

THE COMEDIES OF ARISTOPHANES

VOL. 4

GR. 2242.

WASPS

edited with translation and notes by

Alan H. Sommerstein



INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Wasps was produced at the Lenaea of 422 B.C., and was thus Aristophanes' first production after the failure of *Clouds* at the City Dionysia of 423. The ancient prose synopsis (Hypothesis) states that it won second prize, Philonides being first with *The Preview (Proagōn)* and Leucon third with *Ambassadors*. Since Philonides is known to have produced plays for Aristophanes (e.g. *Amphiarau*s in 414 and *Frogs* in 405) as well as being a comic dramatist on his own account, and since ancient quotations from *The Preview* always ascribe it to Aristophanes, not Philonides, it seems likely that Aristophanes entered two plays for this festival, perhaps because after his failure the previous year he had not been "given a chorus" for the City Dionysia¹. The Hypothesis asserts that *Wasps* as well as *The Preview* was produced by Philonides, but this is probably an error: it is not likely that the magistrate in charge of the festival would have allowed the same producer to train two rival choruses, nor indeed that the two *chorēgoi* would have tolerated such an arrangement or found it practicable, whereas the author as such had no official standing in the contest.

In the year and a half preceding the production of *Wasps* there had been two major swings of the political pendulum at Athens. The domination of Cleon and of an aggressive policy, which had lasted since the victory of Sphacteria in the summer of 425, ended late in 424 when an ambitious scheme to gain control of Boeotia led to a severe defeat at Delium, soon to be followed by the capture of Amphipolis, the gateway to Thrace, by the Spartan commander Brasidas. In the ensuing elections Cleon appears to have lost his seat on the board of generals, and in the spring of 423 the Athenians and Spartans made a truce for one year and began negotiations for permanent peace. The truce was proposed in the Assembly by Laches and sworn to by three of the generals of 424/3 — Nicias,

1. See G. Mastromarco, *RhM* 121 (1978) 19-34, who argues (from a statement by Eratosthenes in *P.Oxy.* 2737.1.ii.10-17 = *CGF* 56.44-51) that there was a rule whereby the least successful author(s) in each year's comic competition at the City Dionysia were debarred from competing at the Dionysia of the following year.

Nicostratus, and Autocles; and for a short time it seemed likely that the war would soon be over and Cleon's eclipse perhaps be permanent.

But not long after came news from the north that the city of Scione had revolted from the Athenian alliance and gone over to Brasidas. This had occurred after the truce was made but before Brasidas knew of it, and he refused a demand that the city be restored to the Athenians. The result was an outburst of bellicose and anti-Spartan feeling at Athens and an immediate resurgence in the fortunes of Cleon; a Spartan offer of arbitration was refused, and it was decided to retake Scione by force and put the population to death. Laches will for the time being have been discredited, and there even seems to have been talk of his being prosecuted (see on 240 and 288); Cleon was once again the master of the Assembly. An expedition was duly sent against Scione and neighbouring Mende (which had revolted shortly afterwards). Mende was retaken, and its people — most of whom had been opposed to the revolt — were treated humanely and generously, thanks to the Athenian commanders, Nicias and Nicostratus; Scione was put under blockade. Except in this area of the north-west Aegean, the truce was observed by both sides, but the peace negotiations made no progress, and when *Wasps* was produced it must have been expected that general hostilities would resume in another two or three months.

The play is at once a political satire and also, like *Clouds* and the lost *Banqueters*, a comedy on the theme of the conflict of generations. In its political aspect it attacks Cleon as *Knights* had, and as in *Knights* Cleon is made to appear on stage in a degrading caricature, this time as a dog. The line of attack, however, is a new one, concentrating less on Cleon personally and more on his and his associates' alleged domination of the law-courts and of the men who served in them as jurors.

Almost all Athenian legal trials were held before large juries, numbered in hundreds or even thousands. Each year six thousand men (see 662) were chosen by the lot to be jurors, from among all male citizens over thirty who wished to serve, and divided into panels each of which, at this date, sat in a particular court, under a particular presiding magistrate, throughout the year. In a trial, the jury heard first the prosecutor and then the defendant present his case, call his witnesses, and cite the laws he considered relevant; after which they immediately voted by ballot, without authoritative legal guidance and without consultation, a simple majority being sufficient for conviction. There was no appeal against a jury's decision, and unlike all other public officials jurors could not be called to account for the way they had discharged their duties (587).

A juror was paid three obols for each day on which he actually sat to try cases. Payment for jury service had presumably been instituted in order to enable poor men to serve so that juries would be reasonably representative of the whole

citizen body; but since the payment made was not enough to support a family, and since by the 420s the courts sat very frequently (perhaps on more than half the days in the year: see on 663), there was a tendency for the juries to be manned largely by those who had no other occupation, especially the elderly poor: hence Aristophanes can sometimes treat "old man" and "juror" virtually as synonyms (e.g. *Ach.* 375-6, *Knights* 977-9). Cleon appears to have cultivated this group assiduously, to gain its support both in the Assembly and in political trials in the courts: he successfully proposed an increase in the jurors' daily pay from two to three obols (schol. *Wasps* 88, schol. *Birds* 1541), and held their loyalty by posing as the protector of the poor (242, 596-7) and the watchdog of democracy against subversive "conspirators" (cf. 488-507 and see on 345) by claiming that only he could ensure that there would always be money available for jury-pay (*Knights* 255-6, 799-800; cf. *Knights* 1359-60). The result was — or so Aristophanes would have us believe — that most of those who served on juries were utterly devoted to Cleon and his associates, indeed "all but worshipped" them (516), and were ever ready to condemn his opponents with or without justification, thus gaining an outlet for the proverbially fierce temper (*Ach.* 376, *Knights* 808, *Peace* 349) which made it so appropriate to present them in this play as sharp-stinging wasp-men. There is doubtless much exaggeration and prejudice in this picture; one notes that the generalized allegations of judicial oppression of rich men and opponents of Cleon are supported by very little specific evidence of miscarriages of justice.

It is easy, however, even for a critic of the system to excuse the elderly poor who actually operate it: jury service is their only source of income, and it can even be maintained (656-712) that the politicians deliberately keep them poor so as to hold them in a state of permanent dependence, denying them the standard of living they have richly earned by their courage and patriotism in their younger days (678, 684-5, 709-711, 1071-1101). They are not villains but victims, lackeys deluded into believing that they are all-powerful: all that they need is to have their eyes opened to this truth. This Bdelycleon does, convincing first the chorus and then, with more difficulty, his own father; the latter is intoxicated to an extreme degree with his imagined power, but he is cured in the end, and the process enables us to see a complete trial in parody (891-1008), highlighting and comically exaggerating many of the weaknesses of the Athenian judicial system. After this both Philocleon and the chorus become hostile to Cleon and all he represents: Philocleon is prepared to taunt Cleon to his face (1224-35) and the chorus become so enamoured of Bdelycleon that they can

ascribe to him admirable qualities which he patently does not possess (see on 1467). It is not for nothing that in Sosias' dream (31-33) the Athenian people are seen as a flock of sheep. They will always, it seems, as Solon had complained long before², follow blindly the lead of the most persuasive speaker; and in reality, as distinct from comedy, the most persuasive speaker is not very likely to be the man who offers the best advice. The political pessimism of *Knights* is implicit in *Wasps* also.

And yet *Wasps* is a play full of joy, and most of the joy comes from the doings of the irrepressible Philocleon. Later Greek comedy is full of vigorous, energetic young men endeavouring to escape from the control of stern and heavy fathers; in *Wasps* this is reversed, and a vigorous, energetic and ingenious old man constantly endeavours to escape from the control of a stern and heavy son.

Towards the end this inversion is underlined when Philocleon begins to talk to the flute-girl Dardanis exactly as if he were a youth and his son an old man (1352-9). During most of the play, despite all his father's efforts, Bdelycleon appears to be winning the battle. First by force, then by argument, he gets Philocleon to give up going to the courts; having succeeded in that, he persuades him to enjoy the luxuries and pleasures which he (Bdelycleon) as a rich man is able and willing to provide; he puts an end to Philocleon's drunken mischief by carrying him indoors kicking and screaming like a baby. But Philocleon triumphs in the end, as the older generation almost always does in Aristophanes. Already in 1382-6 he has had the satisfaction of knocking his dictatorial son ignominiously to the ground; and in the final scene we see him indulging his fancies, unchecked and uncheckable, until at the end he does precisely what his son had tried so long to prevent him doing — he goes out, away from the house, to enjoy himself in his own way with his own friends. Bdelycleon no longer matters; in this scene he does not appear and is not even mentioned. The mercurial, mischievous little creature that Philocleon is³ has defeated all the well-meaning efforts of the worthy, sensible, solid householder who is his son. And we are delighted: for though Bdelycleon no doubt represents what we all ought to seek to be, it is Philocleon who represents what most of us would wish to be like if we dared, especially perhaps when watching a comedy at a Dionysiac festival.

Wasps has been admirably edited by D.M. MacDowell (Oxford, 1971);

previously the best English commentary had been that of W.J.M. Starkie (London, 1897). The annotations (scholia) of the medieval manuscripts have been edited by W.J.W. Koster (Groningen, 1978) as Pars II Fasciculus I of the Koster-Holwerda edition of the Aristophanic scholia.

2. Solon fr. 11 West = 15 G-P.

3. Philocleon is several times compared to various small animals: a bee (107, 366), a jackdaw (129), a mouse (140), a snake or lizard (206), a sparrow (207-9), a ferret (363).

NOTES

1
2

1. **SOSIAS:** the audience do not know this character's name until 136. The name was one that could be borne by Athenian citizens (cf. Ant. 5.69-70), but it was also given to slaves, being perhaps a hellenized version of a native Thracian name (cf. Xen. *Vect.* 4.14 with *Mem.* 2.5.2). As a name for a fictitious character in comedy "Sosias" always denotes a slave: cf. Men. *Kolax* F 1, *Perik.* 172ff, *Perinthia* 21.
1. **XANTHIAS:** the commonest name for a male slave in Ar., occurring also in *Ach.* 243ff, *Clouds* 1485, *Birds* 656, and *Frogs*; it means "golden-haired".
3. **your ribs will have a big grudge against you:** lit. "you owe a big penalty to your ribs". If Xanthias is caught by his master sleeping on watch, he will probably be flogged on the back and sides and be left very sore about the ribs; for mention of the ribs in connection with corporal chastisement, cf. 1295 and *Peace* 747.
4. **monster:** since Greek *knōdalon* is primarily used of non-human animals (cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 601), its use here will tend to mislead the audience into thinking that a dangerous animal is imprisoned in the house. The truth emerges at 69.
5. **banish dull care:** Greek *apomermērisai*, from an epic verb not otherwise found in prose, comedy, or tragedy.
8. **a Corybantic frenzy:** the Corybantes were minor deities attendant on Cybele, the Phrygian "Mother of the Gods". Their cult was noted for ecstatic dancing to the accompaniment of flutes and drums, which brought on a temporary delirium with weeping, hallucinations, and other symptoms (cf. Eur. *Ba.* 123-9, Pl. *Crito* 54d, *Symp.* 215e); the subject might go into a quasi-hypnotic trance (Pliny *N.H.* 11.147). Corybantic rites were also employed as a form of therapy for mental disorders (cf. 119 and Pl. *Laws* 790d-e). The Corybantic cult does not appear to have been thought objectionable at Athens, as some other Asiatic cults were; in Pl. *Euthyd.* 227d Socrates assumes that the young and well-born Cleinias may well be a Corybantic initiate, and Socrates' own language seems to imply that he is an initiate himself. See I.M. Linforth, *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13 (1944-50) 121-162.
9. **Sabazius:** a Phrygian god, sometimes identified with Dionysus. From the late fifth century his worship became fairly popular at Athens, especially among women (*Lys.* 388) and no doubt among the many slaves of Phrygian origin. Ar. is hostile to the cult (Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.37), and later Demosthenes (18.259-260, 19.281) affects to regard it as low and disreputable in order

to discredit Aeschines, whose mother Glaucothea had been a priestess of Sabazius; but Glaucothea was a woman of some social standing, her brother and three of her sons attaining high elective office, and her association with the cult indicates that it had gained a fair degree of respectability by the early fourth century. It is not clear why Sosias ascribes his sleepiness to Sabazius. Most editors, relying on the known association of Sabazius with Dionysus, suppose that Sosias has been drinking; but the evidence linking Sabazius with wine is rather slight (for a discussion of the god and his attributes see C. Picard, *RA* [1961] ii 129-176). As was seen by M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* i (Munich, 1941) 787, the only safe deduction that can be made from *Wasps* 9-12 is that one of Sabazius' functions was to send men to sleep. That Sosias thinks of Sabazius rather than any other god as the source of his sleepiness may imply that he is a Phrygian (see, however, on 1), or may merely be due to his having just been put in mind of other Phrygian deities (see previous note).

12. **like a Persian invader:** i.e. very powerfully, almost irresistibly.

15-19. **a very big eagle . . . the bronze-plated shield:** in the Greek the joke depends on the ambiguity of the word *aspis* which means both "asp" and "shield".

16. **very big:** the size of the eagle is stressed because Cleonimus (see on 19) was a big, fat man (592, *Ach.* 88, *Birds* 1477).

16. **the Agora:** the market-place and main public square of Athens.

17. **snatched up in his talons:** for the possible ominous significance of an eagle holding a snake, cf. *Iliad* 12.200-243 and *Knights* 197-210.

17. **a shieldtail snake:** this rendering is adopted purely for the sake of the joke. Greek *aspis*, when it does not mean "shield", actually denotes the asp or Egyptian cobra (*Naja haje*).

19. **he turned into Cleonimus and dropped:** lit. "as Cleonimus he dropped". Cleonimus (*PA* 8680) was a minor politician, active from 426 to 415 (*IG* i³ 61.34 ; 68.5 ; 69. 3-4; Andoc. 1.27). He is satirized by Ar. in every extant play from *Acharnians* to *Birds*, at first for obesity (see on 16) and gluttony (*Knights* 958, 1290-9), but from *Clouds* on mainly for having once run away in battle discarding his shield (cf. *Clouds* 353-4; *Wasps* 592,822-3; *Peace* 444-6, 673-8, 1295-1304; *Birds* 290, 1473-81). The shield incident therefore probably happened between *Knights* and *Clouds*, i.e. in 424, perhaps at the battle of Delium when the Athenian army was routed (Thuc. 4.96. 4-5; cf. Pl. *Symp.* 220e-221c).

19. the bronze-plated shield: the Greek has merely “it”.
20. makes a perfect riddle: lit. “does not differ at all from a riddle”.
21. to his drinking-companions: riddles were a common amusement at symposia. One of the party posed a riddle, the others took turns in attempting to answer, and those who failed sometimes had to pay a forfeit such as drinking at one draught a cup of wine mixed with salt water. See Pl. *Rep.* 5.479b; Antiphanes fr. 74, 124.
- 22-23. “One and the same . . . and in the sea”: the original riddle, of which this is a modification adapted to Cleonius, was “What is the same in the sky and on land and in the sea?” (Athenaeus 10. 453b). The solution was “bear, serpent, eagle or dog”, each of which was the name of a constellation, of an animal or bird, and of a sea creature.
27. equipment: Greek *hopla*, which can mean either “arms” or “genitals” (*Ach.* 592; Nicander fr. 74.30; Eruci in *Garland of Philip* 2282 Gow-Page = *App. Plan.* 4.242.1).
29. ship of state: this metaphor, which makes its first certain appearance in Theognis 667-682 (for in Alcaeus fr. 326 the ship seems to denote a political faction, not the whole community), was extensively used by Aeschylus, especially in *Seven against Thebes*, and thereafter became a commonplace (e.g. *Ecc.* 109; Soph. *Ant.* 162-3, *O.T.* 22-24). On its use in Aeschylus see D. van Nes, *Die maritime Bildersprache des Aischylos* (Groningen, 1963) 71-92.
30. keel: Xanthias tries a nautical metaphor of his own; he means “the gist, the essentials”.
31. in the early part of the night: lit. “about <the time of> first sleep”.
31. the Pnyx: the meeting-place of the Athenian citizen assembly, just inside the city wall to the west of the Acropolis and the Areopagus.
32. walking-sticks: Athenians normally carried these when they went to attend the assembly (*Ecc.* 74, 150, 276); otherwise they were not much used at Athens except by old men and (*Ach.* 448) beggars. See Stone 246-8.
33. homespun cloaks: Greek *tribōnia*. The *tribōn* or *tribōnion* was a coarse outer garment worn mainly by poor men: cf. 1131, *Ecc.* 850, *Wealth* 842-6, Stone 162-3.
35. an omnivorous whale: the whale represents Cleon (*PA* 8674), son of Cleaenetus of the deme Cydathenaeum. He was the most influential politician in Athens from about 427 until his death in battle at Amphipolis in 422 a few months after the production of *Wasps*, and an inveterate enemy of Ar., whom he tried to pro-
- secute in 426 (*Ach.* 377-382, 502-3) and probably again in 424 (*Wasps* 1284-91), and who caricatured him as Paphlagon in *Knights* and again as the Hound of Cydathenaeum in *Wasps*. By calling Cleon a whale Ar. probably means that he is an ugly monster (cf. Lycophron 841 where Medusa the Gorgon is called a whale; for Cleon as a loathsome monster, cf. 1031-6). The word rendered “omnivorous” (Greek *pandokeutria*, lit. “a taker-in of all”) more commonly means “woman innkeeper”, and since women innkeepers had the reputation of being evil-tempered and foul-tongued (*Frogs* 549-578, *Wealth* 426-7) it is probably being suggested that Cleon resembles them in this (cf. 1228-30, *Ach.* 381-2, *Knights* 137, 486-7).
36. inflamed: i.e. enraged. For Cleon’s raucous voice cf. 921, 1034; *Knights* 256, 274-6, 304, 312, 487, 1018; *Peace* 314.
38. a horrible smell of rotting hides: Ar. continually alludes to the fact that Cleon (or his father: schol. *Knights* 44) owned a tannery: cf. *Ach.* 300-2; *Knights* 44, 104, 135, 197, 314-321, etc.; *Clouds* 581; *Peace* 648-669.
- 40-41. weighing units of beef fat . . . do away with the unity of the nation: lit. “weighing beef fat . . . divide our people”, with a pun on *dēmōs* “fat and *dēmos* “people” as in *Knights* 215 and 954, and also on *histanai* “weigh” and *dihistanai* “divide, set at loggerheads”. The accusation made here against Cleon is that of fomenting hostility between classes; compare his supporters’ reviling of Bdelycleon as an enemy of the poor and of democracy in 463-487. The same charge may be made against Cleon in *Knights* 818, though that passage can be otherwise interpreted.
42. Theorus (*PA* 7223) is repeatedly attacked in Ar.’s early plays as a lackey and flatterer of Cleon (cf. 418-9, 1236-42) and as a perjurer (*Clouds* 400), and in lost comedies as an adulterer (so the scholia here) and a glutton (schol. *Knights* 608). He appears in *Acharnians* 134ff as an ambassador just returned from the court of the Thracian king Sitalces, where his main business has been drinking (*Ach.* 141).
43. on the ground: the point may be that Theorus, though a lover of luxury, forgoes comfort and sits on the hard ground in order to be near his adored chief Cleon; cf. perhaps 599-600, where Theorus is pictured currying favour with the public by blacking their shoes. He is the very type of the fawning flatterer. For another view see R. Seager, *CQ* 31 (1981) 244.
43. a toad: the Greek has “a crow”; the substitution is made for the sake of the jokes in 45 and 49-51. In 45 Alcibiades’ lisp makes him

- pronounce *korax* “crow” as *kolax* “toady”; in 51 the words rendered “go off and croak” means literally “go to the crows” (*es korakas*) but idiomatically “go to blazes”. See further on 51.
44. **Alcibiades** (*PA* 600), son of Cleinias of the deme Scambonidae, afterwards a leading politician and commander who first nearly ruined Athens and then nearly saved her from ruin, was at this time about thirty years old. He had entered public life about 428, when he was active in the lawcourts and became noted for his habit of coining novel words and usages (*Ar. fr. 198*). In 425 he may have had a hand in the proposal to reassess and greatly increase the tribute exacted from the allied states, though the author of [Andoc.] 4.11 cannot be right to claim that he was one of the board of ten elected to make the actual assessment, since no one under thirty could hold public office. Subsequently he made efforts to ingratiate himself with the Spartans, with whom his grandfather had had close connections, by doing his best to alleviate the lot of the Spartan prisoners of war captured at Sphacteria in 425 (Thuc. 5.43.2); but the Spartans thought he was too young to have much political weight, and preferred to enlist the help of men like Nicias and Laches in attempts to end the war.
44. **in his childish prattling way:** lit. “lisping”. Alcibiades had a speech defect, pronouncing the consonant [r] as [l] (see on 43); his son and namesake deliberately cultivated a similar lisp so as to be like his father (*Archippus* fr. 45). In order to preserve the joke I have altered the nature of the speech peculiarity.
51. **croak:** see on 43. My rendering of this last part of the Theorus series of jokes is borrowed, with grateful acknowledgement, from David Barrett. In the Greek, however, there seems to be no clear prediction of Theorus’ death but only of his departure from Athens; this is in accord with traditional dream-lore, which interpreted “seeing yourself with a bird’s head” as signifying that “you will not remain in your own country” (Artemidorus, *Onirocritica* 1.37; see D. Del Corno, *BICS* 29 [1982] 58).
52. **two obols:** per day, presumably; hardly a living wage, but a professional interpreter of dreams might well be contracted to several employers simultaneously, though a rich man like Nicias or Alcibiades (*Plut. Nic.* 4.2, 13.1) might retain the exclusive services of one or more seers or soothsayers.
53. **cleverly:** or, with *j*, “clearly”.
54. **let me explain the plot to the audience:** cf. *Knights* 36, *Peace* 43-53, *Birds* 30.

56. **anything too grand:** a play, for instance, of major political import like *Knights*, or one of considerable intellectual sophistication like *Clouds*.
57. **laughter stolen from Megara:** Athenians were traditionally contemptuous of their Megarian neighbours, and particularly despised Megarian ideas of humour, so that “a Megarian joke” could mean a bad, low or feeble joke (*Eupolis* fr. 244). It is disputed whether there is also a disparaging reference to a Megarian school of comic drama. Such drama certainly existed in Aristotle’s time (*Arist. Eth. Nic.* 1123a24) and the Megarians claimed it was older than Athenian comedy (*Arist. Poet.* 1448a31-32); and a generation before Ar., Echphantides fr. 2, though corrupt, seems to refer to “a song from Megarian comedy”.
- 58-59. **a pair of slaves scattering nuts:** cf. *Peace* 962, where a slave throws barley grains to the spectators, and *Wealth* 794-801, where the throwing of dried figs and other fruit is rejected as vulgar.
60. **Heracles being cheated of his dinner:** in comedy (cf. also Eur. *Alc.* 747-772) Heracles is regularly portrayed as a glutton, and it seems that he was often shown in ravenous anticipation of a lavish meal which in the end he was not given — indeed the phrase “to be entertained like Heracles” (*Lys.* 928) had come to mean “to be feasted on empty promises”. Ar. expresses disdain for such tired commonplaces here and at *Peace* 741-2; but he himself gives us a scene of this type in *Birds* 1574-1692.
61. **Euripides being wantonly abused once more:** “being wantonly abused” renders Greek *anaselgainomenos*, a strongly pejorative word whose cognates are usually applied to behaviour that is shocking, impudent, often indecent. It is not a word that one applies to one’s own actions, and therefore Ar. cannot be referring to his own earlier satires on Euripides and his tragedies, such as *Ach.* 395-479. We know of two other plays earlier than *Wasps* in which Euripides was satirized by other comic dramatists — Callias’ *Men in Fetters* (fr. 12) and a play of unknown title by Telecleides (fr. 39, 40) — but at least one and probably both of these belong to 429 or earlier, and it is likely that Ar. is alluding rather to a more recent play or plays that we cannot identify.
62. **Cleon:** see on 35.
62. **made himself shine:** i.e. acquired glory or popularity. It is not clear to what event this refers. Mastromarco 36-41 suggests that the reference may be to the defection of Scione from the Athenian alliance in the spring of 423 (Thuc. 4.120-1), which was a violation of an Athenian-Spartan truce made only a few days previously

- on the advice of Laches (Thuc. 4.118.8) and undoubtedly against that of Cleon, and which resulted in the passage of a decree, moved by Cleon, committing the Athenians to take Scione by force and put its (adult male) population to death (Thuc. 4.122.3).
62. **thanks to good fortune:** Ar. would never allow that Cleon had *earned* any of his successes; but if Mastromarco's interpretation of this passage is correct (see previous note), the jibe against Cleon would not be too unfair, since he owed his sudden return to favour purely to the accident that the defection of Scione almost coincided with the making of the truce.
63. **mincemeat:** strictly "a savoury mash" (Greek *μυττότος*), a dish made of garlic, cheese, leeks, eggs, oil, vinegar and honey, pounded into a mash with a pestle (*Peace* 228-288).
63. **a second time:** after having done so in *Knights*, produced early in 424.
65. **not more intellectual than you are yourselves:** Ar. wants to reassure his audience that this play will be less highbrow than the unsuccessful *Clouds* (cf. 1043-59), but he chooses his words carefully to avoid seeming to cast aspersions on their intelligence. Ar. frequently praises the cleverness of his audience: cf. 1013-4, *Knights* 233, *Clouds* 521, 575, *Frogs* 677, 1109-18.
69. **his father:** the son, then, is head of the household, though the father is still alive. For this arrangement, which seems to have been fairly common when a father grew old, cf. Dem. 47.34-35 and W.K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (London, 1968) 116-8, 130-1. The son or sons were under a legally enforceable duty to maintain their father.
- 74-84. There are several possible ways of dividing this passage between the two actors; one scholium, indeed, which Coulon and others follow, favours assigning the whole of it to one speaker (Xanthias). Some of the possible arrangements require or almost require us to assume that a line or two has been lost after 76. The distribution of parts I have adopted is that of J. Stephanis, *O doulos stis komoidies tou Aristophani* (Thessaloniki, 1980) 48: Xanthias both announces to the audience in general the suggestions he pretends to hear from individual spectators, and replies (77, 85) to those who make the suggestions, while Sosias, probably from a distance, makes clownish comments.
74. **Amynias (PA 737)**, son of Pronapes, probably of the deme Prasiae (Davies 471) is satirized in several comedies as a long-haired, boastful man, who avoided military service and lived by sponging on rich friends and bringing malicious prosecutions (cf. 466,
76. 1267-70; *Clouds* 690-2; Cratinus fr. 212 Kock = 213 Edmonds). In 423/2 he was a member of an embassy to Thessaly (1271-4; Eupolis fr. 209).
77. **from his own symptoms:** lit. "from himself".
77. **the affliction does begin with "philo-":** i.e. the malady takes the form of an intense desire for, or addiction to, some thing or activity.
78. **Sosias** cannot be identified, even with the help of a scholiast's note that "there are two men named Sosias" (i.e. presumably, two who are mentioned elsewhere in comedy), "one the son of Pythis, the other of Parmenon". It is surprising that Ar. should have chosen to pick out of the audience a man who bore the same name as a character in the play; even if this Sosias was so notoriously heavy a drinker that Ar. could hardly help naming him in this context, the name of the character (mentioned in the text only at 136) could have been changed. However, if a detail like this had been likely to cause confusion, it would have been noticed and altered during rehearsals, and we may safely assume that the coincidence was not thought to matter: the audience had no list of dramatis personae, and so far as they were concerned the character whom we call Sosias was at 78 still nameless.
78. **Dercylus** is also unidentifiable; one scholium says he kept a wine shop, another that he was a comic actor, but these are probably mere guesses.
79. **a compulsive drinker, a philoeniac:** Greek *philopotes* "a drink-lover".
80. **that's a disease the best people suffer from:** for this principle that a person who is fond of his cup is likely to possess many (other) virtues cf. *Frogs* 739-740 and Alexis fr. 283.
81. **Nicostratus (PA 11011)**, son of Dieitrephe, was elected a general at least five times between 427 and 418, and seems to have been a close associate of Nicias (Thuc. 4.53; 4.119.2; 4.129). In 427 he had succeeded in mediating between the warring factions in Corcyra and had prevented (at least temporarily) a massacre of the oligarchs (Thuc. 3.75). He was killed in the battle of Mantinea in 418 (Thuc. 5.74.3).
81. **Scambonidae** was a deme of the tribe Leontis, comprising a district in the northern part of the city of Athens itself.
82. **a compulsive sacrificer or a compulsive entertainer:** sacrificing and entertaining went together, since one who sacrificed an animal normally invited relatives and friends to share in the ensuing meal (not to do so was considered highly improper: Thphr. *Char.* 9.2). A person might be a "compulsive sacrificer" either from extreme

- piety, like the mother of Sostratus in Menander's *Dyskolos* (260-3, 407-418, 430-441), or from extravagance; here the mention of entertaining rather suggests the latter.
83. **Holy dog!**: Greek *ma ton kuna* “no, by the dog”, a form of quasi-oath that allowed the speaker the emotional release that comes from swearing without actually invoking the name of a god. Similar quasi-oaths were *ma ton khēna* “by the goose” (*Birds* 521) and *ma ton* “by the —” (*Frogs* 1374); cf. also *Birds* 194, Cratinus fr. 231, Telecleides fr. 27, Eupolis fr. 70, Antiphanes fr. 296. The oath by the dog was a favourite with Socrates, at least the Platonic Socrates (e.g. Pl. *Apol.* 22a, *Gorg.* 482b, *Phd.* 98e).
84. **Philoxenus** (*PA* 14707), son of Eryxis, of the deme Diomeia, is mentioned several times in comedy as a passive homosexual (*Clouds* 686; Eupolis fr. 235; Phrynicus com. fr. 47); Aeschines the Socratic alleged that he was a disciple of the philosopher Anaxagoras (*Athenaeus* 5.220b), but this may be based on nothing stronger than a wish to denigrate Anaxagoras. In later writers, starting with Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1231a17, the name of Philoxenus became a byword for gluttony, but it is not clear whether the Philoxenus meant is our man or the dithyrambic poet Philoxenus of Cythera (*Athenaeus* 1.5f-7a shows that the two were sometimes confused).
87. **our master's:** the slave speaks of his former master (cf. 442, and see on 69) by the latter's old title. Compare the way in which Dao in Men. *Aspis* 2, 34, 106 refers to his master Cleostratus, whose father has been dead for some time, as *trophimos* “the young master, the master's son”.
90. **on the front bench:** where he could have the best view of prosecutor, defendant, witnesses and spectators.
- 92-93. **the water-clock:** used to time speeches in the courts, each party being allowed a fixed time to plead his case.
- 92-93. **down there:** at the court; so too in 104.
96. **putting incense on an altar at the new moon:** the first of the month was the day for cleaning and decorating the shrines and images in and around one's house, and making small offerings at them (*Theopompos, FGrH* 115 F 344).
- 97-98. **scribbled on a door:** for such amatory graffiti on doors and walls cf. *Ach.* 143-4; for some surviving examples, *IG i²* 921, 923-6.
98. **Pyrilampes** (*PA* 12493), son of Antiphon, was born about 480 and died about 420; he was both great-uncle and, by his second mar-
- riage, stepfather to Plato (Pl. *Charm.* 158a, *Parm.* 126b). He was noted for his stature and good looks, and was a friend of Pericles (Plut. *Per.* 13.15). He served on several embassies, including one to Persia when the Persian king presented him with some peacocks (Plut. loc. cit., cf. Ant. fr. 57). It was later believed (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 581d-e) that he had been wounded and taken prisoner at Delium in 424, but as he would then have been in his middle fifties (on his age see Davies 329-330) this is not very likely.
98. **Demos** (*PA* 3573), son of Pyrilampes by his first marriage, inherited his father's good looks; in Plato's *Gorgias* (481d) Callicles is in love with him. His intelligence, however, was not highly rated (Eupolis fr. 213). He kept up his father's aviary, allowing visitors to see the peacocks on one day each month (Ant. fr. 57). He also maintained his father's connection with the Persian royal house; the King gave him a golden bowl as a token of credit, and in 390, when his fortunes had perhaps declined, he tried to pledge this for a loan to cover his expenses as commander of a ship on a forthcoming expedition to Cyprus (Lys. 19.25-26). The squadron with which he sailed never reached Cyprus, being captured by the Spartan admiral Teleutias (*Xen. Hell.* 4.8.24), and we hear no more of Demos.
99. **the voting-urn's funnel:** Greek *kēmos* (note that it rhymes with the name Demos), the wickerwork funnel which concealed the opening in the top of the urn. As he passed the two urns the juror put his hand into the funnel of each in turn, so that it could not be seen which urn had received his pebble.
101. **it had been bribed to wake him up late:** i.e. he was so determined not to miss the next day's court sitting that he had intended to be waiting outside the court from late afternoon or early evening!
102. **the outgoing magistrates:** lit. “the men under audit”. Holders of public office at Athens, when their term expired, had to pass an audit (*euthūnai*) of their handling of public money and their conduct in office generally. They were first examined by a board of auditors (*logistai*: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.2, cf. Eupolis fr. 223) and then brought before a court, where the auditors, through their advocates (*sunēgoroi*), or failing them any citizen who wished, could prefer a charge of bribery, embezzlement, or other misconduct. See Harrison ii 28-31, 208-211.
- 103-4 **calls . . . goes . . . sleeps:** it is not clear whether the Greek present tenses are historic, referring to what happened on the night the cock crowed early, or habitual, referring to what frequently happens.

