

FROGS

INTRODUCTION

Frogs is a work of theatrical, literary, and comic brilliance. It brings together a fascinating set of thematic strands—poetic, religious, mythological, political—and intertwines them into a complex plot that is unlike any other surviving Aristophanic play in its dramatic shape and dynamics. Its overriding claim to fame lies in the extended contest between the tragic playwrights Aischylos and Euripides which occupies the second half of the work—a contest which stands not only as one of Aristophanes’ most bravura pieces of comic theatre but also as a remarkable ‘document’ in the history of Western poetics. But the first half of *Frogs* has its own riches to offer as well. These include the treatment of the god Dionysos as a sort of burlesque substitute for his brother Herakles on a journey down to Hades; Dionysos’s famous encounter with the frog chorus of the play’s title in the form of a competition for rhythmic supremacy between the god’s clumsy rowing and the amphibians’ insistent croaking; the appearance of the chorus of initiates whose activities in the underworld are a sort of mirror-image (though the mirror, as always, is comically distorting) of their Eleusinian celebrations on earth; and a series of episodes in which the threatened exposure of Dionysos as a pseudo-Herakles leads to a game of swapped identities between himself and his slave Xanthias.

In between the two halves of the plot, which are tied together by the dramatically improvisatory figure of Dionysos himself (first as Heraklean visitor to Hades, then as theatrical judge of the tragedians’ contest), occurs the work’s parabasis, which has attracted a great deal of attention for its comments on the contemporary political situation at Athens in 406–5. *Frogs* was first performed at the Lenaia festival (late January, early February) of 405; most of the play must therefore have been composed (and rehearsed, under the chorus-trainer Philonides) in the second half of 406. There is an ancient report that it was specifically the parabasis which was so admired by its first audience that Aristophanes was publicly honoured and *Frogs* specially awarded a re-performance (at Lenaia 404, it is normally assumed). If that was true, it is testimony to an extraordinary moment in Aristophanes’ career. I shall return to this matter, and to the parabasis itself, at the end of

this Introduction. But let us start by taking some account of the historical context in which Aristophanes composed *Frogs* in 406–5.

Two aspects of that context are of particular relevance, though it required Aristophanes' distinctive sensibility, with its love of comic paradox, to bring them together into elements of the same play. One was the perilous military condition of Athens after practically a quarter of a century of war with Sparta, and a concomitant sense (lurking in the background at various points in *Frogs* but brought into sharp foreground focus near the end of the contest at 1417–66) that the survival of the city was more than ever at stake. Athens faced both financial and manpower shortages in attempting to sustain its war efforts at this date. During 406 it actually melted down some golden statues of Athena Nike on the Akropolis in order to make new coins (*Frogs* 720 alludes to this), and faced with an acute shortage of rowers for its fleet, it went so far, in the summer of this same year, as to offer freedom and citizenship to slaves who rowed on the triremes at the battle of Arginousai (a point referred to several times in *Frogs*).¹ Athens had won that battle, but nonetheless suffered large further losses and was plunged as a result into a traumatic political controversy.²

While writing *Frogs*, Aristophanes could not have known that Athens was only a few months away from final defeat in the war (the crucial juncture being defeat in the sea-battle of Aigospotamoi in late summer 405). But he, like many of the spectators at the first performance of *Frogs*, might have realized that the city could hardly maintain the same level of military activity much longer. As so often in the past, however, Athenian attitudes to the war were divided; more than one Spartan offer of peace was rejected during the final years of the war. Within *Frogs* itself Aristophanes might be thought to be hedging his bets. In a sentimental flourish at the very end of the play, the chorus briefly appeal to a desire for an end to war and curse the likes of the demagogue Kleophon, who is presented as still on the side of all-out belligerence (1531–3). Yet this flourish is linked to the fantasy return to life of Aischylos, a poet who had earlier proclaimed himself author of 'warlike' plays which taught the Athenians 'always to want to defeat their opponents' (1021–7), and whose view on how

¹ See my notes on *Frogs* 33, 191, 693–4.

² See my notes on *Frogs* 541, 1196.

Athens might best survive in the circumstances of 405 itself appears to be predicated on a *continuation* of war (1463–5)! *Frogs* does not send out (and why should it?) consistent signals about what attitude Athenians ought to take to the war.

The other most significant part of the background to *Frogs* was the death of the tragedian Euripides (in Makedon) at some point in early 406. This event, followed a few months later by the death of Sophokles,³ prompted thoughts on Aristophanes' part (though hardly on his alone) of 'the end of an era' in the Athenian theatre: all the good tragedians are now dead, as Dionysos tries to explain to Herakles, and just the riff-raff is left (71–95). It seems hard to resist the inference that it was specifically the death of Euripides in 406 which triggered in Aristophanes the fundamental impulse of inspiration for *Frogs*, and certainly gave him the initial idea of a scenario in which Dionysos, god (among other things) of drama/theatre, would descend to Hades with the intention of bringing back his 'favourite' tragedian. Curiously, however, we know that what ensues from Dionysos's journey, namely the great contest between Euripides and Aischylos, was far from being a completely new Aristophanic conception at this date.

Aristophanes had always been somewhat obsessed with Euripides, who already makes an appearance (393–489) in *Acharnians* of 425, and provides material for extended parody in that play. The obsession if anything grew stronger with time, as *Women at the Thesmophoria* (411), earlier in this volume, demonstrates. Even the specific premise of the contest in *Frogs*—the head-on confrontation between Euripides and Aischylos—had been germinating for some time in Aristophanes' imagination. This is revealed by the fact that as early as *Clouds* (and the scene in question probably belonged to the first version of the play in 423) we fleetingly meet the idea of treating Aischylos and Euripides as polar opposites, and representatives of incompatible values, within the poetics of tragedy. In one of their violent altercations, Strepsiades and Pheidippides fall out precisely over their relative estimates of these two tragedians. The elderly father thinks of the early poet as supreme in his genre, his young son expresses contempt for

³ Aristophanes must have inserted references to the death of Sophokles into the text of *Frogs* (at 76–82, 787–94, 1516–19) when composition of the play was already well under way; see my notes on those passages.

Aischylos (as a bombastic figure from the past) and chooses Euripides as a clever, 'modern' poet whose work he seems to like partly for its taboo-breaking daring (*Clouds* 1364–72). That passage shows that Aristophanes had long thought of an Aischylos–Euripides clash as a framework within which to pit (supposedly) traditional and modern values against one another. In *Frogs*, he was ready to turn that idea into an elaborately sustained piece of comic theatre.

If we put together the two aspects of Athenian history outlined above—the question of the city's recent fortunes in the long, exhausting war against Sparta, and the idea that a whole era of tragic drama had come to a close in 406—what should we make of their conjunction in relation to *Frogs*? There is, of course, no necessary or obvious link between them. Athenians must mostly have debated and calculated the city's military policies without giving any conscious thought to tragic poetry. Equally, many Athenians who cared passionately about tragedy and/or attached importance to the death of Euripides are unlikely to have correlated their views on the history of the genre with the precise issues of the war in 406–5. Yet Aristophanes subtly and suggestively sets up in *Frogs* an interplay between these two areas of Athenian experience. He even perhaps allows his comedy fitfully to toy with a sense that Athens' greatness, equally in poetry and politics (including warfare), may be on the wane. What he does not do, however, is to offer any explicit formulation of what this combination of themes amounts to.

Instead, Aristophanes gives his comedy a design which enables it to find its way rather belatedly and ambiguously to the point at which war and tragedy become entwined. Dionysos sets off to bring Euripides back from Hades because he is (in comically hyperbolic form) a passionate devotee of the playwright's work who cannot bear to think of losing such a dramatist from the world. Indeed, he even suggests that Euripides' poetry matters to him, as the symbolic god of theatre, as much as food and drink matter to his philistine brother Herakles (58–67, 105–7; see further below). But it is only once he is in the underworld that he finds himself enlisted to judge an acrimonious quarrel that has broken out between Aischylos and Euripides over the 'throne' of tragedy (755–811). It is, moreover, only at a late stage of the contest that he *retrospectively* (re-)interprets his original intention as having been to bring back to life a tragedian who can help 'save the city' (1419): it is here that, almost despairing of reaching a verdict

(1433–4), he finally turns to war-related matters—first the controversial figure of Alkibiades (1422–34), then a more general question about the city’s survival (1435–66)⁴—in an attempt (which turns out, even so, to be unsuccessful) to establish which of the playwrights has the most beneficial advice to give the city.

If Aristophanes has coloured *Frogs* with overlapping evocations of what we might call, for shorthand, the themes of ‘the end of tragedy’ and ‘the threat to the city’s survival’, he has done so in a way which hardly communicates any kind of stable conviction, let alone a practical thesis, about the state of Athens in 406–5. I have already noted above that the victory of Aischylos in the contest brings with it contradictory implications on the war front: the poet whose work is allegedly suffused with the spirit of military heroism and prowess will somehow (there is not the slightest indication of *just* how) enable Athens to bring its hostilities with Sparta to an end. The victory and return to earth of Aischylos is hard to interpret as anything more than an exercise in comically hazy nostalgia.

The strengths of *Frogs* lie elsewhere than in the supposed solution to Athens’ problems which some critics have taken its author to be advocating. It is a work which puts on display perhaps better than any other the whole spectrum of Aristophanes’ verbal and dramatic repertoire: from the obscenely earthy (the slave who compares the pleasure of betraying the master’s secrets to having an orgasm, 753; or Dionysos’s obscene ditty at 542–8) to the lyrically ingenious (the jagged conflict of musical and visual rhythms as Dionysos rows against the frog-chorus’s croaking, 209–67; or the wildly exaggerated parodies of each others’ song-styles exchanged by Aischylos and Euripides at 1264–1363); from one-line gags (the sarcastic corpse that would ‘rather come back to life’ than carry Dionysos’s luggage for too little payment, 177) to intricately constructed scenes that unfold in multiple stages (the dramatization of the Eleusinian initiates’ processional rituals, 316–459; or the oscillating comic logic of the sequence of episodes in which Dionysos repeatedly sheds and reclaims his identity as ‘Herakles’, 460–673).

Nor do Aristophanes’ preferred techniques and methods operate

⁴ The order and attribution of lines in this last passage have been extensively debated and subjected to various textual reconstructions: see below on the putative revision of the play, together with my note on *Frogs* 1436.

discretely, one at a time; they are constantly combined and recombined in ways that produce a sort of layering of comic meanings. Appreciation of these qualities requires us, as modern readers, to exercise our visual and aural imaginations, in as historically informed a manner as possible, in order to compensate for the gap between words on the page and the vivid immediacy of theatrical performance. To bring out this point, let me comment illustratively on three sections from the first half of *Frogs*.

At the very start of the play, Aristophanes stages a wonderfully ironic and enigmatic mélange of visual and verbal elements. Many critics have dwelt on the metatheatrical paradox of the initial exchanges between Dionysos and Xanthias: they speak self-consciously as characters in a play, ostensibly drawing attention to the cheap, vulgar humour of other comic playwrights while simultaneously taking advantage of the joke-motifs in question for Aristophanes' own purposes. But that is only one of several strands woven together at the start of the play. For the original theatre audience, the scene's visually peculiar components would have been striking.⁵ A 'master' (1) with Heraklean garb (lion-skin and club) superimposed over a woman's saffron dress and high boots is leading a donkey on which a luggage-carrying slave is riding: how make sense of such a bizarre configuration of features? Some spectators might have guessed, even before it is confirmed at line 22, that the master is Dionysos (in a pot-bellied, buffoonish form which reflects older comic traditions⁶), since the god, in his 'Asiatic' style, was often artistically depicted in quasi-female garments and was indeed thought of as a deity capable of blurring gender distinctions (cf. Euripides' *Bacchae*). Spectators alert enough to make that identification might additionally have spotted a mythological joke in the replacement of a fawn- or panther-skin (a badge of Dionysiac rituals)

⁵ For one artist's (probable) depiction of this opening scene, presumably in connection with a later production of the play in Magna Graecia, see the fourth-century Apulian vase (formerly Berlin F3046, now lost) discussed and illustrated in O. Taplin, *Comic Angels* (Oxford, 1993), 45–7 and pl. 13.7, and E. Csapo, *Actors and Icons of the Ancient Theater* (Chichester, 2010), 58–61.

