## "Lysistrata or Diallagai" and the post-Sicilian Crisis

At the entrance of Diallagē, the naked figure of Reconciliation, the scholiast to Lysistrata observes (at 1114) that the whole play was also called Diallagai, "from this part." He is probably right about the tag that editors gave but wrong about the reason. To be sure, "reconciliation" describes the action at the end of the play, where Athenians and Spartans bargain over the body of Diallagē. But play titles in the plural usually name the chorus (not just an act or idea). If the choruswomen were called Diallagai, that title describes a role best portrayed in the agon where they join in defeating the Proboulos. For the audience would recognize the proposals that the women defend as diallagai, such as the Athenians had rejected after the Sicilian disaster.

Wrapped in the wool-working metaphor, Lysistrata's program (567-86) is a grand scheme for reconciling Attica, her colonies and cleruchies, possibly joined by Ionian allies in isopoliteia. Atimoi will regain their rights but partisan troublemakers must be held accountable. This package is often treated as a diversion, incidental to the theme of peace with Sparta. But the Proboulos has
 $\chi \omega$ 人 $\alpha$ ıs k $\alpha i ̀ \delta ı \alpha \lambda \tilde{v} \sigma \alpha ı)$, and the audience would probably think of quarrels within the empire, inevitably involving colonists and cleruchs, some with dubious claims to citizenship at Athens and
 т $\omega \nu ~ \sigma \cup \mu \mu \alpha ́ \chi \omega \nu \chi \omega ́ \rho \alpha ı)$.

Much of this fantasy diallagai would later come true. After the defeat at Aigospotamoi in 405, Patrokleides' decree called for the cancellation of past liabilities (excepting some of the 400); and (in the same year) the franchise was granted to loyal Samians. The Reconciliation of 403 set a limitation on past liabilities, balanced by accountings for the leadership on both sides (Ath.Pol. 389). In later variations we find a similar tradeoff of guarantees and limited remedies, sometimes sealed with the same pledge, "not to recall wrong" (mē mnēsikakein; IG ii ${ }^{2} 111$ of 362); cf. Carawan (2002); contra Joyce (2008).

Such proposals must have been debated and rejected in the year or so leading up to the play. There is testimony from Philochoros (FGrH 328 F 137) and Didymos (Marcell. vita Thuc 32.) that the Athenians indeed adopted a measure for solidarity in $413 / 12$, but a feeble one (thus Jacoby [1954)] 509, favored by Harding [2008] 132). They recalled their exiles (with the usual exceptions), apparently excluding those accursed for their role in the Mysteries scandal, especially Alcibiades (Thuc. 8.70). Thucydides also indicates (8.1) no reprieve for instigators of the disaster and no measure for rapprochement with disaffected allies: the Athenians tightened their belts and decided to tough it out. In sum, they seem to have adopted the one expedient that Lysistrata leaves out and rejected all the other measures that she demands-only to be driven to them in desperation as the war winds down.

Finally, this reading suggests another dimension to the Proboulos' response at 590, when
 as a moral rebuke: simply "don’t bear a grudge" (e.g. Henderson [1987], ad loc.). But that misses the irony: the hardliner rejects the reconciliation that Lysistrata has offered but then, in defeat, he falls back on the standard closing to just such diallagai.

## References:

Carawan, E. (2002), "The Athenian Amnesty and the Scrutiny of the Laws," JHS 122: 1-23.
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Henderson, J. (1987), Aristophanes Lysistrata. Oxford.
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Joyce, C.J. (2008) "The Athenian Amnesty and the Scrutiny of 403," CQ 58: 507-18.