104. **in front of the court:** I take this to be the force of the Greek prefix *pro-* here (though "before the trial" is another possibility). No one could enter the enclosure which formed the court itself except by permission of the magistrate who presided over it (cf. 775); so Philocleon must wait at the entrance until the magistrate arrives.
105. **the pillar:** probably, as Rogers and MacDowell conjecture, each court had a pillar standing outside its entrance on which notices were posted.
106. **when assessing penalties he scores the long line:** in many types of case the penalty to be imposed on a convicted defendant was not fixed by law but had to be assessed by the jury. The prosecutor named in his indictment (cf. 897) the penalty he would be demanding, and after the jury had voted for conviction he argued for this penalty in a short speech (*Arist. Ath. Pol.* 69.2) and the defendant made a similar speech proposing an alternative penalty (cf. *Pl. Apol.* 35e-38b); then, unless the two parties forthwith agreed on a compromise, the jury decided between their proposals. They were issued with waxed tablets (cf. 167) on which they scratched a long line if they supported the prosecutor's proposal, a short line for that of the defendant; they had no power to vote for any intermediate penalty. See Harrison ii 166.
- 111-2 **"So does he rave . . . judge the more":** parodied from Euripides' *Stheneboea* (fr. 665), in which a character says of Stheneboea's infatuation with Bellerophon "So does she rave; and, spite of admonition, Love but oppresses her the more."
116. **a homespun cloak:** Greek *tribōnion* (cf. on 33). Bdelycleon is rich, and does not see why his father should dress and live like a poor man; cf. 341, 503-7, and 1122-56 where Bdelycleon at last succeeds in getting his father to discard his *tribōnion*.
118. **ritual bathing and purification:** it was widely believed that any illness or insanity might be due to some religious pollution, or the anger of some deity, incurred perhaps by some long-dead ancestor of the sufferer (cf. *Pl. Phdr.* 244d-e), which could be removed by purification rites performed according to the instructions of a religious expert or an inspired "wise man". Washing was one of the simplest methods of purification, sometimes serving, as apparently here, as a preliminary to more elaborate ritual. On the concept of purification in Greek religion see E. Rohde, *Psyche* (trans. W.B. Hillis, London, 1925) 294-303 and W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart, 1977) 129-142.
119. **Corybantic rites:** see on 8, and, for the therapeutic use of Corybantic music and dancing, E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951) 77-80.
120. **the New Court:** this is the only reference to a lawcourt of this name: its location is unknown.
122. **Aegina,** the large island in the Saronic Gulf between Attica and the Argolid, was at this time under Athenian rule and inhabited by Athenian settlers, the native population having been expelled (Thuc. 2.27.1). It had a temple of Asclepius, mentioned by Pausanias 2.30.1 and in *IG iv²* (1) 126.4.
123. **bedded him down . . . in the sanctuary of Asclepius:** the healing god Asclepius offered miraculous cures to people afflicted by disease, insanity, blindness, etc., who came to spend the night in one of his sanctuaries (cf. *Wealth* 633-748 and *IG iv²* [1] 121-4). It is evident from this passage that in 423/2 he had as yet no sanctuary in Attica; the first was established shortly afterwards at Zea on the Peiraeus peninsula, and another in the city, just south of the Acropolis, in the autumn of 420 (*SEG* xxv 226). See E.J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius* (Baltimore, 1945) ii 245-6.
124. **the bar of the court:** the public were excluded from the court enclosure by railings (*druphaktoi*, cf. 386) in which there was an opening which could be blocked by a movable bar (*kinklis*, the word used here). Philocleon waits at the bar to be admitted by the presiding magistrate (cf. on 104).
126. **the gutters:** channels draining water from the floor, leading to the outside through holes in the wall.
127. **the chinks:** small gaps in the wall or around doors. That a man should be able to squeeze through such gaps is a fantastic idea, though not much more fantastic than that he should turn up at a lawcourt in Athens early in the morning after having been put to bed in a sanctuary on Aegina; both are the sort of things that happen in dreams (or in animated cartoons).
- 129-130. **the wall:** the house is imagined as having an internal courtyard open to the sky, with rooms opening off two or three of its sides, but extending on at least one side right up to the outer wall of the house.
- 129-130. **hopped out like a jackdaw:** Thphr. *Char.* 21.6 shows that some Athenians kept jackdaws as pets and trained them to hop up ladders carrying a toy shield like a soldier scaling a city wall.
- 131-2. **spread nets over the whole of the courtyard:** thus in effect roofing it over; the nets would be secured to the walls of the house, and they cover the upper window or windows (cf. 161, 367).

133. **Philocleon**: i.e. "Cleon-lover". No Athenian actually bore this name (though some actual names are fairly similar, e.g. Pancleon [Lys. 23] and the common Philocles), and it would be recognised as a name invented by Ar. to describe its bearer's political allegiance. The elderly poor, who accounted for a high proportion of Athenian jurors, were among Cleon's most faithful supporters; cf. 197, 242, 409, 596-7; *Knights* 50-51, 255, 977-984.
134. **yes, I swear it**: said in response to the audience's laughter on hearing the name.
134. **Bdelycleon**: i.e. "nauseated by Cleon". Philocleon's son believes that Cleon and his associates are systematically deceiving and defrauding the people (656-718); his hostility to Cleon is treated by the latter's supporters as evidence of hostility to democracy (342-5, 409-419, 463-487), but later they admit they were wrong (887-890).
135. **haughtifalutin**: Greek *phruagmosemnākous*, a word coined for the occasion, meaning something like "very (-āk-) proud (*semnos*) like a whinnying thoroughbred (*phruatthai* 'whinny')". This is the earliest known use of a derivative of *phruatthai* to connote haughtiness in a human being: cf. Men. fr. 333.13 where it is used of a domineering heiress-wife.*
145. **figwood**: there is an implied pun on *sūkophantēs* "informer, malicious accuser", whose literal meaning was "revealer of figs"; cf. 897, *Knights* 259, *Birds* 1699, *Wealth* 946. By linking Philocleon with such accusers Ar. is suggesting that the gullibility of jurors like him, who believe whatever a prosecutor tells them (cf. 157-160, 277-285, and the trial of the dog), provides the soil in which the malicious accuser may flourish.
146. **it makes the most stinging smoke there is**: for the pungency of fig-wood smoke cf. Arist. fr. 227; Thphr. *HP* 5.9.5, *On Fire* 72. But it is not only smoke that can be described as sharp, stinging or biting: in *Wealth* 885 we hear of the "bite" of an informer (*sūkophantēs*), while *dīrimus*, the adjective here rendered as "stinging", is several times used by Ar. to describe the typical severe juror (277, *Knights* 808, *Peace* 349); compare too the phrase "looking mustard" (455) and the whole portrayal of the jurors as sharp-stinging wasps.
147. **get inside**: or, adopting my tentative emendation, "get down". The reading printed in the text is doubtful because the preposition or prefix meaning "into, inside" is normally in Attic not *es* but *eis*, and *eis* would be unmetrical here.
147. **the chimney-board**: Greek *tēliā* appears to mean a flat wooden board with a raised rim. Boards so designated might be of various sizes

151. and used for various purposes (e.g. for selling meal in the market, or as a stage for cock- or quail-fighting); this one is evidently used, with the rim turned downwards, to cover the chimney when not in use and keep the furnace or fireplace dry. In windy weather a block of wood (148) is further placed on the board to keep it in position.
- Old Smoky: Greek *Kapniās*, evidently a nickname. We are told by the scholia that it was applied to the comic dramatist Ecphantides, most likely by his contemporary and rival Cratinus (Cratinus fr. 334); but there is little point in a reference here to Ecphantides, whose theatrical career seems to have ended about 430 (cf. A.M. Wilson, *CR* 23 [1973] 126-7), and the nickname, like *Sellos* (325, 459, 1267), could well have been given to more than one person. Indeed it is perhaps most likely that anyone thought to be a vain boaster risked being nicknamed "Kapnias" or "son of Kapnias"; and now Bdelycleon is in danger of acquiring this derogatory sobriquet – but not because he is a vain boaster, only because his father has been pretending to be a puff of smoke! For the connection between "smoke" and vain boasting, cf. 324-6.
- Boy!**: MacDowell's restoration of this call to the lips of Philocleon makes sense of the passage without the need for emendation; those mss. which have the word give it, together with what follows, to the slave, in whose mouth it is meaningless. Philocleon, banging on the door from inside because he wants to be let out, calls for a slave to come as one normally does when knocking on a door from outside to be let in (cf. *Ach.* 395, *Clouds* 1145, *Aesch. Cho.* 653-4, *Men. Dysk.* 911-2, 921) – perhaps hoping that Xanthias will absent-mindedly open the door for him.
- He's trying to force the door**: this has sometimes been taken as evidence that the stage-house door opened outwards (whereas ordinary Greek doors nearly always opened inwards); but B. Bader, *Antichthon* 5 (1971) 39-40, shows that it need not be so taken. By the use of sufficient force a door may be burst open in the direction opposite to that in which it normally opens; and if it is unrealistic to envisage the elderly Philocleon, single-handed, bringing anything like sufficient force to bear, it is no more unrealistic than several other things that Philocleon does or is said to have done in the past (cf. on 127).
- take care of the lock . . . out of the bar**; or, with the mss., "take care of the lock and the bar, and make sure he doesn't eat out the nut."

155. nut: Greek *balanos*, strictly “pin” thrust through the bar to hold it; but *balanos* also means “acorn”, and this is why there is said to be danger of the pin’s being “eaten”. For the sake of the pun Ar. has allowed the speaker to envisage a physical impossibility: it is conceivable, however fantastic, that Philocleon by battering from within might force the pin out of the bar, but he could not “eat” it out in any plausible sense unless he had already opened the door and got out.
156. you all . . . you . . . you: the first two *you*’s are plural, the third (if we accept the *lectio difficilior* offered by *j*) singular: Philocleon is asking Xanthias (the only person in front of the house at this moment) what the household as a whole (Bdelycleon and the slaves) are intending to do. For similar shifts of number cf. Soph. *Phil.* 369, 466; *O.C.* 1102, 1104.
157. Dracontides: three, possibly four, persons of this name are known from the second half of the fifth century who were of sufficient distinction to be mentioned here: one (*PA* 4551) who was a general in 433/2 (*IG i³* 364.20) and who may be the same as the Dracontides who at some time in the 430s proposed a decree for an inquiry into Pericles’ handling of public money (Plut. *Per.* 32. 3); Dracontides of Bate (*PA* 4549), a member of the aristocratic Eteobutad clan, whose son Lysicles served as secretary to the Treasurers of Athena in 416/5 (*IG i³* 306.24 etc.) and whose daughter Lysimache was priestess of Athena Polias (see D.M. Lewis, *ABSA* 50 [1955] 1-12, and cf. *Peace* 992); and Dracontides of Aphidna (*PA* 4546), mentioned in Plato’s comedy *Sophists* (fr. 139) in 410 or later as a villain frequently condemned in the courts, who proposed the decree abolishing the democracy in 404 (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 34.5; Lys. 12.73) and subsequently became a member of the Thirty (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.2). Our man may (but need not) be any of these.
158. the god: Apollo.
160. that when I let . . . shrivel up then and there: Philocleon’s belief that he is under a divinely-imposed duty never to let a defendant be acquitted is further evidenced by his frantic reaction and prayer for forgiveness when he discovers he has unwittingly acquitted the dog Labes (994-1002).
161. Heaven preserve us: lit. “Apollo the Averter!”, an appeal to Apollo to ward off so horrible a danger as that just mentioned.
162. burst: with frustration and anger; cf. *Knights* 340.
163. Philocleon: in Ar. slaves (with the exception of the domineering Paphlagon in *Knights*) do not address their owners by name, but
165. they may so address other free men (*Ach.* 949, 1085) and Philocleon is no longer Xanthias’ owner (see on 69 and 87). A century later in Menander we find slaves addressing by name not only their former masters (*Sik.* 364, 368, 377, 381, 385) but even their actual masters (*Dysk.* 247; *Sam.* 192; *Sik.* 135, 142) without any hint that this is presumptuous.
166. But you haven’t got any teeth: that this is inconsistent with 367-371, where Philocleon actually does gnaw through the net, was evidently of no importance to author or audience.
167. Give me a sword with all speed: he speaks in the tone, and with the gestures, of an embattled tragic hero in a crisis (cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 889) calling to his servants to fetch him a weapon. This is doubly funny, first for what will no doubt have been the absurd exaggeration of tragic acting style, secondly because Philocleon has no loyal servant to answer the call (and knows it).
168. a penalty tablet: cf. on 106; this is a weapon at least as deadly as the sword, and one of which Philocleon has more experience!
169. This fellow means to do some great mischief: mischief or harm (*kakon*) is indeed exactly what Philocleon wants to do and complains his son is preventing him from doing (322, 340).
171. the first of the month: the regular market-day (cf. *Knights* 43).
174. dangled: the metaphor is from angling, and is continued by Bdelycleon in his reply.
174. what an innocent air he took on: lit. “how dissemblingly”.
179. Neddy: Greek *kanthōn*, a pet-name for a donkey, found in classical Greek only here and at *Peace* 82 where it is comically applied to a giant beetle (*kantharos*).
181. Odysseus or someone: lit. “some Odysseus”. Bdelycleon is thinking of *Odyssey* 9.424-463, where Odysseus and his companions escape from the cave of the man-eating Cyclops by concealing themselves beneath his sheep; he has no idea that this explanation of the donkey’s sluggishness and distress, which he offers merely as a joke, is in fact the truth.
184. Nobody: this was the answer Odysseus gave when the Cyclops asked his name (*Odyssey* 9.366-7).
185. Ithaca: the island of which Odysseus was king, lying off the west coast of mainland Greece.
185. Abscondippides: Greek “Apodrasippides”, a name coined on the model of Callippides, Philippides, etc., from *apodidrāskein* “run away”.
186. Nobody . . . no bloody joy: in the Greek the play is on *Outis* “Nobody” and *outi khairesōn* “going to have no joy”; compare

188. *Odyssey* 9.460 where the Cyclops laments “the sorrow brought me by that no-good Nobody (*outidanos Outis*)”.
189. **look where he's climbed under:** for the purpose of this particular joke the donkey is assumed to be female; it seems that Philocleon had his head near the donkey's teats, so that he reminds Bdelycleon of a foal taking suck.
190. **a summoner-ass:** Greek *kletér*, etymologically “caller”, was used to mean both “donkey” and “one who assists in serving a summons” either as a witness or by delivering a summons to an accused person who was abroad (see Harrison ii 85-86). A summons means trouble for the person receiving it, and calling Philocleon a summoner's foal seems to mean that he is by nature one who likes the spectacle of other people in trouble with the law.
191. **a donkey's shadow:** literally true – for Philocleon wants to remain under the donkey and therefore in its shade – but “a donkey's shadow” was also proverbial for “a trivial matter”; cf. [Plut.] *Mor.* 848a-b.
192. **a real expert:** lit. “far advanced in technique”.
193. **bad:** Bdelycleon meant that Philocleon was wicked; but Philocleon still pretending to be Odysseus escaping from the man-eating Cyclops, affects to understand his “bad” as meaning “bad to eat” and indignantly defends his foodworthiness.
194. **underbelly of old juror:** underbelly of tunny-fish was a gastronomic delicacy (Ar. fr. 364; Strattis fr. 4, 31). There is a pun on Philocleon's position at this moment under the belly of the donkey.
195. **the stones:** stones lying in the street; cf. 222, 247.
196. **that plank . . . the big mortar:** “a wooden plank is to be propped up against the (already barred and bolted) door . . . and the large and heavy [mortar] put against the foot of the plank to prevent it slipping” (J.H. Kells, *BICS* 24 [1977] 88). The kind of mortar meant here (*holmos*) was deep (it might be four feet high) and relatively narrow, and used for the removal of grain-husks by pounding; see B.A. Sparkes, *JHS* 82 (1962) 125-6 and Plate VII. 2. If made of stone, as many were, it would be very heavy, and it is no wonder that Xanthias is told to roll, not carry, it. Neither the plank nor the mortar is seen by the audience, since Xanthias never has the opportunity to carry out most of the orders he is here given; indeed it is not clear how he could have done, since the mortar at any rate must be inside the house.
197. **roof-dwelling:** Greek *orophiās*, a term apparently applied to small animals (e.g. mice, snakes, lizards) that frequented the roofs and eaves of human dwellings.
198. **my net:** not the net spread over the house (131-2, 164) but a net for catching birds. The net is presumably inside the house, and is not brought: Bdelycleon and Xanthias have to rely on their arms and voices to frighten the “sparrow” back inside.
199. **Scione:** a city on Pallene, the westernmost of the three peninsulas of Chalcidice on the north coast of the Aegean. It had revolted from the Athenian alliance in spring 423 (see on 62), and a few months later was attacked by an Athenian force under Nicias and Nicostratus (Thuc. 4.130.5-131.2) who completed a blockading wall and withdrew leaving behind enough troops to guard the wall and interdict supplies (Thuc. 4.133.2); this was the situation when *Wasps* was performed. Service in this blockading force through the Thracian winter must have been an unenviable occupation (though less so, Bdelycleon thinks, than his own blockade of his father). The peace treaty between Athens and Sparta (spring 421) gave the Athenians a free hand at Scione provided they allowed the Spartan and allied troops who were there to depart freely (Thuc. 5.18. 7-8), and during that summer the city fell and the population were massacred or enslaved (Thuc. 5.32.1).
200. **lovely old honeyed Sidonian Phrynicus songs:** the first five words render a single Greek word, an *ad hoc* compound adjective filling a whole line. Phrynicus, son of Polyphrasmon (*PA* 15008, *TrGF* 3; to be distinguished from other men of the same name mentioned in 1302 and elsewhere) was a tragic dramatist, an older contemporary of Aeschylus. He gained his first victory at the City Dionysia about 510, his last perhaps in 476 when Themistocles was his *chorēgos* (Plut. *Them.* 5.5), and was probably dead by 472 when Aeschylus opened his *Persians* with a near-quotation of the first line of Phrynicus' play on the same theme. Thus he would be the favourite tragedian of old men who are represented as having fought in the Persian wars (1077-1101). He was especially remembered for the sweetness of his lyrics (cf. *Birds* 748-751). “Sidonian” alludes to his most famous play, *Phoenician Women* (named after its chorus), which dealt with the defeat of Xerxes' expedition; one choral song from this play (Phryn. trag. fr. 9) began “Quitting the town of Sidon and dewy Aradus”. It is likely that the songs the chorus sing in our play outside Philocleon's door (273-316) are based on a Phrynichean model; the same may be true of *Birds* 737-752 = 769-784.
201. **the stones:** cf. on 199.
202. **a very sharp sting:** cf. Eur. *Supp.* 240-3, where it is said that the poor, “giving too much rein to envy, unloose evil stings against

- the wealthy, being deceived by the tongues of wicked leaders". Since Euripides' *Suppliants* may well have been produced at the City Dionysia of 423 (see C. Collard, *Euripides : Supplices* [Groningen, 1975] 8-14) it is not impossible that this phrase may have helped to inspire Ar. with the idea of presenting jurymen as human wasps.
- 228-9. **Don't worry . . . swarm of wasp-jurors:** Xanthias' bravado evaporates completely when the "wasp-jurors" actually attack him (420, 426-7).
- 230-247. **Metre:** iambic tetrameters, used for the entry of a chorus of old men also in *Lys.* 254ff and *Wealth* 253ff.
230. **Comias:** this and all the other names mentioned in the next few lines are, on the available evidence, rare ones at Athens: "Comias" is otherwise attested only, so far as I know, in *SEG* xix 39.c.1 (mid fifth century). Ar. probably chose the name because it is derived from the same root as *com-edy*; note that the chorus-leader in *Peace* (1142) is apparently named Comarchides.
231. **a dog-leash:** so *masthlos* "thong of a whip" is used to mean "supple rogue" in *Knights* 269 and *Clouds* 448; here however the reference is to physical rather than mental suppleness.
232. **Charinades:** for the name cf. *Peace* 1155 and *SEG* xix 149.145. In later comedy names beginning *Char-* or *Chaer-* were nearly always given to young men, though in Menander's *Aspis* an old man bears the name Chaerestratus.
233. **Strymodorus:** this name is definitely attested for Athens only in Ar. (a farmer in *Ach.* 273, an old man of the chorus in *Lys.* 259), though the broken names *Strymo* [*IG* i² 936.3] and *Strym* [*SEG* xvi 129] are suggestive. Dr. M.J. Osborne has pointed out to me that the name Strymodorus appears in Dem. 36.29 apparently as that of an Aeginetan banker; perhaps Ar. had come across the name owing to his connection, whatever its nature, with Aegina (cf. *Ach.* 652-4).
233. **Conthyle:** a small deme in eastern Attica, between Mount Hymettus and the east coast; see Traill 43.
233. **my splendid fellow-juror:** lit. "best of fellow-jurors".
234. **Euerides:** the name appears on a naval casualty-list of the late fifth century (*IG* i² 950.30).
234. **Chabes:** this name, which seems to mean "Crooked", is not otherwise attested at all for Athens, though the cognate name Chabrias is moderately frequent. The very similar name Chabas appears twice at Tanagra in Boeotia near the Attic border (*IG* vii 537.18; 585.iii.1), so it is possible that for an Athenian the name Chabes

- carried connotations of the uncultured rusticity associated with Boeotia.
234. **Phlya:** a deme situated about five miles north-east of the city, on the site of modern Khalandri (Traill 51).
235. **alas alack:** I take Greek *appapai papaiax* as an exclamation of sorrow (cf. 309 and Aesch. *Pers.* 1031-2), but it might be an exclamation of pain (cf. *Ach.* 1214 and Soph. *Phil.* 745-793) due to the strain of walking unusually fast on elderly, arthritic legs.
- 236-7. **guard:** or "garrison".
- 236-7. **at Byzantium:** Byzantium was captured from the Persians by a joint Greek force under the Spartan Pausanias, including thirty Athenian ships, in 478 (Thuc. 1.94.2); Pausanias was shortly afterwards recalled to Sparta, but subsequently returned without permission to Byzantium, whence he was expelled by the Athenians after a siege (Thuc. 1.131.1). Mischievous young soldiers of these campaigns would be nearly eighty in 422. Reference to the revolt of Byzantium in 440 or its aftermath is less likely, since it would suggest that the speaker was only about forty.
238. **mortar:** Greek *holmos* as in 201, but this time of wood (cf. Sparkes, cited on 201).
239. **boiled . . . pimpernel:** blue pimpernel (*Anagallis caerulea*) was one of the lowliest and most despised of the wild plants that Greeks, especially poor Greeks, sometimes gathered for food; there was a popular phrase "pimpernel at the greengrocer's", used of people who tried to mix in society too high for them. The soldiers are apparently boiling pimpernel as a pot-herb (cf. W. Thiselton-Dyer, *JPh* 33 [1914] 201). That they were used to such a diet implies that in youth, as in old age, they were very poor; for eating wild plants as a sign of poverty cf. *Wealth* 253, 283.
240. **Laches** (*PA* 9019), son of Melanopus of the deme Aexone, was a distinguished soldier and politician. Born probably in the 470s (he was older than Socrates: *Pl. La.* 186c), he first appears in our sources in 427/6 when, as one of the ten generals, he was sent with a colleague and a small fleet to Sicily (Thuc. 3.90.2) and conducted various operations there until recalled early in 425 (Thuc. 3.115.2). After the battle of Delium in late 424 (when Laches is said to have found himself accompanying Socrates in the headlong retreat: *Pl. La.* 181b. *Symp.* 221a), Laches came to the fore in politics; he was the proposer of a treaty between Athens and Haliae in the southern Argolid (*IG* i³ 75.4; for the dating of this treaty to 424/3 see B.D. Meritt and G.R. Davidson, *AJPh* 56 [1935] 65-71) and of the one-year truce made with

- the Spartans and their allies in spring 423. For his possible troubles in 423/2 see next note. In 422/1 he was active in negotiations for peace together with Nicias (*Thuc.* 5.43.2), and in the lists of those who swore to the peace and the alliance with Sparta his name stands next to that of Nicias (*Thuc.* 5.19.2, 5.24.1). In 418 he shared with Nicostratus (see on 81) the command of the Athenian force sent to the Peloponnese to support the Argives and Mantineans, and fell together with him at the battle of Mantinea (*Thuc.* 5.74.3). In Plato's *Laches* he appears as a straightforward, unintellectual soldier and a warm admirer of Socrates' courage and wisdom.
240. **is going to be for it:** i.e. is due to be tried and certain (because the jurors have made up their minds in advance) to be found guilty. Evidently in early 422 it was expected that Laches might be tried, but there is no evidence that such a trial ever actually took place, and the fourth-century historians of Attica knew nothing of any trial (see Jacoby on *FGrH* 328 F 127). This tells against the suggestion of Mastromarco (61-64, 98) that Laches, having been elected one of the generals for 423/2 (as he very likely was, though there is no proof) and taken up his office, was later suspended from it by popular vote (cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.4, 61.2), which would have led to a trial to determine whether he should be punished or restored to office. More likely Ar. is basing the idea of a trial of Laches on vague threats of prosecution made by Laches' enemy Cleon in political speeches or while prosecuting at another trial. Later in the play (835-843, 891-1002) Ar. will parody this prospective trial of Laches in the trial of Labes the dog.
241. **everyone says he's got a hive of money:** and therefore a conviction resulting in a heavy fine, or even in sentence of death or exile with confiscation of property, will substantially benefit the state's finances and help to ensure that the jurors get their pay (cf. *Knights* 1358-60, *Lys.* 27.1).
242. **our protector Cleon:** cf. on 133.
243. **three days' rations of filthy anger:** troops mustering for a military expedition were required to bring with them enough food for three days (*Ach.* 197; *Peace* 312, 1182). The phrase does not imply that Laches' trial was expected to last three days; all Athenian trials were begun and finished within a single day.
245. **old comrades:** lit. "men of the same age".
247. **a stone:** or, with Rj, "someone unseen", i.e. a robber.
248. **BOY:** the fact that the old men are lighted on their way by their

- sons implies that they are so poor they do not own even one slave — that is, very poor indeed; even the impoverished Honest Man of *Wealth* 823-958, who had not been able to afford a new cloak for thirteen years, has at least a footboy (*akolouthos*). Cf. *Ecccl.* 593, and see M.I. Finley, *Historia* 8 (1959) 150 = *Slavery in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1960) 58.
- 248-272. **Metre:** a syncopated iambic tetrameter, omitting the first syllable of the third *metron* (which in several lines has been wrongly "restored" by copyists).
249. **trim the lamp:** push forward the wick from below, to make the lamp burn more brightly; otherwise it will be very hard for the old man to "watch out" for the mud.
250. **I think I'll use this:** the boy does not want to go to the trouble of finding, in the dark and mud, a suitable twig with which to adjust the wick; so he does it quickly and crudely with his finger, not caring that he is thus likely to push the wick too far, make the lamp burn unnecessarily brightly, and so waste oil.
252. **when oil is scarce:** olive oil was in normal times one of the most plentiful commodities in Attica, but many olive trees had been destroyed during the Spartan invasions of Attica between 431 and 425, and trees planted subsequently would not yet be mature.
257. **francolin:** a bird of the partridge family, frequenting marshy areas (cf. *Birds* 245-9).
258. **I inflict punishment:** in the courts.
- 259-261. **this seems to be mud . . . the god is bound to send rain:** there is no logical connection; it is merely that the squelch of mud turns the old man's mind to thoughts of rain. The muddiness of the street would seem to be the result of slops being emptied out of the windows of houses (cf. *Ach.* 616), for 264-5 show that the weather has been dry.
261. **the god:** Zeus.
262. **fungus:** its growth is encouraged by a damp atmosphere.
- 264-5. **the crops . . . need some rain:** this implies that the season is early summer; on the other hand the fact that Philocleon is provided with a fire and soup when judging in his domestic court (811-2) suggests that the weather is cold, and the actual production at the Lenaea was at the coldest time of the year. Ar. is indifferent to consistency in such matters: contrast *Thesm.* 67 ("winter") with 80 (the time of the Thesmophoria, i.e. early autumn).
265. **a north wind:** a drying wind to help the crops ripen.
269. **something out of Phrynicus:** cf. on 220.

272. **hobble:** Philocleon is old, and his friends think he may be ill or lame (275-7, 284); they do not know that he has been imprisoned.
- 273-280 ≈ 281-9. Metre: strophe and antistrophe open in ionic metre (based on the unit $\text{u u } -$), but from the third colon they shift from this regular rising rhythm to an irregular falling one (with some inexactness of strophic correspondence) which eventually settles down into a trochaic rhythm and lasts till the eighth colon. There is then a further shift into dactylo-epitrite metre, based on the units $- \text{u u } - \text{u u } -$ and $- \text{u } -$, and at the very end a return to ionic. See Dale² 189-190. Note that the ionic and dactylo-epitrite metres both occur in the scanty surviving fragments of Phrynicus' tragedies (fr. 9, 13, 14).
277. **He might well get swellings in the groin:** as the result of a cut becoming infected (cf. Men. *Georgos* 46-52).
277. **our place:** the court in which both Philocleon and the chorus regularly sit.
279. **lower his head:** like a bull about to charge, a gesture indicating anger (cf. *Frogs* 804).
279. **like this:** the chorus imitate Philocleon's gesture.
280. **"You're trying to cook a stone":** i.e. you are attempting the impossible.
281. **tried to give us the slip:** the Greek verb is in the imperfect tense, and is non-committal as to whether the accused succeeded in avoiding conviction.
282. **he'd been a friend of Athens:** this shows that the accused was not, or at any rate (see next note) had not always been, an Athenian citizen.
283. **the first to tell us what was happening at Samos:** this defendant, like many others, claimed that he deserved to be acquitted because of his past services to the Athenian people – in this case, services performed at the time of the revolt of Samos in 440. According to the scholia, at one stage of the revolt vital information about the Samians' plans was given to the Athenians by a certain Carystion, who was later rewarded with Athenian citizenship. Possibly Carystion had recently been prosecuted.
283. **that's pained him:** "that" may be either the man's acquittal, if he was acquitted, or merely the shamelessness of his attempt to deceive the jury.
286. **fret:** lit. "eat up".
288. **a fat cat:** a rich man (cf. on 241). Mastromarco 47-53, to secure consistency between this passage and 240-1, identifies the "fat cat" with Laches, who would be vulnerable to a charge of

- treason because of the speed with which the truce of 423, which he had proposed, was followed by the news of the loss of Scione (see on 62).
288. **the Thracian Coast:** the areas of Greek settlement on the northern shore of the Aegean, where the Spartan general Brasidas had been operating with considerable success since 424 and had detached many towns from the Athenian alliance (Thuc. 4.78-88, 102-116, 120-132); cf. on 62 and 210.
289. **pot him:** i.e. get him condemned; the accused man seems to be pictured as an animal (a hare?) that will make a juicy dinner once caught and put in the pot for cooking. For the metaphor of cooking and eating applied to judicial condemnation, cf. *Knights* 1135-40.
- 290; 291-302 ≈ 303-316. Metre: ionic. 290 is an isolated ionic line, not part of the responding strophe and antistrophe.
- 295-6. **knucklebones:** small bones from the feet of sheep or other animals, used by children as dice or for playing odd-and-even and other games; cf. *Iliad* 23.88, Pl. *Lys.* 206e, Ap. Rh. 3.117-126. No doubt butchers, to whom these bones were virtually worthless, would sell them at a trifling cost.
298. **not if you were to hang yourselves:** even if you were to demand figs under threat of committing suicide if refused, I would still refuse.
299. **I won't be your guide any more:** cf. 254-7.
300. **this pittance:** the three obols he receives for a day's service as juror.
301. **groats:** from barley groats was made the kneaded, uncooked cake called *māza* which was the staple food of the poorer Greek.
301. **for a family of three:** lit. 'myself the third'. The three are the speaker, his wife and his son; he is too poor to own a slave (cf. on 248).
- 303-316. This passage is said by the scholia to be modelled on a song sung in Euripides' *Theseus* by the children sent as tribune from Athens to Crete to be devoured by the Minotaur. In particular, 312 ("O why . . . bear me?") is a direct quotation (Eur. fr. 385), and 314 ("Then . . . a useless ornament") is slightly adapted from Eur. fr. 386.
304. **the archon:** that one of the nine archons who presides over the relevant court, namely one of the six thesmothetae (cf. 775). Contrast 1108 where "the archon" means the chief archon.
- 304-5. **doesn't make the court sit today:** this suggests that, for all the gibes of comedy about the Athenians' mania for litigation, it was not uncommon for one of the courts not to sit on a given day because there were no cases for it to try.