⁶ Dionysos's fat belly is alluded to by Charon at 200. A buffoonish Dionysos had already been a character not only in Aristophanes' own *Babylonians* of 426 (see the Appendix to this volume) but also in earlier works by other comic poets, including Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros* and Eupolis' *Taxiarchs*: see J. Rusten (ed.), *The Birth of Comedy* (Baltimore, 2011), 181–4, 264–8, for the evidence.

with the lion-skin.⁷ But they would still have been intrigued by the riding slave and also by the pseudo-Heraklean outfit, which, in a nice piece of comic self-reflectiveness, produces an outburst of mirth on the part of Herakles himself (42–5).

The Heraklean garb does get explained in due course, though in a way which helps to set up Dionysos as an absurdly naive deity in this context: costume alone can hardly equip one to face the terrors of Hades (as the subsequent episodes will bear out). In the text itself the riding-slave motif receives a rather casual, incomplete explanation (21–4: yet why *allow* a slave such indulgence?), but it has the capacity to stimulate the audience's minds with further comic implications and associations. One possibility is to take the apparently inverted master–slave hierarchy as preparing the way for later references to the recent emancipation and enfranchisement of slaves who fought in the navy at the battle of Arginousai.⁸ Another is to see it as forming a witty visual 'pun' on a myth that many spectators would remember well, namely how Dionysos eventually brought back Hephaistos to Olympos after he had been flung away at birth by his mother Hera. That scene was often depicted with Hephaistos riding on a donkey, Dionysos on foot.⁹ The full irony of this oblique allusion to the Hephaistos story at the start of *Frogs* only transpires once we learn that Dionysos is en route to *Hades*, not Olympos.

The play's opening, then, involves a plurality of comic ingredients, managing to fuse together metatheatre, scatology, master–slave banter (including the play on semantics at 25–30), and mythological confusion into a lively concoction that gives the work an initial burst of comic energy. One specific detail of the passage—a glimpse of Dionysos's strong reactions as a theatrical spectator himself (16–18)—helps to sow the seed for the subsequent conversation between Dionysos and his brother Herakles (38–72). Once again, it would be possible to analyse that conversation in terms of

⁷ It is conceivable, if one thinks of spectators who liked trying to interpret clues at the start of a comedy (cf. Aristophanes' joke on this very idea at *Peace* 43–8), that some might have wondered about the Herakles who was made to dress as a woman while enslaved to the Lydian queen Omphale, though we do not know how early this 'transvestite' motif was invented: cf. T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (Baltimore, 1993), 439–40.

⁸ See my note on *Frogs* 33.

⁹ See e.g. T. H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (London, 1991), 13–17 with ill. 2–13 (various), for the myth and its depiction in visual art. Cf. I. Lada-Richards, *Initiating Dionysus* (Oxford, 1999), 132–4, 156–7.

Aristophanes' typical liking for combining different techniques and registers of humour in a rich dramatic *mélange*. But I would like here to concentrate on just one aspect of this encounter between the 'real' Herakles and Dionysos's poor imitation of him—the aspect which anticipates what will turn out to be the play's main subject-matter, the values of tragic theatre. Via a rather zigzagging process, which includes jokes about warfare, sex, and food (47–65), Dionysos eventually reveals to Herakles the yearning passion he has for the recently deceased Euripides and his plan to descend to the underworld and bring him back to life.¹⁰ What emerges from this is a comically spiced clash of values between the sensuous, poetry-loving Dionysos and the bluff, philistine Herakles.

Like most Greek gods and heroes, Dionysos and Herakles traditionally possessed multiple traits and qualities that could be developed in different narrative forms. Aristophanes deftly chooses just those attributes which are conducive to a disagreement about whether poetry is one of life's supreme pleasures and goods.¹¹ Dionysos, as god of theatre (as well as a deity associated with intense states of rapture), represents the allegiances and impulses of those who love poetry: he speaks in quasi-erotic vocabulary of the intense desire and longing aroused in him by Euripides' works. Herakles, by sharp contrast, as a supremely practical hero who primarily seeks fuel for his bodily appetites, just cannot understand his brother's attachment to such cultural activities. Dionysos is nervous of his brother's views (58–60), especially after the latter has mocked him several times (42–58). Although Herakles knows the names of tragic playwrights (73–87), he conveys a sense of insouciance about such matters: 'if you really *must* fetch someone' (77) sets the tone, which is expanded by the reference to hordes of young poets 'with more gift of the gab than Euripides' (89–91) and the description of Euripides' own poetry as 'a great big con-trick' and 'a load of rubbish' (104–6). As Dionysos insinuates with his neat put-down, 'Don't try to inhabit my mind . . .

¹⁰ For another Aristophanic play which involved poetry and a visit to the underworld, see the Appendix on *Gerytades*.

¹¹ The mythological tradition in fact made Herakles an ambiguous figure vis-à-vis poetry and music: in some art/poetry he is an accomplished musician who can even play for the gods; in other places he is depicted as a failed student who kills his own music-teacher!

I'll take your advice on *food*¹² (105–7), Herakles stands for the sort of person who simply could not care less about good poetry.¹²

This exchange between god and hero (or, perhaps, two gods) is entertaining in its own right for the piquant back-and-forth of its dialogue. But it has further implications for the play as a whole: it points towards key issues of 'poetics', and above all, towards the depth of feelings experience of poetry can involve and the life-significance to be attached to those experiences. Now, on one level there is an underlying and teasing self-referentiality about the clash of values between Dionysos and Herakles. Aristophanic comedy itself abounds in ideas of (and characters who pursue) the pleasures of both food and sex, but what it actually *gives* its own audience is neither of those experiences but instead the pleasures of dramatic poetry. So comedy, in a sense, is necessarily on the side of Dionysos more than that of Herakles. At the same time, however, Dionysos is going to Hades with a passionate longing for a tragic, not a comic, poet, and that is something which allows Aristophanes to activate his penchant for a sort of 'inter-generic' rivalry with tragedy. Comedy, in other words, has a vested interest in questions of poetic value—but it can also, ambiguously and ironically, treat those questions at the arm's length of humour, exploring their inbuilt potential (and *everything*, in Aristophanes' universe, has such potential) for comic uncertainty and instability.

Before I turn to the sustained treatment of (tragic) poetry's values in the second half of *Frogs*, consider briefly one final illustration of the range and inventiveness of Aristophanes' dramatic repertoire from the first half of the play. This is the long sequence of songs, dances, and interactions between chorus and characters which forms the parodos of the Eleusinian initiates (316–459). There are many angles one might take on this fascinating passage. What I want to highlight is the irresistible manner in which Aristophanes turns the initiates' Iakchos procession into an enactment of comic festivity itself, allowing images and evocation of the Eleusinian occasion to merge with the expectations of comedy's own practices of revelry and ridicule.¹³

¹² Compare my comments on Euripides' Kinsman in the Introduction to *Women at the Thesmophoria*.

¹³ Compare the treatment of the Rural Dionysia at *Acharnians* 241–79 and of the Choes at *Acharnians* 1000–1234: in both cases, the festival in question becomes an enactment of comedy's own festive values.

Even within Eleusinian terms, there is a slippery doubleness about the setting: the chorus are, at the same time, performing their earthly procession from Athens to Eleusis (though the parodos conflates different stages of the festival)¹⁴ and celebrating their privileged afterlife in Hades, the reward for initiation into the Mysteries.¹⁵ Throughout the parodos particular emphasis is placed on the theme of ‘play’: the Greek vocabulary in question (involving the verb *paizein* and its cognates) is a leitmotif of the scene, occurring no fewer than ten times in around 150 lines. The theme of ‘play’ brings with it a cluster of associations: hence it appears in my translation in the form of, and/or in conjunction with, ‘celebration’ (319), ‘dance’ (334, 388, 408, 411, 415), ‘making merry’ (376, juxtaposed with ‘ridicule’ and ‘mocking humour’, as also at 392), and general high spirits (444, 452). While this borrows something from the atmosphere of the Eleusinian procession itself, which undoubtedly made room for a number of ribald rituals of laughter,¹⁶ it also inescapably stamps the occasion with the distinctive ethos of Old Comedy, a mixture of perpetual mirth and derision. And a similar point applies to subordinate themes such as the attractions of food (337–9), a sense of rejuvenation (345–53), and the pleasures of sex (409–13).

As always with Aristophanes, we need to read with an eye for concrete theatricality. When Dionysos and Xanthias hear, see, and even *smell* (314, cf. 338) the initiates approaching, they decide to hide out of sight and observe the procession (315). But their subsequent comments (318–22, 337–9) support the hypothesis that they remain visible to the *audience* throughout the scene, huddled together at one corner of the stage building. If so, this means that the whole scene has both foreground and background, with the god and his slave no

¹⁴ Line 320 refers to the Agora at Athens, close to where the procession to Eleusis started, but the torches (313, 340 ff.) fit the night-time arrival at Eleusis itself, while the proclamation at 354 ff. reflects a stage of the festival four or five days earlier (as, probably, does the smell of sacrificial pigs, 338); meadows (e.g. 326, 343) evoke a traditional underworld topography, not Eleusis itself. For details of the actual Eleusinian festival, cf. R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005), 347–50.

¹⁵ For the promise to Eleusinian initiates of a happy afterlife, see Parker, *Polytheism and Society*, 361–2.

¹⁶ See S. Halliwell, *Greek Laughter* (Cambridge, 2008), 161–72, for details of the evidence. I take the serio-comic model of *Frogs* 389–90 (‘. . . many jokes | But many serious things as well’), addressed to Demeter (384), to convey something of the mixed moods of the Eleusinian procession; it should not be treated as an ‘authorial’ Aristophanic agenda.

doubt reacting physically, with gestures and the like, to what they see before them. The parodos, in other words, is not detached from, but remains very firmly embedded in, Dionysos's experience of his descent to Hades. And the entirety of what the audience would witness, including the antics of the two 'hidden' characters, helps to throw into relief the eventual intrusion of those characters into the singing and dancing at 413 ff. Rather than introducing themselves first, they rush forward impulsively, overcome by an excited desire to join in with the general celebratory spirit of the occasion (which immediately turns into a satirical song, including some of the obscenest lyrics found anywhere in Aristophanes). That climax to the scene confirms that the fundamental matrix of the parodos is comedy's own realm of festive laughter. A nice indication of this is the description of the whole supposedly ritual context, in the proclamation at 357, as 'the cult of Kratinos the bull-eating god'. Through the symbolic figure of Kratinos, the most successful comic playwright of the generation before Aristophanes, comedy turns itself into an imaginary 'mystery religion' in its own right, but one whose 'ancient rites' (cf. 368) are unmistakably rooted in irreverence and hilarity.

By looking at selected details from the very start of *Frogs*, from the conversation between Dionysos and Herakles, and from the parodos of Eleusinian initiates, we have been able to see something of the heterogeneous styles of humour on which Aristophanes constantly plays variations. Dionysos's descent to Hades is in fact notable for its loosely episodic form and for the correspondingly multifarious comic modes which the play encompasses as the action twists and turns through the encounters with Herakles, a corpse, the ferryman Charon, the croaking frog chorus, the (probably) unseen monster Empousa, the Eleusinian initiates, a pair of underworld innkeepers, and various servants of Plouton, god of Hades. But this diversity of characters and situations adds up to only a temporary set of digressions and distractions from the trajectory on which Dionysos had set himself by going down to Hades to bring Euripides back to life.

Dionysos returns to that trajectory, though with a subtle shift of direction, when he finds himself invited to judge the dispute that has broken out between Aischylos, reigning occupant of the underworld 'throne' of tragedy (761–9), and the newly arrived Euripides. The resulting contest of tragedians turns into one of the most concentrated and ambitiously 'architected' stretches of action anywhere in

the surviving plays of Aristophanes. Its engagement with the poetics of tragedy is so extensive that the second half of *Frogs*, for all its comic absurdities, stands as our most substantial piece of evidence for ways in which Athenians might have thought, felt, and argued about tragedy in the late fifth century. This part of the play has, indeed, acquired the semi-autonomous status of a 'document' in the evolution of literary and dramatic criticism.¹⁷ But what kind of achievement does it represent on Aristophanes' part, to have created a comic text that has become a primary point of reference for the history of tragedy?

