ἀμεινίας I

- 160 M[en]ander I[—]  
 Ph[i]lémon III  
 Apollodoru[s —]  
 Diphilus III  
 Philippides II[—]  
 165 Nicostratus [—]  
 Calliades I  
 Aminias I

**Discussion** Wilhelm 1906a. 181; Edmonds 1961. 182–3; Pickard-Cambridge 1968. 114, 118–19; Mette 1977. 176; Millis and Olson 2012. 178–9, 190.

**Citation context** A fragment from the Lenaean victors' list recording the number of career victories by individual comic poets at that festival. The inscription as a whole contained a total of eight separate lists for victorious tragic poets, tragic actors, comic poets and comic actors at both the Lenaea and City Dionysia festivals at Athens. All fragments were found on the south slope of the Acropolis, suggesting it was probably erected near the theatre and precinct of Dionysus. The lists were inscribed on the architraves inside an apparently a rectilinear building with remnants of another agonistic inscription (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3080, an agonothetic dedication) and perhaps *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2853 (an agonothetic dedication dated 279/8 BCE). See generally Pickard-Cambridge 1968. 72–3; Millis and Olson 2012. 133–40; and Millis 2014. 440–3. It appears to have been first inscribed around 280 BCE with additions by other hands down to around 150 BCE (Tracy 2015. 569–70; on the date see also Millis and Olson 2012. 133). The names of the poets are recorded in descending chronological order based on when they won their first victory at the festival. Any subsequent victories at that festival were not inscribed further below in a separate entry but were tallied beside the poet's name where it first appears (see Millis and Olson 2012. 137; Millis 2014. 441). This fragment is preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (EM 8194).

**Interpretation** Given that (1) Menander apparently won his first victory at the Lenaea of 321 BCE (for this date see the detailed discussion under Philippid. test.

7), that (2) at least four years intervened after Menander's first victory to cover the first victories of the next four poets in the victors' list (i. e. the years 320–317 BCE), and that (3) Menander won again at the Lenaea in 316 BCE with *Dyskolos* (see Men. *Dysc. Hyp.*), our earliest possible date for Nicostratus' first Lenaeian victory will be 315 BCE. However, a date ca. 315–310 BCE seems more plausible if any of the poets who appeared earlier in the list won an additional victory soon after (as indeed was the case with Menander). The inscription unfortunately breaks off before we are told the total number of victories Nicostratus won at the Lenaea during his career.

#### test. 4. K.-A.

*IG XI 2, 107.16–25*

- οἶδε ἐπεδείξαντο τῷ θεῷ· αὐληταί·  
 Τιμόστρατος Κυζικηνὸς δῖς·  
 κωμωιδοί· Τέλεσις Πάριος,  
 Ἱερώνυμος, Πολυκλῆς, Μενεκλῆς,  
 20 Σιμίας Ἀθηναῖος, Διόδωρος Σινωπεύς·  
 τραγωιδοί· Θεμιστῶν[αξ . ]ΑΣ[ . ]ΑΜΙΡΕΥΣ  
 Διονύσιος, Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἡγήσιππος·  
 κιθαριστής· Λύσανδρος δῖς, [— — —]  
 Αὐτόνομος· *vac.* ποιηταὶ κωμωιδῶν·  
 25 Φιλῆμων (Jun. test. 3), Νικόστρατος, Ἀμεινίας (test. 3).

- These men gave a show for the god: auletes:  
 Timostratos of Kyzikine twice;  
 Comic (actors): Telesis of Paros,  
 Hieronymos, Polykles, Menekles,  
 20 Simias of Athens, Diodoros of Sinope;  
 Tragic (actors): Themiston[ax], [—]amireus,  
 Dionysios, Aristarchos, Hegesippos;  
 Kitharist: Lysandros twice, [— — —]  
 Autonomos. *vac.* Poets of comedies:  
 25 Philemon (Jun. test. 3), Nicostratus, Aminias (test. 3).

**Discussion** Hauvette-Besnault 1883. 106–7; Preuner 1899. 73; Capps 1900c. 122–3; Wilhelm 1906a. 45–6; Edmonds 1961. 182–3; Sifakis 1967. 24–5, 27, 29, 148–9; Csapo and Wilson 2020. 653.

**Citation context** From the so-called *tabulae archontum* or records of the eponymous archons at Delos (*IG XI 2, 105–33*) which record significant events that occurred during the year in which each held office (see Sifakis 1967. 19; Csapo and Wilson 2020. 651–3). The present record is from the year 280 BCE, as indicated by the archon name Charmos found in line 1 (not included in the text above).