308. a chance in Hell . . . é's sacred waters: lit. "a sacred *poros* of Helle". To make sense with what precedes, *poros* must be taken as meaning "resource"; but *poros* also means "strait, waterway", and the word reminds the singer of a phrase from Pindar (fr. 189) which he accordingly tags on although it is meaningless and absurd in the context. For similar uses of inapposite phrases taken from high poetry cf. *Ach.* 541, 1188 and *Birds* 1247. The "sacred strait of Helle" is the Hellespont or Dardanelles.
- 314-5. bag: for carrying meal bought in the market; he may now have to go home with it empty.
316. we two: either the boy and his father, or the boy and his bag.
- 317-333. Metre: down to 323 the metre is aeolic, based, after an introductory bacchiac line (u - twice), first on the telesillean (x-u-u-u-) and then on the glyconic (o-o-u-u-u-). The song may well be based based on a tragic, probably Euripidean, model ; Eur. *Supp.*990-1008 = 1012-30 is composed of similar metrical elements, though there is no resemblance in content. From 324 the metre changes to anapaestic, and the remainder of the passage will have been chanted rather than sung.
317. my little chink: the window.
- 318-9. I am unable to sing: a richly comic utterance considering that he is in fact singing it! There is probably parody of the convention whereby tragic choruses (like operatic choruses two millennia later) sometimes very audibly reminded themselves to keep quiet (e.g. Eur. *Or.* 140-151, 181-6). Philocleon means that he has not dared to answer his friends' song till now for fear of waking his guards.
319. these men: Bdelycleon and Xanthias.
322. do some harm to someone: Philocleon's main pleasure in life; cf. 340, 1263.
324. turn me forthwith into smoke: cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 779-782. But "Smoke" was also a nickname given to men fond of empty boasting (cf. on 151), and hence to be turned into a man of that kind was equivalent to being turned into smoke; hence the unexpected continuation of the prayer in 325-6.
325. Proxenides (*PA* 12257) was a notorious boaster, mentioned also in *Birds* 1126. He was also ridiculed as a weakling (Telecleides fr. 18).
325. Mr McBraggert: lit. "the son of Sellos (=Brag)". Elsewhere in the play this mock patronymic is applied to two men, Aeschines (1243, cf. 459) and Amynias (1267). MacDowell suggests that here it is likely to mean Amynias because Amynias was prominently placed in the audience (cf. 74-76), and certainly 326
326. can be shown to suit what we know of Amynias (see next note). climber-vine: Greek *(h)amamaxus*, said by the scholia to mean the same as *anadendras*, a vine that twined itself round a tree. This would fit Amynias well, since he was allegedly a social climber and a parasite (cf. 1267-70).
- 328-331. either speedy . . . hot vinegar-brine: the underlying prayer is "burn me up with your thunderbolt" (cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1086-8), but since *spodison* can mean either "burn to ashes" or "bake in the embers" Philocleon's thoughts are diverted into the sphere of cookery, and he ends up praying to be baked and soured like a dish of sprats!
332. turn me to stone: cf. Eur. *HF* 1397.
333. the jurors' votes: lit. "the mussel-shells", which were an alternative to pebbles (109) for use as voting tokens in the courts (cf. *Knights* 1332).
- 334-345 ≈ 365-378. Metre: trochaic, partly spoken or chanted trochaic tetrameters, partly sung lyric trochaics. In several places (twice in 339; once each in 342, 343, 370) a short syllable is substituted for a long in a rhythmically strong position.
338. you useless fool: apparently they are a little contemptuous of Philocleon for being frightened of his son. Throughout this scene Philocleon is pessimistic and easily discouraged, and his friends try to bolster his morale.
340. do any harm: cf. 322.
341. he's ready to feast me in luxury: Bdelycleon confirms this in 504-6, 722-4, and 1003-6, and eventually Philocleon is induced to accept his offer.
341. I don't want to be feasted: cf. 508-511, 751.
342. Demagogocleon: Greek *Dēmologokleōn*, in which the first part of Bdelycleon's name is replaced by *dēmologos*, a pejorative word for a politician. But this name, intended as an insult to Bdelycleon, could equally well be taken as an insult to Cleon; for supporters of Cleon thus unintentionally abusing their own political idols cf. 418 (*Theorus*) and 592 (*Cleonymus*).
- 342-3. a bit of the truth about the navy: the chorus jump to the conclusion that Bdelycleon's action must have some sinister political motive (cf. 345), probably a wish to subvert the democratic system in the interests of the rich (cf. 463-477); hence they guess that he is angry with his father for having alleged (truthfully, in their view) that the rich individuals to whom, as trierarchs, was assigned the responsibility of maintaining and commanding warships, were not carrying out their duties pro-

- perly. This is the interpretation to which the scholia point; but "the truth about the navy" could also mean, for example, an assertion that the navy (which was chiefly manned by poorer citizens) was the main foundation of Athenian security and power. Bentley suggested altering an accent to give the meaning "the truth about the young", since the old jurors think that most young men are anti-democratic (cf. 888-890).
345. **conspirator:** this term seems to have been frequently used by Cleon and his supporters to smear their political opponents: cf. 483, 488, 507, 953, and *Knights* 236, 257, 452, 476-9, 628, 862. It covers both subversion of democracy at Athens and intrigues with actually or potentially hostile states like Sparta (475), Boeotia (*Knights* 479), and Persia (*Knights* 478).
- 346-364. Metre: anapaestic tetrameters, ending (from 358) with an anapaestic *pnigos*.
349. **to go round . . . mussel-shell in hand:** i.e. to cast my vote in a trial (for "mussel-shell" see on 333). To vote, a juror went in a circle from his seat to the voting-urns and back to his seat (cf. 987-991). On his way, he evidently passed the place where boards (*sanides*) were hung bearing notices of forthcoming trials (cf. 848-852).
351. **like resourceful Odysseus:** "resourceful" (*polumētis*) is Odysseus' most common distinctive epithet in Homer. Ar. seems to have conflated two separate exploits of Odysseus during the siege of Troy, one when he entered the city alone as a spy, disguised as a beggar (*Odyssey* 4.242-258), one when he went with Diomedes to steal the Palladium (image of Athena) and they entered the city via an underground conduit or sewer (Soph. fr. 367; Servius on Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.166).
353. **hole-meal flour:** lit. "cheese made with fig-juice", Greek *opiān*, with a pun on *opē* "hole, chink".
- 354-5. **when you stole . . . down from the wall:** for this type of exploit cf. 236-9. This was a minor piece of looting after the city had surrendered; Philocleon took some skewers from a house just within the city wall, escaped from the householder and/or his own officers by leaping from the top of the wall, and made his way back to the Athenian camp.
355. **when Naxos was captured:** this occurred about 470. Naxos seceded from the Athenian alliance, was besieged and forced to rejoin, and suffered some degree of loss of autonomy (Thuc. 1.98.4).
- 359-360. **men-at-arms . . . with weapons:** Philocleon is absurdly exaggerating the difficulties and dangers; it is quite clear from the subsequent action that his guards have no weapons at all (not even the stones mentioned in 222 and 228 : Xanthias evidently fell asleep before he had had a chance to collect any stones).
361. **exit points:** in a military context (and here there is plenty of military vocabulary in the vicinity) Greek *diōdōs* would mean "pass, defile" (cf. Hdt. 7.201; 9.99.3). Philocleon means the various passages by which he might have hoped to get out of the house, some of which he has already tried.
362. **two of them:** Bdelycleon and Xanthias.
- 363-4. **armed with skewers:** a rather pathetic lie, since the chorus can see for themselves that it is nonsense; it shows how utterly Philocleon has convinced himself that he has no hope of escaping.
- 363-4. **a ferret:** Greeks often kept polecats in their homes to catch mice: cf. 1182; *Peace* 795, 1151; *Thesm.* 558-9.
367. **gnaw through the net:** see on 165.
369. **Dictynna:** a Cretan goddess of hunting. Philocleon regards nets as being under her special protection (i) because nets were used for hunting, (ii) because Dictynna's name was believed to be derived from *diktuon* "net" (cf. Callim. *Hymn* 3.189-199; D.S. 5.76.3-4).
375. **bite his heart:** i.e. "be extremely distressed" as in *Ach.* 1.
- 376-7. **struggle for dear life:** lit. "run a race for his life". In fact the chorus, even in their wasp-guise, never succeed in scaring Bdelycleon.
- 377-8. **the sacred resolutions of the Two Goddesses:** "resolutions" (or "decrees", *psēphismata*) is the last word of the sentence in the Greek, and is a surprise substitute for *mustēria* "mysteries". Any attempt to assail the validity of the decrees of the Athenian people by which the jury-courts were established is considered by the chorus to be tantamount to sacrilege, as heinous as an attack upon the sanctity of the Mysteries celebrated at Eleusis in honour of the "Two Goddesses", Demeter and her daughter Persephone. There may be an allusion to the activities of the militant atheist Diagoras of Melos, who mocked and disparaged the Eleusinian Mysteries and was eventually tried and condemned to death in his absence (*Birds* 1072-4 with scholia; [Lys.] 6.17-18).
- 379-402. Metre: anapaestic tetrameters.
380. **Diopeithes (PA 4309)** was a minor politician and an expert on oracles, widely regarded as not quite sane. In the 430s he is said to have forced the philosopher Anaxagoras to leave Athens by means of a decree against atheists and astronomers (Plut. *Per.* 32.2-5). He was also probably the mover of a decree about Methone, passed in 430, which forms the first part of *IG i³* 61. He is several times mentioned in comedy from about 430 (Telecleides fr. 6) till 414

- (*Birds* 988). He is mentioned here mainly on account of his name, which is etymologically interpreted as “trust in Zeus”.
 381. **those two:** Bdelycleon and Xanthias.
 381. **reeled in:** lit. “reeded in”, fishing-rods being often made of reed; Philocleon likens his possible plight to that of a hooked fish.
 383. **heart-of-oak:** lit. “holm-oak-like”, i.e. “very tough” as in *Ach.* 180.
 386. **the court railings:** cf. on 124. A person who was or might be about to die often gave instructions about the place or manner of his burial: Crito expected that Socrates would give him such instructions (*Pl. Phd.* 115c); Aristotle in his will fulfilled the last wishes of his wife Pythias by directing that her bones should be reburied in his grave (D.L. 5.16); Theophrastus directed that he should be buried “in whatever part of the [Lyceum] garden is thought to be most fitting” (D.L. 5.53). But the idea of being buried in a lawcourt is a comic absurdity.
 388. **your ancestral gods:** this would normally mean “the gods of your family cult” such as Apollo Patroös (cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 55.3). But Philocleon’s spiritual family is the brotherhood of jurors, and so he prays to a hero associated with the courts.
 389. Lycus was evidently a hero who had at least one shrine near a lawcourt. Little else is known about him for certain; it is not clear whether he is identical with Lycus son of Pandion, the uncle and enemy of Theseus, nor whether he was associated with one particular court or with all courts. Pollux 8.121 says there was a court named “the court at Lycus”, but unlike all the other courts named by Pollux this one is not mentioned in any other source, and it is not clear that it ever existed (see Jacoby on Androtion, *FGrH* 324 F 59). Other authorities, deriving their information from Eratosthenes (see Harpocr. s.v. *dekazonē*) speak as though there were a shrine of Lycus outside every court, and this is supported by *Wasps* 818-9, which implies that a court is not complete without such a shrine, and by a statement of Isaeus preserved in *Lex. Rhet. Cant.* s.v. *Lukos* which seems to say that an amount equivalent to the daily fee of a juror was given to Lycus as if he had been one of the jury himself.
 389. **my neighbour:** because he dwells close to the lawcourt which is Philocleon’s spiritual home.
 390. **the tears and lamentations of each day’s defendants:** cf. 564-574, 882, 967-981.
 392. **you are the only Hero . . . near a crying man:** in general it was improper to approach a god or hero with weeping or wailing; Apollo was particularly averse to manifestations of grief in his

- presence (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1072-9, Eur. *Supp.* 971-6), but other gods too might be held to object to them (Lucian *Calumn.* 17-18 tells a story of how Alexander the Great, having deified his dead friend Hephaestion, was narrowly prevented from putting to death a man who had wept when passing Hephaestion’s tomb). Lycus is different: he positively enjoys the voice of sorrow, and has made sure he hears as much of it as possible.
 394. **wicker fence:** enclosing the shrine.
 398-9. **leafy branches . . . harvest-wreaths:** both phrases refer to the same objects, namely *eiresiōnai*, olive or laurel branches wreathed with bands of red and white wool and hung with all kinds of produce (fruit, bread, oil, wine, honey), which were dedicated to Apollo at the autumn festival of the Pyanopsis and then hung on the house door, where they remained until the following Pyanopsis. See L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932) 198-200; H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977) 76-77. We are evidently to assume here that the Pyanopsis is some months past; the branch and leaves have dried and hardened, and the wreath makes a reasonably good instrument of corporal punishment.
 399. **back water:** David Barrett points out to me that the nautical metaphor seems to be chosen for the sake of a pun on *eiresiōnē* (see previous note) and *eiresiā* “oars, rowing”.
 399-415. The staging of the struggle between Philocleon and his jailers is not made entirely clear by the text. The arrangement I have suggested is similar to that of most editors and of C.F. Russo, *Aristofane autore di teatro* (Florence, 1962) 203, but I have added the detail of Xanthias being thrown to the ground, which accounts for his not noticing until 420 that the chorus have stings. MacDowell has both Bdelycleon and Xanthias beating Philocleon with harvest-wreaths, Bdelycleon from below, Xanthias from inside the house, until Philocleon descends or falls to the ground at about 414 and is seized and held by his son; but “perhaps he’ll back water” (399) and “pulled further inside” (402) show that the person in the upper room is not beating Philocleon but only trying to haul him in, and therefore cannot be Xanthias who has been instructed to beat him.
 400. **who’s going to have a case:** he means “who’s going to prosecute”, since it is prosecutors who have an interest in enabling Philocleon to come to court to vote “guilty” as he invariably does.
 401. **Smicythion, Teisiades:** evidently these two frequently appeared as prosecutors in the courts. Neither can be identified, though Smicythion, whose name is rather rare, could be the Smicythion

- of Halae (*PA* 12769) who was secretary to the board of control for Eleusis in 407/6 (*IG* i³ 387.2).
401. **Chremon, Pherepeipnus:** these are not real Athenian names, and must be distorted forms of the names of two more well-known prosecutors, altered in order to make fun of their bearers. Chremon ("Needy") could be meant for Chromon, who appears as the proposer of a decree about 430 (*IG* i³ 145.2): Pherepeipnus ("Winner of Dinner") represents some such name as Pherecleides or Pherenicus.
- 403-429 = 461-487 Metre: basically trochaic, partly sung and partly recitative tetrameters. In the sung portions, the trochaic rhythm -u-x is increasingly replaced by -uuu or -u-, until from 413=469 the lyrics are almost wholly cretic-paeonic. Strophe and antistrophe correspond fairly closely in metre except for 410-4 and 468-470 which differ substantially in length and slightly in rhythm.
404. **when someone provokes our wasp-nest:** cf. 223-7.
406. **sharp sting of anger:** lit. "sharp-spirited sting".
407. **is braced <for battle>:** the mss. have "is braced so as to be sharp". which is unsatisfactory in both sense and metre. I translate my tentative conjecture; see *CQ* 27 (1977) 263-4.
409. **report this to Cleon:** Cleon is the jurors' protector (242) against all who seek to harm them. This is the second time (cf. 197) that a call for help has been made to Cleon, and for the second time he will fail to appear.
- 413-4. **he's introducing the idea that we shouldn't judge lawsuits:** Bdelycleon's attempt to restrain his father from judging is inflated into a plot to abolish popular juries altogether and so facilitate the subversion of democracy (cf. next note).
417. **dictatorship (Greek *turannis*), like "conspiracy" (345),** was a term commonly used by Cleon, his supporters and his successors to smear their political opponents : cf. 463-507, *Lys.* 616-635. In view of the Athenians' hatred of autocracy, such an accusation was deadly if believed: anyone who attempted to set up a tyranny was *ipso facto* an outlaw and could be killed with impunity (*Arist. Ath. Pol.* 16.10; *Andoc.* 1.96-98).
418. **my god . . . detested Theorus (Greek *Theōrou theoisekhthriā*)** is a surprise for "my gods" (*theoi*). A person shocked by what he hears or sees may appeal to his fellow-citizens (cf. *Soph. OT* 629) and/or the gods to take notice of and punish the outrageous actions or words: this chorus appeal not to the gods but to the demagogues whom they "all but worship" (516). For Theorus see on 42. By calling Theorus "god-detested" and a "bootlicker"

- the chorus inadvertently let slip what Ar. regards as the truth about him: cf. on 342.
419. **bootlicker:** Theorus and his like allegedly toady to the people (592-600, cf. *Knights* 881-911, 1151-1220) and also fawn on Cleon (42-46, 683, 1033, 1236-42).
419. **our cause:** the cause of the common people.
421. **annihilated:** i.e. convicted and sentenced to a heavy penalty (not death, however, since Philippus was still active in 414; cf. next note).
421. **Philippus son of Gorgias:** this Philippus is again coupled with Gorgias, the famous rhetorician of Leontini in Sicily, in *Birds* 1694-1705, where the pair are said to haunt the law-courts and make a living with their tongues by malicious accusations. Philippus may well be the man (*PA* 14368) who on one occasion prosecuted (or perhaps wrote a pamphlet denouncing) the anti-democratic intellectual and speech-writer Antiphon (cf. *Ant. fr.* 65). He is called Gorgias' "son" as being a disciple or imitator of his, just as a boastful man may be called the son of Brag (325, 459, 1267) or the effeminate Cleisthenes is sarcastically called a son of the wrestling-trainer Sibyrtius (*Ach.* 118); Gorgias actually had no children (*Isochr.* 15.156).
421. **as he deserved:** this is the normal meaning of Greek *en dikēi*, and more likely than the alternative rendering "at his trial". Elsewhere in the play, it is true, all the emphasis is on the allegation that many people are *wrongfully* convicted, but malicious accusers like Philippus (see last note), who bring such wrongful convictions about, are themselves among the worst of criminals and their punishment is to be welcomed (cf. *Knights* 1358-63).
- Now, everybody . . . full of anger and spirit:** an imitation of military orders.
- 422-4. **extend stings:** since the stings project from the wasps' rump (225, 1075), one might imagine that the chorus would have to form up facing *away* from Bdelycleon with a view to charging *backwards*; but their words in 428-455 strongly suggest that they are able to see what is happening to Philocleon. Possibly therefore the stings may have been attached to the costumes in such a way that while normally protruding backwards (like a sheathed sword) they could be moved to protrude forwards (like a drawn sword), and the order "extend stings" corresponds to the military order "draw swords".
429. **to have shells:** lit. "for their skins". Cf. 1292.
- 430-460. Metre: trochaic tetrameters.

433. **Midas, Phryx . . . Masyntias:** many slaves at Athens came from Phrygia (cf. 1309, Hermippus fr. 63.18); “Phryx” is merely the ethnic designation used as a personal name (cf. “Phrygia” in Men. fr. 928 and *IG ii²* 13019), “Midas” is used for a Phrygian slave because it was the name of a Phrygian king (cf. *IG ii²* 1561.22; 121.24; *SEG* xxiv 223.4, 7). “Masyntias” indicates not the slave’s origin but his habits: it means “chewer, greedy feeder”.
436. **the sound of a lot of crackling fig-leaves:** an idiomatic expression for empty bluster, “sound and fury signifying nothing”. The slaves have no excuse for being frightened by the noisy and menacing behaviour of the juror-wasps, because (according to Bdelycleon) they present no real danger.
438. **Cecrops:** a legendary king of Athens.
438. **turpentine:** he meant to say “serpentine”; in the Greek he says “Dracontides” (see on 157) by mistake for *drakontōdēs* “serpent-like”. Cecrops was represented in art with the body of a man down to the waist and a snake below: see for instance the vase illustrated in *JHS* 8 (1887), plate 73.
440. **to cry at four tears to the quart:** a surprise for “to speak Greek” or the like: Philocleon thinks his slaves ought to be grateful to him for beating them (cf. 449-451), though the beatings made them cry so hard that each tear would have filled a half-pint cup! The word translated “quart” is *khoinix*, actually rather less than a quart or rather more than a litre.
444. **smocks of leather (Greek *diphtherai*):** see Stone 166-7.
444. **tunics:** Greek *exōmides*, short garments for working men, which left one shoulder bare; see Stone 175-6.
447. **not even in their eyes:** proverbially (*Arist. Rhet.* 1384a34) when a man is ashamed of something it shows in his eyes: cf. Theognis 85-86 and Eur. fr. 457.
447. **footwear:** a surprise for “benefits received” or the like.
450. **I took you to the olive tree:** to be tied to it, the more conveniently to be beaten.
453. **price:** lit. “penalty”.
455. **mustard:** lit. “cress” which when full-grown has a notably pungent smell. Ar. is fond of calling a mordant, irate facial expression “an X look” where X is the name of some acrid herb or fluid: cf. *Ach.* 254, *Knights* 631, *Peace* 1184, *Frogs* 603, *Eccl.* 292.
- 456-460. The smoke-making device with which the “wasps” are repelled may well be that described five centuries later by Columella, *De Re Rustica* 9.15. 5-6: a narrow pot with a small opening at one end and a larger one at the other, containing a mixture of live coals

- and dried manure. The user pointed the pot in the direction required and then blew through the larger hole to force smoke out of the smaller.
459. **Aeschines (PA 337):** mentioned in 1220, 1243-8 (where he is again called “son of Brag”) and *Birds* 823, as a man who boasted of wealth he did not possess; hence his name can be used to mean “smoke” (cf. 151, 324-6). The mention of Thessalians at 1247 may indicate that he was a colleague of Amynias on an embassy to Pharsalus in 423 (cf. 1271-4); and I.C. Storey, *Kōmōdoumenoi and Kōmōdein in Old Comedy* (Diss. Toronto 1977) 150 has also tentatively identified him with the Aeschines who was one of the Hellenotamiae in 418/7 (*IG i³* 287.5).
- Braggartius:** Greek *Sellartios*; cf. on 325.
- This couplet, assigned by all recent editors to Bdelycleon, was seen to belong to Philocleon by N.G. Wilson, *CR* 22 (1972) 313.
- 461-2. **if they’d been drinking in Philocles’ melodies:** Philocles (PA 14529; *TrGF* 24), son of Philopitheis and nephew of *Aeschylus*, was a tragic dramatist, who on one occasion won first prize ahead of Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus*. He was proud of his art and his family (Telecleides fr. 14), but was frequently ridiculed as an ugly man with a pointy head (*Birds* 1295, *Thesm.* 168) whose poetry and music were “bitter” and unpleasant (Ar. *CGF* 63. 43-46), whence he was nicknamed “Gall” (*Suda* φ 378) and “Son of Briny” (schol. *Birds* 281). Hence Philocleon is saying that if his fellow-jurors had nurtured themselves on the acid melodies of Philocles instead of the sweet ones of Phrynicus (220) they would have become “sharper” and more penetrative, and been harder to defeat.
- dictatorship:** cf. 417.
- you long-haired Amynias:** for Amynias see on 74. To Athenians long hair suggested wealth and arrogance (*Knights* 580, *Clouds* 545) and possibly anti-democratic, pro-Spartan leanings (*Birds* 1282, Lys. 16.18; cf. *Hdt.* 1.82.1).
- shut off from the laws:** i.e. deny us the right to judge, which is ours by law. Cf. 413-4.
464. **justification or . . . quick-witted argument:** the Greek words *prophasis* “justification, excuse, pretext” and *eutrapelos* ‘quick-witted, adroit, pliant’ both suggest an argument that is specious rather than weighty. Once again, perhaps, the jurors inadvertently let slip what Ar. regards as the truth (see on 342 and 418): they are easily taken in by plausible but insubstantial arguments. But readily though they yield to persuasion, they will certainly not

- yield to dictation, to Bdelycleon's attempt (as they see it) to impose his will on them by force.
475. **Brasidas**, son of Tellis, was the outstanding Spartan general of the Peloponnesian War. In 424 he had saved Megara for the Peloponnesians (Thuc. 4.70-74) and since then had been operating in the region of the "Thracian Coast" (288) where he had detached many towns from the Athenian alliance, by persuasion as much as military power. He was fatally wounded in the summer of 422 when leading the successful defence of Amphipolis against the Athenians under Cleon. The "fat cat" mentioned in 288 was no doubt accused of conspiring with Brasidas, and in *Peace* 639-640 we hear of similar charges made against rich men in the allied states.
- 475-6. **tassels of wool**: as fringes on his clothes, evidently a Spartan fashion.
- 476-7. **grows his beard untrimmed**: as Spartans did, cf. *Lys.* 1072, Plato com. fr. 124, Plut. *Phoc.* 10.1.2. Some young Athenians in the late fifth century adopted Spartan habits and fashions as a mark of their oligarchic and pro-Spartan sympathies: cf. *Birds* 1281-3, Pl. *Prot.* 342b-c, *Gorg.* 515e. Bdelycleon is probably not one of them; we need not believe that the chorus's words accurately describe his dress and coiffure, any more than they are accurate in calling him a traitor and would-be tyrant. They see Bdelycleon through the distorting lens of prejudice, rather as some people in modern times have been known to assume that any male with long hair is a homosexual or a drug addict.
478. **renounce my father altogether**: in theory a son could do this by having himself adopted by another (childless) man, who then took over all paternal rights in relation to him. For an *only* son to take this step, however, would certainly incur strong social disapproval as a dereliction of the son's duty to maintain his father in old age; and we know of no case in which an only son of a living father allowed himself to be adopted (in Men. *Dysk.* 731 the natural father is dead). Yet Bdelycleon is so exasperated by the trials of his long struggle to cure Philocleon of his addiction to jury service that he wonders if this shocking action might not be the lesser evil.
480. **you haven't even got to the celery . . . or the rue**: the meaning is evidently that what is happening to Bdelycleon now is barely even a foretaste of what is going to happen to him later. The scholia offer two explanations of why "in the celery and rue" should mean "just at the beginning": (i) in herb gardens celery and rue were planted at the front, (ii) new-born babies were laid on celery (on this view the mention of rue is an irrelevant addition for comic effect). Neither explanation is convincing: (i) has the air of an *ad hoc* invention, and (ii) is open to the objection that the main ritual associations of celery were with death and mourning (cf. Plut. *Timoleon* 26) and it was sacred to the underworld gods (schol. Pind. *Olymp.* 13.45c). Probably fifth-century Athenians had no idea what the origin of the idiom was.
481. **six-pint**: lit. "three-*khoinix*" (cf. 440), i.e. big or grandiose.
482. **prosecutor**: Greek *xunēgoros*, a person specially appointed to conduct the prosecution where a trial was ordered by the Council or the Assembly in a case of public importance (cf. *Ach.* 685, 705, 715; *Knights* 1358; *Hyp. Dem.* 38; *Dein.* 2.6; [Plut.] *Mor.* 833f).
483. **conspirator**: see on 345.
486. **while a fibre of my being lives**: lit. "while there is anything left of me".
- 488-525. **Metre**: trochaic tetrameters.
488. **you**: i.e. you poorer citizens, or you supporters of Cleon; or, with RVp3, "we", i.e. we Athenians.
490. **for fifty years back**: a round figure; in fact the last attempt to restore tyranny at Athens, that of Xerxes who would have installed the Peisistratids in power (cf. Hdt. 7.6; 8.52.2), had failed fifty-seven years before *Wasps* was produced. Since Bdelycleon is a young man, this sentence must be a compressed way of saying "I'd never heard the word, and neither to my knowledge had anyone else for the last fifty years".
491. **cheaper**: i.e. in more common use.
491. **salted fish** was a cheap and little-esteemed food: cf. *Ach.* 967, 1101; *Knights* 1247; *Philippides* fr. 9. 3-5.
493. **perch**: Greek *orphōs*, a large sea-fish of the perch family, not certainly identifiable (see D'A.W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* [Oxford, 1947] 187-8).
- 496-9. **The customer is imagined to have bought some sardines from a fishmonger and to be asking him to add an onion, without charge, for flavouring. At that moment an itinerant woman vendor, selling vegetables from a basket, passes by and indignantly complains at the man's behaviour, hoping to shame him into paying for one of her onions instead.**
499. **owes you a tribute of seasonings**: when the Persian kings granted the tax revenues of a district to their queens or to favoured subjects, it was their practice to decree that the district was to provide some particular item of food, clothing or adornment for the grantee: thus the revenues of Magnesia were granted to Themistocles

- for his bread (Thuc. 1.138.5; cf. Xen. *Anab.* 1.4.9, [Pl.] *Alc.I* 123b). The items of maintenance stipulated bore no relation to the amount of revenue granted (Magnesia was worth fifty talents a year to Themistocles) and the terminology used was merely a traditional reflection of the king's ancient duty to maintain his dependants directly. The vegetable-seller, however, apparently understands it as denoting an actual tax in kind: the man she is rebuking is already, she says, behaving as if the Persian king had conquered Athens and ordered its people to supply this man with his condiments!
500. I got it from that tart: it is risky to make any sociological deductions from the slave Xanthias' story of his visit to a prostitute, for when Ar. has thought of a joke he may forget or ignore the fact that the character who tells it is a slave: cf. *Knights* 320 where the speaker, though a slave, speaks of his "fellow-demensemen".
501. I asked her to straddle me: this position demands more exertion of the woman and less of the man, so that in the midday heat Xanthias might well appreciate the favour and the girl resent the demand.
502. if I was trying to put old Hippias back in the saddle: lit. "if I was setting up the dictatorship of Hippias". The joke is on Hippias' name, which means "Horsy", and *kelētizein* "straddle, ride like a jockey". Hippias son of Peisistratus (*PA* 7605) was tyrant of Athens from 528/7 to 510, and the last four years of his rule, after the assassination of his brother, were remembered as having been particularly harsh and despotic (Hdt. 5.62.2; Thuc. 6.59.2; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19.1). Expelled in 510, he made several attempts to return with Spartan or Persian help, the last in 490 when he landed with the Persians at Marathon. For "the dictatorship of Hippias" as a bogey cf. *Lys.* 618.
- 505 -trumped-up-lawsuit: Greek *-sūkophanto-* (cf. on 145).
506. classy: or "noble", "well-bred": Greek *gennaios*, suggesting aristocratic values and habits, after which the mention of Morychus, lordly only in his appetite, comes as something of an anticlimax. Morychus (*PA* 10421) was notorious as a lover of good food (*Ach.* 887; *Peace* 1008; Plato com. fr. 106); there is also a reference to him as active in politics (Telecleides fr. 11) and to his having served on an embassy to Persia (schol. *Ach.* 61).
508. pigeon's milk: lit. "birds' milk", meaning the rarest and most priceless delicacies: for the idiom cf. *Birds* 734, 1673, Mnesimachus fr. 9.

510. skate or eel: two of the most highly regarded fish dishes: cf. *Ach.* 880-894, *Peace* 811, 1005-9, Ar. fr. 318, Eupolis fr. 161.
516. men whom you all but worship: the demagogues.
520. garnering the fruits of Greece: possibly a politician's phrase (cf. Thuc. 2.38.2) describing how numerous Greek cities are compelled to surrender a portion of the wealth they create to imperial Athens in the form of tribute. The question Bdelycleon wants Philocleon to ask himself is: how much of this wealth finds its way to him and his fellow-jurors? For Bdelycleon's answer see 650-718.
521. make these men the judges of the question: "these men" are the chorus, who are being asked to hear the arguments of both sides and decide which is more convincing. The *agōn* now about to commence is the only competitive *agōn* in Ar. in which the chorus act formally as judges: they deliver their verdict in 725-7.
523. I'm going to fall on the sword: the audience will be reminded of the death in 427 of Paches, the commander who had defeated the rebellious Mytilenaeans. When a jury voted him guilty of misconduct in office, he drew his sword and killed himself in court (Plut. *Arist.* 26.5, *Nic.* 6.1). For suicide as a possible reaction to an adverse judgement cf. also Dem. 57.70 and Aeschines 3.212.
524. if you don't . . . abide by the arbitrators' award: a verdict against Philocleon will be equivalent to a declaration that it is wrong for him to go on being a juror; he must therefore either end his life, as he has just said he will, or else live without judging. Bdelycleon now asks him to name a penalty in case he disregards the verdict and returns to his old ways. In real life the awards of arbitrators, if given under oath, were as binding as court decisions and enforceable in the same way, but the parties might nevertheless name men who would go surety for their compliance with the award (cf. [Dem.] 33.15).
525. drink neat pay from the Good Spirit's cup: "pay" is a surprise for "wine" (cf. *Knights* 85). The first libation after a meal was poured to the Good Spirit (*Agathos Daimōn*) from a cup of neat wine, hence "may I never drink neat wine from the Good Spirit's cup" would have meant "may I never attend a dinner party". But while ordinary men delight in good food and wine to follow, Philocleon delights in a good trial and pay to follow — though before the end of the play his tastes will have changed.
- 526-545 631-647 Metre: the chorus sings in iambo-choriambic metre, based on the units x-u- and -u u-. The interjected remarks of Bdelycleon and Philocleon are in iambic tetrameters.