To orientate ourselves towards the structure of the contest, we can usefully think of it as organized along two axes. The first involves the series of theatrical topics, themes, and issues addressed in the various stages of the debate—a kind of 'anatomization' of tragedy.¹⁸ In the 'agon' proper (895–1098),¹⁹ the traditional comic form of head-to-head argument, the two playwrights introduce a mixture of considerations (*pro* themselves and *contra* one another) concerning dramaturgy, poetic styles, characterization, educational and ethical value, and the general relationship between their plays and the wider trends of Athenian society. In the following scene (1119–1250) they analyse each other's prologues, here focusing on a number of small-scale linguistic points. After that (1261–63) they undertake scathingly negative and elaborately parodic treatment of each other's choral songs. Since none of these stages of the contest yields a clear outcome in the eyes of the judge Dionysos, we then proceed to the 'weighing' of words at 1365–1410—an exercise which translates into preposterously mechanistic terms the nonetheless significant idea of evaluating the comparative worth of different pieces of poetry. Finally, and as noted earlier, Dionysos approaches the two playwrights as potential sources of insight for the benefit of Athens as a whole: he asks them for their views on subjects important to the politics of the city, first the controversial figure of Alkibiades (1422–34), then the general question of how the city can best ensure its survival (1435–66). In the

¹⁷ Hence its inclusion in e.g. D. A. Russell and M. Winterbottom (eds.), *Ancient Literary Criticism* (Oxford, 1972), the standard anthology on the subject.

¹⁸ Anatomization: in this connection, note the metaphorical 'sinews' of tragedy at 862, which may reflect larger conceptions of poetic form in terms of a quasi-organic 'body', as later attested at e.g. Plato, *Phaedrus* 264c, Aristotle, *Poetics* 7.1450b37–51a4.

¹⁹ See the general Introduction, 'Formality and Performance'.

course of these various sections of the contest, we can trace several types of critical assumptions and methods at work, from the minute analysis of individual words and phrases to larger claims about whole plays, along with fluctuating appeals—in the judgement of tragedy’s cultural value—to pleasure, technical craft, emotional expressiveness, and socio-political influence.

That first axis, then, is one along which we can plot the critical divisions of tragedy’s poetic and dramatic artistry. But the second axis is one which exposes the extent of the differences between the poets themselves in all the features and aspects of their works. The tragedians’ contest is pervaded by a strong sense of the two poets as authors whose entire personalities are imprinted on, and revealed by, their work. The resulting polarization can be broken down into a set of stark contrasts along the following lines.

<i>Aischylos</i>	<i>Euripides</i>
portentous grandeur	quotidian realism
heroic ethos	‘democratic’ ethos
larger-than-life characters	characters ‘like us’
brooding silences	loquacious rhetoric
‘Achillean’ (in anger)	‘Odyssean’ (in craftiness) ²⁰
opaque language	quibbling word-chopping
masculine vigour	female eroticism
warlike spirit	banal vulgarity
inspiring uplift	encouragement of ‘suspicion’
toughens through fear	softens through pity
long, obscure choral odes	neurotic solo songs
mysterious openings	mechanically explanatory prologues
affinity with Eleusinian Mysteries	abstract deities (Tongue, Astuteness)

It is very hard, in the absence of other forms of evidence, to say how far the conception of poetic authorship as a matter of constant *self*-expression (which supposedly allows us to read back from text to author at every point) was shared by audiences and readers in

²⁰ Aischylos is given explicit associations with Achilles at 912, 992, 1264; cf. 1020. Euripides is never explicitly called Odyssean, but cf. his craftiness at e.g. 957–8.

fifth-century Athens.²¹ But it is certainly a highly convenient conception for Aristophanes' purposes, since it allows him to convert all the contest's issues of language, style, character, dramaturgy, and so forth into facets of the colourful comic figures presented to the audience directly onstage (and no doubt suitably embodied in their costumes and physical deportment). This means that, as with so much else in Aristophanes, we are dealing with 'multi-layered' constructions: the two tragedians take on an immediate dramatic life of their own, but they are also symbols and representatives of their theatrical careers and oeuvres as a whole—and even, on another level again, of the whole putative 'spirit of the age' (the era of the Persian Wars in Aischylos' case, and of the radical democracy of late fifth-century Athens in Euripides') to which each of them belonged.

That last point alerts us, however, to a basic asymmetry in the framework of the contest: an asymmetry in the relationship between *Frogs*' own audience and the phases of Athenian culture which the two tragedians allegedly epitomize. Aischylos was born 120 years before the production of *Frogs* in 405: his career started around 500, he died in 456. Any spectators of *Frogs* who had seen even the late plays of Aischylos as adults would have been in their mid-seventies in 405; if they had seen the first performance of *Persians* in 472 (mentioned at *Frogs* 1026), that figure would rise to around ninety. There cannot have been more than a few such spectators, and although we know that some of Aischylos' plays were re-performed after his death, this is unlikely to have given most spectators of *Frogs* a detailed familiarity with many of his works. In other words, most of the audience of *Frogs* were by definition part of the 'era' of Euripides; and since *Frogs* presents that era as one corrupted by Euripides' plays, the audience of the comedy was itself notionally implicated in Euripidean decadence.²² The point is made explicitly by both tragedians: Aischylos condemns contemporary Athenians en masse (see especially 807–9, 1014–15, 1069–70, 1088), while Euripides claims that his plays have indeed

²¹ Remember that Dionysos, as god of drama, is characterized as both a *spectator* (16–18, with immediate reference to comedy; cf. e.g. 1028–9) and a *reader* (52–4). The whole contest presupposes tragedy's status as a performance genre while at the same time treating it, through its reliance on constant *quotation*, as something that can be critically analysed as 'text'.

²² There is an analogous point about the audience of *Clouds* in relation to the agon between Immoral and Moral: cf. my Introduction to that play.

shaped the mentality of this same generation (954, 960, 972). This does not, of course, compel individual spectators to feel in any particular way about the terms of the debate: individuals could dissociate themselves from the faults of their times. But it does add another layer of comic complexity to the whole competition, making it an intrinsically unbalanced clash between a nostalgically idealized past and a necessarily flawed ‘modernity’.

But what are we to make of the *judge*, the ‘critic’,²³ of this elaborate contest, Dionysos himself? He starts out as a passionate devotee of Euripides but ends up bringing back Aischylos instead. Does that mean he gradually (or eventually) learns something about the standards of the best tragedy and its link to the best state of Athenian society? Many scholars have thought so. But the text of *Frogs* completely belies all such ‘teleological’ interpretations. At lines 1411–12 Dionysos states that he does not *want* to choose between the two playwrights (he wants them both as his ‘friends’), and as late as line 1433 he professes himself simply unable to choose a winner. When forced by Plouton to pick one of them, he does so without giving a single *reason* (1468–78). It is hard to see how Aristophanes could have done any more to display Dionysos’s inability (and unwillingness) to find a coherent critical basis on which to judge one style of tragic drama superior to another. Dionysos is the god of drama/theatre; he is also, as we saw, a lover of poetry, someone for whom good poetry is a thrilling life-value. Yet he cannot rationalize the critical judgements he is called upon to make: he feels that poetry matters, but cannot translate his feelings into a coherent, reasoned account. And part of what he feels (with, admittedly, an admixture of ludicrous buffoonery: he remains, after all, a quintessentially comic character) is that both Aischylos and Euripides are capable of fascinating him. If there is an underlying ‘message’ at all to the contest in *Frogs*, it is a message not about which of the two playwrights is really superior but about the problem of poetic *criticism* itself.²⁴

²³ The whole vocabulary of ‘judging’ in *Frogs* uses the same Greek terms from which we derive the language of ‘critic’, ‘criticism’, etc.: i.e. the noun *krisis* (‘judgement’, ‘competition’) at 779, 785, 1467, and the cognate verb (‘judge’, ‘choose between’ etc.) at e.g. 805, 873, 1411, 1473.

²⁴ For a fuller version of this approach to the contest, see S. Halliwell, *Between Ecstasy and Truth: Interpretations of Greek Poetics from Homer to Longinus* (Oxford, 2011), 93–154; cf. the shrewd remarks of N. Lowe, ‘Aristophanes’ Books’, *Annals of Scholarship*, 10 (1993), 63–83 (at 74–8).

That conclusion, I suggest, has further subversive implications for all attempts—and there have been many of them—to extract from *Frogs* an authentically Aristophanic ‘poetics’: a model of what makes poetry, comic as well as (or even instead of) tragic, good. After all, if the contest of tragedians seems to show that the quest for consistent, rational, and definitive criteria for judgements of poetic value is an unfulfillable goal in the case of tragic poetry (and we have seen that this point was already anticipated in the gap between Dionysos’s love for Euripides and Herakles’ view of the latter’s poetry as ‘a load of rubbish’), why should it be any different in the case of comedy itself? Can Aristophanes really have his cake and eat it, exposing the contestability of standards of value in another dramatic genre while laying claim to canonical standards in his own work? Those who think that he *can* are inevitably caught in a paradox: namely, that the play’s conversion of deeply serious tragedy into extravagant absurdity is at the same time the vehicle of a claim to some kind of ‘seriousness’ on the part of comedy itself. But is this paradox a pointer to something important or merely an illusion produced by a desire on the part of critics to find in comedy (just as Dionysos does with tragedy) something of lasting value?

Those who believe that *Frogs* has a clear and positive poetics of its own, and that this poetics underpins Aristophanes’ intention to ‘teach’ his audience something of direct relevance to the life of the city, unsurprisingly attach considerable significance to the play’s parabasis, where the chorus—in a traditional parabolic pose—purport to ‘give the city | Best advice and best instructions’ (686–7), and proceed to urge that Athens should restore full citizen rights to those previously punished for anti-democratic activities. There is no doubt that this ‘advice’ reflects a realistic political option for the city: something very like it was implemented, through the decree of Patrokleides, later in 405.²⁵ But that point needs qualifying in two respects. First, Aristophanes makes his chorus echo a sentiment which, as Patrokleides’ decree confirms, must have been gradually winning support in Athens under the pressure of the city’s increasingly acute shortage of manpower for the war against Sparta (see above). To that

²⁵ Our main evidence for that decree is Andokides, *On the Mysteries* 73–80, though the text of the decree is spurious: see M. Canevaro and E. M. Harris, ‘The Documents in Andokides’ *On the Mysteries*’, *Classical Quarterly*, 62 (2012), 98–129 (at 100–10).

extent, the parabasis is probably an attempt to strike a chord in tune with a growing mood of ‘solidarity’ in a time of political and military crisis (near-terminal crisis, as the defeat at Aigospotamoi later in 405 demonstrated). Secondly, whatever kind of gesture we might take the parabasis to be, it does nothing to determine the ‘meaning’ of *Frogs* as a whole. I noted earlier in this Introduction that *Frogs* sends out inconsistent signals about Athens’ policy in the war, not least in relation to the stance of the victorious Aischylos. What’s more, it seems that in the contest of tragedians it is actually Euripides who, at 1446–50, comes closest to sounding a note that chimes with part of the parabasis.²⁶ If we want to ascribe a ‘poetics’ to Aristophanes in *Frogs* (or beyond), we had better make plenty of room in it for comic caprice and incongruity.

There is a final point to be touched on in regard to the parabasis of *Frogs*. An ancient source, going back to Aristotle’s pupil Dikaiarchos, reports that the play received a second performance; it also states, though we cannot be at all sure that Dikaiarchos himself said this, that the second performance was the specific result of a favourable reaction to the play’s parabasis.²⁷ Great caution is called for in interpreting this testimony. It is one thing to accept that Dikaiarchos could have had evidence for a second performance of *Frogs* at some date. It is quite another to suppose, as a modern consensus does, that this was at one of the dramatic festivals of 404. By then, Athens’ navy had been definitively defeated, the city was being besieged into starvation, and negotiations with Sparta were under way for the terms of surrender. If *Frogs* had been re-performed at that date, several passages of the play would have been jarringly anachronistic. These include various references to the war as an ongoing naval enterprise (e.g. 362–4, 1065–6, 1437–41, 1465), but above all the parabasis itself, with its

²⁶ Some editors give these lines (or at least 1446–8) to Aischylos; the issue is entangled with larger questions about the state of the text in this part of the play. But if we retain the transmitted order of lines (see my note on *Frogs* 1436), the lines in question have to be spoken by Euripides.