**Interpretation** The inscription preserves records of the choregoi and performers at the Delian Apollonia and Dionysia festivals in 280 BCE. The first half of the inscription (here omitted) mentions comic choregoi only in connection with the Dionysia festival, and so the comic performance recorded here was presumably at the local Dionysia also (on the local Dionysia, see Csapo and Wilson 2020. 654–7; Sifakis 1967. 25 suggests it could be ‘either the Dionysia or the federal Ptolemaia’). Three comic poets are listed: Philemon (I or II?), Nicostratus and Aminias, while six comic actors are listed. Poets are rarely named in these inscriptions, or are usually a single individual, e.g. *IG XI 2, 113.26* of 263 BCE: Nicomachus (= test. 1); *IG XI 2, 115.26* of 259 BCE: Chrysippus (= test.); *IG XI 2, 120.53* of 236 BCE: Aristides (= test.), although the text is lacunose (see Sifakis 1967. 148–52 for a summary of the personnel recorded in these inscriptions). Sifakis (1967. 25) therefore suggests that the presence of three poets ‘might imply an extraordinary occasion’. All three poets might certainly have been chosen in this case on the basis of their experience and reputation. Nicostratus and Aminias were already well established in their careers by this stage with over thirty years of experience behind them (Aminias would have been aged around 50 at the time, and Nicostratus was even older than this). And if a special occasion is in question we might surmise that the Philemon mentioned here was the more senior and better-known poet, then aged around 80, who continued to be active writing comedy until his death some twenty years later in 263/2 BCE.

The formulaic phrase οἷδε ἐπεδείξαντο τῷ θεῷ at line 16 (‘these men gave a show for the god’) may suggest the performances were non-competitive (see Csapo and Wilson 2020. 653; cf. Sifakis 1967. 24). This formula, at any rate, was later replaced by the phrase οἷδε ἠγωνίσαντο τῷ θεῷ (‘these men competed for the god’) sometime between 259 and 236 BCE (Sifakis 1967. 19 thinks both phrases are equivalent in meaning). If a competition did take place, their names may be listed in order of merit at the contest. Otherwise, unless random, the order might follow that in which each poet performed.

## Play Title

[. . .<sup>4-5</sup> . . .]οσκόπος ([—]oskōpos)  
(‘[—]watcher’)

**Discussion** Wilhelm 1906a. 48; Edmonds 1961. 182–3; Kassel and Austin 1989 VII. 93; Millis and Olson 2012. 74.

**Title** For what remains of the title see test. 1.44 (above). Approximately 4 or 5 letters are lost at the beginning of the word, but the second half reveals it is a compound form containing the word for ‘watcher’ (-σκόπος). The suffix is not found elsewhere among known comic titles. It does, however, admit a limited number of possibilities for reconstruction. Compounds with this element usually refer either to guards (e.g. ἡμεροσκόπος, ‘guard who watches by day’), fishermen (θυννοσκόπος, ‘watcher for tunny-fish’; βατιδοσκόπος, ‘watcher for skate’), or, most frequently of all, various types of seers and diviners (ἱεροσκόπος and θυοσκόπος, ‘diviner of sacrificial victims’; τερατοσκόπος, ‘diviner of signs and marvels’; ὄρνεοσκόπος and ὄρνιθοσκόπος, ‘bird-diviner’; χειροσκόπος, ‘palm reader’; ὥροσκόπος, ‘astrologist’).

Among solutions for the lacuna proposed by scholars, Wilhelm (1906a. 48) offered [Ἀργυρ]οσκόπῳ (‘Assayer of Silver’), [Μετωπ]οσκόπῳ (‘Forehead Reader’), and [Τερατ]οσκόπῳ (‘Diviner of Marvels’), the last of which he considered the most probable (cf. Körte 1936. 546 who endorses the restoration). Other proposals include [Ὀρνιθ]οσκόπῳ (‘Bird Diviner’) by Kassel and Austin (1989. 93) and [Θυνν]οσκόπῳ (‘Tunny Scout’) by Millis and Olson (2012. 74). Considering the fondness of New Comedy for ethical themes and conventional character types, a more likely subject would be a seer or diviner of some kind (cf. Wilhelm 1906a. 48). Mendicant priests and diviners who conform to the ethical type of the ἀλαζών or ‘braggart’ (see Ribbeck 1882. 14–15) lie behind many Middle and New Comedy titles (e.g. Anaxandrides’ *Pharmakomantis*; Antiphanes’ *Mēnagyrtes* and *Oiōnistes*; Alexis’ *Manteis*; Philemon’s *Agyrtes*; and Menander’s *Hiereia* and *Mēnagyrtes*) and so would not be out of place here (for seers in comedy, see on Philippiid. fr. 38 this volume).

If such a character is the eponymous figure of our play, we might propose [Ὀρνε]οσκόπῳ or [Χειρ]οσκόπῳ as possible titles which fit the suggested four to five letter lacuna.

**Content** No fragments survive. On thematic possibilities, see ‘Title’ above.

**Date** 311 BCE at the City Dionysia. Nicostratus came second in the competition (test. 1).



## Philippides (Φιλίππιδης)

### Introduction

#### 1. Name and Identity

Philippides of Athens (PA 14356; PAA 928970; APF 14546; LGPN II s. v. 9) was a poet of New Comedy. He was the son of Philokles (PA 14546; PAA 936080; APF 14546; LGPN II s. v. 71) from the deme Kephale (tribe Akamantis) located in southeast Attica (see test. 3.58–9; Humphreys 2018. 986–7). The family was evidently wealthy: Philokles served as trierarch sometime before 323/2 BCE;<sup>7</sup> while Philippides himself spent large amounts of his own money as agonothete in 284/3 BCE (see test. 3.38–48).