- 526-7 **the man from our gym:** I take this to be a conscious metaphor, with the chorus speaking of Philocleon as if he were a wrestler or boxer; but a generation later, when in Pl. *Gorg.* 493d two allegories are said to come “from the same gymnasium”, the metaphor has become as colourless as in the corresponding English phrase “from the same stable”.
529. **handbox:** the most common use for these portable boxes was for carrying food to be eaten away from the home (*Ach.* 1086-1142, *Lys.* 1184), and the audience may well be baffled as to why Bdelycleon should want such a box brought out.
- 530-1. **But what kind . . . advising him about?**: on text and interpretation here see *CQ* 27 (1977) 265-6. The text here adopted was proposed, on different grounds and with a different interpretation, by S. Srebrny, *Eos* 50 (1959/60) 45-48.
- 534-7. **you have a crucial contest . . . to beat you now:** on text and interpretation here see *CQ* 27 (1977) 266-7.
538. **Yes:** Bdelycleon agrees with the chorus’ expectation that Philocleon’s speech will be a very good one, and prepares therefore to take notes of all the substantial points he makes. It seems that Bdelycleon in the end regards only three points as substantial (cf. 599, 576, 588).
544. **scion-bearers:** the great procession at the Panathenaea included a group of old men, chosen for their handsomeness, who carried olive-shoots (cf. Xen. *Symp.* 4.17). But here the term “scion-bearers” is an insult to the old, implying that a person old enough to carry an olive-shoot in the procession is too old to perform any useful activity.
- 544-5. **the husks of affidavits:** i.e. worthless rubbish from the lawcourts. The word translated “affidavit” is *antōmosiā*, a sworn statement by a litigant of the facts on which he based his claim or defence (cf. Isaeus 3.6-7; 5.1-2; 9.1; [Dem.] 43.3).
- 546-630. Metre: anapaestic tetrameters, ending (from 620) with an anapaestic *pnīgos*.
551. **and that though he’s an old man:** one would not normally expect old age to be a time of happiness (cf. 441, *Wealth* 270, Pl. *Rep.* 1.329a-b).
- 552-572. Philocleon never makes up his mind whether to describe the behaviour of the typical defendant (in the singular) or of defendants generally (in the plural), and as a result in this passage he shifts from one number to the other seven times, once (565) in mid-sentence.
- 552-3. **big men:** both of high stature and of high status. The two would often go together, since the better-off would gain extra inches
- 552-3. **from the effects of superior diet and systematic exercise in childhood.**
554. **the court railings:** cf. on 124.
he puts his soft hand in mine: the man’s hand is soft because he is rich and has never had to do manual work. [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.18 gives exactly the same picture of a defendant clasping in supplication the hand of a juror on his way into court.
554. **that’s been stealing some public money:** the defendant is an outgoing magistrate (cf. 571) against whom the auditors (cf. on 102) have found a *prima facie* case of embezzlement, and who is now to be tried by a jury on this charge.
- 556-7. **Have mercy on me . . . :** the ex-magistrate uses the language of prayer (cf. 571); later (619-627) Philocleon will explicitly compare his own power to that of Zeus.
556. **father:** a deferential form of address to an older man (cf. *Knights* 725, Men. *Dysk.* 107).
556. **if ever you yourself have nicked anything:** “if ever” occurs often in prayers where the worshipper reminds the god of past occasions when the latter has been kind to him (e.g. Sappho fr. 1.5-24) or of the worshipper’s own past services to the god (e.g. *Iliad* 1.39-41); but here there is a surprising and bathetic continuation, for this “god” can be asked to forgive sins on the ground that he has committed comparable sins himself!.
557. **when you were holding some office:** as any Athenian might have done at some time in his life, by the operation of the lot.
560. **had my anger wiped away:** i.e. allowed the defendant to mollify me into promising to vote for his acquittal.
565. **as great as mine:** once again (cf. 342, 418, 468-9) an opponent of Bdelycleon lets slip a true word that damages the case he is trying to make. Later Bdelycleon will hammer home the point that Philocleon’s alleged power has made no difference to his poverty.
566. **Aesop:** the reputed author of numerous animal fables; he was said to have been a slave of Iadmon of Samos in the early sixth century (Hdt. 2.134.3-4). Note that later in the play, when Philocleon abandons judging for a life of pleasure, he will himself try the effect of telling “Aesopic” and other stories to amuse people he has offended and avoid paying the penalty for his actions (1258-61, 1399-1405, 1427-49).
567. **make jokes:** cf. Dem. 23. 206 “You acquit those who have committed the greatest crimes and been clearly proved guilty, if they make a witty remark or two for you.”
- 568-9. **he drags his little children . . . up to the platform:** such appeals were

- all too common in the Athenian courts (cf. 976-8; [Lys.] 20.34; Andoc. 1.148; Pl. *Apol.* 34c-d; Dem. 21.99, 186-8).
 572. the voice of the lamb: there may be a pun on *arnos* “of a lamb” and *arrenos* “of a male”.
 573. pork in the sense of “female flesh” (see E. Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* [London, 1961] s.v. *pork*); the Greek has *khoiridiois* which means both “piglets” and “female genitals”.
 574. lower the pitch: lit. “slacken the peg” as in tuning a lyre.
 578. we get the chance . . . examined for registration: at the age of seventeen (deducible from Dem. 27) or eighteen (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42.1) boys were registered as citizens in their demes; they might be rejected by the deme either as being under the required age or as not being of citizen birth. All registrations were reviewed by the Council, and certainly in some cases, possibly in all, a person aggrieved by a decision of the deme or the Council on a question of registration could appeal to a court. There, if the boy’s age was an issue, his family might choose to show the jury visible evidence of his physical maturity. The whole process of examination, registration and review was termed *dokimasiā*; it is discussed by P.J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford, 1981) 496-502.
 579. Oeagrus was evidently a tragic actor, but he is not otherwise known.
 580. Niobe: we cannot tell whether Aeschylus’ or Sophocles’ play of this name is meant.
 582. muzzle: Greek *phorbeīā*, a leather harness round the piper’s head, holding the instrument to his mouth and also helping him to regulate his breath. See A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*² (Oxford, 1968), figs. 15, 35, 36.
 582. voluntary: Greek *exodos*, properly a tune played when a chorus leaves the orchestra at the end of a performance.
 583-6. if a father leaves . . . whose entreaties persuade us: when a man died leaving a daughter but no natural or adopted descendant in the male line, the daughter became an heiress (*epiklēros*). She was required to marry the nearest kinsman who claimed her, and he managed her father’s estate until the sons of the marriage came of age, when it became theirs. However, the father of a potential *epiklēros* had the right to adopt a son, who became heir to the estate but had himself to marry his adoptive sister. In the case here imagined, such an adoption has been made by the father on his deathbed and attested by a sealed will, but one or more relatives are challenging the genuineness or validity of the will and claiming that they are entitled by law to marry the *epiklēros* and take control of the estate. On *epiklēroi*, adoptions, and wills, see Harrison i 9-12, 82-96, 132-8, 149-155; also D.M. Schaps, *Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh, 1979), 25-42.
 584. go and boil its head: lit. “howl long for its head”, a phrase that originally implied a threat of a beating (cf. Lys. 520) but came often to mean nothing more specific than “go to blazes” (cf. Wealth 612) and so could be used with only slight incongruity to curse, as here, an inanimate object.
 585. shell: a cover to protect the seal from damage or obliteration.
 587. we cannot be called to account: jurors underwent no audit (cf. on 102) and were answerable to nobody for their decisions.
 587. public authority: Greek *arkhē* “magistracy, magistrate”. Being a juror was not technically an *arkhē* (see M.H. Hansen, *GRBS* 21 [1980] 152-4) but could informally be described as such (cf. Wealth 916-7).
 588. that: the jurors’ freedom from accountability.
 589. to unshell the heiress against her will: “to unshell the heiress’s will” apparently referring to the will and seal-cover of 584-5, but conveying also a second meaning since *konkhe* “shell” can mean “vagina” (Henderson 142) and *diathēkē* “disposition, testament” can mean “physical condition” (cf. Democritus fr. 9 D-K).
 590-1. the Council and People . . . over to the jurors: when a serious crime against the state was denounced to the Council or the Assembly (the procedure called *eisangeliā*), the Assembly could either try the case itself or order it to be tried by a jury. The latter course would probably be taken when the intending prosecutor thought a jury would be more likely than the Assembly to convict the accused, but Philocleon in his conceit imagines that the Assembly remits cases to juries when it finds them too difficult to decide itself. On the scope and procedure of *eisangeliā* see Harrison ii 50-59; M.H. Hansen, *Eisangelia* (Odense, 1975); P.J. Rhodes, *JHS* 99 (1979) 103-114; M.H. Hansen, *JHS* 100 (1980) 89-95; R. Sealey, *Classical Contributions: Studies in Honour of Malcolm Francis McGregor* ed. G.S. Shrimpton and D.J. McCargar (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1981) 126-131. Note that in this sentence “the Council and the People” is treated as a single entity, since they always acted together, every decree of the Assembly having to be preceded by a *probouleuma* of the Council, and in many cases *probouleumata* were draft decrees and were accepted by the Assembly as they stood.

592. Euathlus (*PA* 5238) is chiefly known to us as a prosecutor (cf. Cratinus fr. 75, Plato com. fr. 102); he was alleged to be of Scythian descent (*Ach.* 703-712, Ar. fr. 411). He prosecuted the sophist Protagoras for impiety, according to Aristotle (fr. 67), and was the accuser of Thucydides son of Melesias in the trial mentioned in 946-8.
592. that big fellow Flatteronymus (Greek *Kolakōnumos*): Cleonius (see on 16 and 19).
593. they'll fight for the masses: Philocleon is so easily deceived that he believes a promise to "fight" made by a notorious coward!
595. to discharge the courts after they've tried one case: in Aristotle's time a court would normally try four private lawsuits in a day (*Arist. Ath. Pol.* 67.1); so to order the courts to rise after hearing a single case (each) would be to give the jurors a full day's pay for a quarter of a day's work. Such a proposal is also alluded to in *Knights* 50.
596. the mighty screamer: Greek *kekrāxidamās* "the scream-conqueror", a mock-heroic epithet. For Cleon's voice see on 36.
597. holds us in his arms: "as a nurse does an infant" (van Leeuwen).
597. keeps off the flies: Paphlagon-Cleon is said to perform this service for Demos (the personified Athenian people) at *Knights* 59-60, except that there for "flies" Ar. unexpectedly substitutes "politicians".
599. Theorus: see on 42.
599. Euphemius: unknown, but evidently either a person of no importance at all or a notorious parasite or criminal.
604. you'll be revealed . . . this splendid power of yours: i.e. however much you try to conceal your lowly, squalid status by pretending to be a mighty ruler, the truth will make itself plain.
608. bends down to kiss me: Philocleon has sat down (cf. 611) to be waited on.
609. trying to fish . . . with her tongue: recent interpreters all take this literally, and infer that Philocleon frankly enjoys being erotically kissed by his daughter. It is true that he would be carrying the money in his mouth (cf. 790-5); but the text has the girl "fishing" and talking simultaneously (*hama*), and it is impossible to talk when one's tongue is in somebody else's mouth. Ar. did no doubt intend the words to convey an indecent suggestion, but Philocleon means them metaphorically: the girl is using a flattering and coaxing tongue to induce her father to give her the money.
610. a puff-pastry: an uncooked cake made of coarse barley-meal and

- wine, lightly kneaded so as to be soft and easy for an old and toothless man (cf. 165) to eat.
- 612-8. Philocleon passes now to a second advantage he derives in the domestic sphere from being a paid juror: he is not wholly dependent on his son for food and drink.
613. your steward: the food store would be locked, and the steward, or slave in charge of the house, would hold the keys and dispense food in measured quantities as needed (cf. *Xen. Oec.* 10.10).
615. this, like "all that" in 612, refers to the attentions described in 606-612 and especially the offers of food.
615. an accoutrement to ward off missiles: two of the three Greek words appear in epic, un-Attic forms, and the phrase is a scrap of epic pastiche (cf. 662,678). The nearest Homeric parallel is a variant or conjecture reported by the T-scholia on *Iliad* 16.134 describing Achilles' corslet as "a warden-off of troublesome missiles".
616. "donkey": a vessel presumably so named from the size of the handles ("ears") in proportion to the body. Philocleon must have been carrying the flask concealed at least since 317, perhaps (as MacDowell suggests) on a string round his neck.
618. brays . . . a big martial fart: both expressions describe the noise made by the wine glugging out of the narrow neck of the bottle.
618. at your goblet: Bdelycleon is imagined as having put a cup before his father, but not filled it; now Philocleon's "donkey", tipped up to pour, points itself at the empty cup and makes rude noises at it, which Philocleon interprets as an expression of the disgust which he imagines the flask feeling as strongly as he himself does.
621. if we get noisy: if a jury interrupt a speaker with shouts of impatience (cf. 979) or anger (cf. *Pl. Apol.* 20e, 30c; *Gorg.* 522a) or approbation (cf. *Aeschines* 1.174).
625. cluck: it was a widespread custom in antiquity (Pliny, *NH* 28.25) to make a clucking sound with tongue and lip upon seeing a flash of lightning, in order to avert bad luck. The point here is that the rich are as frightened by the flash of anger in the jurors' eyes (cf. *Ach.* 566) as they would be by real lightning.
626. shit in their clothes: from fright, cf. *Clouds* 294-5, *Peace* 176, *Frogs* 308, 479-490.
- 631-641. For similar lavish praise of a speech by an audience whose sympathy with the speaker is greater than their critical acumen, cf. *Thesm.* 433-442, 459-465.
634. stripping an unwatched vineyard: i.e. achieving success by a walk-over. Bdelycleon (or so Philocleon alleges) would never have challenged Philocleon to a debate had he known the challenge

638. was going to be accepted.
- I felt taller:** or "I swelled with pride": cf. Pl. *Euthyd.* 300d (Ctesippus earns the applause of his beloved Cleinias and "grows to more than ten times his size") and *Menex.* 235a-c (where the Isles of the Blest are also mentioned, suggesting an actual reminiscence of our passage).
640. **judging in the Isles of the Blest:** the Isles of the Blest were the Greek Paradise, reserved for those of exceptional prowess or virtue (Hes. *Works* 166-173; *PMG* 894; Pind. *Olymp.* 2.68-80; Pl. *Gorg.* 523b, 526c; *Rep.* 7.540b). This chorus, however, would not be really happy even in the Isles of the Blest unless they were serving as jurors there.
- 648-724. Metre: anapaestic tetrameters, ending (from 719) with an anapaestic *pnigos*.
- 648-9. **it's time for you . . . grinding down my wrath:** i.e. it will be extremely difficult for you to appease me.
650. **above the level found among comedians:** since the speaker is himself a character in a comedy, he may seem to be saying that his task is impossible; but he has the advantage that he speaks the words of an author who considers himself much more intellectual than most comic dramatists (cf. 57-66, 1015-59, *Clouds* 518-562, *Peace* 734-750, *Wealth* 794-9).
651. **a long-standing malady that is innate in this city:** Philocleon's mania for judging, then, is not an individual eccentricity but an extreme form of an addiction common among Athenians. Reiske's conjecture *entetakuian* "that has penetrated deeply" is intended to avoid the unique use of the perfect of *tiktein* "give birth" in a passive sense; but *entetakuian* would itself be unique in its form, for the perfect of *tēkein* "melt" is everywhere else *tetēkenai*, not *tetakenai*.
652. **O our Father, son of Cronus:** this is the style in which Zeus is addressed by his daughter Athena in Homer (*Il.* 8.31; *Od.* 1.45, 81). Here Bdelycleon seems to be appealing to Zeus for help in making his speech effective (cf. *Frogs* 885-894, Plut. *Per.* 8.6); Philocleon, who fancies himself the equal of Zeus (619), mistakes the appeal for a flattering address to himself.
654. **even if it means . . . sacrificial feasts:** a person accused of homicide was regarded as polluted and had to keep away from all holy places and religious rites unless and until he was acquitted by the proper court. As Philocleon does not seem to anticipate any severer penalty than this, one presumes that if charged with his son's murder his intention would be to plead justifiable homicide in that he killed a would-be tyrant (cf. on 417).
657. **the allied states:** the Greek has merely "the states" as in 670, *Ach.* 192, 506, 643, *Knights* 802, *Birds* 1425.
658. **the many one-percents:** we know of a 1% harbour tax levied at the Peiraeus ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.17; cf. *IG* ii³ 182.9-11) and taxes of 1% or thereabouts on goods confiscated and sold by the state (see W.K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 22 [1953] 226-230) and on sales of land (*IG* ii² 1594-1603); there may well have been other similar taxes.
659. **court fees, mines, markets, harbours, rentals, confiscations:** a selection (not a complete listing) of other sources of state revenue. Court fees or deposits (*prutaneia*) were paid by the plaintiff, and probably also the defendant, in most classes of lawsuit; after the trial the winner could recover the amount of his fee from the loser (see Harrison ii 92-94, 220). The state-owned silver mines at Laurium were leased out to entrepreneurs for several years at a time, probably by auction if there was competition; one successful bid was not far short of three talents (*SEG* xvi 126.15), but it is not known over what period this was payable: see M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 189-312; 26 (1957) 1-23; R.J. Hopper, *ABSA* 48 (1953) 200-254; *G&R* 8 (1961) 138-151. (My note on *Knights* 362 is inadequate.) Market taxes would include, in addition to any sales tax, the special fee (*xenikon*) paid by market traders who were not citizens (cf. *Ach.* 896 and *Dem.* 57.34). Harbour taxes included the 1% tax mentioned in the last note, probably charged on the cargoes of all ships entering the Peiraeus even in transit, and also the duty on imports and exports, which normally stood at 2% (*Andoc.* 1.133-6; *Dem.* 35.29-30) though it was raised to 5% between 413 and 404 (*Frogs* 363; *Thuc.* 7.28.4); on the various kinds of harbour tax see B.R. MacDonald, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 142-4. The other items mentioned are rents paid by lessees of state-owned land and the proceeds of sale of the confiscated property of condemned criminals.
660. **nearly two thousand talents:** no doubt exaggerated, but perhaps not very much so. Xen. *Anab.* 7.1.27 says Athenian state revenue from all sources in 431 was "not less than 1000 talents"; of this somewhat less than 400 talents was tribute (cf. *ATL* iii 333-4). Since then the tribute had been greatly increased; at the time of *Wasps* the total assessment was at least 1460 talents (*ATL* A9) though not all of this can ever have been collected. Other new sources of income included rents from the "sacred" land in conquered Lesbos (*Thuc.* 3.50.2) and direct taxes (*eisphorai*) on citizens (*Thuc.* 3.19.1, cf. *Knights* 923-4), though the latter may not have

- been imposed every year. The total gross annual receipts will certainly have been nearer 2000 than 1000 talents.
662. **six thousand:** Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 24.3 also gives a total of 6000 jurors for the fifth century. An important trial in 415 is said to have been held "before 6000 Athenians" (Andoc. 1.17); evidently for this trial all the panels of jurors assigned to the various courts (cf. 1107-9) were thrown into one.
662. **ne'er yet have more this land inhabited:** a quotation or parody from an unknown poetic source: Bdelycleon merely means "that is the maximum figure".
663. **a hundred and fifty talents** equals 5,400,000 obols; with 6000 jurors each drawing 3 obols a day, this means that Bdelycleon assumes that the courts sat on 300 days a year. This is a considerable exaggeration: it is shown by M.H. Hansen, *GRBS* 20 (1979) 243-6, that as the courts could not sit on annual festival days, on days when the Assembly met, or on days when a homicide trial was being held before the Areopagus, there were at most 225 days in an ordinary year when court sittings were possible; nor did the courts sit on every possible day (cf. 303-5 and Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 59.1); nor were all 6000 jurors necessarily required to serve every day the courts sat. But exaggerated though it is, the figure of 150 talents still seems far too low for Philocleon!
- 666-7. **"I-will-never-betray- . . . -for-the-masses":** these were the promises mentioned by Philocleon in 592-3 as being made by politicians like Euathlus and Cleonymus. Bdelycleon in quoting them inserts the word "rabble", which he alleges is the demagogues' actual opinion of the common people whom they profess to cherish. His assertion that they appropriate over 90% of state revenue is of course monstrous, ignoring as it does the military, naval, religious, and other legitimate expenditure of the state.
- 669-70. **they get bribed by the allied states:** cf. *Knights* 438, 802, 834-5, 930-3; *Peace* 644-6.
671. **your tribute:** a bribe, called "tribute" in much the same way as one can speak of "taxes" extorted by protection-racketeers.
671. **with my thunder:** the meaning is either "with noisy oratory" like Cleon's (see on 36) or more generally "with terrible violence". In either case the choice of metaphor implies that it is the demagogues and not the jurors (619-627) whose power is like that of Zeus.
672. **trotters:** Greek *argelophoi*, properly the feet of a sheepskin.
674. **being fed a starvation diet from a voting-urn funnel:** i.e. living on the bare pittance they receive for serving as jurors.
675. **mere ballot-fodder:** lit. "a ballot of Connus", a modification, suitable to the context, of the popular expression "a half-brain of Connus" meaning "something worthless". The musician Connus son of Metrobius (*PA* 8697), a winner of Olympic and other competitions, was unable to make a living by playing and teaching (*Knights* 534 with scholia; Cratinus fr. 317), and this was popularly ascribed to his fecklessness and stupidity, so that "Connus-brained" could be used to mean "imbecile" (*com. adesp.* 93).
675. **these men:** the demagogues.
677. **dress clothes:** Greek *khlanides*, fine cloaks to be worn on special occasions (see Stone 163-4).
677. **health-and-wealth:** Greek *plouthugieia*, an Aristophanic word denoting an abundance of blessings of every kind (cf. *Knights* 1091, *Birds* 731).
678. **by dint of much toil . . . on the waters:** again a poetic quotation or adaptation from an unknown source. The point that the profits of empire should go to those who fought to create the empire is repeated in 684-5, 711, 1075-1121.
680. **Eucharides:** no doubt a well-known greengrocer.
681. **not explaining to me what my actual slavery is:** Philocleon knows quite well that he is poor and the politicians are rich (cf. 552-4, 565, 575) but does not see how that in itself makes him a slave. Only in 686-712 does Bdelycleon show that the jurors are no better than menial labourers who are forced to "clock on" and obey orders in a manner unworthy of a free man.
- 682-718. For a very similar line of argument cf. Dem. 3.31-33: "Today the politicians are in control of all benefits, and . . . you the people . . . have been put in the position of a servant . . . content if they give you a share of the theoretic fund or organize a procession for the Boedromia, and, most audacious of all, they expect you to thank them for giving you your own money (cf. 683-4). They shut you up in the city . . . and train you to make you tractable in their hands (cf. 699, 704). . . . If even now you abandon these habits and are prepared to march out and behave in a manner worthy of yourselves . . . perhaps then, perhaps, Athenians, you may acquire some great and lasting benefit and get away from the little pickings you receive now, which resemble the food that doctors give to the sick. That food keeps you alive but doesn't give you any strength (cf. 701-2); and likewise the money you share out now isn't enough to do you any long-term good but it's too much for you to reject it and try another course of action".
- 684-5. **money that you yourself originally acquired:** most of the state's revenue is imperial tribute, and the imperial tribute exists thanks

- to the efforts of ordinary Athenian soldiers and sailors (cf. on 678).
686. **you go to and fro under orders:** in the manner of a slave, or at best a hired labourer (cf. 712 "like olive-pickers").
687. **a pansy young man:** not only are the jurors under command, they are under the command of a man less than half their age, and a man of dubious masculinity at that.
687. **the son of Chaereas:** neither Chaereas nor his son is identifiable; the Chaereas attacked by Eupolis (fr. 80) as being of foreign birth is probably unconnected.
688. **spreads his legs:** a posture thought of as characteristic of passive homosexuals because it causes the anus to open.
688. **like this:** Bdelycleon demonstrates the posture (cf. *Knights* 77).
688. **waggles his body voluptuously:** cf. 1169-73.
690. **after the sign goes up:** the Greek has merely "after the sign". A sign of some sort was displayed when a meeting of the Assembly was in progress or about to begin (*Thesm.* 277-8; *Andoc.* 1.36), and evidently the same practice obtained in the lawcourts. As we learn later (774-5, 891-2) jurors who arrived late were not even admitted to the court.
691. **his prosecutor's fee:** the son of Chaereas is a *xunēgoros* (cf. 482).
- 692-4. **then he goes shares . . . the other yielding in turn:** it is assumed that in the case in question two *xunēgoroi* have prepared speeches for the prosecution. The defendant approaches one of them with a bribe, which the recipient then shares with his colleague, and the two prosecutors co-ordinate their speeches, like two men at opposite ends of a double-handled saw co-ordinating their efforts, to ensure (i) that the defendant is not convicted and (ii) that no tell-tale inconsistencies arouse any suspicion of corruption.
695. **paymaster:** Greek *kōlakretēs*, one of a board of ten officials whose duty was to make payments out of the state funds (see e.g. *IG* i³ 78.52, 80.19). Our passage shows that a member of the board attended each court in person to pay the jurors.
- 696-7. Philocleon is particularly distressed at the thought that he may have been hoodwinked into acquitting guilty men.
696. **deepest sediments:** Greek *thīs*, properly sand or mud on the sea bottom.
699. **penned up:** lit. "encircled", i.e. rendered powerless and utterly dependent.

699. **who always say they're for the people:** cf. 593, 666-7.
700. **from the Black Sea to Sardinia:** in theory at least, the Athenian empire did include much of the Black Sea coast, where about forty cities had been assessed for tribute in 425/4 (*ATL* A9.IV. 126-173) and some attempt had been made to collect the money (*Thuc.* 4.75). In the west, however, there were no tribute-paying dependencies at all, and though Athens had independent allies in Italy and Sicily she had, so far as we know, no political influence at all in Sardinia.
- 701-2. **they drip that into you with a piece of wool, like oil:** the scholia explain that an earache may be relieved by drops of oil, a piece of wool being used as a dripper.
- 703-5. **they want you to be poor . . . :** the demagogue acts like a dog-trainer who feeds his animal regularly (to make it loyal) but always keeps it a little bit hungry (to make it aggressive and vicious).
707. **there are a thousand states which now pay us tribute:** the exceptionally comprehensive tribute assessment of 425/4 (*ATL* A9) seems actually to have included about 370 states (see the analysis by B.D. Meritt and A.B. West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* [Ann Arbor, 1934] 64-92). We do not know how many states actually paid; before the war the number seems never to have reached 200. The figure of a thousand may be a misapplication of a conventional estimate of the total number of cities in the whole Greek world (cf. *Men. Epitr.* 1087-8).
708. **if one had ordered each of these to maintain twenty men:** as in 656-665, it is assumed that all state revenue ought to go directly into the purses of the poor citizens (contrast *Knights* 1350-5 where a re-educated Demos recognizes the folly of such an attitude).
708. **twenty thousand** may be fairly close to the actual number of adult male Athenian citizens in 422 who were too poor to own a set of hoplite equipment: for the principal relevant figures known see A.H.M. Jones, *Past and Present* 1 (1952) 16-18. But Ar. probably arrived at the figure by taking the conventional number of 30,000 for the whole citizen body (cf. *Eccl.* 1132; *Hdt.* 5.97.2; *Men. Epitr.* 1088-9) and assuming that two-thirds of these could be classed as poor.
709. **hare's meat:** regarded as a delicacy, and not easy to obtain in Attica: cf. *Ach.* 878, 1006, 1110-2; *Knights* 1192-9; *Peace* 1150, 1196, 1312.
710. **beestings fresh and boiled:** beestings (the first milk after birth) are mentioned as a delicacy, alongside hare, in *Peace* 1150.
711. **worthy of . . . the trophy at Marathon:** just as a man who had ren-

- dered distinguished services to Athens might be rewarded by being given his meals at the state's expense in the Prytaneum (cf. *Knights* 280-1, Pl. *Apol.* 36d-37a), so the Athenians who "stood alone" against Persia in 490 and were victorious deserve to be maintained in perpetuity by the rest of the Greek world. On the victory-monument at Marathon, erected twenty or thirty years after the battle, see E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 93-106; when Ar. refers to it (*Knights* 1334, *Lys.* 285) he is "striking the deepest chord of Athenian patriotism" (Rogers).
712. olive-pickers: typical examples of hired casual labourers, a way of making a living which free men avoided whenever possible and which could be called "slavish" (cf. Dem. 57.45). In *Eccl.* 309-310 Athenians who attend the Assembly only for the sake of the three obols' Assembly pay introduced in the 390s are similarly compared to hod-carriers on building sites.
713. what's happened to me? A numbness is creeping . . . : or, with the mss., "what on earth is creeping like a numbness . . . ?"
715. all Euboea: possibly the promise is to give some of the poorer citizens allotments of land confiscated from some Euboean state, but more likely "all Euboea" means "vast quantities of corn", since Euboea was a major source of corn for the Athenians (cf. Thuc. 7.28.1, 8.96.2), and a promise of a corn distribution to all citizens would win more votes than a promise of land allotments for a relatively small number. For distributions of free or cheap corn promised by politicians cf. *Knights* 1100-6.
716. bushels: the Athenian *medimnos* was actually about 52 litres or nearly one and a half English bushels. Fifty *medimnoi* would have been enough for a family of four for more than a year!
718. after being charged with not being a citizen: the corn distribution was for citizens only, and evidently some claimants were accused of falsely pretending to be citizens, a frightening charge to face since the penalty on conviction was enslavement.
718. in one-quart instalments: either comic exaggeration, or an idiom like English "in penny packets" and not to be taken literally. One *khoīnix* (see on 440) of corn was a minimum acceptable day's ration for a man (Hdt. 7.187.2), and it would have taken 240 such instalments to make up the full allocation of five *medimnoi*.
718. and it was barley: whereas, when promised "corn" without further specification, one might have hoped to be given wheat.
724. paymaster's milk: an adaptation of the idiom "birds' milk" (see on 508).
- 725-8. Metre: anapaestic tetrameters.

- 725-6. "Until you have heard . . . you should not judge": a slight modification (for metrical reasons) of a proverb whose origin was ascribed variously to several heroes, sages and poets, including Hesiod (fr. 338).
727. we: lit. "I"; choruses and their leaders frequently use the first person singular to refer to the chorus collectively, and occasionally when this is done other nouns in the sentence (like "staffs" here) may nevertheless inconsistently be plural; cf. 1092-3, Eur. *Supp.* 51-53, 59, 271-4, 782-797, *Tro.* 1307-9, and see A.M. Kaimio, *The Chorus of Greek Drama within the light of the Person and Number Used* (Helsinki, 1970), esp. 76-78.
727. drop your staffs: despite *CQ* 27 (1977) 268, I do not now think that the chorus here actually discard their walking-sticks. Rather "drop our staffs" may be a metaphorical expression meaning "disarm" or "make peace", "staffs" being a surprise substitute for "weapons" suitable to a chorus of old men whose only weapons are their sticks (cf. 1296, *Clouds* 541, *Wealth* 272). For real or metaphorical disarmament by a chorus as its hostility to the hero diminishes cf. *Ach.* 341-6, *Birds* 400-2.
728. order: Greek *thiasos* "religious association, guild".
- 729-735 = 743-9 Metre: mainly iambic, but with some lines in dochmiae rhythm (based on the unit $\underline{x} \underline{u} - x -$). Dochmiae are normally associated with tragedy, and their use here is no doubt connected with Philocleon's grief-stricken, quasi-tragic silence (see on 741) and his subsequent quasi-tragic outburst.
- 733-4. you have actually had some god . . . in your trouble: Bdelycleon's determination and eloquence have been so extraordinary as to make one believe that a god must have inspired and assisted his actions in order to save Philocleon from himself.
735. lend your presence: i.e. do not withdraw into yourself as you seem to be doing.
- 736-742 Metre: anapaestic; so also 750-9.
737. gruel: porridge made from coarse barley groats (cf. Thphr. *HP* 4.4.9).
738. thick cloak: Greek *khlaína*, a heavy woollen cloak worn by men in winter (Stone 160-2). Philocleon will in fact be extremely reluctant to exchange his old *tribōn* (see on 33) for a *khlaína* (1122-56).
738. goatskin mantle: Greek *sisurā*, a cloak made of goatskin or sheepskin with the hair or fleece left on, used as a garment mainly by countrymen but as a blanket by all classes (Stone 165-6).
- 739-740. to massage his prick and his loins: Bdelycleon assumes this is all she will be required to do, since he takes it that his father is impotent

(cf. 1380-1); and Philocleon seems to admit this in 1343-4. He thus differs from many other Aristophanic old men who retain or recover their sexual potency (cf. *Ach.* 989-999, 1198-1221; *Knights* 1388-91; *Peace* 842-870, 1316-50; *Birds* 1253-6, 1720-62). All the same, it will turn out that he does not need his son to provide a girl for him; he gets one for himself — and Bdelycleon takes her away from him.

741. he's silent and doesn't so much as grunt: Philocleon's silence, and the attitude he has struck, parody the prolonged silences of Achilles, Niobe and other sorrowing characters in tragedy; cf. *Frogs* 911-926 and O.P. Taplin, *HSCP* 76 (1972) 97 n.123.

742. I can't say that pleases me: lit. "that can't please me".

743-5. the things that he used to be mad on . . . all those things: his addiction to jury service and the power and pleasure he thought it gave him.