²⁷ *Hypothesis* I(c) (Dover) to *Frogs* says ‘the play was so admired for its parabasis that it was re-performed, as Dikaiarchos says’. The ‘Life’ of Aristophanes (test. 1.35–9, Kassel–Austin) says Aristophanes was crowned with olive for the parabasis of *Frogs*. An attempt is made by A. H. Sommerstein, *Talking about Laughter* (Oxford, 2009), 254–71, to combine these sources into evidence for the hypothesis of re-performance at the Lenaia of 404. But his argument is highly speculative and does not properly address the point made in my text about jarring anachronisms.

suggestion that the previously disenfranchised should be given their rights back precisely on condition that they fight in the navy (701–2). How could a re-performance in early 404 have *celebrated* such ideas, when by that stage all attempts to sustain Athens' war effort had been tried and failed? If we want to believe that *Frogs* received a second performance, it is safer to infer that this was some time later, well after the end of the war (when the play's originally topical references could be received from a historical 'distance'), and that the supposed linkage with the parabasis was the result of idle later speculation.²⁸

Frogs is an Aristophanic masterpiece, composed and performed during a period when Athenian fortunes in the long Peloponnesian War were threatening to become desperate. The play acknowledges that historical background by some of its references to contemporary circumstances and the perilous 'survival' of the city. But that does not warrant us in treating *Frogs* as itself somehow purporting to have the key to that survival (which, as Aristophanes well knew, depended on ships, manpower, money, and complex diplomacy), still less as issuing an invitation to think of comedy as a genre properly suited to solve such problems. What Aristophanes offers his fellow-Athenians instead is a dazzling fiction in which fantasized versions of past and present, gods and humans, poetry and politics are melded together into a world that no one could inhabit outside the imagination of the theatre. Comedy cannot make much difference to the course of a military conflict, but it can lift the spirits of its audience with temporary exhilaration, and perhaps some consolation, even in the dark days of war.

²⁸ The claim about Aristophanes' olive crown (n. 27 above) is part of conspicuously flimsy generalizations about how he was cherished by the Athenians for his pro-democratic sentiments.

FROGS

Speaking Characters

XANTHIAS: slave of DIONYSOS
DIONYSOS: god of theatre, wine, and ecstasy
HERAKLES: famous hero and brother of DIONYSOS
CORPSE: anonymous, recently deceased person
CHARON: ferryman of the Acherousian lake in Hades
FROGS: singing/dancing group in amphibian costumes
CHORUS (24 dancers/singers): of Eleusinian initiates in Hades
LEADER: of the CHORUS
DOORKEEPER: of PLOUTON's palace
SLAVE^A: of PLOUTON and Persephone (Pherrephatta)
INNKEEPER (female): in Hades
PLATHANE: a second Innkeeper
EURIPIDES: tragic playwright
AISCHYLOS: tragic playwright
PLOUTON: god of the underworld
SLAVE^D: another slave of PLOUTON

Silent Characters

CARRIERS: of the CORPSE's bier
SLAVES(^B and ^C): accompanying INNKEEPER and PLATHANE
ATTENDANTS: under the command of the palace DOORKEEPER
EURIPIDES' MUSE: a castanet-playing female figure

[The stage building has a single central door which will serve at 35 ff. as the house of HERAKLES and later as the palace of PLOUTON in Hades. The two side entrances (eisodoi) connect the on-stage scenes with loosely defined off-stage locations, both on earth and in the underworld. From one eisodos enter DIONYSOS and XANTHIAS, the former leading a donkey on which the latter, holding assorted baggage on a pole over his shoulder, is riding. The god, a portly and elderly figure, is dressed in long boots and a saffron dress, with, à la Herakles, a lion-skin on top and a large club in his hand. The two characters make their way falteringly towards the centre of the orchêstra.]

XANTHIAS [*nonchalantly*]. Shall I tell them some of the usual gags then, master,

The things spectators *always* find so funny?

DIONYSOS [*wearily*]. Say what you like—except ‘I’m all hard-pressed’.

Steer clear of *that*: it’s trite and makes my gorge rise.

XANTHIAS. But something else that’s witty?

DIONYSOS. Except ‘I’m squashed’.

XANTHIAS. Well then, should I tell them an excellent joke?

DIONYSOS. Go ahead,

Feel free. But avoid that old routine—

XANTHIAS. Which one?

DIONYSOS. Where you shift your load and say that you need a shit!

XANTHIAS. But can’t I say that I’m carrying such a weight

That unless it’s removed I’ll release an explosive fart? 10

DIONYSOS. Please don’t, I beg you—unless you want me to vomit!

XANTHIAS. Well what was the point of making me carry this baggage

If I can’t make the jokes you hear in Phrynichos’ plays

Or the kind that Lykis and also Ameipsias writes?

Their comedies always have these baggage-slave scenes.

DIONYSOS. But just don’t do it. I know that when I’m watching

And see that kind of ‘sophisticated’ humour,

I’ve aged by more than a year when I leave the theatre.

XANTHIAS. This neck of mine is damned to perdition in that case.

It’s getting *squashed* but is being denied its jokes. 20

[DIONYSOS *halts and looks up at XANTHIAS in disgust before delivering the following lines directly to the audience.*]

DIONYSOS. But look at this outrage here—just look how he’s
pampered!

I’m the god Dionysos himself, the son of Wine-jar,
Yet here I’m struggling on foot while letting him *ride*,
To make sure he’s not worn out by the weight of his load.

XANTHIAS. But aren’t I carrying still?

DIONYSOS. Not when you’re riding!

XANTHIAS [*pointing to his pole*]. I’m carrying this!

DIONYSOS. How come?

XANTHIAS. Because it’s so heavy!

DIONYSOS. But isn’t the donkey bearing the weight that you’ve
got?

XANTHIAS. Not the weight that I’m carrying here, no he’s certainly
not.

DIONYSOS. But how can you carry a thing when you’re being
carried?

XANTHIAS. I really don’t know—except that this shoulder’s *hard-*
pressed!

30

DIONYSOS. Well if you’re saying the donkey is lending no help
Try picking it up yourself and see what that’s like!

XANTHIAS. Oh misery me! If only I’d served in that sea-fight —
I’d tell you to go and get stuffed, I really would!

DIONYSOS. Dismount, you rogue. This door you can see over here
Is the very first place this journey of mine was meant
To bring me to. [*Knocking*] Hoy, slave, open up, open up!

[*While XANTHIAS gets down from the donkey and leads it to the corner of the stage building, where it disappears from view, the door of the stage building opens abruptly and HERAKLES, also wearing a lion-skin, steps out aggressively—but soon starts to crack up at what he sees.*]

HERAKLES. Who battered the door just now? Like a violent
Centaur,

Whoever it was who crashed—[*seeing DIONYSOS*] oh, what have
we here?

DIONYSOS [*to XANTHIAS*]. Look, slave.

40

XANTHIAS. What is it?

DIONYSOS. Well didn't
you see?

XANTHIAS. See what?

DIONYSOS. The way he took fright at me.

XANTHIAS. Yes, in case you were mad!

HERAKLES. In Demeter's name, I just can't stop myself laughing.
I'm biting my lip but it's just no use—I must laugh! [*Guffaws.*]

DIONYSOS [*to HERAKLES*]. Old chap, please come over here.
I need a favour.

HERAKLES. But I just can't stifle this laughter that's overcome me
At the sight of this lion-skin here with your saffron dress.
[*In mocking tone*] What's your state of mind? Why these boots and
club combined?
Where on earth have you been?

DIONYSOS [*blustering*]. I was sailing on Kleisthenes' boat.

HERAKLES. You were in the sea-fight?

DIONYSOS. That's right, and we must
have sunk
A dozen or more of the enemy's fleet of ships. 50

HERAKLES. The pair of you?

DIONYSOS. That's right!

XANTHIAS [*sarcastically*]. And then I woke up!

DIONYSOS. In fact it was on board ship as I read to myself
That play *Andromeda*, all of a sudden it happened:
The most intense desire took hold of my heart.

HERAKLES. A desire? How strong exactly?

DIONYSOS [*coyly*]. Quite small—like
Molon!

HERAKLES. Desire for a woman?

DIONYSOS. No, no.

HERAKLES. Then a boy?

DIONYSOS. Not at all.

HERAKLES. For a *man*?

DIONYSOS [*shuddering*]. Oh dear!

HERAKLES. Ah, you *did* it with Kleisthenes!

DIONYSOS. Don't mock me, brother. I'm really not feeling too well.
It's a terrible longing that's piercing me through and through.

HERAKLES. What kind, little brother? 60

DIONYSOS. It's rather hard to describe.

I'll have to explain in a somewhat roundabout way.

Have you ever been struck by a sudden desire for—soup?

HERAKLES. For soup? You bet! At numerous times in my life.

DIONYSOS. Am I making my point quite clear? Do you need more hints?

HERAKLES. Not as far as soup's concerned. I know it too well.

DIONYSOS. Well it's just as strong a desire that cuts right through me

For Euripides!

HERAKLES. *Euripides*, dead and buried?

DIONYSOS. Yes, no one at all could persuade me not to go
And bring him back.

HERAKLES. You intend to go down to Hades?

DIONYSOS. By Zeus I do, and further down too, if need be. 70

HERAKLES. But what's your motive?

DIONYSOS. I need a skilful poet.

The best are all now dead and the rest are no good.

HERAKLES. Isn't Iophon still alive?

DIONYSOS. That's the only bit
Of quality left, and even then there's some doubt.

I'm not quite sure what to make of Iophon's case.

HERAKLES. Well don't you want to bring Sophokles back instead
Of Euripides—if you really *must* fetch someone?

DIONYSOS. I can't do that till I've tested Iophon more
To see how he writes now Sophokles can't give help.

And Euripides, what's more, he's such a rogue 80

He'd be happy to try to escape back here with me,

While even-tempered Sophokles won't mind death.

HERAKLES. And Agathon—where's he now?

DIONYSOS. He's gone and left
me—

He's a good poet, true, and someone his friends all miss.

HERAKLES. But *where's* the poor thing gone?

DIONYSOS. To a land of plenty!

HERAKLES. And what about Xenokles then?

DIONYSOS. He can go and hang!

HERAKLES. Pythangelos? [DIONYSOS *shrugs*.]

XANTHIAS [*aside*]. But no one cares
about *me*,

While my shoulder chafes and chafes beneath this burden.
 HERAKLES. Aren't there lots of other young kids around the
 place

Composing tragic plays—huge numbers of them, 90
 And all with more gift of the gab than Euripides has?

DIONYSOS [*animated*]. But they're shrivelled grapes, producers of
 empty prattle,
 And haunts of twittering swallows. They damage the art,
 And as soon as they've staged a single play they vanish,
 Content to have pissed on tragedy just the once!
 You'll search in vain for a poet of *fertile* mind,
 The kind who's able to voice great noble expressions.

HERAKLES. What d'you mean by 'fertile'?

DIONYSOS. The sort whose language
 contains

Such bold, ambitious utterances as these:
 [*airily*] 'Aither, bedroom of Zeus', 'the foot of time', 100
 Or 'a mind that refuses to swear a sacred oath
 But a tongue that perjures itself without the mind'.

HERAKLES. You actually *like* this stuff?

DIONYSOS. It sends me crazy!

HERAKLES. It's a great big con-trick: you know very well that it is.

DIONYSOS. Don't try to inhabit my mind—just live in your own.

HERAKLES. Everyone can see these things are a load of rubbish.

DIONYSOS. I'll take your advice on *food*.

XANTHIAS [*aside*]. But what about me?