Beyond this evidence, reconstructions of Philippides' family line are highly speculative. Scholars have hypothesised several figures who may be descendants or relatives of our poet. Kirchner in particular (1896. 260–1; see also under PA 14567) inferred that Philippides had a son named Philokles (PA 14547).<sup>8</sup> Kirchner also suspected that Philippides (II) from Kephale (PA 14355; PAA 928960; LGPN II s. v. 11), who served as archon basileus in 216/15 BCE (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1706.90), was the son of this putative Philokles, and so the grandson of our poet Philippides. Kirchner further conjectured that the second-century BCE comic poet Philocles (PA 14548; PAA 935460; LGPN II s. v. 30), who won at the City Dionysia of 154 BCE with *Traumatias* (see test. 9.234; PCG VII. 361), was Philippides' great-grandson (see also Sutton 1987. 23–4). The reconstruction is possible, but cf. the scepticism of scholars such as Davies (1971. 541–2) and Millis and Olson (2012. 106 on line 510).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Philokles paid upwards of 4,300 drachmas to equip the trireme *Pallēnis* built by Chairestratus (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1631.474–8). Philokles may also be the same as PAA 935300 whose name was inscribed on a lead curse tablet dated ca. 323 BCE (IG III App. 103.7, Wunsch 1897. 26–7) directed against a group of wealthy Athenian citizens, many of whom served as trierarch around the same time as Philokles.

<sup>8</sup> One might suggest that the comic actor Philokles (PAA 935350) who first won the acting prize at the City Dionysia ca. 285 BCE and at the Lenaea ca. 280 BCE (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2325.94 = 2325D.27 M-O and 210 = 2325F.80 M-O) was the poet's presumed son (cf. the *exempli gratia* comments of Millis and Olson 2012. 106 on IG II<sup>2</sup> 2323.510 M-O). But aside from their professional link, the name is otherwise extremely common in Athens (there are 145 examples in LGPN II s. v.) and any such identification can only remain speculative at best.

<sup>9</sup> Philokles' relationship as presumed great-grandson to Philippides would be only just chronologically possible if we assume Philippides was born ca. 345 BCE (see 'Chronology and Career' below) and that each generation was born on average around 40 years apart. This would make Philokles around 70 years of age when *Traumatias* was produced in 154 BCE.

A homonymous Philippides son of Dio[-] from Kephale, who was a member of the Council in 305/4 BCE (*Agora* XV 58.62; *PAA* 928970; *LGPN* II s. v. 10; cf. *APF* 14546), is suspected of being the poet's uncle (so Dow 1937. 34) or perhaps a cousin (Paschidis 2008. 116 n. 3).

## 2. Chronology and Career

Philippides was likely born ca. 345 BCE when we consider that: (1) he received the highest honours in Athens in late 283 BCE (test. 3), an honour typically bestowed on citizens after they had reached the age of sixty (see e.g. Paschidis 2008. 116 n. 2), giving us a *terminus ante quem* of 343 BCE; and (2) we emend his *floruit*, as recorded by the *Suda*, from the evidently corrupt  $\rho\iota\alpha'$  (336/2 BCE) to the orthographically similar and more chronologically plausible  $\rho\iota\delta'$  (324/0 BCE), a date which, as often with dramatic poets, can denote either his debut or (more likely) his first victory (see test. 1). A debut or first victory around the age of twenty to twenty-five is highly plausible, from which a birth date of ca. 345 BCE would certainly fit.

Several sources, including the *Suda* above, combine to suggest that Philippides probably won his first dramatic victory more specifically at the City Dionysia of 320 BCE (see detailed arguments under test. 1, 5 and 7). His dramatic debut could potentially have been several years before this date, making him a slightly older and more experienced contemporary of Menander. His first victory at the Lenaea can be roughly dated to 317 BCE at the very earliest, or else 315 BCE or later (test. 7). We know that he won a victory at the City Dionysia in 311 BCE with *Mystis* (test. 8), and it is just possible – but far from certain – that traces of Philippides' name are preserved in an inscription listing the comic poets and actors competing at the City Dionysia ca. 303–302 BCE (see Nicostr.Com. II test. \*2 this volume).

It appears that Philippides was still actively competing in Athens at the end of the fourth century due to his criticisms of the leading Athenian politician, Stratocles of Diomeia, for his over-indulgence of the Macedonian kings Antigonos I Monophthalmus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes. Two fragments, from what appear to be two separate comedies (see comm. on Philippid. fr. 25 and 26), give us an insight into the personal nature of this dispute and the apparent threat of re-criminations against Philippides by Stratocles. The poet seems to have left Athens around this time – certainly before the Battle of Ipsos in 301 BCE – when he took up residence at the court of king Lysimachus in Thrace, possibly in self-imposed exile.<sup>10</sup> We cannot be sure whether Philippides had already established a personal relationship with Lysimachus before this time. The Successors of Alexander took competitive pride in their courts – which included reputable comic poets (see

<sup>10</sup> See also Sonnabend 1996. 310–11.