750. Ah, woe is me!: Greek *tō moi moi*, a common exclamation of distress in tragedy (e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 974; Soph. *Aj.* 333, 336, 385; Eur. *Alc.* 862).

751-9. Philocleon's language in this lament derives partly from tragedy, partly from the lawcourts and partly from everyday talk (e.g. "Where's my soul got to?").

752. There is what I yearn for, there would I be: reminiscent of several Euripidean passages, notably *Alc.* 866-7 "I envy the dead below; there is what I yearn for; in those abodes I desire to dwell." But Philocleon's longed-for abode is in the courts.

753. unpolled: Greek *apsephistos* occurs only here in the active sense "not having voted", but may be a creation of Athenian officialdom rather than of Ar.; see K.J. Dover, *TPS* (1981) 9-12, who compares e.g. *akhorēgētōn* "of those who have not sponsored a chorus" *IG* i³ 254.4.

754. funnels: see on 99.

755. the last of the voters: Philocleon liked to vote last in order to have the maximum period of pleasurable anticipation.

756-7. For the action here I follow Barrett in essentials.

756. Speed thou, my soul!: probably a quotation from Euripides, but the exact source is unknown; the original may have continued "... beneath the earth" or the like.

757. "Make way, thou shady --": a truncated quotation from Euripides' *Bellerophon* (fr. 308), where the hero, riding on his winged horse, says "Make way, thou shady foliage, let me rise above the well-watered glen: I am eager to see the sky above my head." If the words have any relevance to Philocleon's situation and are not merely meant to intensify the pseudo-tragic atmosphere, they

may indicate that the first sword-thrust ended somewhere among the shadowy folds of Philocleon's cloak.

758-9. may I never again . . . guilty of embezzlement: Philocleon had prayed (525) that if he lost the debate with his son and then broke his vow to kill himself, he might be deprived for ever of the delights of judging. Now, having failed to fulfil his vow, he reiterates this "curse" on himself. That he imagines himself convicting Cleon does not necessarily mean that he now consciously believes Cleon to be a thief; in the later trial-scene (893-1002) he is still Cleon's devoted supporter. Rather, Philocleon is blurting out, as he did at 592 and the chorus at 342 and 418, a fact which he knows in his heart to be true but which contradicts the pro-Cleon political stance he continues to maintain.

death will decide between us: i.e. "one or other of us will die"; possibly adapted from a passage of Euripides' *Cretan Women* (fr. 465).

down there: in the courts; so also in 770.

housemaid: Greek *sēkis*, properly a maid-servant born and reared in the house, not bought in the market.

opening the door ostensibly refers to leaving the house or receiving visitors without permission, but can also be taken to mean "having sexual intercourse" (Henderson 137).

to impose on her just once: the Greek is capable of two meanings, "to fine her just one drachma" and "to copulate with her just once".

if it's a fine hot day . . . out in the sun: lit. "if a hot sun (*heil-ē*) comes out you will be literally sitting on a jury (*ēli-asei*) in the sun (*hēli-on*)", with a double pun.

if you wake up at midday: too late to be admitted to the court (cf. 689-690).

presiding magistrate: Greek *thesmoothētēs*, one of the six junior members of the college of nine archons. The thesmothetae handled many classes of legal action in their preliminary stages (Harrison ii 12-17), and when these cases came to trial, one of the six would preside over the court.

barrier: see on 124.

you won't be waiting there hungry: Bdelycleon leaves it to be understood that he will provide food.

biting at your lip and the defendant: i.e. endeavouring to control your rising anger (cf. 1083) and at the same time finding an outlet for it in a determination to condemn and punish severely the defendant who has delayed your meal. Jurors are said to "bite"

783. defendants also at *Ach.* 376; in *Wasps* they more usually “sting”.
after chewing things over may mean “after pondering, ruminating” (in the interval between hearing the witnesses and voting on the verdict) or “on second thoughts” (if the jurors were deceived into giving a wrong verdict but later had an opportunity to reconsider the matter when the aggrieved party prosecuted the witnesses for giving false evidence).
787. **Lysistratus**, of the deme Cholargus (*PA* 9630), is mentioned several times by Ar. as a poor man (*Ach.* 855-9, *Knights* 1267) and a lover of verbal and practical jokes. Other contemporary references to men of this name may not be to the same person; see my note on *Ach.* 855, where I should have pointed out that the Lysistratus who is alluded to in *Lys.* 1105 as a pathic, and whose father was named Macareus (schol. *Wasps* 787), almost certainly belonged to the deme Amphitrope (cf. *IG* ii² 2645) and so was not the Lysistratus of *Acharnians*, *Knights* and *Wasps*.
788. **a drachma**: equal to six obols.
789. **he went and got it changed**: Lysistratus went on his own to the fish market, changed the drachma into obols, and came back to where Philocleon was waiting for him.
791. **I popped them in my mouth**: Greeks habitually carried small change in their mouths (cf. *Birds* 502-3, *Eccles.* 818, *Wealth* 379).
791. **I thought I'd been given obols**: either not looking at the scales at all, or looking at them hastily and mistaking them for small silver coins.
794. **the stomach of a fowl**: “for fowls can digest anything” (scholia).
795. **you digest your money pretty fast**: Lysistratus pretends to believe that Philocleon's digestive system has transformed three coins into three scales within a few seconds. If, as I suspect, Greek *kathepsein* “boil down, digest” could also mean “squander”, there will be a further dimension to the joke, in the absurdity of a man like Lysistratus, who could not make an adequate living himself (see on 787), accusing someone else of living beyond his means. See *CQ* 27 (1977) 270 (where, however, I should not have stated as a fact that it was our Lysistratus who took part in the mutilation of the Hermae in 415).
804. **a shrine of Hecate**: the Asiatic goddess Hecate is very early found in close association with gates and doors (see T. Kraus, *Hekate* [Heidelberg, 1960] 12-20), and in classical Athens little shrines to her, like those to Apollo Agyeus (cf. 875ff), were frequently set outside house-doors. Cf. Aesch. fr. 388N = 742M; Theopompos, *FGrH* 115 F 344.
806. **on the peg**: I suspect that among the properties brought out by the slaves is a screen which is placed behind Philocleon's seat to represent the courtroom wall, from which project a number of pegs on which are hung the chamber-pot, the cock's cage (815-7) and the court notices (848-851).
816. **during someone's defence speech**: it is assumed that a man like Philocleon would never doze off while the *prosecutor* was speaking.
819. **the hero-shrine of Lycus**: see on 389. On the means whereby Bdelycleon improvises such a shrine for his father, I follow MacDowell except that I think the slave may have stood *beside* the altar rather than sat *on* it; it would then be easier for the audience to forget the Lycus joke once it was over and concentrate on other matters.
821. **how hard a hero you are to gaze upon**: the Greek is ambiguous between “how difficult it is to see you” (implying “I had not realized you were there”) and “how fierce-faced you are”. Bdelycleon in his reply takes it in the former sense.
822. **as conspicuous as Cleonymus**: i.e. quite easy to see. The politician Cleonymus (see on 16 and 19) was a very fat man.
823. **he too is without his equipment**: as usual when Cleonymus is mentioned, there is an allusion to the occasion when he allegedly threw away his shield. With regard to the slave who represents Lycus, Philocleon may be making either or both of two points: (i) Many heroes had been great warriors in their life-times, and their statues would naturally represent them in armour (cf. Ar. fr. 229); this may be why Dicaeopolis in *Ach.* 575, 578 addresses Lamachus as “hero” when the latter has come on stage in full armour. The slave of course wears no armour. (ii) Alternatively or additionally “equipment” may allude, as MacDowell suggests, to the comic phallus (cf. 27), which he supposes the slave not to be wearing; for a joke based on a missing (or very small) phallus cf. *Ach.* 826.
828. **Thratta** (“Thracian girl”) was a common slave-name: cf. *Ach.* 273, *Peace* 1138, *Thesm.* 279-293, Pl. *Theat.* 174a-c, *IG* i³ 421. 34, 35, 40.
830. **railings**: see on 124.
831. **the first of the sacred objects to be displayed to us**: he speaks as if jury service were a secret religious rite, in which it was regular for certain “sacred things” to be shown to the worshippers. Cf. *Thesm.* 629 (Thesmophoria) and [Lys.] 6.51 (Eleusinian Mysteries); the chief priest at Eleusis had the title *hierophantēs* “displayer of the sacred things”. The railings are the first “sacred object” seen by the juror as he comes into the court.

836. **Labes**: that is “Grabber”. It will transpire later (894ff) that Labes represents Laches (see on 240) and that the theft of a Sicilian cheese represents alleged embezzlement by Laches during his command in Sicily in 427-5.
838. **a long Sicilian cheese**: Sicily was famous for its cheese (*Peace* 250-1; Hermippus fr. 63.9; Antiphanes fr. 236.4). This particular cheese is called a *trophalis*; the meaning of this word is disputed, but Hesychius’ definition “a long cheese” finds some support from Alexis fr. 172.12 which speaks of green *trophalia* being sliced off a cheese and fried.
844. **Hestia’s sacred pig-pen**: Athenians commonly kept pigs in pens in the courtyards of their houses (cf. *Wealth* 1106), and when these were sacrificed and eaten the sacrifice would be to Hestia, the goddess of hearth and home (cf. Eupolis fr. 281; Callim. *Hymn* 6.108). Hence the pigs, and more loosely the pen, could be thought of as always belonging to Hestia.
845. **you’ve committed sacrilege to take it**: Bdelycleon humorously pretends to be alarmed at the idea that Philocleon has taken for his own use the property of a goddess, an act that could conceivably be construed as tantamount to the grave crime of temple-robbery (*hierosūlia*) which was punished as severely as treason (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.22).
846. **to start the right way about bacon the accused alive**: lit. “to destroy someone, beginning with Hestia”. Hestia was given the first portion of sacrifices (Pl. *Crat.* 401d; Aristocritus *FGrH* 493 F 5) and was regularly named first in lists of gods in prayers and oaths (*Birds* 864; Pind. *Nem.* 11.6; Eur. *Phaethon* 248-250; *SIG³* 527. 15 [Dreros, Crete]); hence “to begin with Hestia” meant “to begin in the proper way” (cf. Pl. *Euthph.* 3a).
847. **assessing the penalty**: see on 106. Philocleon takes it for granted that he will convict the accused.
848. **notices**: see on 349. It is now Bdelycleon’s turn to cause delay by finding that items of equipment are missing; but unlike the shrine of Lycus and the railings, which were only needed to help recreate the lawcourt environment so dear to Philocleon, the notices, voting-urns and water-clock of 848-859 are genuinely required so that the “court” can transact its business.
850. **to plough up that wax field**: i.e. to scratch a line on the penalty tablet (see on 106). The word “wax” is not in the Greek but is added for clarity; probably Philocleon makes his meaning clear with the help of a gesture.
855. **ladling cups**: used to transfer soup from its pot into individual bowls.
857. They will have been standing beside the soup-pot (811-2).
858. **water-clock**: see on 92-93.
859. **Isn’t it a water-clock?**: “when [the pot] is full, the case will have lasted long enough” (MacDowell).
861. **like a true Athenian**: i.e. very cleverly; Athenians had a high reputation for intelligence and ingenuity (cf. *Knights* 753; Solon fr. 11.5 West = 15.5 G-P; Thuc. 1.70.2, 8.96.5; Pl. *Prot.* 319b).
- 863-7. **myrtle-wreaths**: for the worshippers to wear on their heads.
863. **Metre**: anapaestic.
863. **peace agreement**: between Bdelycleon and Philocleon, ending the “war” (866) during which Bdelycleon had tried to keep his father at home by force: the agreement is that Philocleon will not go to court and Bdelycleon will not prevent him from judging cases at home.
- 868-890. **Metre**: 868-9=885-6 are spoken iambic trimeters. 870-3=887-890 are lyric iambics ending with a dochmiac *metron* (cf. 729-735=743-9). 874 is a non-metrical ritual utterance. 875-884 are anapaestic.
868. **speak fair**: i.e. refrain from inauspicious speech, so that the ritual can be properly performed.
869. **Pytho**: Delphi.
873. **may our wanderings have an end**: the chorus hope that if Bdelycleon’s experiment is successful, they too may be able to abandon the daily trek to court and do their judging at home. The phraseology is elevated and would be more suited to a tragic character such as Io ([Aesch.] *Prom.* 622, 828; cf. also Soph. *OC* 1113-4).
874. **Hail, Paean!**: the customary cry of praise (cf. *Knights* 408) or entreaty (cf. *Peace* 453, Aesch. *Ag.* 146, Soph. *OT* 154) to Apollo.
875. **O Lord . . . my neighbour**: the mode of address echoes Philocleon’s prayer to Lycus (389); but now Lycus, the hero of the courts, has given place to Apollo Agyieus, associated with the home.
875. **Agyieus**: “god of the streets”, a title of Apollo. An altar to Apollo Agyieus, perhaps accompanied by a pointed stone pillar in which the god was regarded as being present, stood in front of many Athenian houses, and such an altar was a regular feature of the stage-setting of both comedy and tragedy (cf. *Thesm.* 748, Pherecrates fr. 87, Men. *Dysk.* 659, Aesch. *Ag.* 1081, Eur. *Phoen.* 631).
876. **the new rite**: the domestic lawcourt, spoken of as a rite in honour of Apollo Agyieus because it is being held in the space before the house, which is his special domain.
877. **oak-hearted**: i.e. tough and unyielding (cf. *Ach.* 180).
878. **like sweetening boiled wine**: “boiled wine” translates *siraion*, new wine boiled down to a third of its volume and sweetened with

- honey (Plin. *NH* 14.80).
882. **may he burst into tears:** this prayer is fulfilled, though Philocleon tries to pretend it was the lentil soup that made him weep (983-4).
886. **foundation:** lit. "beginnings".
890. **at least among the younger ones:** the old jurors think that most young men are selfish and lack public spirit (cf. 1100-1).
895. **the Hound of Cydathenaeum:** Cydathenaeum was a large deme covering a district of the city of Athens north of the Acropolis and south of Scambonidae (cf. 81) (Traill 42). Cleon was a member of this deme; *Kuōn* "Hound" resembles *Kleōn* phonetically; and Cleon seems to have spoken of himself as the people's "watchdog" or protector (cf. *Knights* 1017-24), in mockery of which Ar. sometimes calls him "the jag-toothed one" or "Cerberus" (*Knights* 1030-4, *Wasps* 1031, *Peace* 313). The audience will thus have had no difficulty in appreciating that "the Hound of Cydathenaeum" represented Cleon.
895. **Labes of Aexone:** the deme of Aexone was situated on the coast, about six miles south-east of Phalerum, on the site of modern Glyphada (Traill 50). Laches (see on 240 and 836) was a member of this deme.
896. **all by himself:** in the Hound's eyes, Labes' offence seems to have consisted not so much in stealing the cheese as in not giving *him* a share of it (cf. 914-6). This is an allusion to Cleon's alleged habit of demanding a share of the proceeds of embezzlement as the price of not prosecuting the embezzler (cf. 971-2; *Knights* 65-70, 775).
897. **a figwood collar:** at Athens a dog which bit people was required by law to be restrained by a thick collar (Plut. *Sol.* 24.3; Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.41); a wooden collar might also be put on a troublesome slave or prisoner (Eur. *Cycl.* 235; Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.11; Dem. 18. 129). This collar is to be of figwood (*sūkinos*) because the person proposing its use is a malicious accuser (*sūkopantēs*); see on 145.
898. **a dog's death:** an idiom meaning "a painful death" (so the scholia) or "a horrible death" (so Hesychius).
- 903-4. **This one's just another Labes . . . licking the pots clean:** i.e. the Hound is just as thievish as Labes (for "licking the pots clean" cf. *Knights* 1034 which is likewise about a canine Cleon) and though he makes a lot of noise (see on 36) he does no useful work. This comment on the Hound's character is assigned to Philocleon by most modern editors, but was rightly given by Rogers to Xanthias;

- I have discussed the passage in *CQ* 27 (1977) 270-1.
908. **members of the jury:** the speakers in the trial generally address the one-man jury in the plural like an ordinary jury, but Bdelycleon several times uses the singular in his defence speech (957-9, 962, 967) and in 975-6 mixes plural and singular in the same sentence.
909. **the great yo-ho:** lit. "the *rhuppatal*", a sailors' cry (cf. *Frogs* 1073, *Knights* 602), here used to denote the poorer Athenians who manned the navy (and, in large measure, the juries) and were Cleon's strongest supporters.
911. **ensicilized:** Greek *katesikelize*, a coined word possibly to be understood as "ate up like a Sicilian", Sicily being proverbial for its sumptuous banquets: cf. Ar. fr. 216, Pl. *Ep.* 7.326b ("stuffing oneself twice a day"), *Rep.* 3.404d.
- 916-6. **who will be able . . . thrown to me:** i.e. "if you let me starve you will have no one to protect you".
917. **to me, the public:** Athenian juries were regularly addressed as if they were identical with the Athenian people itself (e.g. *Andoc.* 1.73 "you decided to restore the rights of the disfranchised" referring to a decree of the Assembly). Philocleon, who in this trial is a jury in himself, takes this convention at face value and therefore supposes that a gift made to him would be equivalent to a gift to the people.
918. **the man:** the participants in the trial do not always remember that it is a dog that they are trying; cf. 923, 933.
918. **hot stuff:** Greek *thermos* "hot" can mean "audaciously wicked" (cf. *Wealth* 415, Aesch. *Seven* 603).
921. **the facts speak loudly for themselves:** lit. "the very fact shouts", with an allusion (unintended by Philocleon) to the Hound's loud and unpleasant voice (cf. on 36).
922. **also:** the Hound pretends to be making a new point when in fact he is saying again in different words what he has said before.
923. **the worst . . . for solitary eating:** to emphasize the heinousness of Labes' refusal to share the cheese with him, the Hound invents a new name for this class of "criminal", *monophagos* "one who eats something up all by himself".
- 924-5. **he sailed right round . . . off all the cities:** a blend of two accusations, one appropriate to Labes and one to Laches: (i) "he went round the mortar [or large mixing-bowl, in the kitchen] and ate the rind off the cheese"; (ii) "he sailed round Sicily and embezzled the money paid by the cities". The passage is evidence that during the Sicilian expedition of 427-4, as during that of 415-3 (cf. Thuc. 6.8.1, 6.62.4, 6.88.4), Athens' Sicilian allies, at whose request the

1st Sicilian
expedition

926.

fleet had been sent (Thuc. 3.86), made contributions towards its upkeep; the accusation against Laches is that he kept the money for himself (for a denial by one of his witnesses, see 963-6).

enough mortar to mend my water-pot: Philocleon has excusably failed to understand the Hound's last sentence. In the Greek he misunderstands *to skiron* "cheese-rind" as *ton skiron* "cement" and complains indignantly that he cannot obtain, or cannot afford, what Labes—Laches has consumed so lavishly.

927-8.

one spinny can never feed two thieves: adapted from a proverb, "one spinny can't feed two robins". Note that the Hound has no punctuation about avowing himself a thief (cf. *Knights* 296).

930.

I won't bark at all: the Cleon-Hound threatens not to warn the people against future "conspirators" (cf. *Knights* 861-3). We are to understand, however, that a sensible juror would have welcomed, not dreaded, the prospect of Cleon's being silenced.

933.

this one: Labes.

935.

President: Greek *thesmōthetēs* (see on 775).

939.

scalded to give evidence: Greek *proskekaumena* "scorched", a surprise for *proskeklemena* "summoned".

941.

he will be shitting implies either "he will be terrified" (cf. on 626) or "he will undergo torment" (cf. *Knights* 70, *Clouds* 1389-90, *Eccl.* 1062-3).

947.

Thucydides (*PA* 7268), son of Melesias, of the deme Alopece, had been the principal political opponent of Pericles until banished for ten years by a vote of ostracism in 443. Some years after his return he was prosecuted on an unknown charge by Euathlus son of Cephisodemos (cf. *Ach.* 703-712), and evidently when the time came for him to make his defence speech he broke down and was unable to speak.

952-8.

He is brave . . . he's an excellent dog: Bdelycleon avoids the actual charge as long as he can, and instead speaks to Labes' character (for this ploy, common in the Athenian courts, cf. *Lys.* 12.38). His words are also no doubt meant to apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to Laches, and they portray him as a brave and efficient general.

953.

conspirator: see on 345.

959.

he's never learnt to play the lyre: i.e. "he is poor and uneducated", since music, and especially the lyre, was an essential part of a liberal education. The implication is that the defendant's crime is the product of, and is excused by, poverty and ignorance; for the idea cf. *Eccl.* 667-9, *Wealth* 563-5, [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.5, and *Arist. Pol.* 1267a2-17 (discussing the views of Phaleas of Chalcodon). Such pleas were no doubt frequently made (cf. 564-5), but

961.

they do not fit Laches very well: in Plato's *Laches* he is shown as well acquainted with musical theory (188d) and said to be comparable in wealth to Nicias, who was certainly rich (186c).

he couldn't have submitted dishonest accounts: this shows that so far as Laches is concerned, the trial is imagined as taking place on the occasion of the auditing of his accounts for his generalship in Sicily (cf. on 102). In reality Laches must have undergone his audit in 425; we cannot tell whether he was then in fact charged with any offence, but he was presumably at any rate not convicted.

treasurer: responsible for receiving and paying out the money handled by a general in his official capacity (cf. [Dem.] 49.6-10).

grate out: had the witness been a human treasurer, the word would have been "distribute". Bdelycleon is attempting to establish that all the money received from the Sicilian cities (see on 924-5) was properly spent by Laches in paying or feeding his men.

the troops: the reinforcements sent to Sicily under Euryomedon and Sophocles in 425 certainly included a hoplite force for land operations (see Gomme on Thuc. 4.9.2), and so probably did the original expedition under Laches and Charoeades (cf. Thuc. 3.103. 1-2).

meat-scrap: lit. "bits of neck".

he's just a stay-at-home: Cleon had held only one actual military command, at Pylos-Sphacteria in 425, and had then been away from Athens less than three weeks (Thuc. 4.39.2). During his term of office as a general in 424/3 he had not served on any expedition of significance.

Come, I beg you . . . don't destroy him: the verbs "have mercy" and "destroy" are in the plural, as if Bdelycleon were addressing a full jury, but "come" and "you" are singular. Cf. on 908.

Where are his children?: cf. on 568-9.

those words "step down" have deceived very many men: i.e. some defendants in other cases have ended their speeches prematurely, believing that the jurors' cries of "step down" meant that they had made up their minds to acquit without hearing further argument, when in fact the jurors had silenced the defendant because they were determined to find him guilty.

shut your eyes: Bdelycleon is afraid that if his father even sees the "guilty" urn he will be irresistibly tempted to cast his vote in it.

the second urn: evidently in real courts, as the jurors filed past the voting-urns, they came first to the urn for condemnation and then to that for acquittal. Modifications of this arrangement were used

- for trials by the Assembly (*Xen. Hell.* 1.7.9) and for trials under the regime of the Thirty when secret voting was abolished (*Lys.* 13.37).
989. **I never learnt to play the lyre, either:** cf. 959. Philocleon may be saying to his son that if poverty and ignorance are an excuse for theft, they should also be an excuse for malice and perversity in a judge; or he may merely be saying “if you can make meaningless excuses, so can I”. A character’s own words are similarly quoted back at him in *Clouds* 1471, 1503; *Birds* 986ff; *Frogs* 1471-8; *Wealth* 929.
995. **My god! Where’s some water?:** these words could alternatively, with *j*, be assigned to Philocleon, beginning to come round and feebly asking for a drink.
997. **finished:** lit. “nothing”.
1000. **What on earth is going to happen to me?:** he fears immediate and terrible retribution (cf. 158-160).
1005. **to dinner, to parties:** almost a *hendiadys*, since a symposium usually began with dinner, as in the case with the party which Pholocleon and Bdelycleon attend later in the play.
1005. **shows:** Greek *theorīā* “spectator event”, including theatrical performances, religious processions, athletic contests, etc.
1006. **you’ll lead a life of pleasure:** an offer repeatedly made by Bdelycleon to his father (see on 341) and now at last accepted.
1007. **Hyperbolus** (*PA* 13910), son of Antiphanes, of the deme Perithoidae, entered politics at an early age (*Cratinus* fr. 262; *Eupolis* fr. 238) in the middle 420s. He had first brought himself before the public as a prosecutor in the courts (*Ach.* 846-7) and it is as a prosecutor that he is mentioned here, beguiling jurors like Philocleon into voting unjustly for condemnation. By 425/4 he was active in the Assembly (*Knights* 1303-15), and his enemies were already harping on the lamp-making business to which he owed his wealth (*Knights* 739, 1315). After Cleon’s death in the summer of 422, Hyperbolus succeeded to his position as the leading radical politician (*Peace* 679-692) and the favourite victim of comic satire. (*Clouds* 551-8, written for the revised version of the play). Probably in spring 416 (cf. Andrewes on *Thuc.* 8.73.3) he was banished by ostracism, as the result of a temporary coalition between Nicias and Alcibiades (*Plut. Nic.* 11; *Alc.* 13); in 411 he was murdered by an oligarchic group at Samos.
- 1009-1121. **Parabasis**, consisting of: prelude, 1009-14; leader’s speech, 1015-59 (1051-9 forming a *pnygos*); strophe, 1060-70; epirrhema, 1071-90; antistrophe, 1091-1101; antepirrhema, 1102-21.
- 1009-14. **Metre:** successively anapaestic (1009-10), iambic (1011-2) and trochaic (1013-4).
1009. **Go where you will, and good luck to you:** a typical choral farewell to a departing actor or actors: cf. *Ach.* 1143, *Knights* 498, *Clouds* 510, *Peace* 729.
1010. **you countless tens of thousands:** an exaggeration, like the “more than thirty thousand” of Pl. *Symp.* 175e. The capacity of the fifth-century theatre is not accurately known; as rebuilt in stone in the 330s the theatre could seat at most 17,000 (A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* [Oxford, 1946] 140-1).
1012. **do not fall like trifles to the ground:** are not lightly disregarded.
1014. **stupid spectators – not like you at all:** for other examples of flattery of the audience’s intellect cf. on 65.
- 1015-59. Metre: anapaestic tetrameters, followed by an anapaestic *pnygos*.
1015. **all ye folk:** Greek *leōtē*, the form of addressing the people usual in public proclamations (cf. *Ach.* 1000, *Peace* 551, *Birds* 448).
1017. **he has suffered an unprovoked injury:** lit. “he has been injured first”.
- 1018-29. Ar. here describes his career as a dramatist from its beginning up to the production of *Knights* (*Lenaea* 424). Until recently it was supposed that he divided it into two periods only, that during which his plays were produced for him by others, from 427 to 425 (1018-20) and *Knights* which he produced himself (1021ff). But G. Mastromarco, *QSt* 10 (1979) 153-196 and S. Halliwell, *CQ* 30 (1980) 33-45, seem to me – notwithstanding the counter-arguments of D.M. MacDowell, *CQ* 32 (1982) 21-26 – to have established the case for a different interpretation. According to this interpretation, as developed by Halliwell, the “ventriloquial” phase of Aristophanes’ activity (1018-20) was the period before the production of his own first play, *Banqueters*, in 427; during this period, it is suggested, Ar. was contributing passages or scenes to plays by other authors, without himself claiming credit for them in any way; it corresponds to the “oarsman” phase of *Knights* 542. Then in 427 *Banqueters* was produced, the first complete play that Ar. had composed, and although the play was produced by Callistratus it was fairly widely known (cf. *Knights* 512) that Ar. was the author, so that now he was “holding the reins of a team of Muses that were his” (1022); in *Knights* 543 he describes himself at this stage as promoted from oarsman to junior officer. In the following two years, still with Callistratus as his producer, he won great success and esteem (1023), including a

- first prize with *Acharnians* and probably one before that with *Babylonians*. Finally he “began to produce” (1029) with *Knights* in 424, when for the first time he “asked for a chorus in his own name” (*Knights* 513) and himself took full responsibility for the play.
- 1019-20. the method of the seer: lit. “the prophecy and method of”.
 1019-20. *Eurycles* is mentioned by Pl. *Soph.* 252c and Plut. *Mor.* 414e as a seer who uttered his prophecies through the bellies of other people. The language used by Plato (“carrying, as it were, the weird Eurycles round within them”) strongly suggests that Eurycles was not a human practitioner of prophecy, but the name of the spirit who was supposed to speak through mediums giving tongue in a voice not their own. The slave-girl of Philippi, on whose account Paul and Silas were imprisoned (*Acts* 16.16-39), was such a medium. See E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951) 71-72. Thus Ar. is comparing himself to a spirit “controlling” another poet and making him utter words which are really Ar.’s own.
1022. holding the reins of a team of: lit. “charioteering the mouths of”.
 1025. making passes: at boys and youths at their exercise in the schools; cf. Pl. *Charm.* 153d-154d, *Lys.* 204a-b, *Euthyd.* 273a, and my note on *Clouds* 178. Evidently it was not unknown for poets to be “so conceited as to think that [their] enhanced standing in the community would bring [them homo]sexual success” (K.J.Dover *Greek Homosexuality* [London, 1978] 138); Ar.’s denial that he acted thus is repeated in *Peace* 762-3.
- 1025-6. if a man . . . the youth concerned: lit. “if a lover urged him that his beloved, whom he hated [i.e. whose resistance to his advances he resented] should be satirized”. This shows that a man who was not himself a comic dramatist might use comedy to injure or blackmail another by asking for the help of, or retailing scandal to, a dramatist friend, much as he might today enlist the help of a gossip columnist or a satirical magazine; cf. S. Halliwell, *Personal Jokes in Aristophanes* (Diss. Oxford 1980) 92-93.
1028. making the Muses he employs into procurers: i.e. “compromis[ing] artistic integrity by helping a friend . . . to blackmail a boy” (Dover, *loc. cit.*)
1029. when he first began to produce: in *Knights*.
- 1030-7. but with a spirit . . . right through till now: these lines are repeated, with a few minor changes, in the parabasis of *Peace* (752-9), produced the following year, after Cleon’s death.
1030. Heracles: named as the greatest legendary destroyer of monsters.