DIONYSOS. Well, the reason I came here wearing these clothes
 you see,

In impersonation of you, was so you could tell me
 The names of people whose help I could call upon, 110
 The ones you used when you went to fetch Kerberos.
 So tell me the hosts you stayed with, the harbours, the
 bread-shops,
 The brothels, the resting-places, the springs, the roads,
 The cities, accommodation, and the women whose inns
 Have the fewest bedbugs.

XANTHIAS [*aside*]. But no one cares about *me*!

HERAKLES. Are you really fearless enough to make the descent?

DIONYSOS. Don't try to object. Just tell me the fastest road

By which I'll find my way right down to Hades.

And I don't want a route that's hot, nor too cold either.

HERAKLES. Let's see then, which is the way that I'd recommend first?

120

[*Ponders.*] There's one that starts with a rope and a bench to stand on.

You could hang yourself!

DIONYSOS. No more of that—too stifling!

HERAKLES. There's another path that's direct and widely used.

You pound it in a mortar.

DIONYSOS. You mean drink hemlock?

HERAKLES. I certainly do!

DIONYSOS. That's too chilly and wintry a way:

It immobilizes your legs by freezing them cold.

HERAKLES. Do you want me to tell you a quick and downhill route?

DIONYSOS. By Zeus, yes please! I'm not very good at walking.

HERAKLES. Then take a stroll to the Kerameikos.

DIONYSOS. What then?

HERAKLES. Climb up the tower, that high one.

130

DIONYSOS. And what after that?

HERAKLES. Look down from there when they're going to hold a torch-race.

Then when you hear the spectators all shout 'Go then!'

At that point go yourself.

DIONYSOS. Go where?

HERAKLES. Straight down!

DIONYSOS. But that would make mincemeat of both halves of my brain!

That's not the way I want to go.

HERAKLES. Which one then?

DIONYSOS. The route you took yourself.

HERAKLES. That involves a long voyage.

Right at the start you'll come to a very large lake

Of unfathomed depth.

DIONYSOS. Then how will I manage to cross it?

HERAKLES [*gesturing*]. In a boat no bigger than this, a very old man

Will take you across if you pay him a fare of two obols.

140

DIONYSOS [*sighing*]. Good gracious!

How much two obols will buy wherever one goes!

How come this price reached Hades?

HERAKLES. It came with Theseus.

After that you'll see great numbers of serpents and beasts,

The most frightening kinds.

DIONYSOS. But don't try to scare me like that:

You won't put me off.

HERAKLES. Then you'll come to a huge stretch of mud

And a river of shit. That's where you'll see submerged

Any person who's ever done terrible wrong to a guest,

Or has screwed a boy and stolen his money as well,

Or has thrashed his mother or broken his father's jaw,

Or has sworn an oath and perjured himself in the act—

150

[*with mock horror*] Or has had a speech copied out from

Morsimos' plays!

DIONYSOS. By all the gods they ought to add to those

Any person who's learnt Kinesias' military dance!

HERAKLES. After that the breath of pipes will waft around you

And you'll see the most beautiful light, just like on earth.

There'll be myrtle groves and groups of men and women

Ecstatic in celebration with clapping hands.

DIONYSOS. But who are *they*?

HERAKLES. Initiates of the Mysteries.

XANTHIAS [*aside*]. Well *I'm* the proverbial donkey in the

Mysteries!

I refuse to hold this baggage a moment longer.

160

[XANTHIAS *starts belatedly to take the various bundles off his pole, and has almost finished by line 165.*]

HERAKLES. These people will tell you everything else that
you need.

They live right next to the road that you'll walk along

And close to the doors of Plouton's palace itself.

Goodbye, my brother. [*Exits into house.*]

DIONYSOS. Many thanks. Take care of
yourself

As well. [*To XANTHIAS*] And you pick up this bedding again.

XANTHIAS. Before I've put it all down?

DIONYSOS. And make it sharpish.
 XANTHIAS. But please don't make me. Why not hire one of the
 people
 Who are joining the dead—there's surely someone who'll do it?
 DIONYSOS. Suppose I can't find one?
 XANTHIAS. Then use me again.
 DIONYSOS. It's
 a deal.
 They're actually bringing a corpse along here now. 170

[*From one of the eisodoi two CARRIERS come into view with a CORPSE on a bier. They start to make their way across the orchêstra. DIONYSOS watches for a moment then hails the CORPSE as the group comes near.*]

Hey you! Yes it's you I mean, the one who's dead.
 My man, are you willing to carry my baggage to Hades?
 CORPSE [*sitting up*]. How much do you have?
 DIONYSOS [*pointing*]. This much.
 CORPSE. Will you
 pay two drachmas?
 DIONYSOS. I certainly won't. Much less.
 CORPSE [*to CARRIERS*]. Please move on quickly.
 DIONYSOS. Just wait a moment, my fellow—let's reach agreement.
 CORPSE. If you won't pay the fee that I've stated, you're wasting
 your breath.
 DIONYSOS. I'll offer nine obols.
 CORPSE [*sarcastically*]. I'd rather come back to life!

[*The CORPSE is carried away and off by the opposite eisodos.*]

XANTHIAS. What an arrogant bastard he was! Good riddance
 to him!
 [*Picking up the baggage*] I'll do the job.
 DIONYSOS. You're an absolute gentleman
 then.
 Let's head to the boat. 180

[*DIONYSOS and XANTHIAS resume their journey. As they do so, CHARON on his ferry-boat (on wheels, pulled by a rope mechanism) starts to come into view from the same eisodos by which the CORPSE has just left. The boat moves into the orchêstra.*]

CHARON. Pull in, bring her up to the jetty!

DIONYSOS. What's this?

XANTHIAS. Do you need to ask? It's the lake, by Zeus,
The one that Herakles mentioned—[*pointing*] I see the boat!

DIONYSOS. So do I, by Poseidon! It's Charon himself right here.
[*Giddily*] Hello, Charon! Hello, Charon! Hello!

CHARON. Is there anyone here for the resting-place from troubles?
Anyone for the Plain of Forgetting or Hopeless Task,
Or Kerberos Town, Crows' End, or Tainaron Point?

DIONYSOS. Yes me!

CHARON. Get on board then quickly.

DIONYSOS. But where are you
heading?

CHARON. To the crows!

DIONYSOS. What, really?

CHARON. As far as *you're* concerned!
Get onto the boat.

DIONYSOS [*to* XANTHIAS]. Slave, over here! 190

CHARON. No slaves!

Not unless he took part in the sea-fight to save our bacon.

XANTHIAS [*shiftily*]. Not me, I couldn't—my eyes were giving me
trouble.

CHARON. Get on with it then, you'll have to run round the lake.

XANTHIAS. But where shall I wait?

CHARON. By the stone of Shrivelling
Place.

There's a resting-point there.

DIONYSOS. Understand?

XANTHIAS. Yes, only too well.

[*As* XANTHIAS *starts to trudge off and exits by the nearest eisodos,*
DIONYSOS *moves towards* CHARON's *boat.*]

What a wretched existence! I was cursed by someone today.

CHARON [*to* DIONYSOS]. Sit down at the oar. [*Calling.*] If there's
anyone else, hurry up.

What the heck are you doing?

DIONYSOS. What's wrong? I've done what you
said.

I've sat on the oar—that's where you told me to sit.

[CHARON *now moves* DIONYSOS *so that he is sitting in a position to row the boat while* CHARON *steers it from the stern.*]

Get up and sit here instead, pot-belly!

200

DIONYSOS.

Okay then.

CHARON. Now stretch out both of your hands in front.

DIONYSOS.

Okay then.

CHARON. Stop fooling around! You have to *push* with your feet
And pull the oar with real force.

DIONYSOS.

But how can I do it?

I'm not a sailor, still less a Salamis type,
And yet you expect me to row?

CHARON.

It's easy: you'll hear

Some beautiful songs when you start.

DIONYSOS.

Whose songs are those?

CHARON. The frog-swans' amazing songs.

DIONYSOS.

Then give me my

stroke!

CHARON. Pull—up—push! Pull—up—push!

[*As DIONYSOS starts to row and the boat moves back in the direction it came from, the FROGS appear from both sides of the stage, jumping in comically amphibian fashion and croaking loudly around DIONYSOS, who struggles to fit his rowing rhythm to their sounds and sings in competition with them.*]

[PARODOS I: 209–67]

FROGS.

Brékekekex ko-ax ko-ax!

Brékekekex ko-ax ko-ax!

210

You children of marshes and springs,
With the pipe-tuned cries of our hymns
Let's proclaim our fine-voiced song.
Ko-ax ko-ax!

The same song which for Dionysos,
Son of Zeus and god of Mount Nysa,
We cried out in the marshes
When the hungover revellers
On the sacred day of Pots
Go in crowds through my precinct.
Brékekekex ko-ax ko-ax!

220

- DIONYSOS. But *I'm* beginning to feel an ache
Right under my arse, ko-ax ko-ax!
- FROGS. Brékekekex ko-ax ko-ax!
- DIONYSOS. But *you*, I suppose, don't care at all.
- FROGS. Brékekekex ko-ax ko-ax!
- DIONYSOS. I hope you rot with your croak 'ko-ax'!
This croak 'ko-ax' is your constant refrain.
- FROGS. Why be surprised, old busybody?
I'm adored by the Muses who love good music
And by goat-hoofed Pan, who plays the reed-
pipes. 230
Apollo the phorminx-player delights in me too
For the reed-stalks which strengthen the frame of the
lyre
And grow in my watery marshes.
Brékekekex ko-ax ko-ax!
- DIONYSOS. But *I'm* developing blisters here
And my anus has long been oozing sweat.
Any moment now it will peep out and say—
- FROGS. Brékekekex ko-ax ko-ax!
- DIONYSOS. But o you song-loving species, 240
Please stop these sounds.
- FROGS. On the contrary
We'll raise our voices, the way in the past
On sun-drenched days
We leapt through galingale
And tufty reeds, taking great pleasure
In songs of copious splashings,
Or when to escape the rain from Zeus
We performed deep-water dances
With brilliant flashes of sound
And bubbling, spluttering poppings.
- DIONYSOS. Brékekekex ko-ax ko-ax! 250
I've borrowed this cry from you.
- FROGS. In that case now we're heading for trouble.
- DIONYSOS. Not as much as *I* am, if rowing like this
I split myself asunder!
- FROGS. Brékekekex ko-ax ko-ax!
- DIONYSOS. You can go and hang. Just see if I care.

FROGS. Well then we'll continue to shriek
As much as our throats
Can manage the whole day long.

DIONYSOS. Brékekekex ko-ax ko-ax! 260
You'll never defeat me this way.

FROGS. And nor will *you* defeat us either!

DIONYSOS. And nor will *you* defeat me either!
You'll never do it. I too will shriek
All day if I have to, until I succeed
In proving supreme with my own ko-ax!
Brékekekex ko-ax ko-ax!

[In what follows, as CHARON's boat reaches the edge of the orchêstra, the FROGS hop back off-stage. After DIONYSOS has disembarked, the boat continues till it is out of sight. Shortly afterwards XANTHIAS reappears from the opposite eisodos to the one by which he left. The piper stops playing here and we return to spoken dialogue.]

DIONYSOS [*shouting*]. I knew I was bound to stop your croaking at
last.

CHARON. Stop rowing, stop rowing. Steer in to the shore with
the oar.

Get out now. Pay me your fare. 270

DIONYSOS. Right, here are two obols.

[*Looking round*] Now, Xanthias! Where's Xanthias! Hey, Xanthias!

XANTHIAS [*appearing*]. Ho there!

DIONYSOS. Come over here!

XANTHIAS. Hello then,
master.

DIONYSOS. Well where exactly is this?

XANTHIAS. It's darkness and mud.

DIONYSOS. So *did* you see the father-beaters round here

And the perjurers too, the way he described?

XANTHIAS. Didn't *you*?

DIONYSOS. By Poseidon I certainly did—[*peering at audience*] and
I still see them now!

Right, what are we going to do?

XANTHIAS. It's best to move on,
Since this is the place where he told us that beasts are lurking,
The frightening ones that he mentioned.