1031. the Jag-toothed One: Cleon, who is made to use this canine epithet of himself in *Knights* 1017. There may be an allusion to Cerberus, the watchdog of Hades whom Heracles carried off from the underworld; Cleon is compared to Cerberus in *Knights* 1030 and *Peace* 313.
- 1032-5. The description here of the Cleon-monster is based partly on Cerberus, who in Hesiod (*Thg.* 311-2) had fifty heads and a voice like brass, in Pindar (fr. 249b) a hundred heads, and whom Horace (*Carm.* 3. 11. 17-18) describes as having a hundred snakes around his head, but mainly on another mythological monster, Typhoeus, son of Earth and Tartarus, who is thus described by Hes. *Thg.* 824-830: “From his shoulders rose a hundred snake-heads . . . licking with their dark tongues; from his eyes . . . flashed fire, and fire blazed from all his heads as he glanced; and in all his terrible heads there were voices that sent forth monstrous sounds of every kind.” According to Hesiod (ib. 837) he was laid low by Zeus with a thunderbolt, but in another account (cf. Eur. *HF* 1271-2) his defeat was ascribed to Heracles. Cleon is compared to Typhoeus (or Typhos) in *Knights* 511. *Typhos*
1032. like those of the Bitch-star: the Dog-star (*Sirius*) began to rise before the sun in late July, and its rays were believed to cause the fevers that attacked men in the hottest part of summer: cf. *Iliad* 22.31; Hes. *Works* 586-8; Archilochus fr. 107. Hence “rays like those of the Dog-star” would mean “deadly rays”; but for *Kunos* “of the Dog-star” Ar. substitutes *Kunnēs* “of Cynna”, a well-known courtesan (cf. *Knights* 765), thus suggesting that Cleon deserves to be no better esteemed than a prostitute (for this estimate of Cleon’s worth cf. *Knights* 1400-3).
1033. accused flatterers: cf. 42-46, 419, 683, 1236-42.
1034. the voice of a torrent: cf. on 36; the same comparison is made in *Ach.* 381 and *Knights* 137.
1034. in destructive spate: lit. “which had given birth to destruction”.
1035. the smell of a seal: regarded as nauseating (cf. *Odyssey* 4.435-443).
1035. a Lamia: Lamia was an ogress or bogey who ate children (cf. Duris, *FGrH* 76 F 17; D.S. 20.41; schol. *Peace* 758). Since Lamia is elsewhere always female, “the balls of a Lamia” may mean “no balls at all”; thus three separate shafts are loosed at Cleon in this short phrase – he is bloodthirsty, he is sexless, and his nether regions are dirty.
1037. after: or, with the mss., “along with”.
1038. last year: at the Lenaea of 423. The play referred to is usually identified as *Merchant Ships* (*Holkades*), but the evidence (for which

1038. see M. Platnauer, *CR*63 [1949] 7) is inconclusive.
- the agues and the fevers, the demons: lit. "the *ēpialoi* and the fevers"; *ēpialos* can mean either "ague" or "nightmare-demon" and here seems to mean both simultaneously. The people meant are professional accusers (*sūkophantai*) who prosecute the innocent for personal gain.
1039. throttled fathers and strangled grandfathers: here and in what follows the *sūkophantai* are being thought of as *ēpialoi* in the sense of nightmare-demons (see previous note). The nightmare-demon was called "father-choker" by Sophron fr. 68 Kaibel: the nightmare, a creation or offspring of the sleeper's mind, can make its "begetter" wake up trembling and choking and imagining he is being murdered. Here the phrase probably has further implications beyond this – possibly that *sūkophantai* are extremely wicked and shameless (murdering one's father being one of the worst possible crimes), possibly that they often choose to prosecute old men who are not likely to be able to defend themselves effectively (cf. *Ach.* 676-718).
1041. stuck together affidavits, summonses and depositions: this is what the victim in his nightmare sees the *sūkophantēs* doing, in preparation for a prosecution.
1042. to go to the polemarch: the polemarch (the third archon) handled many types of lawsuit involving non-citizens (see MacDowell *Law* 221-4); hence the mention of him here amounts to an insinuation that many *sūkophantai* were of non-citizen birth (cf. *Ach.* 517-9, 703-712, *Birds* 1694-1705). The insinuation is not necessarily or even probably true: charges of alien birth, often demonstrably false, were a commonplace of comic and oratorical abuse. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.5 seems to show that non-citizens could be *sūkophantai*, but there were many types of prosecution which aliens were forbidden to bring (see Harrison i 195 n.1) and we know of no actual case of a prosecution being brought by an alien who was not himself a victim of the alleged offence; I suspect that *Ath. Pol.* may have erred through careless compression of its legal source. In our passage those who have been harried by the *sūkophantai* are envisaged as going to the polemarch to demand that their tormentors produce sureties for their appearance in court (cf. Isocr. 17.12, Dem. 32.29) on the charge of being *sūkophantai* (cf. Lys. 13.65, Isocr. 15.314).
1043. deliverer from evil: Greek *alexikakos*, a title of Heracles (cf. 1030) in Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F 109, Luc. *Alex.* 4, schol. *Clouds* 1372, etc.
1043. cleanser of this land: cf. Soph. *Tr.* 1060-1 (Heracles speaking) "all the land which I came and cleansed" (sc. of evil monsters).
1044. last year: at the City Dionysia of 423.
1044. you let him down: by failing to appreciate *Clouds*, which was placed third and last in the competition.
1045. blighted: lit. "made feeble in growth".
1046. over any number of libations: i.e. "with the utmost earnestness"; an oath taken while making a libation acquired additional force and solemnity from the circumstance (cf. *Ach.* 148).
1050. while overtaking . . . his new concept: a reversion to the charioteer image of 1022. The idea is that Ar.'s poetic chariot, while far superior to those of his rivals, nevertheless came to grief through an accident (e.g. losing a wheel at high speed).
- 1056-7. put them into your clothes-boxes along with the citrons: when clothes were put away in store, citrons were packed in with them as a protection against moths and mustiness (cf. Thphr. *HP* 4.4.2, Pliny *NH* 12.15). Our passage shows that Antiphanes fr. 58, which speaks of a certain kind of fruit as recently (i.e. in the fourth century) introduced to Athens from Persia, does not refer to citrons (as Athenaeus 3.84a thought it did) but to some other fruit (perhaps peaches).
1058. after a year: a winter cloak, or a fine garment for special occasions, might well be stored unused for the better part of a year at a time.
- 1060-70 = 1091-1101 Metre: trochaic, with some cretians and paeons in the first few lines (cf. on 334-345 and 403-429).
1060. the prowess we showed: lit. "we who were valiant".
1062. in precisely this respect: I follow MacDowell in taking this as a reference to the phallus. Others have taken it to refer to the wasp-sting, but that would not be "of the past", for it is still as effective as ever (223-7, 403-455, 1113).
- 1063-5. That was of the past . . . whiter than a swan: this passage is adapted from a poem by Timocreon of Rhodes (fr. 7).
1069. ringlets: cf. Ar. fr. 218 (of a young man trained by sophists and fond of litigation) "as smooth as an eel, with golden ringlets".
1070. buggery: lit. "wide-arsedness". For the allegation that contemporary young men are often passive homosexuals cf. 687, *Ach.* 716, *Clouds* 1022-3, 1088-1104, Eupolis fr. 100 Kock = 118 Edmonds.
- 1071-90 = 1102-21. Metre: trochaic tetrameters.
1074. even though he be unlearned heretofore: a quotation from Euripides' *Stheneboea* (fr. 663).
1075. this kind of rump: a rump armed with a sting.

1076. **aboriginal**: Athenians prided themselves that “unlike most peoples, they had not been collected from all quarters and settled in a foreign land, expelling its earlier inhabitants, but were autochthonous, having the soil of their country for their mother” (Lys. 2.17; cf. Eur. *Ion* 589-590, Thuc. 1.2.5, Isocr. 4.24, Pl. *Menex*. 237b). According to the speaker here, however, the only true indigenous Athenians are those who have the “sting”, the waspish temper, of himself and his comrades.
1078. **the barbarian**: the Persians. After more than half a century the old men’s reminiscences of the Persian wars seem to have become a little blurred. In what follows, they describe a land battle they fought against the Persians, which can only be that of Marathon in 490; but most of the incidental details are taken from the events of the second Persian invasion ten years later. See C. Austin, *CR* 23 (1973) 134.
1079. **blowing smoke . . . putting it to the flames**: the first phrase suggests the smoking-out of a wasps’ nest (cf. 456-460), the second recalls the burning of Athens by the Persians in 480/79 (Hdt. 8.53.2, 9.13.2).
1081. **“with spear, with shield”**: a quotation from Achaeus’ tragedy *Momus* (fr. 29).
1082. **spirit** is to be taken in the senses of “liquor” and “temper” simultaneously; the Greek has *thūmon* “soul, spirit, anger” with a pun on *thumon* “thyme”, a plant whose nectar was supposed to be especially sought after by honeybees (Thphr. *HP* 6.2.3).
1083. **biting his lip**: cf. 778.
1084. **because of their arrows one could not see the sky**: cf. Hdt. 7.226 (*Thermopylae*, 480).
1085. **towards evening we pushed them back**: in the speaker’s recollection the battle went on all day, which Marathon certainly did not (see N.G.L. Hammond, *JHS* 88 [1968] 36-37). The one engagement of the Persian wars that did last all day was the naval battle of Salamis (Aesch. *Pers.* 428, Plut. *Them.* 15.4).
1086. **an owl had flown across our ranks**: this occurred at Salamis (Plut. *Them.* 12.1). The sight of an owl, the bird of the warrior goddess Athena, was always a good omen in war (cf. D.S. 20.11.3-4) and especially so for Athenians.
1087. **harpooning them**: lit. “spearing them like tunny-fish”.
1087. **their baggy trousers**: the Persian (or more properly Median) practice of wearing trousers (Hdt. 7.61.1; Xen. *Anab.* 1.5.8) aroused the contempt of Greeks (Hdt. 5.49.3; Eur. *Cycl.* 182).
1091. **anyone would have feared me**: or, with the mss., “I was not afraid
1093. **of anything”**.
1093. **over there**: to Asia. The reference is probably to the battle of Mycale in 479.
1093. **with my triremes**: not only does the chorus-leader speak for the chorus in the collective first person singular (see on 727), but the chorus in turn identify themselves with the Athenian people and state.
- 1094-8. **For we had no concern . . . the best oarsman**: for a similar contrast between the robust, unsophisticated rowers of the past and the argumentative, unwarlike young men of the present, cf. *Frogs* 1069-76.
- 1098-9. **we took many cities from the Medes**: the actual sequence of events was: (i) as a result of the Persian defeat at Mycale, many states formerly subject to the Persians revolted and joined the league of Greek states then led by Sparta; (ii) as a result of their dissatisfaction with Spartan leadership, these states asked for Athens to lead them instead; (iii) this Athenian hegemony was gradually transformed into an empire. But in the minds of these patriotic old Athenians things were much simpler: what they fought for and achieved was the substitution, over a wide area, of their own overlordship for that of the Persian king.
1101. **for the young to steal**: virtually all contemporary politicians are assumed to be embezzlers of public funds: cf. 554, 665-7, *Knights* 1127-50, *Thesm.* 811-2, *Wealth* 569.
1108. **in the archon’s court**: lit. “where the archon is”. At this time, and long afterwards, each magistrate held his court in a fixed place; the system described by Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 66.1, in which courts were assigned to magistrates each day by lot, was probably not introduced till the 330s, for [Dem.] 59.52 must predate the reform. The court of the chief archon tried mainly cases connected with the family and with inheritance (details are given by Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56); its fifth-century location is unknown.
1108. **the Eleven**: the officials in charge of the state prison, who also supervised executions. They presided over the trials of *kakourgoi*, that is of men who had been arrested after being “caught in the act” of committing certain flagrant crimes, as well as over some other types of case (see Harrison ii 17-18, 221-232). Their court was a covered building situated in the Agora (Ant. 5.9-11) and called the Parabyston (Ant. fr. 42), a name which seems to indicate that it was a small building on a confined site abutting on a larger court building (cf. *Agora* xiv 59).
1109. **the Odeum**: Pericles’ great concert-hall directly east of the Theatre of

- Dionysus, which at different times was used for a variety of public purposes (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.9-10, Dem. 34.37) but especially as a lawcourt. In the 340s the archon's court appears to have sat there ([Dem.] 59.52), but our passage shows that this was not so in the 420s.
1110. **bending down to the ground:** MacDowell plausibly suggests that the jurors "sat on low backless benches which induced a crouching posture".
1112. **in making a living also:** lit. "in the other thing, making a living".
1113. **we sting . . . and so procure a livelihood:** i.e. by condemning accused men and fining them or confiscating their property we ensure that there is money in the treasury to provide us with pay (cf. 659, *Knights* 1359-60, Lys. 27.1).
1115. **they have no sting** here means "they are not brave and effective warriors as we were" (cf. 1075-90).
- 1115-6. **our crop of tribute:** cf. 684-5, 1099-1100.
1119. **a blister:** from hard rowing (cf. *Frogs* 236).
1121. **should not be paid three obols:** should not be allowed to serve on juries.
- 1122-3. **Never while I live . . . when I was in the ranks:** he speaks as if the cloak were an old friend and comrade-in-arms to whom he feels bound in gratitude always to be loyal.
1124. **the Great North Wind:** a surprise for "the Great King" (of Persia).
1128. **I had to pay . . . the fuller:** after eating too well of sprats, he had a bout of diarrhoea, soiled his clothes badly, and had to take them to be cleaned.
1130. **to be looked after:** lit. "to treat well".
- 1131-2. **daft old cloak . . . deftly:** Greek *tribōn* "homespun cloak" . . . *tribōnikos* "in a practised manner".
1132. **warm one:** Greek *khlaina* (see on 738).
1134. **to stifle me:** the new cloak is so thick that Philocleon fears it will be stiflingly hot, and jocularly insinuates that his son is trying to murder him (cf. 1039).
1137. **kaunakes:** a type of thick woollen cloak, probably of Babylonian origin, which was covered all over with hanging tufts of wool. These would trap much air and make the garment very warm indeed. See L. Heuzey, *RA*³ 9(1887) 257-272.
1138. **sheepskin mantle:** Greek *sisurā* (see on 738). This was an unsophisticated rustic garment, totally unlike a *kaunakēs*, except that it too was a warm garment suitable for winter wear (cf. 738, *Eccl.* 421). Philocleon is either displaying gross ignorance or else being sarcastic.
1138. **Thymaetadae:** a deme situated on the coast north-west of the Peiraeus (Traill 52).
1139. **you've never been to Sardis:** in this part of the play Bdelycleon is preparing to introduce his father to the society of rich, educated and travelled men, who might have visited Sardis (the former capital of Lydia, three days' journey up-country from Ephesus) either as ambassadors or as tourists. To introduce Philocleon to this high society, Bdelycleon must himself be a member of it, and here he speaks as such, with the condescending pity due to a protégé from among the lower orders.
1142. **a pot-warmer:** Greek *sagma* "a shield-case". *Aspis* "shield" could be used to mean "belly, paunch" (cf. *Ach.* 1123), and Philocleon seems to mean that the cloak is so amply proportioned and so warm that it would suit the pot-bellied and luxury-loving Morychus.
1142. **Morychus:** see on 506.
1143. **Ecbatana:** the capital of Media.
1144. **woollen sausages:** the pendulous tufts on the cloak (see on 1137) remind Philocleon of sausages.
1145. **natives:** Greek *barbaroi*, properly "non-Greeks".
1147. **a talent of wool:** in weight rather than value, since "a talent's worth of wool" would be not *erīōn talanton* but *eria talantou* (cf. 1391) or *eria talantia*. As a measure of weight a talent equalled about 27 kg. (see M. Chambers, *CSCA* [1973] 10-16; the "stater" which he discusses was one-thirtieth of a talent); so Bdelycleon is exaggerating enormously.
1148. **wool-gatherer:** I adopt Rogers' free rendering of *erīōlē*, which properly means "whirlwind" but which Philocleon uses to mean "waster of wool" as if derived from *erion* "wool" and *ollunai* "destroy, lose, waste".
1151. **what a hot breath . . . belched over me:** Philocleon finds the cloak as repellent as he found Labes (912-4, 918); cf. also *Knights* 891-2 where a cloak offered to Demos by Paphlagon-Cleon is rejected because of its "ghastly smell of leather".
1153. **you can clothe me in an oven:** because it could not possibly be as hot as this cloak is!
1154. **All right, go on:** or "All right, you can go", spoken by Bdelycleon to the slave (who in that case would go inside now, leaving the boots behind him).
1156. **before I fall to pieces:** like meat that has been boiled too long.
1158. **Laconians:** a common type of men's boots or shoes, fastened by leather straps (cf. *Eccl.* 508); see Stone 225-7. Whether or not

- this type of boot was of Spartan origin, by Aristophanes' time "Laconian" simply designated its style; but Philocleon recoils from wearing anything even nominally connected with the leading enemy state.
1160. "the hateful soles that from our foemen come": a parody of some tragic line which may have referred to the danger of accepting gifts from an enemy (cf. Soph. *Aj.* 665).
- 1161-2. step down firmly on to that Laconian sole: lit. "step off firmly into the *Lakōnike*", which might mean "Laconian boot" or "Laconian territory" (hence Philocleon's reply).
1167. not to be going to get a single chilblain: Philocleon does not mean this as a joke; it is an extreme example of his perverse dislike of living comfortably (cf. 341, 1126).
1169. swagger: Greek (*dia*)*salakōnizein* conveys some suggestion of effeminacy (cf. Hermippus fr. iamb. 5 West), as do most of the alternative readings attested or conjectured.
1172. Who you resemble?: after this we expect the name of some well-known rich man who was lame; what actually follows is a surprise.
1172. someone who's dressed a boil with garlic: and is therefore hobbling painfully with the affected foot. Preparations made with garlic were used as ointments and poultices for boils and fistulas (Plin. *NH* 20.54-55).
1173. I really am trying: Philocleon does not think his efforts to imitate the walk of an effeminate rich man are being properly appreciated.
1174. Look now . . . : having dressed up his father like a gentleman, Bdelycleon now begins to instruct him in social accomplishments.
1177. Lamia: see on 1035. The story referred to here is also mentioned in *Eccl.* 76-78 and Crates fr. 18: Lamia's object in breaking wind was presumably to repel or even suffocate her pursuers with the smell (cf. *Knights* 898) and so escape.
1178. Cardopion gave his mother a -: lit. "Cardopion his mother -"; the verb (which would no doubt have been obscene) has not been reached when Bdelycleon interrupts. Nothing is known of Cardopion, but evidently like Lamia he was a character from the less dignified strata of myth.
1179. the human sort of story: compare the contrast in Pl. *Rep.* 3. 392a between tales "about gods . . . and spirits and heroes and those in Hades" and tales "about men".
1182. a ferret: see on 363-4.
- 1183-4. as Theogenes said . . . trying to be rude too: having in his annoyance insulted his father, Bdelycleon hastily turns the remark into a joke. Theogenes of Acharnae (*PA* 6703; on his deme affiliation,

see *CQ* 27 [1977] 273-4) was a merchant and shipowner (Eupolis, *CGF* 92.5-7; schol. *Birds* 822) who had the reputation of a vain boaster pretending to be much richer than he was (*Birds* 822, 1127) and was accordingly nicknamed "Smoke" (schol. *Birds* 822). He was also satirized as a swinish boor (*Peace* 928) and his name linked with faeces and flatus (Ar. fr. 571; Eupolis *CGF* 92.9). In politics, Theogenes was prominent enough by 425 to be chosen with Cleon to investigate the situation at Pylos (Thuc. 4.27.3); he may well have been chosen because he was an opponent of Cleon and his presence would deter Cleon from distorting the facts in his report. In 421 he was among those who swore to the peace and alliance with Sparta (Thuc. 5.19.2, 5.24), and he remained prominent at least until 412 when he was mentioned in Eupolis' *Demes*. It was probably this Theogenes who was a member of an unsuccessful embassy to Persia in 409 (*Xen. Hell.* 1.3.13); the ambassadors got no further than Phrygia, where they were detained by the satrap Pharnabazus for over two years. The joke in the present passage is on the absurdity of a swinish boor like Theogenes reproaching someone else (even a dung-collector) with being an "uneducated lout".

1185. big men: lit. "men", i.e. either (i) grown men as opposed to children or (ii) men of standing (cf. *Knights* 179) as opposed to the common herd.

1187. a state delegation: sent as representatives of Athens to a panhellenic festival (such as the Olympic games) or to consult an oracle.

1187. Androcles (*PA* 870) of the deme Colonus (*Cratinus* fr. 263) was a politician of the radical democratic type. He first came into prominence in the 430s, when the comic dramatists Echphantides (fr. 4) and Telecleides (fr. 15) called him a "cutpurse"; he was also attacked as a slave by birth, a *nouveau riche*, a former male prostitute, and a malicious prosecutor, in various comedies most of which are cited by the scholia on our passage. One year in the 420s he probably held the office of polemarch (*Cratinus* fr. 458 Kock = 209a Edmonds). In 415, when a councillor (Andoc. 1.27), he took a leading part in the intrigue against Alcibiades over alleged profanations of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and it was partly for this, partly for his strongly democratic views, that he was assassinated by a group of young oligarchs in 411 (Thuc. 8.65.2). The orator Androcles quoted by Arist. *Rhet.* 1400a9-14 is a different man, since he is described as "accusing the law", a phrase which is to be associated with the new law-making procedure introduced in 403 (cf. Dem. 24.23 "the people shall choose five men . . . to speak in

1187. *defence of laws whose repeal is being considered by the nomothetae”.*
1187. **Cleisthenes** (*PA* 8525) was a beardless man, frequently satirized by Ar. as effeminate (*Ach.* 117-121, *Knights* 1373-4, *Thesm.* 574-654, *Frogs* 48-57, etc.) Like Androcles, he is evidently mentioned here because it would *not* be by any means “impressive” to boast of being a friend or ex-colleague of his.
1189. **I was only paid two obols** (sc. per day): this low remuneration suggests that Philocleon was an oarsman in the state trireme which took the delegates to Paros.
1191. **Ephudion of Maenalus** (in Arcadia) was a famous exponent of the *pankration* (see next note) who won the contest at the 79th Olympic games in 464 (so the scholia, no doubt quoting Eratosthenes’ list of Olympic victors) and went on to become holder of all the four major championships (Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, Isthmian) simultaneously (Hesychius ε7567). His fight with Ascondas when “old and grey” probably took place several Olympiads later.
1191. **free-style:** Greek *pankration*, a form of wrestling in which punching, striking, kicking, jumping and throttling were all permitted, “unarmed combat converted into a scientific sport” (H.A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* [London, 1964] 106).
1191. **Ascondas** is unknown; his name suggests he was probably a Boeotian, and our passage, together with 1385, shows that he was much younger than Ephudion and was one of the outstanding pancratiasts of his day.
- 1194-5. **an admirable trunk . . . admirably drunk:** for the sake of the pun I have distorted the meaning considerably. In the Greek the play is on two meanings of the word *thōrāx*: Bdelycleon says that Ephudion had an excellent *thōrāx*, meaning “chest, torso”, and Philocleon asks how he could possibly have wrestled if he had a *thōrāx*, meaning “breastplate, cuirass”.
1201. **Ergasion:** not a real person but a fictitious character, a hard-working small farmer (the name means “Workman”).
- 1203-4. **torch-race:** at Athens there were two kinds of foot-race in which the runners carried torches. One was a relay race, in which the torch was handed on from runner to runner (cf. Hdt. 8.98.2); the other was an individual event (cf. Pausanias 1.30.2). In both, a competitor or team whose torch went out was disqualified. Torch-races were held at the Panathenaea, the Hephaestia, and several other festivals. The reference here is probably to an individual race, victory in which would be a greater personal achievement than membership of a winning relay team.

- 1206-7. **I went after Phayllus . . . and beat him:** the Greek is ambiguous, appearing at first to mean “I chased Phayllus and caught him” but revealed by the end of the sentence to mean “I prosecuted Phayllus and got him convicted”. Phayllus was a famous runner and pentathlete of Croton in southern Italy, who commanded a ship at Salamis in 480 (Hdt. 8.47; Pausanias 10.9.2). Cf. *Ach.* 211-4 where the old men of the chorus say that in their youth they could “carry a load of charcoal and run at the heels of Phayllus”.
1208. **recline:** Greeks reclined on low couches to eat and drink. There is no indication that a couch is brought out here; Philocleon can quite well practise reclining on the ground.
1213. **lithely:** the Greek word could also mean “like a liquid” (cf. “pour yourself out”).
1213. **the covers:** rugs spread over the (imaginary) dining-couches.
1214. **pieces of bronzeware:** ornamental objects, possibly containing a proportion of precious metal, such as might be displayed in a rich man’s house (cf. Lys. 19.27).
1215. **ceiling:** assumed to be decorated (cf. *Pl. Rep.* 7. 529b).
1215. **tapestries:** or “woven curtains”; the Greek word *krekadia* is not found elsewhere, but from its apparent etymology it should mean “weavings”. There are many references to such woven hangings on the walls of rooms, more usually called *aulaiai* or *parapetasmata*: cf. *Frogs* 937-8; Ar. fr. 611; Men. *Dysk.* 923-4; Thphr. *Char.* 21.15 (= 5.9 Ussher); *IG i³* 421.173; and see W.K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 248-9.
1216. **water for our hands:** the usual preliminary to a meal (cf. *Birds* 463-4).
1217. **now we’ve washed:** for washing after a meal cf. *Knights* 357 and Plato com. fr. 69.2-3.
1217. **pouring the libations:** after the meal and before the symposium proper it was customary, in addition to the libation of neat wine to the Good Spirit (see on 525), to make three libations of ordinary wine (mixed with water) to Olympian Zeus and Hera, to the heroes, and to Zeus the Saviour (thus schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6.10a).
1218. **is this a dream-banquet we’re having?:** because it certainly is not a real one.
1219. **the flute-girl has struck up:** marking the commencement of the drinking and entertainment of the symposium: cf. Plato com. fr. 69. 5-6, *Pl. Symp.* 176e, Xen. *Symp.* 2.1-2.
1220. **Theorus:** see on 42.
1220. **Aeschines:** see on 459.

1220. **Phanus** (*PA* 14078) is mentioned in *Knights* 1256 as an associate of Cleon who conducted some prosecutions on his behalf.
1221. **a second foreigner**: in addition to Acestor (see next note but one); but since Acestor has not yet been mentioned, the phrase momentarily suggests that the first alleged "foreigner" is Cleon, who is caricatured in *Knights* as a slave from Paphlagonia.
1221. **placed above**: lit. "at the head of". The guests would recline at an angle to the length of the couches, leaning on their left elbows, so that the head of one would be in front of the feet of his left-hand neighbour; hence his left-hand neighbour would be said to recline "at his head" and his right-hand neighbour "at his feet" (cf. 1236).
1221. **Acestor** (*PA* 474; *TrGF* 25) was a tragic dramatist, who though an Athenian citizen (*Metagenes* fr. 13) was widely accused of being of foreign birth and nicknamed *Sacas* (*Birds* 31-32) after a people of Central Asia. He is several times mentioned in comedy from about 430 (*Cratinus* fr. 85; *Callias* fr. 13) to near the end of the century (*Theopompus* com. fr. 60). In *Eupolis* fr. 159.11-16 we find him in the role of a "parasite", earning himself a free dinner by flattering and amusing his host and fellow-guests, and this may be his role also at the imaginary party described here, since he is the only named guest (except Philocleon) who is not a politician.
1222. **take up the party-songs** (Greek *skolia*): a favourite symposiac game was for one diner to sing the first line or two of a song, holding a myrtle-branch (cf. Ar. fr. 430), which he then passed to another man who had either to continue the song, to extemporize new words for it, or to answer it with another on a related theme.
1223. **Diacrian**: someone who came from Diacris, the district which, as is now known (see J.S. Traill, *Hesperia* 47 [1978] 89-109), gave its name to one of the three divisions (*trittyes*) of the Athenian tribe Leontis. The *trittys* included nine or ten demes in northern Attica, mostly small communities situated close under Mount Parnes. The men of Diacris evidently had a reputation as fine singers.
1225. "**Harmodius**": a famous *skolian*, or rather set of *skolia* – for we know four other versions of it (*PMG* 893-6) in addition to the one quoted here – about Harmodius (*PA* 2232) who, together with Aristogeiton, assassinated Hipparchus, brother of the tyrant Hippias, in 514. These songs are alluded to several times elsewhere by Ar. (*Ach.* 980, 1093; *Lys.* 632; Ar. fr. 430).
- 1226-7. **Never was . . . such a scoundrel**: Bdelycleon sings the first line of one version of "Harmodius" (*PMG* 911); Philocleon takes it up with a continuation of his own devising directed against Cleon, for he has at last abandoned his devotion to that leader. Both lines are phalaean hendecasyllables (-x-u u -u -u -), a common metre for the opening lines of *skolia*.
1228. **you'll be shouted to death**: cf. on 36.
- 1229-30. **he'll say . . . drive you out of this land**: for such threats by Cleon cf. *Knights* 235-9, 284, 481, 694-710.
- 1232-5. **"You, fellow . . . the turn of the scale"**: a quotation (slightly adapted) from Alcaeus (fr. 141. 3-4); Alcaeus was probably speaking of Pittacus, who was to become tyrant of Mytilene, and the implication of quoting the passage at Cleon is that Cleon too is a potential tyrant (so in *Knights* 1044 Cleon seems to be compared to Antileon, an early tyrant of Chalcis). The metre is a fourteen-syllable aeolic line o o -u u -u u -u - (an expanded glyconic) often used by Alcaeus and Sappho.
1235. **is close to the turn of the scale**: i.e. is nearly ready to fall, like a scale just in balance.
1236. **in the place below**: lit. "at the feet of" (see on 1221): Theorus is Cleon's right-hand neighbour (cf. 42-43 where he was likewise at Cleon's feet, as befits this fawning flatterer).
- 1238-9. **"Remember the tale . . . men of worth"**: the first line of a song by Praxilla of Sicyon (fr. 3), a versatile poetess of the mid fifth century. Admetus was a king of Phereae in Thessaly; the "man of worth" whom he cherished was Heracles, who repaid Admetus' hospitality by bringing his wife back from the dead (the tale was dramatized in Euripides' *Alcestis*). Probably by putting these words into Theorus' mouth Ar. means to suggest that this adulterator of Cleon was also maintaining political links with the "men of worth", i.e. Cleon's opponents (similarly designated as "the good and decent" in *Knights* 225-9, 735-8); Philocleon's response (1241-2) certainly insinuates as much. The line from Praxilla is in the greater asclepiad metre (- - -u u -u u -u u -).
1241. **"you can't play the fox or be a friend to both sides"**: the source of this quotation (*PMG* 912a) is unknown. The metre is a type of aeolic to which M.L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1982) 30 has given the name "hagesichorean" (- - u u - - / - - u u - - u -).
1243. **Brag**: Greek *Sellos* (see on 325).
1243. **the myrtle-branch**: in the Greek this is understood, not expressed; see on 1222.
1244. **a clever and cultured man**: no doubt to be taken as ironical.
- 1245-7. **"Property and substance . . . among the Thessalians"**: a version (per-

- haps quoted accurately, perhaps modified) of a well-known *skolion* called "Cleitagora", referred to in *Lys.* 1237, Ar. fr. 261, Cratinus fr. 236. Its metre is the so-called dodrane (-uu-u-). The ancient authorities make conflicting statements about Cleitagora, mostly, it would seem, mere guesses based on the Aristophanic references, though the statement of Hesychius (*κ2913*) that she came from Lesbos cannot be so explained and may have some firmer foundation. A Cleitagora named as "beautiful" on a vase datable to c.450-430, no doubt a contemporary courtesan at Athens (see D.M. Robinson, *AJA* 60 [1956] 21-22), is more likely in my view to have taken her name from the song than to have given her name to it.
1245. **substance:** or, with the mss., "power".
1247. **among the Thessalians:** if these words are not merely taken over from the original song, they may indicate that Aeschines had recently been an ambassador to Thessaly like Amynias (1271-4).
1248. **We did have a long bout of boasting you and I:** lit. "you and I indeed boasted a lot competitively". For Aeschines' boastfulness see on 459. The metre is the phalaean hendecasyllable, as in 1226-7.
1250. **Philoctemon:** the name (which means "lover of possessions") may be a fictitious one appropriate to a rich man, but it may also be that of an actual contemporary. Isaeus 6, delivered in 364, is concerned with the estate of a rich man named Philoctemon of Cephisia (*PA* 14641), whose father Euctemon (*PA* 5798) had recently died aged ninety-six. If, as so often happened, Philoctemon's name was also that of his paternal grandfather, we would have a wealthy Philoctemon who was born about 490 and so was in his late sixties at the date of *Wasps*.
1251. **pack up dinner:** to this dinner, as to many others, (cf. *Ach.* 1085-1142), the guests have to bring their own savouries, bread, and wine, while the host provides sweet foods, accessories, and entertainers. As the passage in *Acharnians* shows, the food would be taken along ready cooked; there is no cooking scene here as there is in *Acharnians*, and we may assume that a dinner has been prepared in the kitchen in the expectation that the family would be dining at home, and now has merely to be packed up to be taken to the party.
1251. **Chrysus:** this name ("Gold") no doubt refers, like "Xanthias" (see on 1), to the colour of its bearer's hair.
1254. **door-breaking:** the picture conjured up is of drunken revellers trying to force their way into a party uninvited (cf. Pl. *Symp.* 212c).
1255. **having to pay out money:** as a penalty for assault or damage.

1256. **gentlemen:** Greek *kaloι te kagathoi*, a phrase that may refer to birth, wealth and education, or to physical and moral excellence, or to a combination of both; see K.J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford, 1974) 41-45. Here it is clearly being used in its social sense.
1258. **you . . . tell him some witty story:** at 566 Philocleon spoke of defendants who told witty stories in court in the hope of escaping punishment; now he is recommended to do likewise himself – and he accepts the advice.
1259. **a Sybaritic tale:** Sybaris, a city in southern Italy famous for its luxury, had been defeated and destroyed by its neighbour Croton about 510. Subsequently many stories circulated about the effete ness and stupidity of its inhabitants; some of these are retailed by Aristotle (fr.583), Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 48), and Aelian (*VH* 9.24, 14.20) who refers to a collection of "Sybaritic stories" made at an unknown date. To judge by the surviving examples, the stories told by Philocleon in 1427-40, though probably invented or at least adapted by himself, are not untypical of the genre.
1264. With most modern editors I identify the slave who appears here and in subsequent scenes as Xanthias, but this cannot be proved; it would not be illogical if the slave Chrysus who packed up the dinner (1251) also carried it to the party (so Stephanis, *O doulos* . . . 52; Stephanis' further suggestion [*ibid.* 79] that Chrysus and Xanthias are two names for the same person is not plausible).
- 1265-91. **Second parabasis,** consisting of: strophe, 1265-74; epirrhema, 1275-83; antistrophe (lost); antepirrhema, 1284-91.
- 1265-74. Metre: trochaic.
1267. **Amynias:** see on 74.
1267. **Brag:** Greek *Sellos* (see on 325).
1267. **of the house of Hairbun (Greek Krōbulos):** alluding to Amynias' long hair (cf. 466), which he evidently tied up behind in a bun, a style which had gone out of fashion in Athens about fifty years previously (see Gomme on Thuc. 1.6.3, who gives references to vase paintings illustrating the style).
1267. **is even more so:** my interpretation of the passage (see *CQ* 27 [1977] 275-6) is that Amynias is being described as very clever because, though a poor man, he has found a way of keeping well fed by sponging on rich men like Leogoras. Alternatively the Greek here may be understood to mean "rather <I thought that> Amynias <was stupid>" (so the scholia and most editors) in which case the point of the subsequent lines will be somewhat different (see the notes below).