DIONYSOS. He'll pay for such talk!
 That was all pure bluster in order to make me afraid. 280
 He's knows I'm a fighter but feels he needs to compete.
 [*Loftily*] 'There's nothing as self-important as Herakles is!'
 I actually wish I could face a foe down here
 And achieve some feat that's worthy of the journey.
 XANTHIAS [*ironically*]. Of course you do! And indeed I can hear
 a noise.

[*In the following lines XANTHIAS peers and points, with mock-terror, into the supposed darkness, while DIONYSOS becomes increasingly agitated.*]

DIONYSOS [*startled*]. Where, where?
 XANTHIAS. Behind you.
 DIONYSOS. Then get behind
 me quickly!
 XANTHIAS. No, it's now in front.
 DIONYSOS. Then get in front of me quickly!
 XANTHIAS. In fact I can see, by Zeus, a very large beast!
 DIONYSOS. What kind?
 XANTHIAS. A terrible kind. It's changing shape.
 It was first a cow, then a mule, and now it's—a woman, 290
 A ravishing beauty.
 DIONYSOS. *Where?* Let me go and approach her.
 XANTHIAS. She's no longer a woman. She's now turned into a dog.
 DIONYSOS. It's Empousa then!
 XANTHIAS. There's a fire that's lighting up
 The whole of her face.
 DIONYSOS. Does she have a bronze leg too?
 XANTHIAS. By Poseidon she does! And the other is made of dung.
 It's true.
 DIONYSOS [*panicked*]. Then where should I run?
 XANTHIAS. I'm thinking the
 same!
 DIONYSOS [*towards front row*]. O priest, protect me—I want to
 drink with you later!
 XANTHIAS [*as if to DIONYSOS*]. We're going to die, lord Herakles!
 DIONYSOS. Don't call *me*,
 I beg you please, good fellow, or mention my name.
 XANTHIAS. Dionysos, then. 300

DIONYSOS. That's even worse than the other!

XANTHIAS [*as if to beast*]. Avaunt thee now! [*To* DIONYSOS]
 Come over here, my master.

DIONYSOS. What for?

XANTHIAS. Take heart. It's all turned out okay.
 We can say, just like the actor Hegelochos did:
 'After stormy waters I see once more—a weasel'!
 Empousa's vanished.

DIONYSOS. Do you swear it's true?

XANTHIAS. By Zeus!

DIONYSOS. And swear again.

XANTHIAS. By Zeus!

DIONYSOS. Once more.

XANTHIAS. By Zeus!

DIONYSOS. What a wretched business; the sight of her made
 me pale.

XANTHIAS [*pointing behind* DIONYSOS]. But this part here has
 turned a dark brown colour!

DIONYSOS. Well how have I found myself in so much trouble?
 Which god's to blame for trying to ruin my life? 310

XANTHIAS. Blame 'Aither, bedroom of Zeus' or 'the foot of time'!
 [*Abruptly*] But hey!

DIONYSOS. What's wrong?

XANTHIAS. Well didn't you hear?

DIONYSOS. Hear what?

XANTHIAS. The breath of pipes.

DIONYSOS. Oh yes! And I feel warm air
 That wafts from torches with mystic atmosphere.
 Let's stand back over here out of sight and listen.

[*As* DIONYSOS and XANTHIAS move back and stand at a corner of the stage building, the CHORUS processes in from an eisodos and starts to dance at 323 ff. They are a mixture of male and female: though dressed in ragged costumes, they represent ecstatic Eleusinian initiates who are celebrating in Hades in a similar manner as in the Mysteries themselves.]

[PARODOS II: 316–459]

CHORUS. Iakchos, hail Iakchos!
 Iakchos, hail Iakchos!

XANTHIAS. Ah, now I know, o master. This must be where
 The initiates that he mentioned are celebrating.
 It's the Iakchos' chant they sing in the Agora too. 320
 DIONYSOS. You're right, that's who they are. Our best plan then
 Is to keep entirely quiet and find out more.

CHORUS. Iakchos, venerable lord who dwells in this place, *Strophe*
 Iakchos, hail Iakchos!
 Come join our dance in this meadow,
 Come among the pious followers of your cult,
 Toss wildly a head that's crowned
 With a wreath luxuriant in fruit
 Of myrtle berries, and stamp your foot 330
 In rhythms bold for this unbridled
 Dance-loving act of worship,
 An occasion full of the Graces,
 A sacred dance for pious initiates.

XANTHIAS [*excited*]. O mistress venerable, daughter of
 Demeter,
 What a lovely odour of pig flesh wafted this way!
 DIONYSOS. Keep still then, please, if you want to get some
 sausage.

CHORUS. Arouse the flaming torches you *Antistrophe* 340
 brandish aloft,
 Iakchos, hail Iakchos,
 Our light-bringing star for nocturnal rites!
 The meadow blazes with flames of gleaming torches.
 Even old men's knees flex in dance.
 They shake off all their cares
 And the heavy weight of copious years
 To join the sacred worship.
 Lighting the way with your torch 350
 Lead on to the flowering marshy ground,
 O blessed one, our dance of rejuvenation.

[*The CHORUS halts in the centre of the orchêstra and their LEADER steps forward to chant the following section.*]

LEADER. I proclaim ceremonial silence now and demand all those
 should depart
 Who have no knowledge of what's said here or whose minds are
 far from pure,
 Or who've never seen our noble Muses' rites or joined in their
 dances
 Or those who remain outside the cult of Kratinos the
 bull-eating god,
 Or who take great pleasure in vulgar jokes at a time when
 they're out of place.
 And likewise with those who fail to avoid all forms of divisive
 faction
 But stoke it up and fan the flames for the sake of private profit, 360
 Or when the city's enduring a storm take bribes while hold-
 ing office
 Or betray our defences on land or at sea, or export contraband
 goods
 From Aigina the way that Thorykion did, that damnable
 tax-collector,
 Transporting oar-pads and flax and pitch to enemy land,
 Epidauros.
 Or the person who plots to furnish funds for the fleets of the foes
 that we're fighting,
 Or the one who shits in Hekate's shrines yet composes dithyramb
 lyrics,
 Or the politician who tries to reduce the fees of dramatic poets
 Just because he's been mocked in the ancient rites that belong to
 the god Dionysos.
 To all these people I now proclaim for a second and third time too:
 Depart from our Eleusinian dances. But you who remain raise
 your song 370
 And prepare to perform the nocturnal revels that suit our
 festival here.

[*The CHORUS moves into position for a further sequence of dance-songs.*]

CHORUS. Advance, each one of you, boldly *Strophe*
 Into the blossoming bosoms
 Of the meadowland. Stamp feet,
 Aim shafts of ridicule,

Make merry with mocking humour.
We have eaten enough for the task.

Follow the dance-steps and raise *Antistrophe*
A noble cry for our Saviouress
With voices of unison song,
For she promises us 380
She'll protect our land for ever,
Whatever Thorykion's wishes!

LEADER. Come now, undertake further hymns of joy for our grain-
bearing queen herself,
The goddess Demeter. In loudest songs of worship give glory
to her.

CHORUS. Demeter, mistress of holy rites, *Strophe*
Come stand amidst our ranks yourself,
Safeguard this chorus that is your own,
And grant that all day long in safety
We'll celebrate in play and dance.

And may we utter many jokes *Antistrophe*
But many serious things as well, 390
And may we serve your festival
In a worthy spirit of playful humour
And win the ribbons of victory!

LEADER. Come again, I say,
And summon in song the handsome god to join us,
The one who makes this choral procession with us.

CHORUS. Iakchos the venerable, inventor of loveliest song *Strophe*
For this festival, accompany us
On our path to the goddess. 400
Show us how effortlessly
You complete this lengthy journey.
Iakchos, friend of dancers, escort me onwards!

It's you who to make us laugh (and keep *Antistrophe A*
things cheap)

Gave us tattered sandals to wear
 And nothing but rags.
 You found a cost-free way
 For us to play and dance.
 Iakchos, friend of dancers, escort me onwards!

I took a glance just now at a young girl *Antistrophe B*
 here:

She had the prettiest face you've seen, 410
 And was dancing beside me.
 Her dress was ripped down the side
 And a tit bobbed out!
 Iakchos, friend of dancers, escort me onwards!

[For some time DIONYSOS and XANTHIAS have been becoming visibly excited by the CHORUS's songs. They can now no longer restrain themselves but jump forward to make their own contributions to the increasingly high-spirited singing and dancing.]

DIONYSOS. Well I myself like joining in!
 I'd like to meet this girl
 And play and dance with her.

XANTHIAS. Me too!

CHORUS. Would you like us then together
 To lampoon old Archedemos,
 Who had neither teeth nor kin by the age of seven?

Yet now he leads the people
 Up among the earthly corpses, 420
 And holds first place in depravity up there.

I hear that Kleisthenes' son
 Was seen among the tombstones
 When plucking the hairs from his anus and
 tearing his cheeks.

He flailed away, bent double,
 And wailed and shrieked aloud
 For someone called Fuck-you from Anaphlystos.

And Kallias, it's rumoured,
 The son of one Horse-fucker,
 Fought naval battles with cunts while dressed in
 lion-skin.

430

[*The rhythms and steps of the preceding song continue even as DIONYSOS turns to more practical matters.*]

DIONYSOS. Could you give us some information?
 We're looking for Plouton's palace.
 We're visitors here who arrived not long ago.

LEADER. You don't have far to travel
 And won't need to ask me again.
 That's his very door you've reached just over there.

DIONYSOS. Get lifting then once more, slave.

XANTHIAS. What's that? You mean to say
 It's the same old story again with all this baggage.

[*DIONYSOS waits for XANTHIAS to pick up all the bags one last time. During the following lines they make their way round the orchêstra towards the door of the stage building.*]

LEADER [*to CHORUS*]. Advance then 440
 Through the goddess's sacred precinct, the flowery grove,
 In playful spirits, participants in festivities that please
 the gods.
 I'll go to join the young girls and the women
 In the goddess's all-night worship, and brandish this
 sacred torch.

CHORUS. Let's make our way to the rose-filled *Strophe*
 Blooming meadows,
 With our usual customs 450
 Of lovely dances
 In playful spirits, which the blessed
 Fates organize.

On us alone shine sunlight's *Antistrophe*

Sacred beams,
 On us the initiated,
 Who led pious lives
 Attentive always to needs of strangers
 And to ordinary folk.

[*The CHORUS, as though moving onwards in the underworld, now retires to the sides of the orchêstra. DIONYSOS and XANTHIAS have reached the door of the stage building.*]

DIONYSOS [*nervously*]. Let me think, what way shall I bang on this door before me? 460

I wonder how the locals round here do this.

XANTHIAS. Stop hesitating and just lay into the door

The way that Herakles would. Show some of his mettle!

DIONYSOS [*knocking*]. Hey, slave!

DOORKEEPER [*opening door abruptly*]. Who's this?

DIONYSOS. It's Herakles, the tough guy.

DOORKEEPER. You nauseating, shameless, audacious man,

You're loathsome—more than loathsome—as loathsome as hell!

It's you who kidnapped Kerberos, our dog.

You rushed away with your hands locked round his throat.

I was guarding him myself. But now I've caught you!

[*DIONYSOS collapses in a terrified heap; the DOORKEEPER declaims in melodramatic triumph over him.*]

The black-hearted rock of the river Styx itself 470

And the blood-dripping crag that looms over Acheron

Prevent your escape, with Kokytos' hotfoot hounds

And the hundred-headed viper who'll rend your guts

To pieces, while an eel from Tartessos

Will clamp itself on your lungs, and as for your kidneys

And the rest of your innards, they'll all be pulped to blood

And torn apart by Gorgons from Teithras deme!

[*Stiltedly*] I'll guide my hasty foot to fetch them now.

[*The DOORKEEPER turns and rushes back into the stage building.*]

XANTHIAS. What's the matter with you?