- 1268-9. **Leogoras** (*PA* 9075), son of Andocides of the deme Cydathenaeum and father of Andocides the orator, was a member of the old Athenian aristocracy and a man of great wealth, which he expended freely on good food (cf. *Plato com. fr.* 106), a demanding mistress (*Eupolis* fr. 44), and the rich man's pastime of keeping exotic birds (*Clouds* 109). In 426 he led an embassy to Perdiccas of Macedon (*IG i³* 61.51; cf. *Andoc.* 2.11). In 415 he was denounced for being party to the mutilation of the Hermae and for being present during a profanation of the Eleusinian Mysteries, but managed to avoid both trial and exile (*Andoc.* 1.17-22, 47-68). He died probably in 406 or 405 (cf. *Andoc.* 1.146).
- 1268-9. **an apple and a pomegranate:** cheap (and not very nutritious) food, such as a poor man might eat. The point of the remark depends on whether Amynias is being described as clever or as stupid (see on 1267); if the former, then it is being said that he contrives to eat well (at Leogoras' table) despite his poverty; if the latter, then it is being said that whereas once he was rich enough to be a friend of Leogoras, he is now too poor to feed himself properly.
1270. **as hungry as Antiphon** means either "not hungry at all" (if Amynias is being described as clever) or "very hungry indeed" (if he is being described as stupid). The Antiphon referred to here is most likely to be Antiphon son of Sophilus of Rhamnus (*PA* 1304), the celebrated rhetorician and speech-writer, later one of the leaders of the Four Hundred, executed for treason after their fall in 411. He earned high fees from his profession (*com. adesp.* 66) and had the reputation of being avaricious (*Plato com. fr.* 103); and if, as is likely, he is the Antiphon of Xen. *Mem.* 1.6 (on this see J.S. Morrison, *CR* 3 [1953] 3-6 and H.C. Avery, *Hermes* 110 [1982] 145-158), he was also notably fond of good food and comfortable living. Hence he could either be said to be always hungry (because he always had a good appetite) or to be never hungry (because he always had ample means to satisfy his appetite).
1271. **and more than that:** or, on the alternative interpretation discussed above, "but he's not stupid really, because".
1271. **Pharsalus:** a city in southern Thessaly.
1273. **the Paupers:** Greek *Penestai* "poor men", the name applied to the serf class in Thessaly; see H.D. Westlake, *Thessaly in the Fourth Century B.C.* (London, 1935) 27-37. Amynias (the chorus say) has shown himself clever by finding a diplomatic role to which a poor man like himself was ideally suited, when on the face of it he did not seem an appropriate ambassador to send to an aristocratic state like Thessaly.

- 1275-83 = 1284-91 **Metre:** paeonic tetrameters (based on the unit -uuu), except for 1283 = 1291 which is a trochaic tetrameter. The same pattern is found in *Ach.* 977-986 = 990-9.
1275. **Automenes** (*PA* 2751) is not mentioned elsewhere.
1278. **the supreme lyre-player:** named as Arignotus (*PA* 1612) in *Knights* 1278, where the chorus-leader calls him "my friend" and praises him warmly in sharp contrast with Ariphrades.
1279. **the actor:** his name is unknown.
1280. **Ariphrades** (*PA* 2201) is also attacked for his sexual perversion in *Knights* 1274-89, *Peace* 883-5, and *Ar. fr.* 63. Since the same practice is not condemned when indulged in by other people (cf. *Eccl.* 846-7 and probably also *Peace* 716) it is likely that Ar. had some other and more personal reason for animosity towards Ariphrades; the explanation may be that Ariphrades was a comic poet (cf. *Arist. Poet.* 1458b31, and see on 1283) and therefore a rival of Ar.
1281. **without learning it from anybody:** after this we expect to hear of a claim by the proud father that Ariphrades in childhood had shown exceptional precocity in some mental or manual skill (cf. *Clouds* 877-881).
- [1282] This line ("but all by himself, thanks to his clever nature, learned") weakly repeats the content (and one of the words) of the preceding phrase; its deletion makes the two epirrhemata of equal length and of an even number of lines, as is always the case in parabases and similar choral passages such as *Ach.* 971-999 and *Lys.* 614-705.
1283. **licked them up:** i.e. practised cunnilingus; the Greek has *glōttopoiein* "do things with one's tongue" with a probable pun on *gelōttopoiein* "raise laughter" alluding to Ariphrades' profession as a comic poet (see *CQ* 27 [1977] 276).
- 1283/4. Heliodorus, quoted in the scholia, explains the loss of the antistrophe by the conjecture that a very early copy had suffered damage. It is not impossible that Ar. himself cut the song out before production (this might be necessary if, for instance, someone satirized in it suddenly died) and that it stood in his autograph of the text in a partly obliterated state which copyists failed to decipher satisfactorily.
- 1284-91. This passage must refer to an attack by Cleon on Ar. subsequent to the vicious satire on Cleon in *Knights*. (It cannot refer to the attempted prosecution in 426 after *Babylonians*: no one could have believed that Cleon and Ar. had been at peace ever since then). 1286-9 describe an occasion when Cleon spoke in public and Ar. was present and was expected to speak also, and this

strongly suggests an actual trial; but 1284 and 1290-1 indicate that the dispute was settled and did not come to a final decision in court. I have suggested in my introduction to this series (*Acharnians* pp. 2-3) that Cleon brought a serious charge against Ar., gave him a rough handling in cross-examination before a magistrate at the preliminary hearing (*anakrisis*), and then consented to drop the prosecution in exchange for a promise by Ar. to moderate his treatment of Cleon in future, a promise which Ar. has now (in *Wasps*) decisively broken. The charge may have been one of exercising citizen rights when not entitled to them (schol. *Ach.* 378; *Proleg.* XXVIII 20, XXIXa 14-15 Koster). It was theoretically illegal to drop a prosecution for a public wrong like this [Dem.] 58.6), but in practice it seems to have been possible to do so before the trial, presumably subject to the consent of the magistrate handling the case (see Harrison ii 103-5).

1287. they laughed outside: the reference is to spectators standing outside the enclosure within which the magistrate was conducting the *anakrisis*. If this passage does refer to an *anakrisis*, it provides our only evidence as to whether these hearings were held in public. It is not unlikely *a priori* that they were, since the *anakrisis* was a survival of what had once been a full trial by the magistrate without a jury; and in the fourth century hearings before official arbitrators were regularly held in public (cf. [Dem.] 47.11-12). On the other hand the orators never refer to the presence at an *anakrisis* of persons not connected with the case. Possibly the rule varied for different types of case or at different periods.

1287. shouting so loud: cf. on 36.

1289. let out . . . when I was squeezed: Ar. compares himself to a fruit being squeezed for juice.

1290. I played a bit of a small trick: i.e. I pretended to come to terms with Cleon.

1291. the stake let down the vine: Cleon was relying on Ar. to keep his promise, as a vine relies on a stake to prop it up, and now Ar. has cheated his expectations by his attack on Cleon in the present play.

1292. O tortoises, fortunate in your shells: cf. 429.

1293. This line ("and thrice fortunate in that on your ribs") is metrically deficient (*q's* conjectural supplement gives neither grammar nor sense) and in content a weak repetition of 1292 and anticipation of 1295. It is probably an expansion of a gloss on 1292.

1296. beaten black and blue: lit. "tattooed".

1297-8. What is the matter . . . an old man: the rhythm and diction of this

couplet are suggestive of tragedy, where we several times find a character thus explaining why he has used a particular form of address (Soph. *El.* 1361; Eur. *Hipp.* 88, *Andr.* 56, 64, *Hel.* 1193). The specific model parodied here is unknown, but it is imitated again in *Thesm.* 582-3. In our passage the speaker is playing on the fact that slaves and young boys were both often beaten and both usually addressed as *pai* "boy".

1301. And that though . . . "as if the men named were notorious for drunkenness and riotous behaviour" (MacDowell). Probably some of them were and others (including surely Antiphon) were not.

1301. Hippyllus (*PA* 7672) may possibly be the man recorded in *IG* i³ 469.9 as having dedicated a silver bowl at an unknown date, or another member of the same family, for the name is a rare one.

1301. Antiphon: see on 1270.

1301. Lycon was a well-known figure in the Athens of the late 420s, though not as well known as his flagrantly promiscuous wife Rhodia (*Lys.* 270; Eupolis fr. 215, 273) and his handsome son Autolycus, a champion athlete (Xen. *Symp.* passim). Lycon himself was accused in comedy of being poor (Cratinus fr. 203), effeminate (schol. *Wasps* 1169), and of foreign birth (Eupolis fr. 63). He is generally identified with Lycon of Thoricus, one of the accusers of Socrates in 399 (see *PA* 9271), who was likewise said to be of foreign birth (Metagenes fr. 10; schol. Pl. *Apol.* 23e); but in Xenophon's *Symposium* the father of Autolycus is shown on friendly terms with Socrates and calls him "a fine gentleman" (*kalos kāgathos*, *Symp.* 9.1), so it is likely that the accuser of Socrates was another and younger Lycon.

1302. Lysistratus: see on 787.

1302. Thuphrastus (*PA* 7162) is not otherwise known.

1302. the Phrynicus group: the Phrynicus meant here is probably Phrynicus son of Stratoniades of Deiradiotae (*PA* 15011), later one of the leaders of the Four Hundred. At this time he was in his fifties ([Lys.] 20.10-12 implies that he was a contemporary of Polystratus, who was born about 480), a politician of the radical democratic type (*Lys.* 25.9) and a frequent prosecutor in the courts ([Lys.] 20.12); he seems not to have joined the oligarchs until the eve of their revolution (cf. Thuc. 8.68.3). His assassination in the late summer of 411 (Thuc. 8.92.2) heralded the downfall of the Four Hundred. Our passage shows that in 422 he was the head of a well-known coterie, but we cannot tell who its other members were. Andrewes on Thuc. 8.25.1 thinks that our Phrynicus is unlikely to be the future oligarch; but the latter must already have

- been a well-known public figure, and the insinuation that he was a drunkard and hooligan need not be factual in his case any more than in Antiphon's.
1307. “boy, boy”: Greek *pai pai*, the usual way of summoning a slave, but suggesting by its sound *paei paei* “strike, strike” (*Ach.* 282, *Knights* 247, *Xen. Anab.* 5.7.21).
1308. made a comparison: it was a favourite amusement at symposia for the guests to lampoon each other by means of comparisons such as those made in the following lines: cf. *Birds* 804-6, Pl. *Symp.* 215a-b.
1309. a recently-enriched Phrygian: “Phrygian” implies “barbarian” and/or “ex-slave”. *Nouveaux riches* were proverbially uncultured, anti-social and cruel to their slaves: cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1042-5, Eur. *Supp.* 741-3, Cratinus fr. 208, Arist. *Rhet.* 1391a14-19, Herodas 2 (about the alleged abduction of a prostitute by a rich shipowner said to be Phrygian by birth), Lucian *How to Write History* 20.
1310. as ass that's run off to a bran-heap: this comparison was in popular use to denote a person thoroughly and unashamedly enjoying himself or eagerly anticipating such enjoyment (cf. Philemon fr. 188).
1312. the covering of its wings: lit. “the fig-leaves of its cloak”; the locust's wings are thought of as a garment, and are called “fig-leaves” because they look like leaves. The point of the comparison may be that Lysistratus often went about inadequately clothed (so MacDowell, comparing *Ach.* 857).
1313. Sthenelus (*TrGF* 32) was a tragic dramatist, whose diction was thought plain and insipid (Ar. fr. 151; Arist. *Poet.* 1458a18-21). This is the earliest datable reference to him; the others all seem to fall between 410 and 400.
1313. shorn of his stage props: the scholia say that Sthenelus “sold his tragic costume through poverty”, but this is no more than a guess based on the text. I suggest that the point is that Sthenelus disguised the dullness of the plot and language in his plays by spectacular costuming and scenery, and that were he to be deprived of these his artistic nakedness would be evident.
1317. give yourself airs: or “wear long hair” (cf. on 466).
1318. a buffoon . . . currently doing well: this seems to mean that Thuphrastus got himself invited to rich men's parties because of his reputation as a jester (cf. Xen. *Symp.* 1.11-16) and a flatterer (cf. Eupolis fr. 159).
- 1326-31, 1335-40 Metre: mainly trochaic, but 1335-8 are iambic.
1326. Stop! Make way!: addressed, as are the same words in Eur. *Tro.*
1327. to howl: to suffer assault and painful bodily harm.
- 1329-31. fried whitebait: Greek *phruktoi* “small fish for frying”.
- 1329-31. bugger off: the Greek verb *errein* means “go” but incorporates, as it were, a curse by the speaker upon the person who is the subject of the verb.
1333. no matter how young you are: the victims of this riotous reveller are unaware that he is in fact an old man. The speaker is saying that Philocleon's violence is so outrageous that he will not extend to him the indulgence usually allowed to youthful high spirits.
1336. how old-fashioned of you: Philocleon speaks like a young man deriding his elders; cf. *Clouds* 915, 984, 1357, 1439, where the same adjective *arkhaios* is used in this way.
1339. this: the Greek has *tade* (neuter plural), which might mean “this”, i.e. the life of a youthful roisterer, or “these”, i.e. probably Dardanis' breasts (*tittia*).
1339. voting-urns: strictly “voting-urn funnels” (see on 99).
1340. Where's there a juror?: this seems to mean “So far as I'm concerned there are no such things as lawcourts”.
1341. my golden little cockchafer: for “golden” as a term of amatory endearment cf. *khrūsion* “my golden one” in *Ach.* 1200, *Lys.* 930; “little cockchafer” (*mēlolonthion*) probably means “little plaything”, since children played with cockchafer-beetles by letting them fly on the end of a string anchored by a piece of wood (cf. *Clouds* 762-3, Herodas 12.1).
1342. rope: evidently staircases were sometimes equipped with ropes to serve as handholds; these steps are not, but Philocleon can offer a substitute.
1345. you see how cleverly I stole you away: as ever (cf. 357, 1200-1) Philocleon is proud of his prowess as a thief. He is also, however, here suggesting that by taking Dardanis away from the party (and so saving her from the indignity of having to perform *fellatio*, see next note) he has done her a favour which she ought to repay.
1346. suck: perform *fellatio* upon. This service was so commonly required of prostitutes that *laikastria* “fallatrix” came to be a virtual synonym of *porne* “prostitute” (cf. *Ach.* 524-9).
1349. this thing: his phallus. He fears she will laugh at it because she will think him impotent.
1350. been open-mouthed: lit. “done it”, referring back to the verb *enkhaskein* “open one's mouth (in laughter or otherwise) at someone” used in the previous line; as one scholiast saw, we have here a further allusion to *fellatio*.

- 1352-9. To transform the topsy-turvy world conjured up by Philocleon's words into the world we know, it would be necessary (i) to assume that the speaker really was a young man and (ii) to interchange the words "father" and "son" throughout. We would then have a stern father attempting to restrain his son's imprudent and expensive love-affair, as fathers were often presented as doing in later comedy.
1352. when my son dies: Philocleon wavers between assuming that he will come into money on Bdelycleon's death, and that he will do so when he himself comes of age. The latter is the implication of 1354-5; it would mean that Philocleon was pretending to be no more than sixteen or seventeen years old.
1353. I'll buy your freedom: Dardanis is evidently the slave of a pimp (*pornoboskos*). For a lover purchasing the freedom of such a slave cf. Men. *Epitr.* 538-540.
1353. pussy: lit. "piglet", but *khoiros* "piglet" also means "vulva".
- recognized mistress: Greek *pallakeē*, a woman living with a man in a relationship which, while not amounting to marriage (usually because the woman was not a citizen and/or the man was married already), was quasi-permanent and legally recognized (so e.g. the seducer of a *pallakeē* was liable to the same penalties as the seducer of a wife) and conferred a certain measure of respectability (in Menander's *Samia* the *pallakeē* Chrysis is on friendly and almost equal terms with her married neighbour [35-41] and the slaves regard her as the mistress of the house [258]).
1357. 1363. a cress-paring cumin-splitter: i.e. extremely parsimonious.
- the way he once ragged me before my initiation: apparently candidates for initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries were subjected to humorous teasing by those already initiated (so MacDowell, in general agreement with the scholia). For another interpretation see J.S. Rusten, *HSCP* 81 (1977) 157-161.
- 1364-5. Hey, you, you . . . coffin: Rusten (see previous note) continues these lines to Philocleon as the first instalment of the promised mockery of his son; but while it is quite plausible that Philocleon, continuing the inversion of age-roles, should mockingly call his son a demented old man (cf. 1370), it is less likely that he would call him a lecher ("twat-rubber"). Whoever speaks these lines is drawing attention to the incongruity between the addressee's age and his sexual appetite; and while Philocleon's behaviour shows just such an incongruity, Bdelycleon's sexual appetite is something about which the play tells us nothing whatever, so that one limb of the incongruity would be missing.
1365. lovingly yearning for an attractive young coffin: "coffin" (*sorou*) is a surprise for "girl" (*koreū*). He means that if Philocleon tried to have intercourse with Dardanis the strain would kill him.
1367. How you'd enjoy eating a lawsuit dipped in vinegar!: i.e. "what an enthusiastic and sharp-tongued prosecutor you'd make!" Bdelycleon's words "You won't get away with doing this" are an expression that often implies a threat of prosecution (cf. 1396, *Knights* 435, *Clouds* 1239-40). For Philocleon's language cf. 511: he now sees in his son the same unreasonable love of punishing people by which he was once himself possessed.
1370. as if you'd fallen off a . . . tomb: it was a popular witticism to say, of a person who appeared to be talking or acting irrationally, "he must have fallen off a donkey" (cf. *Clouds* 1273, Pl. *Laws* 701c); here Philocleon alters the phrase to convey the further suggestion that Bdelycleon is senile (cf. on 1364-5).
1371. Dardanis: a slave-name, "girl from Dardania" (the Troad); for the ethnic cf. *Iliad* 18.222 and *IG ii²* 8476.
1372. a torch being burnt . . . in honour of the gods: torches used in worship were most often carried in the hand, but sometimes they were placed in stands and left to burn; see *RE VI* 1952.
1372. in the Agora: apparently for the time being we have to assume that the action is taking place in the Agora and not, as during all the rest of the play, in front of Bdelycleon's house. In 1388-1414 we may still be in the Agora, where Myrtia was selling her wares (cf. 1407); in 1415-41 the location is not clearly specified, and by 1444 we are back in front of the house. There is a similar temporary change of location in *Knights*, where the *skene*, having for most of the play represented the house of Demos, is suddenly identified at 1326 with the Propylaea (the western entrance to the Acropolis) but has reverted to its original identity by 1393.
1373. split: torches were commonly made by tying together a number of pieces of split wood (often pine).
1374. black patch: meaning Dardanis' pubic hair. (The performer was probably a man "padded with false breasts and wearing a leotard painted with nipples, navel and pubic hair" [Stone 150].)
1375. the pitch coming out: hot resin exuding from the pine-wood.
1377. 1381. a knot: a lump in the wood formed by an incipient branch.
- 1382-5. not able to do anything: see on 739-740.
1390. At Olympia . . . and knocked him down: cf. 1187-94.
- off here: off the tray.

1391. four more: sc. "loaves" (not "obols' worth").
1392. more trouble: in addition to the trouble Philocleon has caused by offending the guests at the party and by abducting Dardanis.
1394. clever stories will settle them: so his son had advised him (1256-61).
1396. the Two Goddesses: Demeter and Persephone (cf. on 377-8). Oaths in their name were used only by women (cf. *Eccl.* 155-9).
1397. daughter of Ancylion and Sostrate: Myrtia names both her parents to prove that she is a citizen, not lightly to be insulted or injured: cf. Dem. 57.67-68. Sostrate was a stock name in comedy for a married citizen woman: cf. *Thesm.* 375, *Eccl.* 41, and Terence's *Heautontimorumenos*, *Hecyra*, and *Adelphoe*. Aancylion figures in fourth-century comedies by Eubulus and Alexis as a semi-legendary reprobate who beat or otherwise ill-used his mother (cf. schol. *Wasps* 1178); if this man is Myrtia's father, then she is represented as undercutting her own respectability in the very act of trying to establish it. The name is a very rare one.
- 1401.5. When Aesop . . . you'd be sensible: Philocleon had been advised (1259) to appease his victims by narrating "something funny of Aesop". He misunderstands this, and instead of telling a fable by Aesop he tells a tale of his own invention about Aesop, in which the characters of Aesop and the bitch are transparent disguises for himself and Myrtia. In effect he is saying to Myrtia "You're wasting your breath abusing and threatening me; you'd be better off going and buying wheat to make new loaves."
1406. I summon you: this is our sole (but sufficient) evidence that it was possible for a woman to serve a summons.
1407. commissioners of the market: Greek *agorànomoi*, public officials appointed by lot to two separate boards, one for Athens and one for the Peiraeus (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 51.1), who were responsible for the enforcement of all laws relating to the market areas and market business: see MacDowell *Law* 157. When Philocleon in due course appears before the Athens board in obedience to the summons, they will conduct an *anakrisis* on Myrtia's complaint (cf. on 1284-91) and then either impose a moderate fine on their own authority or arrange for a jury trial under their presidency.
1408. Chaerephon (*PA* 15203) is best known for his close association with Socrates over many years. It was he who asked the Delphic oracle whether any man was wiser than Socrates (Pl. *Apol.* 21a), and in *Clouds* he is represented as Socrates' partner in teaching and research (*Clouds* 104, 144-164, 830-1, 1465-7); he may be portrayed briefly as a character on stage at the end of *Clouds* (see my note on *Clouds* 1497). He had markedly pale complexion, and comedy calls him "yellow-faced" (1413), "half a corpse" (*Clouds* 504), "the bat" (*Birds* 1296, 1564); he was also satirized as a thief (Ar. fr. 291), a parasite (Eupolis fr. 165), and an informer (Ar. fr. 539). The last-named charge suggests he may have taken some part in politics. Unlike Socrates, he went into exile when the Thirty assumed power in 404, returning at the restoration of democracy (Pl. loc.cit.); he died not long after, before Socrates' trial in 399.
1410. Lasus of Hermione (in the Argolid) was a poet of the late sixth century, who specialized in dithyrambs. He was one of the poets invited to Athens by Hipparchus son of Peisistratus between 527 and 514 (cf. Hdt. 7.6.3), and may have been responsible for the establishment of dithyrambic competitions there (Suda λ139). He is credited with innovations in musical technique ([Plut.] *Mor.* 1141c) and researches in acoustics (Theon of Smyrna p. 59. 7-10 Hiller). He also had a mere general reputation as a wise man, which even led some to include him among the Seven Sages (Suda loc.cit., cf. D.L. 1.42); various witty sayings and arguments connected with his name seem to have been handed down and later recorded (for some examples see Athenaeus 8.338b-d), and these came to be called *lāsimata*.
1410. Simonides of Ceos, who lived c. 556-468, was one of the greatest of Greek lyric poets. An epigram ascribed to him (Simonides epigr. XXVII Page) claims that he won fifty-six first prizes in dithyrambic contests. He too came to Athens under the patronage of Hipparchus ([Pl.] *Hipparchus* 228c; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 18.1).
1411. "I'm not concerned": as the text stands, this *lāsimata* probably means "It doesn't bother me that my opponent is the great Simonides"; but the suggestion of Palmer is attractive, that a line has dropped out (after "rival choruses") in which it was said that Simonides won the contest. Philocleon himself intends "I'm not concerned" to be taken as his own reaction to Myrtia's summons.
1413. witnessing a summons for a woman: the following clause seems to give the reason why it was funny or incongruous that Chaerephon should do this, namely that he looks "like a yellow-faced Ino", i.e. a woman in acute distress. Presumably the point is that with such a complexion he might be thought to be a woman, in which case he would not be allowed to give evidence in court of the serving of the summons; and if, as in this case, the plaintiff herself was a woman and so unable to speak in court, there would be no evidence at all to counter the defendant's denial that he had been summoned, and he could therefore ignore the summons with impunity. It is thus foolish of Myrtia to ask a person of such dubious masculinity to witness her summons.

1414. **Ino hanging on to the feet of Euripides:** Ino was a daughter of Cadmus and wife of Athamas, a Thessalian king. There are various accounts of the misfortunes that befell her, Athamas and his children; they are collected by S. Eitrem, *RE* XII 2297-2300. Hyginus *Fab.* 4 gives a version which he ascribes to Euripides' *Ino*: Ino left home to be a bacchant on Mount Parnassus; Athamas, thinking her dead, married Themisto and had two children; then, learning Ino was alive, he brought her home and concealed her; Themisto plotted to kill Athamas' sons by Ino, and enlisted Ino to assist her, not knowing who she was; Ino deceived Themisto into killing her own children instead; Themisto on learning what she had done committed suicide. At this point Athamas may well have ordered the punishment of Ino, and Ino have abased herself at his feet and begged for mercy. See T.B.L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London, 1967) 98-100. For the name of Athamas Ar. comically substitutes that of Euripides: in a play, after all, the fate of a character is really determined not by other characters but by the author.
1418. **wanton outrage:** Greek *hubris*, contemptuous disregard of the rights or dignity of others, especially assault accompanied by insulting behaviour (cf. *Clouds* 1297-9, Dem. 54.8-9); for this offence the penalty was unlimited (Dem. 21.47), hence Bdelycleon's alarm. On the concept of *hubris* see N.R.E. Fisher, *G&R* 23 (1976) 177-193, and his forthcoming book *Hybris*.
1427. **a man of Sybaris:** see on 1259.
1429. **he wasn't an expert driver:** the point may be that an expert would have known how best to avoid serious injury in the event of an accident. Note that in the race described in Soph. *El.* 698-756, where nine chariots crash, apparently only Orestes is badly hurt (the others try to save him: 753-5).
1431. **Let every man pursue the trade he knows:** a proverb of unknown origin, referred to twice by Cicero (*Ad Att.* 5.10.3; *Tusc. Disp.* 1.41).
1432. **and it's the same here:** the implication is either "I'm not a doctor, so go to someone who is" or "the Sybarite got no sympathy from his friend, and you'll get none from me".
1432. **Pittalus** was a doctor; *Ach.* 1030-2 indicates that he was one of the select class of doctors who were paid high salaries from state funds to treat citizens free of charge (cf. Hdt. 3.131; Pl. *Gorg.* 514d-515b).
1434. **well, anyway:** Greek *all' oun*, indicating that the speaker's preferred course of action (a friendly settlement) has failed and a second-best alternative (legal proceedings) is being resorted to.
1434. **remember the answer he gave:** so that you can testify to it in court, as evidence of Philocleon's intent to insult and humiliate his victim, an important ingredient of the offence of *hubris*.
1436. **Witness this!:** an appeal to anyone present or within earshot to bear witness that the utterer is being assaulted: cf. *Ach.* 926, *Clouds* 1297, *Peace* 1119, *Birds* 1031.
1438. **by the Maiden:** in the Greek these words (but no more) are in the Doric dialect, which would have been used at Sybaris. The "Maiden" (*Korā*) is Persephone.
1440. **and bought a bandage:** advice meant for Philocleon's accuser rather than for the jar (cf. 1404-5, 1411).
- 1446-7. **Aesop was once accused . . . belonging to the god:** this is the earliest reference to the story of how Aesop met his death. The story is told by the scholia and in the ancient *Life of Aesop* (*Vita* G 124-142 Perry). When Aesop went to Delphi to tell his fables there, he was not rewarded for it as he thought he deserved, and in resentment made some insulting remarks about the Delphians; they feared he would give them a bad name throughout Greece, and plotted to kill him. When he was about to leave Delphi, a golden bowl, taken from the temple of Apollo, was secreted in his luggage; Aesop was pursued along the road, brought back to Delphi, and condemned to death for sacrilege. Before his execution he told the Delphians the fable of the beetle and the eagle (see next note), implying that they would pay for the wrong they had done him.
1448. **once upon a time the beetle — :** the story is Aesop *Fab.* 3 Perry; a variant version is given in schol. *Peace* 130. An eagle once wronged a beetle, either by stealing its young, or by killing a hare which had supplicated the beetle for protection. In revenge the beetle pursued the eagle wherever it nested, rolling its eggs out and breaking them, until the eagle fled for safety to its divine protector Zeus and was allowed to place its eggs in his lap. Thereupon the beetle flew up to Zeus, and either by buzzing round his head or by laying a ball of dung in his lap it made him forget about the eggs and jump up so that they broke. The moral is given variously as "Nobody is so powerless that he cannot take revenge if insulted" and "The wicked will not escape retribution even if they flee to the bosom of Zeus". Either suits Philocleon, who is telling his son, in effect, that sooner or later he will take revenge for his present humiliation.
- 1450-61 = 1462-73. Metre: aeolo-choriambic dimeters. The first seven lines of

- strophe and antistrophe each consist of an iambic *metron* followed by a choriamb (-u u -) or, before pause, by a bacchius (u --); the remaining lines, though they still (except the last) end with choriamb, have an opening metron of aeolic type (o o - x , sometimes with resolution). For the general type to which this song belongs, see Dale² 131-6.
- 1462-4. he has earned great praise . . . at the end of the day: lit. "he will depart having won great praise"; Bdelycleon is being thought of as a successful performer in a competition, cf. *Knights* 548-9 "so that our poet may depart rejoicing and successful", *Clouds* 524-5.
1463. men of good sense: possibly to be understood as "opponents of Cleon", cf. Thuch. 4.28.5.
1467. gentle: truly a preposterous epithet to apply to the Bdelycleon of this play, who has imprisoned his father, has ordered him to be beaten (398-9), and has just carried him indoors kicking and screaming. To call him "gentle" is so utterly inappropriate that it is probable that the author is being ironical at the chorus's expense, suggesting that their new devotion to Bdelycleon is just as blind and unthinking as their former devotion to Cleon, an impression reinforced by the words that follow "nor melted so in ecstasy". The Athenian "sheep" (31ff) may now have found a better shepherd, but sheep still remain.
1471. impossible in the sense of "unmanageable".
1475. has wheeled into our house: a metaphor from the "wheeling out" and "wheeling in" of dramatic characters and tableaux on a wheeled platform (*ekkyklēma*) rolled out of the *skēnē* or rolled back into it.
1479. Thespis (*PA* 7206; *TrGF* 1) was the traditional founder of Athenian tragedy and first victor in the tragic competitions at the City Dionysia, about the year 534 (cf. Suda 0282 and *Parian Chronicle* A43).
1479. used to perform: Thespis, like other early dramatists, performed in his own plays (see the references in the last note and Plut. *Sol.* 29.6).
1480. old Cronuses: Cronus was the ruler of the universe in days long past, before he was overthrown by his son Zeus; hence "a Cronus" is someone whose ideas are out of date (cf. *Clouds* 929, 1070). Here once again (cf. 1352-70) Philocleon turns time topsy-turvy: it is not his old-fashioned dances, but other people's modern ones, that he says are out of date.
- 1482-95. Metre: anapaestic.
- 1482-4. Who sitteth at the outer door? . . . Let these doors be unbarr'd: the
- diction is tragic, and the words probably quoted or adapted from an unknown tragedy, in which the speaker was calling from behind a closed door. In Philocleon's case the door is in all probability already open: were it closed, Xanthias would not obligingly open it to let out into the street again such a public menace as Philocleon at present is. Hence Philocleon's command for the door to be opened merely shows how wrapped up he is in his drunken fantasy of being a great tragic actor and dancer: he uses the words of the tragic text he has in mind even though they are irrelevant to his actual situation.
1489. drink hellebore: hellebore was supposed to be a cure for certain types of insanity (cf. Hippocr. *On Diet* 1.35.7; Callias com. fr. 28; Dem. 18.121; Men. fr. 63).
1490. Phrynicus must be the tragic poet (for whom see on 220), since the dances being performed are dances supposed to be typical of very early tragedy, and Phrynicus was famous for the dances he arranged and performed: an epigram ascribed to him (Plut. *Mor.* 732f) says that "dance has given me as many different figures as there are waves in the sea on a stormy night", and a popular anecdote (Eustathius on *Iliad* 13.637) says he gave a reward to anyone who invented a new dance-movement. At this moment, it seems, Philocleon is imagining himself as Phrynicus.
1490. cowers like a cock: the phrase seems to be adapted from a tragic line ("He cowered like a vanquished cock, inclining his wing") which may very well be by Phrynicus, though Plutarch, who quotes it three times, never gives an author's name; in *TrGF* the line is given both as Phrynicus fr. 17 (with the caveat "better regarded as anonymous") and as *trag. adesp.* 408a. As he chants these words, Philocleon is imitating the attitude of a cock that has lost a fight and lowers its head and droops its wings before the victor.
1491. They'll be stoning you soon: it was common practice to throw stones at a lunatic if he came too near (cf. *Birds* 524-5); Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 127, remarks that "those who had no relatives to shelter them may not have lasted long".
1493. Look out for yourself: presumably meaning "Mind you don't hurt yourself".
1495. socket-joints: Greek *kotulēdōn* properly means "acetabulum" (the socket of the hip joint), but Philocleon seems to be using it loosely of the joint as a whole (the synonym *kotulē* is apparently used in the same way in *Iliad* 5.306).
1499. come on here: come into the acting area.
1501. the miserable wretch: Philocleon so calls his rival because, even with-

- out knowing who he is, he is sure the man is destined for a humiliating defeat.
1501. **Carcinus** (*PA* 8254; *TrGF* 21), son of Xenotimus of the deme Thoricus, had been active as a tragic dramatist at least since 446 when he won first prize at the City Dionysia (*IG* ii² 2318.81). In 432 his reputation had stood high enough with the public for him to be elected one of the generals for 432/1 (*Thuc.* 2.23.2; *IG* i³ 365.30-40), when his exploits as a naval commander seem to have earned him the nickname “Lord of the Seas” (1519, 1532-3, *Plato com.* fr. 134). His own name meant “Crab”, whence the verbal and visual puns of the present scene. Carcinus apparently had four sons (*Pherecrates* fr. 14, from a play produced in 420), but at least in 422 only three of them were well known to the public. All were of small stature (1513, *Peace* 790, *Pherecrates* fr. 14), and all were talented dancers. One, One, probably the eldest, bore his grandfather’s name Xenotimus (*PA* 11269); as a young man he served in the cavalry (cf. *IG* ii² 1388.74), and in the 390s we find him as a shipowner trading to the Crimea and a friend of the local king (*Isocr.* 17.52). The second son, who appears first in the present scene, is differently named by different Aristophanic scholiasts, and nothing is known about him independently. The third son (1508-11) was named Xenocles (*PA* 11222; *TrGF* 33) and was a tragic dramatist: he is condemned by Ar. as a bad poet (*Thesm.* 169, *Frogs* 86), but he defeated Euripides’ *Trojan Women* and its companion plays in 415 (*Aelian VH* 2.8). His son, another Carcinus (*PA* 8255; *TrGF* 70), continued the family’s theatrical tradition. Xenocles and his brothers seem also to have taken part in public life, as their father did: *Pherecrates* fr. 14 seems to say they were eager to hold office, while *Thesm.* 440-2 implies that even a woman could make a better Assembly speech than Xenocles. On the family see Davies 283-5.
- It has been thought (as by MacDowell) that the sons of Carcinus performed in person in *Wasps*; but it is unlikely that they would have performed for Ar. when he had made fun of their father in his most recent play (*Clouds* 1260-1). More probably the crab-dancers are three of the same boy performers who have already appeared in 230-414 and subsequently as kitchen utensils and puppies in the trial scene. The use of boy dancers would help to emphasize the alleged dwarfishness of the three brothers.
1503. **with one stately measure of the fist:** we expect “with one blow of the fist”, a metaphor from boxing, but “blow” is replaced by
1505. **emmeleia**, the name of a common tragic dance. Philocleon’s boastfulness here may be meant to be reminiscent of a boxer’s: compare the bragging of Epeius in *Iliad* 23. 667-675.
1508. **another tragic Carcinite:** this must be Carcinus’ eldest son Xenotimus.
1509. **yet another of Carcinus’ family:** Xenocles.
- a crayfish or a tarantula?:** the Greek words are *oxis* and *phalanx*: *phalanx* means “poisonous spider”, but *oxis* (whose normal meaning “vinegar-cruet” would be pointless here) has always been a mystery. I suggest that *oxis* is a name (not otherwise attested) for a crustacean with sharp (*oxus*) spines or prickles – perhaps the spiny crayfish or langouste (*Palinurus vulgaris*), perhaps some other species. Both creatures resemble crabs in being many-footed and (in different ways) capable of hurting people. This if the text is sound; but it may not be. E.K. Borthwick, *CQ* 18 (1968) 47-51, has ingeniously emended both nouns to give the meaning “an owl or a mole”, and has explained the comparisons by the assumption that Xenocles, as he enters, is peering from side to side in a figure of the so-called owl-dance (*skōps*). I prefer however to retain the transmitted text: one would not expect Xenocles to enter performing a dance when there is no indication that either of his brothers does so (they begin to dance only at 1518).
- pea-crab:** one of two species of the genus *Pinnotheres*, which are among the smallest of crabs.
1513. **little dancing birds:** Greek *orkhīloi* “wrens”, with a pun on *orkheī-thai* “to dance”; compare the pun in *Birds* 75-79 on *trokhilos* “Egyptian plover” and *trekhein* “to run”.
1515. **be stirring up brine:** for the “crabs” to be boiled in.
1516. **Metre:** anapaestic tetrameters.
1517. **spin themselves round:** evidently the style of dancing favoured by Carcinus’ sons was rich in pirouettes (cf. 1523, 1528-31, *Peace* 864); other indications of the choreography are the references to jumps (1520), high kicks (1524-7, 1530) and belly-slapping (1529).
- 1518-37. **Metre:** the opening strophe and antistrophe (1518-22 = 1523-7) are composed of enoplians (x—u u—u u—(x)) and ithyphallics (—u—u—); in the concluding lines (1528-37) these two elements are fused into a single unit, the “archilochean” verse, which may well have been chanted rather than sung. For a recent discussion of the metre and delivery of this passage, see W.T. MacCary, *TAPA* 109 (1979) 138-141.
- the Lord of the Seas:** see on 1501; the Greek word is *thalattios*.
- the shore of the unharvested deep:** a Homeric formula (e.g. *Iliad* 1.316).