- DIONYSOS. I've shitted myself: call
a god!
- XANTHIAS. You ridiculous thing! Get back on your feet at once 480
Before a stranger sees you.
- DIONYSOS. I can't, I'm fainting!
Please give me a sponge; I need it—[*coryly*] to cool down my heart.
- [XANTHIAS *takes a sponge from the luggage; DIONYSOS starts to rub
between his legs.*]
- XANTHIAS. Here, take it and rub.
- DIONYSOS. Where is it?
- XANTHIAS. O golden gods!
Is *that* where you keep your heart?
- DIONYSOS. It was so afraid
That it made its way right down—to my lower bowel.
- XANTHIAS. You're the biggest coward among gods and men.
- DIONYSOS. What,
me?
How come I'm a coward? I managed to ask for a sponge.
No one else would have done such a thing.
- XANTHIAS. Well what would they
do?
- DIONYSOS. A coward would just have stayed on the ground with
the smell.
But *I* stood up and wiped myself down, what's more. 490
- XANTHIAS. What courage, I say, by Poseidon!
- DIONYSOS. Well that's what
I think.
But weren't you frightened yourself by his booming words
And the threats that he made?
- XANTHIAS. Didn't give them a moment's
thought.
- DIONYSOS. Right then, since you're keen to prove yourself so
nerveless,
Let's see you play *my* role: you can take this club
And this lion-skin too, if you're such a fearless-guts!
Meanwhile I'll take your part and carry the bags.
- XANTHIAS. Well hand me your things at once; I'm happy with that.

[*They exchange costumes and accessories.*]

And look at me now—this Herakles-Xanthias!

You'll soon see if I'm a coward and spineless like you. 500

DIONYSOS [*sarcastically*]. You'll serve as Herakles' double—and ready for whipping!

All right, I suppose it's my turn to carry this luggage.

[*As they prepare to move on, the skênê door opens and SLAVE^A enters from the palace of the underworld gods, mistakenly rushing to embrace the disguised XANTHIAS.*]

SLAVE^A. You've returned, o dearest Herakles! Come on inside.

As soon as the goddess learnt you'd arrived down here,
She arranged for loaves to be baked and had several pots
Of pea soup boiled for you, got a whole ox roasted,
And had various cakes and breads prepared. Come on in!

XANTHIAS [*embarrassed*]. That's terribly kind, do thank her.

SLAVE^A. By

Apollo, I won't
Just let you decline like this. She's also been stewing
Fine pieces of bird-meat and toasting lovely snacks 510
And mixing the sweetest wine for you to drink.
You really must join us inside.

XANTHIAS. No thanks.

SLAVE^A. Don't be silly!

I simply won't let you go. There's a pipe-girl as well
In here, such a gorgeous young thing, and some other girls too
All ready for dancing.

XANTHIAS [*excited*]. What's that, some *dancing*-girls?

SLAVE^A. They're in perfect youthful prime—[*gesturing*] and they've trimmed themselves!

So come on inside. When I left just now, the cook
Was finishing off the fish and the table was laid.

XANTHIAS. Go on then, tell the dancing-girls in there
The important man they're expecting is now on his way. [*Exit*

SLAVE^A.] 520

[*To DIONYSOS*] Pick up the baggage then, slave, and follow me in.

DIONYSOS. Hey, hold on there! You can't be serious now.

It was only a joke to dress you in Herakles' clothes.
 So stop this fooling around now, Xanthias.
 Pick up the luggage again and carry it all.

XANTHIAS. What d'you mean? You surely don't intend to take back
 All the things you gave me before?

DIONYSOS. Just watch me now!
 Take the lion-skin off.

XANTHIAS. I call the gods to witness
 And ask them to lend me their help.

DIONYSOS. The gods? How funny!
 You must be out of your mind to suppose that *you* 530
 A mortal slave could become Alkmene's son!

XANTHIAS. Okay, I suppose you win. Take them back. But remember
 There may come a time, who knows, when you'll need me again!

[DIONYSOS *takes back the lion-skin and club and resumes the identity of HERAKLES. The CHORUS's dance involves gestures/motions towards DIONYSOS, who responds by contributing to the song himself.*]

CHORUS. This is the way a man should act whose *Strophe*
 Mind and wits are all alert and
 One who's sailed the seas a lot:
 Always go with the list of the ship,
 Keep to the side where things are safer,
 Don't just stand like a painted image
 Fixed in a pose that can't be changed,
 Switch your side instead and always
 Occupy the cushier station.
 That's the role of a clever fellow— 540
 Let's be blunt, it's *Theramenes*!

DIONYSOS. Picture how ludicrous the scene if *Antistrophe*
 Xanthias, the merest slave, should
 Find himself on Milesian bedding,
 Supine and kissing a dancing-girl, then
 Called for a chamber-pot while I was
 Watching his antics and all the time was
 Jerking away with my own little wink!
 Say this scoundrel caught sight of me, he'd
 Smash his fist right into my jaw and

Strike a blow that would knock right out
All the teeth from the front of my mouth!

[From one of the eisodoi two female figures enter: INNKEEPER and her colleague PLATHANE, accompanied by SLAVE^B and SLAVE^C. They immediately spot DIONYSOS's lion-skin and club and approach him aggressively.]

INNKEEPER. Plathane, Plathane, over here! Here's the scoundrel
 himself,
 The person who came to our inn some time ago 550
 And devoured those sixteen loaves without paying.

PLATHANE. By Zeus,
 It's the very same man all right.

XANTHIAS [*ironically*]. Here's trouble for someone!

PLATHANE. There was more besides—all that stewed meat he
 managed to eat,
 Twenty portions no less.

XANTHIAS. Then someone will pay for his crime!

INNKEEPER. And huge chunks of garlic.

DIONYSOS. Just stop all this prattle,
 you woman!
 You're making no sense.

INNKEEPER. Yes I am! And you didn't expect
 That I'd recognize you while you're wearing these boots on
 your feet.

And I haven't yet mentioned the piles of fish that you ate!

PLATHANE. No you haven't, my dear. And what about all the fresh
 cheese

That he gorged himself on, even eating the baskets as well? 560

INNKEEPER. And when I tried to get him to settle the bill
 He gave me the sourest look and started to bellow.

XANTHIAS. That sounds just like him! It's always the way he
 behaves.

PLATHANE. He started to pull out his sword—we thought he
 was mad!

XANTHIAS. I can just imagine, poor thing.

PLATHANE. We were so alarmed
 That the pair of us jumped right up onto one of the roof-beams
 While *he* rushed out, purloining some mats for good measure.

XANTHIAS. Oh yes, that's typical too.

INNKEEPER. Now it's time to act.

[*to SLAVE^B*] Hurry up and ask my patron, Kleon, to come.

PLATHANE [*to SLAVE^C*]. And you must fetch Hyperbolos, if you
can find him, 570

To help us destroy this man. [*Exit SLAVE^B and SLAVE^C*]

INNKEEPER [*to DIONYSOS*]. You filthy gullet,
How I'd love to take a stone and smash your molars,
The ones you used to devour all that food of mine!

PLATHANE. And *I'd* like to hurl you down in the criminals' pit!

INNKEEPER. And *I'd* like to take a sickle and cut out your throat,
The one with which you gobbled my sausages down!
I'm off to get Kleon. He'll come back here today
And issue a summons and tear this man to pieces.

[*The two women exit in haste.*]

DIONYSOS. I swear on my life, I love Xanthias more than the world.

XANTHIAS. Ah yes, ah yes, I see your ploy! Just stop it. 580
I refuse to wear Herakles' outfit again.

DIONYSOS [*wheedling*]. Please don't,
Sweet Xanthias!

XANTHIAS [*sarcastically*]. But how could a 'mortal slave'
Like me become 'Alkmene's son'? No chance.

DIONYSOS. I know that you're angry, I know it. You're right to be so.
I would even allow you to hit me—I couldn't object.

[*DIONYSOS starts to hand over the lion-skin and club a second time.*]

If I ever attempt to take back these things again,
I wish utter destruction for me and my wife and my kids—
And damnation on blear-eyed Archedemos to boot!

XANTHIAS. All right, I accept your oath on the terms you've stated.

[*XANTHIAS exchanges costumes again with DIONYSOS while the CHORUS re-enters the orchêstra to sing and dance, this time gesturing towards XANTHIAS, who responds by contributing to the song himself.*]

CHORUS. Now's the time for further action, *Strophe* 590
Now you're wearing once again the
Costume that you had before.
Start to recover your dynamism,

Fix your face in a fearsome look that
Suits that hero, turned to a god, whose
Likeness you're adopting.
Don't betray yourself with nonsense or
Utter a word that suits a coward.
Any such lapse will mean one thing:
Lifting those bags on your back once more!

XANTHIAS. Wise advice you're offering, men. *Antistrophe*
Just this very same train of thought had
Formed itself inside my mind.
Even so it's clear to me that
Once he thinks it's in his interests, he'll
Try to take this costume back. 600
Nonetheless I'll do my best to
Let the world think I'm a hero and
See a menacing look in my eyes.
Time to adopt my pose—I hear the
Door behind me creaking open.

[*The skène door opens and the DOORKEEPER enters again, this time with two ATTENDANTS carrying a rope. In the by-now familiar way, he inevitably identifies XANTHIAS by his costume as HERAKLES.*]

DOORKEEPER [*gesturing*]. Tie him up straightaway, this dog-thief over here.

He'll pay for his crime. Hurry up!

DIONYSOS [*chortling*]. Here's trouble for someone!

XANTHIAS [*waving his club*]. To hell with you! Keep off!

DOORKEEPER. So you'll put up a fight?

[*Calling inside*] Hoy there, Ditylas, Skeblyas, and Pardokas,
Come straight out here and use as much force as you like.

[*Enter three more ATTENDANTS. XANTHIAS uses his club to resist arrest.*]

DIONYSOS. Well isn't this quite outrageous, to see this man 610
Using blows when he's caught as a thief?

DOORKEEPER. It's beyond the pale!

DIONYSOS. It's outrageous in the extreme.

XANTHIAS [*to DOORKEEPER*]. But I swear by Zeus
I've never been down here before—if I have, let me die—

Nor stolen a single thing of yours, not one crumb.
 In fact I'll make you a rather generous gesture:
 You can take and subject to torture this slave of mine.
 If you find I've committed a crime, you can put me to death.

DOORKEEPER. What way should I torture him then?

XANTHIAS. *Every way: on*
 a ladder,

Strung up, with bristle-whip lashings, or flaying alive,
 Or tight on the wheel, pour vinegar into his nostrils 620
 And crush him with bricks—any method you like! Just don't
 Let him off with a smack from a leek or an onion-plant.

DOORKEEPER. What you say is fair. And if by using blows

I maim your slave, I'll promise you compensation.

XANTHIAS. No need to bother; just take him away for torture.

DOORKEEPER. I'll do it right here: you can see him answer the
 questions.

[*To DIONYSOS*] Put down your stuff at once. Make sure you don't
 Try to tell any lies to me.

DIONYSOS. I hereby declare

You can't torture *me*: I'm a god. If you dare to try,
 You'll have only yourself to blame. 630

DOORKEEPER. What nonsense is this?

DIONYSOS. I'm a *god*, I assure you: Dionysos, Zeus's son.
 And this is my slave.

DOORKEEPER. Do you hear?

XANTHIAS. I certainly do.

That's all the more reason to give him a really good whipping.
 If it's true he's a god, then he won't even feel the pain.

DIONYSOS. Well since you claim yourself that *you're* a god,
 Why not accept a beating the same as mine?

XANTHIAS. That makes good sense. [*To DOORKEEPER*]
 Whichever of us you see

Start to shed tears first or flinching at all at the blows,
 You'll be able to tell that this one can't be a god.

DOORKEEPER. That's very fair-minded of you, I can't
 deny it. 640

You're prepared to follow what's right. Well, both of you strip.

[*DIONYSOS and XANTHIAS both remove their upper garments to bare*]

their backs. The DOORKEEPER takes a rope or whip from one of the ATTENDANTS with which to deliver the blows in what follows.]

XANTHIAS. Now how will you test us fairly?

DOORKEEPER. That's easily done—

By giving alternate blows.

XANTHIAS. That sounds just fine.

[DIONYSOS and XANTHIAS move slightly apart and bend forward in preparation.]

Right then. Now wait and see if I flinch at all.

Have you struck me already?

DOORKEEPER. Not yet. *[He strikes now.]*

XANTHIAS *[faking]*. That's why

I feel nothing.