1522. **brothers of shrimps**: the sons of Carcinus are like shrimps because they are small and love to jump (cf. Araros fr. 8, Ophelion fr. 1).
- 1524-5. **the Phrynicus kick**: evidently the same high kick that Philocleon executed at 1492 when pretending to be Phrynicus.
- 1526-7. “Oooooh!”: in the Greek the vowel $\bar{\sigma}$ is apparently drawn out so long that it has the metrical value of two ordinary syllables.
1529. **slap yourself in the belly**: a not uncommon action in Greek dancing; see E. Roos, *Die tragische Orchestik im Zerrbild der altattischen Komödie* (Lund, 1951) 101-5.
- 1532-3. **Lord and Master of the Seas**: see on 1501 and 1519; the Greek word here is *pontomedōn*, elsewhere a title of Poseidon (e.g. Aesch. *Seven* 130).
1534. **three jiggin' chickens**: Greek *triorkhoi* “buzzards”, which can also be etymologized as “three dancers” (cf. on 1513).
1537. **to send a comic chorus dancing off**: or “who has sent a comic chorus dancing off”; it is therefore not clear whether what is being claimed is that this is the first time a comic chorus have gone off dancing, or merely that it is the first time they have been led off by dancers specially introduced for the purpose. With only two earlier comedies for evidence (the ending of *Clouds* is known to have undergone subsequent revision) we cannot tell whether either claim would have been justified.

WASPS**Introductory Note****page**

xv *this is probably an error:* which play, then, did Philonides produce? Most critics have supposed it was *The Preview*, and some have deleted from the text of the Hypothesis the words *dia Philōnidou* "through Philonides" referring to *Wasps*. But how could these words have come to be inserted? It is better, with Hermann, to delete Philonides' name from the following statement about *The Preview*, which will then read "And he [i.e. Ar.] won first prize with *The Preview*". The first-prize winner's name was omitted because he was also the author of the play to which the Hypothesis itself refers; a later scribe, thinking the omission accidental, misguidedly "corrected" it.

xvi.1 Mastromarco's hypothesis has been refuted by R.M. Rosen, *ZPE* 76 (1989) 223-8. It remains true, however, that the responsible magistrate might very well think it a reasonably safe exercise of his discretion to refuse a chorus to a dramatist whose last production at the festival in question had been a failure.

xviii *political pessimism:* Cf. S.D. Olson, *TAPA* 126 (1996) 145, after an insightful analysis drawing parallels between the treatment of Laches/Labes, of Bdelycleon and of the poet (in the two parabases) by the Athenian people (as represented, in the first two cases, by Philocleon): "The picture of the Athenian people which emerges here is ... not a particularly happy or encouraging one. At best, they can be protected from their enemies [viz. Cleon and his like] by those who see the nature of things more clearly than they do; at worst, they alternate between being exploited by those whom they foolishly regard as their leaders and lashing out against those who make a conscientious effort to help them." Olson rightly sees the play (and Ar.'s earlier work in general) as favouring government by an élite, and as encouraging the masses to believe that such a régime would be more in their interests than the existing one; Olson sees this as the position of a sincere "conservative democrat", but it could just as easily be the position of a dissembling anti-democrat (essentially the view of Konstan whom Olson is opposing). For another, more optimistic view of Philocleon as typical Athenian see A.C. Purves, *Drama* 5 (1997) 5-22.

xviii *Philocleon ... has defeated ... his son:* on Philocleon's final triumph see K.J. Reckford, *Aristophanes' Old-and-New Comedy* (Chapel Hill NC, 1987) 277-281. The strong heroic, and Dionysiac, element in Philocleon, set against the humourless killjoy (and father-beater) Bdelycleon, make me somewhat doubtful of the thesis persuasively advanced by Z.P. Biles, *Aristophanes' Wasps: A Study in Competitive Poetry* (Diss. U. of Colorado 1999) that Bdelycleon is to be understood as representing Ar. himself, the one struggling to educate his father, the other to educate the Athenian people (both with limited success, as is shown, respectively, by the ending of the play and by the failure of *Clouds*).

Bibliography

- J. Vaio, "Aristophanes' *Wasps*: the relevance of the final scenes", *GRBS* 12 (1971) 335-351.
 G. Mastromarco, *Storia di una commedia di Atene* (Florence, 1974).
 G. Paduano, *Il giudice giudicato* (Bologna, 1974).
 W.T. MacCary, "Philocleon *ithyphallos*: dance, costume, and character in the *Wasps*", *TAPA* 109 (1979) 137-147.
 L. Lenz, "Komik und Kritik in Aristophanes' 'Wespen'", *Hermes* 108 (1980) 15-44.
 D. Konstan, "The politics of Aristophanes' *Wasps*", *TAPA* 115 (1985) 27-46; revised version in Konstan, *Greek Comedy and Ideology* (New York, 1995) 15-28.
 A.M. Bowie, "Ritual stereotype and comic reversal: Aristophanes' *Wasps*", *BICS* 34 (1987) 112-125.
 G. Mastromarco, "L'eroe e il mostro (Aristofane, *Vespe* 1029-1044)", *RFIC* 117 (1989) 410-423.
 K.C. Sidwell, "Was Philocleon cured?: the *nosos* theme in Aristophanes' *Wasps*", *C&M* 41 (1990) 9-31.
 M. Menu, "Philocleón: une initiation de la vieillesse dans les comédies d'Aristophane?", in A. Moreau ed. *L'initiation* (Montpellier, 1992) 165-184.
 A. Crichton, "The old are in a second childhood": age reversal and jury service in Aristophanes' *Wasps*", *BICS* 38 (1993) 59-80.
 K.S. Rothwell, "Aristophanes' *Wasps* and the sociopolitics of Aesop's fables", *CJ* 90 (1994/5) 233-254.
 S.D. Olson, "Politics and poetry in Aristophanes' *Wasps*", *TAPA* 126 (1996) 129-150.
 N.W. Slater, "Bringing up father: *paideia* and *ephebeia* in the *Wasps*", in A.H. Sommerstein and C. Atherton ed. *Education in Greek Fiction* (Bari, 1997) 27-52, with response by A.H. Sommerstein (53-64).
 A.C. Purves, "Empowerment for the Athenian citizen: Philocleon as actor and spectator in Aristophanes' *Wasps*", *Drama* 5 (1997) 5-22.
 J. Vaio, "Assembling wasps", *Drama* 5 (1997) 23-33.
 G. Colesanti, "Il δέχεσθαι τὰ σκόλτα in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1208-1250", *SRCG* 2 (1999) 243-262.

Note on the Text**page**

xx *its (indirect?) copy C:* Koster in his edition of the scholia (xl-xli) gives evidence showing that C is probably *not* a descendant of Vp3, but rather that both derive from a common source.

Table of Sigla

Three new papyri were published by N. Gonis in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri LXVI* (1999): Oxyrhynchus Papyri 4509 (Π72; second century; contains scholia on 36-41, but no text), 4512 (Π75; third century; contains 96-116), and 4513 (Π76; fifth century; contains 1066-

1108). The last-mentioned is the most important, confirming at 1085 a reading previously known only from a grammarian's quotation and supplying a new and excellent reading at 1102.

Text and Translation

line

- 7-8 For [He yawns and stretches] read [He begins to nod off, but abruptly jerks himself awake again]. It is the sudden, almost convulsive head movement that makes Xanthias wonder if his companion is "having a mad fit, or ... in a Corybantic frenzy"; see E.K. Borthwick, *CQ* 42 (1992) 275-6, who cites *inter alia* Men. *Thph.* fr. dub. (p.146 Sandbach) 7-8 (= *Thph.* 37-38 Arnott), where, in a hymn to the "Phrygian Queen" or "Mountain Mother", there is mention of "head-shakers" and of "sweet-faced Corybantes" in successive lines.
- 113 Π175 has only ἡσαντες, which is, however, more likely to represent the reading of RV than that of *j*.
- 179 Thiercy notes that the donkey's panniers must be covered with a cloth hanging down on both sides, the better to conceal Philocleon; Xanthias lifts the cloth at 181, as soon as he is reminded of the Odysseus-Cyclops episode.
- 204 For "made it drop" read "dropped it" (sc. as excrement); cf. *Clouds* 173, *Birds* 1114-7.
- 282 L.P.E. Parker, *The Songs of Aristophanes* (Oxford, 1997) 218-9, gives strong metrical reasons for regarding διέδειτ as corrupt. The best emendation is διέδυ <πόσ> (Dindorf) "somehow gave us the slip", which also gives better sense. If Philocleon were driven sick with indignation every time a defendant tried to lie his way out of trouble, he would be in a fever almost every day; rather, what his friends think may have affected him so deeply is the fact that one of them has succeeded in deceiving a majority of the jurors (Philocleon himself will have voted guilty as he always does, cf. 278-280).
- 297 Read παπτία (Bentley); see Addenda to *Knights* 1215.
- 308 The imperfect responsion with 296 can be obviated, and syntax and sense slightly improved, by Blaydes's emendation πόρον "Ελλας τερὸν <εὑρεῖν>" "can you find any fair hope for us, any chance ... ?" And if we are thus going to assume that something has been lost from the text here, we might as well improve the strophic correspondence further by positing that Ar. wrote ἀπαπτά φεῦ twice (Hermann).
- 394 For "fart" read "shit"; see comm. on *Frogs* 10, and Dunbar on *Birds* 791 ("had a good fart ... presumably with solid results").
- 407 Both my emendation and Bergk's require final -ai to be scanned short before a vowel ("epic correption"), a device which, while quite common in Aristophanic lyric, would be unparalleled in this particular type of metrical context (see Parker *Songs* 234-5); better therefore replace ἐντέτατ(α) "is braced" by ἐντατέον (D.M. Jones) "must be braced".
- 455/6 Delete the last sentence of my stage-direction: if the chorus have remained passive against three unarmed slaves, it is unlikely that they would attack opponents who are now more numerous and better equipped. Rather, they remain all noise and no action (cf. 436); their "sting" is effective only when they are in court.
- 493 For "perch" (Greek *orphōs*) read "grouper" (*Epinephelus* spp.; today *rofós* in Greek and *orfoz* in Turkish).

- 537 Parker *Songs* 239 shows that the Platonic parallels (*Rep.* 370b, 375a), on which I relied in my 1977 article (cited in the commentary) to show that ἐθέλειν + infinitive could function in Attic as a periphrastic future tense, are invalid, and hence ἐθέλει must be corrupt. Suitable sense is given e.g. by γένοιθ, οὐτός (Bentley) σε λέγων κρατήσει (Blaydes), "for if, which heaven forbid, he beats you in the debate—".
- 542-5 Wilamowitz's emendation, which increases the irregularity of responsion with 646-7, is hardly justifiable, and it is best, with Porson, to delete ἀν and ἀπάσαις and read σκωπτόμενοι δ' ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς θαλλοφόροι καλούμεθ "and we'll be mocked in the streets and called ...".
- 636 Parker *Songs* 238 strongly supports Porson's emendation ως δ' ἐπὶ πάντ' ἐλῆλυθεν, which restores both metrical coherence within the stanza and strophic responsion with 531.
- 646-7 Porson's supplement χαλεπὸν <νεανία> improves syntax as well as strophic responsion; in translation, for "one who" read "a young man who".
- 655 Read παππιδον (Suda); see Addenda to *Knights* 1215.
- 677 Read πλουθυγείαν; see Addenda to *Knights* 1091.
- 807, 933 Read ἀμίς, ἀμίδα; this word was aspirated in Attic (Aelius Dionysius α98, Photius α1197).
- 810 For "a full bladder" read "slow leakage"; Greek strangouriā means "difficulty in passing urine" (often due, no doubt, to such conditions as prostate enlargement).
- 828 Before "Thratta" insert [Aloud]: Philocleon's deliberate interruption ("Stop, you!") shows that at that point Bdelycleon was no longer musing to himself but was speaking for his father to hear.
- 862 Read πρῶτα (codd.): πρῶτον is my error.
- 863-7 It is probably preferable to assign these anapaests to the chorus-leader (so M. Kaimio, *The Chorus of Greek Drama within the Light of the Person and Number Used* [Helsinki, 1970] 175 n.4).
- 873 For "and may our wanderings have an end" perhaps read "now that we have ceased to go astray": cf. Pl. *Phd.* 79d, 81a.
- 928 Henderson (LCL) has provided the definitive English rendering of this line: "one copse can't support two robbers".
- 995 Reckford, *Aristophanes' Old-and-New Comedy* 259, suggests that the "water" may in fact be the liquid most readily at hand, viz. the contents of the "water-clock"; an idea both funny and economical.
- 1011 μὲν should be deleted (Burges) to avoid a transition from iambic to trochaic rhythm without a proper word-break at 1012/3; in translation, for "for the time being take care" read "take care now".
- 1056 For "citrons" read "quinces". The citron (*Citrus medica*) had not yet reached the Mediterranean region (it was still unfamiliar to Greeks at the end of the fourth century, cf. *Thphr. HP* 4.4.2). Quinces are known to have been used to make perfumes (cf. Hicesius ap. Athen. 15.689c, *Thphr. On Odours* 26, 31).
- 1085 Π176 has ξεωσα[με(σ)θα, and the space available would not be sufficient for ἀπ- to have preceded; the papyrus thus confirms the reading of *Anecd.Oxon.*

1102 Π76 has πολλαχή (i.e. πολλαχῆ), which gives exactly the sense required here ("in many ways", "from many points of view"); πολλαχῶν, the reading of the medieval mss., ought properly to mean "in many places".

1116 E.K. Borthwick, *BICS* 37 (1990) 57-60, gives strong reasons for adopting Dobree's conjecture τὸν πόνον, which is supported by Homeric and Hesiodic passages suggesting that the idea "drones eat <the produce of> the working bees' labour" was a commonplace (*Odyssey* 14.417; Hes. *Thg.* 594ff, *Works* 302-4) and by many passages, two of them fifth-century (Pind. *Pyth.* 6.55, Eur. *IT* 165), in which honey is spoken of as the "labour" of bees. Trans. "eat up the tribute, the fruits of our labour" (lit. our labour consisting in the tribute).

1153 For "oven" read "baking-crock".

1226-7 G. Colesanti, *SRCG* 2 (1999) 251-6, revives a suggestion by Dobree that both these lines should be given to Philocleon, noting that Bdelycleon uses the present (not the future) tense in 1225 to refer to his own singing of *Harmodius*, as if that song, in its various forms, were so well known that it could be "taken as read"; Philocleon does not interrupt and continue Bdelycleon/Cleon's song, but (as in 1232-5 and 1241-2) sings another as a rejoinder to it.

1251 The slave's name should be accented Χρύσε: see T. Gelzer in *EH* 38 (1993) 80 n.18.

1263ff Thiercy provides further arguments in support of Stephanis' suggestion (see comm.) that the slave who accompanies Philocleon and Bdelycleon to the party, and who reports on it in 1292-1325, is not Xanthias but the Chrysus of 1251; he notes in particular that 1297-8 *prima facie* implies that this slave is elderly, whereas Xanthias is clearly young and strong (cf. e.g. 152-5, 199-202).

1388 For [carrying an empty tray] read [with an empty tray slung from her shoulders]; see comm. on *Wealth* 1037.

1412 Thiercy here follows, as I should have done, the excellent suggestion of MacDowell that Myrtia, in turning to go, accidentally hits Chaerephon (with her display tray?) who falls at her feet (or perhaps at Philocleon's?)

1473 Parker *Songs* 257 finds κατακοσμήσαι metrically unacceptable (it implies an aeolic base of the form $\text{U}\text{U}-$) and suggests it may be a gloss – in which case the word it displaced may have had some such sense as "train for" rather than "equip with".

Commentary

lines

9 On Sabazius see now S.E. Johnson in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II xvii (Berlin, 1981-4) 1583-1613.

19 See Addenda to comm. on *Ach.* 88.

35-36 The insult to Cleon is intensified by this implicit comparison of him to a woman; similarly in 1032-5, all the beings and objects to which the Cleon-monster is compared are either biologically or grammatically feminine.

63 In fact the play *will* attack Cleon (and at 1291 Ar. *will* even boast of having done so); the promise is as false as the statements made in *Clouds* 541-3 about the low-comic features allegedly absent from that play. See L. Edmunds, *Cleon, Knights and Aristophanes' Politics* (Lanham MD, 1987) 51-57.

74 Amynias was also satirized as an uncultured boor (Eupolis fr. 222).

80 As is pointed out by B.H. Kraut, *I Aristophanes: Poetic Self-Assertion in Old Comedy* (Diss. Princeton 1985) 167, Philocleon himself will become a philoeniac in the end – and therefore, comically speaking, one of "the best people".

82 See Addenda to comm. on *Clouds* 686.

118 Add reference to R.C.T. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983), esp. 207-234.

123 See further Introduction to *Wealth* (§3) and references cited there.

*139 **gone into the kitchen:** from his position on the roof Bdelycleon "has a bird's-eye view of the whole establishment, including the yard and the kitchen ... at the back of the house" (D.M. MacDowell in J. Redmond ed. *Themes in Drama 10: Farce* [Cambridge, 1988] 1). Hence Philocleon cannot move from one part of the house to another without being seen by his son while crossing the yard.

188 E.L. Bowie in E.M. Craik ed. "Owls to Athens": *Essays on Classical Subjects for Sir Kenneth Dover* (Oxford, 1990) 33 points out that "all painted and plastic representations of the famous scene from the *Odyssey* have Odysseus clinging to the underside of the ram, *his head forwards* [italics mine]". It does not necessarily follow, however, as Bowie supposes, that Philocleon must be in the same position; it would be at least as funny for him to be hanging on the wrong way round, with his head at the dirtier end of the donkey.

233 Delete the reference to the two "broken names".

240 *vague threats of prosecution made by ... Cleon:* see I. Moneti, *Civiltà Classica e Cristiana* 14 (1997) 245-254.

273-289 Zimmermann i 97-99 places the "shift into dactylo-epitrite metre" as early as the third colon; Parker *Songs* 216-9 agrees.

314-5 How is the boy carrying the bag? Not in his hand, for, as is pointed out by G. Mastromarco, *Commedie di Aristofane* i (Turin, 1983) 93, we know from 249-250 that one hand is holding the lamp and the other is free. If the bag had draw-strings or the like, he could have carried it on his wrist while it was empty; this solution is preferable to Mastromarco's transfer of 314-5 to the father, since in this lyric dialogue it is regularly the son who uses high-poetic tropes such as this apostrophe to an inanimate object.

389 J.S. Rusten, *HSCP* 87 (1983) 289-297, citing Pind. *Nem.* 7.86-101, *Pyth.* 8.56=60, *Hdt.* 6.69.3, Eur. *Hel.* 1165-8, *Thphr. Char.* 16.4, argues that "a hero whose shrine was near an individual house might be 'domesticated' and receive regular greetings and offerings from his mortal neighbors; in return, the hero was expected to influence the fortunes of 'his' family". The present prayer parodies this practice.

*395 **Here, you, wake up!:** B. Zimmermann, *SRCG* 1 (1998) 280, notes that 334-394 is formally a perfect epirrhematic syzygy except that the *pnigos* in 358-364 lacks a responding *antipnigos*, and plausibly suggests that the audience are meant to perceive that the syzygy, like the escape of Philocleon which it enacts, is cut short by the awakening of Bdelycleon.

421 *the pair are said to haunt the law-courts:* Philippus may have been haunting the law-courts in 414, but hardly Gorgias, who (even had he been in Athens) could not, as a foreigner, bring prosecutions in the Athenian courts except for wrongs committed against himself; see comm. on *Birds* 1701.

433 To references for the name Midas, add *com. adesp.* 1132.32, Hyp. *Ath.* *passim*, and Terence, *Phormio* 862. Note that Bdelycleon has seven identifiable slaves (Sosias,

Xanthias, Midas, Phryx, Masyntias, Thratta [828] and Chrysus [1251]; the steward mentioned at 613 may be yet another), almost twice as many as any other major character in Aristophanes; see E. Lévy in *Actes du colloque 1972 sur l'esclavage = Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 163 (1974) 33-34.

*500 **at midday:** i.e. during the siesta period (Nicophon fr. 20.1-2; Aesch. *Ag.* 565-6; Pl. *Phdr.* 259a); a domestic slave probably could not have gone out alone in the evening. C. Catenacci, *QUCC* 58 (1998) 28-29, suggests that there is also an allusion to the alleged (perverse) preference of barbarians for daytime sex (cf. *Peace* 289-290, and add Hdt. 4.113 to the references there cited); but the taste was not confined to barbarians (cf. *Birds* 793-6, *Lys.* 414-9).

506 See Addenda to comm. on *Ach.* 887.

523 See also Aesch. *Eum.* 746 where Orestes seems to be threatening to hang himself if found guilty.

538 For "cf. 599" read "cf. 559".

574 The gloss "slacken the peg" is misleading: early Greek lyres were not tuned by pegs. Rather, the end of each string was laid on a strip of cloth or leather (*kollaps*) which was then wound round the yoke of the lyre and could be tightened or loosened. In the later fifth century these strips were replaced by wood or metal rings (still called *kollapses*) around which the string was looped. See A. Bélis, *BCH* 109 (1985) 201-220, and M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992) 61.

616 Alternatively the "donkey" may be a horn-type drinking-vessel (or *rhyton*) in the shape of a donkey's head, like the "elephant" and "Pegasus" of Epinicus fr. 2, the "griffin" of Astydamas II fr. 3.3-4, etc. (see P. Nencini, *SIFC* 2 [1894] 381 n.1 and U. Lesi, *GFF* 13 [1990] 123-4); for actual examples see *ARV*² 382 #189-195, 445 #259.

625 Thiercy notes that Greeks still say *popo* to exorcize bad luck.

*656 **not with counters but just on your hands:** or perhaps (with a metaphor from the two principal methods of voting at Athens) "by show of hands, not by ballot", i.e. "just to a good approximation"; see M.H. Hansen, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* (Oxford, 1991) 147-8.

659 See Addenda to comm. on *Knights* 362.

675 See Addenda to comm. on *Knights* 534, and, on the phrase "a half-brain of Connus", *CQ* 33 (1983) 488-9.

769 For the imposition of one-drachma fines for minor offences cf. [Dem.] 25.71.

*863-890 This passage is discussed by K.C. Sidwell in *Hermes* 117 (1989) 271-7 and *C&M* 41 (1990) 9-31, with emphasis on what Sidwell sees as the (psycho)therapeutic aspects of the ritual, of the ensuing trial scene, and of the play as a whole.

1007 See Addenda to comm. on *Ach.* 846.

*1023 **honoured as nobody has ever been among you:** this may well be not a vague assertion of the poet's prestige, but a precise claim (modelled on those often made by athletes; cf. H.A. Harris, *JHS* 82 [1962] 24) that he had achieved a well-defined feat which no one had achieved before him. C. Neri, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere, Univ. di Bari* 37-38 (1994/5) 284, tacitly rejecting the Mastromarco-Halliwell thesis, suggests that Ar. is here referring to his having won both the Lenaean and Dionysian contests in the same year (424 – though a Dionysian victory in that year is not otherwise attested). The claim is also, however, capable of an interpretation consistent with the Mastromarco-Halliwell thesis: it might refer to Ar.'s having won both the Dionysian

contest of 426 and, ten months later, the Lenaean contest of 425. The Lenaean contests had begun c.440, so it is quite possible that no one before 425 had been victorious at one of the two festivals while still the "reigning" victor of the other.

1031 For "may be" read "is probably"; see G. Mastromarco, *Dioniso* 57 (1987) 91, who cites Bacch. 5.60 where Cerberus is called "jag-toothed" in a context concerned with Heracles.

1038 G. Mastromarco, *RFIC* 117 (1989) 421-2 notes that the demon Epialus (Epiolas, Epioles) was said to have *strangled his father* and was killed by *Heracles* (cf. Sophron fr. 68, 70; [Apoll.] 1.6.2).

1042 R.G. Osborne in P.A. Cartledge et al. *Nomos* (Cambridge, 1990) 94-95 n.37, and F.D. Harvey, *ibid.* 106 n.13, agree that the law referred to in *Ath. Pol.* 43.5 probably in fact related, not to charges brought against metic *sūkophantai*, but to charges brought by metics against citizen *sūkophantai*.

1056-7 Delete second sentence of note.

1087 There is a pun on Greek *thaïlakos* "bag" which can denote both trousers (Eur. *Cycl.* 182) and the egg-sac of the tunny (Arist. *HA* 571a14); see T. Long, *Barbarians in Greek Comedy* (Carbondale IL, 1986) 89.

1182 Polecats and mice seem to have been a favourite subject for animal fables, and we now have fragments of a mock epic describing a war between them, a parallel to the long-known *Battle of the Frogs and Mice* ascribed to Homer; see H.S. Schibli, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 1-25.

1208 Cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 543 where the Cyclops, likewise being taught on stage (i.e. out of doors) how to behave at a symposium, is explicitly told "Now recline, please, laying your side on the ground".

*1253-5 **From wine come ... while the hangover's on you:** cf. Epicharmus fr. 148, Eubulus fr. 93, Alexis fr. 160.

1259 We also hear of other classes of what might be called "ethnic anecdotes" of this kind, such as Libyan tales (e.g. Aesch. fr. 139) or Cyprian, Sicilian and Carian tales (Timocreon *PMG* 730, 732, 734); see M.L. West, *Entretiens Hardt* 30 (1984) 114-6.

1270 I.C. Storey, *Phoenix* 39 (1985) 319-322, suggests that the man meant may rather be Antiphon son of Lys(id)onides (*PA* 1283, *LGPN* 5), a wealthy man, later put to death by the Thirty (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.40; cf. [Plut.] *Lives of the Ten Orators* 833a), who had been satirized by Cratinus (fr. 212) in 423.

1278 See Addenda to comm. on *Knights* 1277.

1290 It is ingeniously suggested by P. Demont in P. Thiercy and M. Menu ed. *Aristophane: la langue, la scène, la cité* (Bari, 1997) 477 that what Ar. did to make people think he had come to terms with Cleon was to let it be known, in advance of the production of *Wasps*, that his lead actor was playing a character called Philocleon. If this is not right, it ought to be! On this *antepirrhēna* as a whole, see P. Totaro, *Le seconde parabasi di Aristofane* (Stuttgart, 1999) 179-195 (though his interpretation of it, according to which the "vine" of 1291 is not Cleon but supposed friends of Ar. who had failed to support him when he needed support, is not acceptable, since at no time, according to the scenario he reconstructs, had these men *relied on* Ar. as a vine relies on its stake).

1301-2 Storey *op.cit.* 332 sees in those named here a group of "men of superior station, mocked for their style of living and arrogant behaviour" (though men like Thuphrastus and Lysistratus could surely at most only be hangers-on of such a group). He observes

that Eupolis' plays *Flatterers* (421) and *Autolycus* (420) show that the social life of this circle was a regular target for comic satire in the late 420s. Phrynicus the demagogue (as he then was) would not fit in well with such a coterie, and Storey (328-330) suggests that the Phrynicus here referred to is the man mentioned in Andoc. 1.47 (see further my note in *Phoenix* 41 [1987] 189-190). If this is right, then the group mentioned here contains no political figures, in contrast with the mainly Cleonist group of 1220ff. Jeffrey Henderson has suggested to me that these men's alleged "arrogant behaviour" may have consisted in "carousing in the streets" as Philocleon does later.

1301 Lycon's "wife Rhodia" may rather have been a mistress from Rhodes; see comm. on *Lys.* 270. The reference to Eupolis fr. 63 should be to fr. 53 Kock = 61 K-A.

1372 The seemingly vague phrase "in honour of the gods" may well mean "in honour of the Twelve Gods", an altar to whom stood in the Agora; see comm. on *Birds* 95.

1410 On Lasus see G.A. Privitera, *Laso di Ermione nella cultura ateniese e nella tradizione storiografica* (Rome, 1965).

1411 Before "*lāsima*" insert "comically banal".

1418 See Addenda to comm. on *Clouds* 1299.

***1465 filial love:** Greek *philopatriā*, which can also mean "patriotism", and which according to Biles, *Aristophanes' Wasps* 111 should be understood in both senses simultaneously. The chorus had previously praised Bdelycleon as one who "love[s] the people as no other man does" (887-890) — though earlier they had repeatedly condemned him as pro-Spartan and anti-democratic!

1493 As P.T. Eden has pointed out to me, the meaning is much more likely to be "Mind you don't get buggered", making a comic climax to Xanthias' interventions; for parallels see J.J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*² (New York, 1991) 211, esp. Ach. 104, Knights 78.

1518-37 The archilochean was apparently used by the tragedian Phrynicus (fr. 13); cf. 1490, 1524.