DOORKEEPER. Well I'll strike the other one now. *[He hits DIONYSOS.]*

DIONYSOS *[also faking]*. Will
you tell me when?

DOORKEEPER. I've done so already!

DIONYSOS *[nonchalantly]*. Then why did I not even sneeze?

DOORKEEPER. I can't explain. But I'll try the one here again.

XANTHIAS. Well hurry up please. *[The DOORKEEPER strikes harder.]* Agh, agh!

DOORKEEPER. Well what's that cry?

You surely weren't in pain? 650

XANTHIAS. Just getting excited

About the Herakles festival at Diomeia.

DOORKEEPER. This man's got the gods on his side. Now to *this* one again.

[He moves back to DIONYSOS and strikes a harder blow than before.]

DIONYSOS. Eee, eee!

DOORKEEPER. What's wrong?

DIONYSOS. I'm cheering the sight of
horsemen.

DOORKEEPER. But why are you crying?

DIONYSOS. There must be some onions
round here.

DOORKEEPER. So you're not concerned by the blows?

DIONYSOS. Not the
slightest concern.

DOORKEEPER. In that case I'll have to go back to
this other one here.

[*He now strikes XANTHIAS again even harder.*]

XANTHIAS. Aagh, aagh!

DOORKEEPER. What's wrong?

XANTHIAS. I've trod on a thorn—pull
it out.

DOORKEEPER. What's happening here? Back again to the other
one then.

[*He takes his time and delivers the hardest blow yet to DIONYSOS.*]

DIONYSOS. Apollo, help!—[*solemnly*] 'from your home in Delos or
Pytho'.

XANTHIAS. He yelped with pain! You must have heard. 660

DIONYSOS. No I didn't.

I was simply quoting a satire by Hipponax.

XANTHIAS [*to DOORKEEPER*]. You're indecisive. What about
a good whack to his ribs?

DOORKEEPER. I'll go one better—[*to DIONYSOS*] let's see that
belly of yours. [*Hits him.*]

DIONYSOS. Poseidon, help!

XANTHIAS. There's someone in pain.

DIONYSOS [*suddenly singing*]. 'O you

Who control the Aegean headland

And rule in the grey sea's depths'.

DOORKEEPER. In Demeter's name I'm quite unable to tell
Which one of you is a god. So come inside.

The master himself will know how to recognize you, 670

And Pherrephatta as well, since they're gods themselves.

DIONYSOS. That's a good suggestion you've made. I only wish
You'd thought of it sooner, before I suffered these blows.

[*All the characters exit into PLOUTON's palace.*]

[PARABASIS: 674–737]

CHORUS. Muse, join us in our sacred dance-steps,

Come to be part of our song's delight,
 Come where you'll behold great throngs of people,
 Many thousands seated in their wisdom,
 Every one more honourable than Kleophon
 On whose lips of muddled speech
 Is heard the raucous sound 680
 Of a Thracian swallow
 Perched amid barbarian branches.
 It shrieks a mournful nightingale's song,
 Announcing Kleophon's destruction—
 Even if the votes are equal!

LEADER. Right and proper it is for us, a sacred chorus, to give
 the city
 Best advice and best instructions. First of all we think you
 should
 Treat all citizens now the same and take away the fears of some.
 Those who may have done some wrong when tripped in
 Phrynichos' wrestling-bouts,
 Now's the time to let them leave their previous lapses in
 the past, 690
 Let them shed their former guilt and wipe away their old
 mistakes.
 Next, we think no one should live amongst us with their rights
 curtailed.
That seems shameful when compared with those who fought
 in one sea-battle yet
 Now, just like those old Plataians, are no longer slaves but
 masters instead.
Not that we're purporting to say there's anything wrong with
 that, of course.
 Praise we're happy to give you there: it's the only sensible thing
 you've done!
 Surely, though, you should be fair to others who've fought in
many sea-battles,
 Those whose fathers did the same, whose families form ancestral
 stock?
 They're the ones who ask your pardon: forgive them their misfor-
 tune now.

Come, relent, give up your anger, all you whose natures make
 you wise. 700
 Let's agree to band together and count as kinsmen every one,
 Give them all full citizen rights, provided they man our ships
 and fight!
 Pride and hard disdain won't serve us well while things stand as
 they do.
 'Tossed on stormy waves' our city's affairs hang in the
 balance now.
 Follow this good advice or else the future will show how foolish
 we were.

CHORUS. 'If my eye is a steady judge of the cast of life'
 And character of a man who's in for big trouble,
 A certain monkey's mischief won't last much longer—
 Kleigenes the diminutive,
 Foulest of all bath-keepers 710
 Who mixing their washing-powders control
 Adulterated soda
 And earthy detergent.
 He'll soon be done for! And knows it too,
 Which makes him full of aggression,
 Afraid he may be mugged when drunk
 If he goes without a big stick!

LEADER. Many's the time we've noticed something strange about
 the city's ways,
 Namely, how it treats those citizens who deserve to be thought
 the best
 Just the same as it treats old coins as well as the recent gold ones
 too. 720
Those were coins of solid value, no counterfeits of them were found.
 Nowhere has there ever been a finer currency, all agree.
 Only they were minted pure and always proved their worth when
 tested;
 All the world could count on them, Greeks and barbarians both
 alike.
 Now, however, they're obsolete, replaced by lousy coins of
 bronze,

Recently minted, of no long standing, and stamped in the ugliest
 fashion as well.
 Just the same with citizens too: those we know to be true-born
 and decent,
 Those whose conduct is always just, the ones who deserve to be
 thought the best,
 Men brought up in wrestling-schools and taught to dance and
 play music too,
They're despised. Instead the ones of 'bronze', the foreign and
 flaming-haired, 730
 Those who lack all breeding in every respect, it's *those* we choose
 to employ,
 Recent arrivals of just the sort the city would once have
 rejected outright—
 Even to play the part of scapegoats would once have been too
 good for them!
Please, you idiots listening now, it's not too late to change
 your ways.
 Choose to use the best men once again. If all then turns out
 well,
 Praise will come your way. And if you fail, at least the wise will
 think
 Swinging from a high-grade tree is consolation for the hanged!

[*The stage-door opens and XANTHIAS and SLAVE^D enter in mid-
 conversation.*]

SLAVE^D. By Zeus the Saviour, what a decent man he must be,
 That master of yours.

XANTHIAS. But how could he fail to be decent?
 He's the type who knows nothing except for drinking and
 fucking. 740

SLAVE^D. I'm amazed he gave you no beating despite the fact
 That you, the slave, purported to be the master.

XANTHIAS. A beating? He would have been sorry!

SLAVE^D. Yes, that's the
 talk,

That's real slave spirit—the kind I like showing myself.

XANTHIAS. Do you really enjoy such things?

SLAVE^D. It's a kind of rapture

When I'm able to curse my master behind his back.

XANTHIAS. And what do you feel as you mutter your private complaints

When he hits you then sends you outside?

SLAVE^D.

Oh I love that too!

XANTHIAS. And what about making *mischiefs*?

SLAVE^D.

There's nothing quite

like it!

XANTHIAS. You're my own flesh and blood! And when you hear your masters

750

In private conversation?

SLAVE^D.

I'm crazy with joy!

XANTHIAS. Then dishing the dirt about them to others?

SLAVE^D.

Oh yes!

That's such a thrill it makes me ejaculate!

XANTHIAS. O Phoibos Apollo, please give me your hand to shake.

Let's kiss each other as well. [*Turns round.*] Please tell me now,

By Zeus who's the god of whipping-boys like us,

What's all this uproar and shouting I hear inside

Like a quarrel?

SLAVE^D.

It's Aischylos and Euripides.

XANTHIAS. Well I never!

SLAVE^D.

It's really a quite momentous affair

That's erupted among the dead in an outbreak of strife.

760

XANTHIAS. But what's the reason?

SLAVE^D.

A law exists down here

That for all the great sophisticated arts

The person who holds the highest esteem in his group

Should have special dining rights in the Prytaneion

And a throne right next to Plouton.

XANTHIAS.

I understand.

SLAVE^D. Until, that is, a superior artist arrives,

Someone who's better than him. Then he has to give way.

XANTHIAS. But why's that caused any trouble for Aischylos?

SLAVE^D. He held the throne for tragic drama, that's why.

He was deemed the best poet at that.

XANTHIAS.

But who is it *now*?

SLAVE^D. When Euripides came down to Hades, he started

770

To harangue the criminals here—the muggers and thieves,

The ones who'd beaten their fathers, the burglars as well:
 There's a crowd of them all in Hades. And when they heard
 His debating speeches, his verbal twists and turns,
 They went quite crazy about him and called him the best.
 He was so puffed up that he laid his claim to the throne
 Where Aischylos sat.

XANTHIAS. But wasn't he pelted for that?

SLAVE^D. Not at all, the crowd cried out for a competition,
 To decide which one has the finer poetic art.

780

XANTHIAS. The crowd of riff-raff you mean?

SLAVE^D. Yes, their shouts
 thundered out.

XANTHIAS. But weren't there others who sided with
 Aischylos then?

SLAVE^D. Superior taste's in short supply—[*gestures at audience*]
 like here!

XANTHIAS. Well tell me now what Plouton intends to do.

SLAVE^D. He's going to stage a contest and reach a judgement
 By putting their artistry to the test.

XANTHIAS. But why
 Didn't Sophokles too assert his right to the throne?

SLAVE^D. He's not like that. He gave Aischylos a kiss
 When he came down here, and grasped him by the hand.
 He made it clear that he laid no claim to the throne.
 But he said he was ready, just like Kleidemides,
 To wait as reserve: if Aischylos prevails,
 He'll stay in his place; if not, he'll enter the contest
 And pit his art against Euripides then.

790

XANTHIAS. So it's really going to happen?

SLAVE^D. It is, quite soon.
 The whole tremendous commotion will take place here.

They'll actually weigh their art in a pair of scales.

XANTHIAS. What, you mean weigh tragedy just like
 chunks of meat?

SLAVE^D. They'll bring out rulers and rods to measure their verses
 And folding builders' frames—

800

XANTHIAS [*baffled*]. For making *bricks*?

SLAVE^D. Set-squares and wedges as well. Euripides says
 He'll scrutinize word by word his opponent's plays.

XANTHIAS. I imagine that Aischylos must be fuming with rage.

SLAVE^D. With lowered head he glowered in bull-like aggression!

XANTHIAS. But who will *judge* these things?

SLAVE^D.

An awkward

question.

There's a shortage of expert men for them to choose from.

The Athenians weren't at all to Aischylos' liking—

XANTHIAS. I suppose he thought too many of them were scum!

SLAVE^D. And he took the view that the rest of the people were
useless

At judging poets. So then they picked your *master*:

810

The tragedian's art is one that he knows very well.

Let's go back inside. Whenever our masters are busy,

It's bound to mean there's trouble in store for *us*.

[*They go back into the palace through the central stage door.*]

CHORUS. Fearsome the wrath the loud-thundering one will feel
inside

When he sees his antagonist sharpening all his
loquacious teeth.

At that moment a surge of terrible madness will make
His eyes start to swivel around in their sockets!

Great flashing-helmeted strife will follow among
horse-crested words,
And screeching chariot axles will split into slivers of
wood,

While one of these mortals, a craftsman of intellect,
fights

820

Against the other's horse-galloping utterances.

Bristling the shaggy-necked hair of the mane flowing
down from his head,

Contracting the fearsome skin of his forehead, he'll
roar and release

Great bolt-fastened words which he's torn up like
pieces of timber

With the force of a storm of gigantic proportions.

Then the mouth-manipulating assessor of verses, the
smooth
Curling tongue that controls the horse's bit with envy,
Will dissect words and subtly reduce to nothing
The heaving efforts of the other's lungs.

[*The stage door opens: enter PLOUTON, who will observe from one side till 1414; behind him come a haughty AISCHYLOS and an overwrought EURIPIDES, rushing on in mid-conversation with DIONYSOS.*]

EURIPIDES [*to* DIONYSOS]. I refuse to let go of the throne,
stop lecturing me. 830

I claim that I'm better than him in this art of ours.

DIONYSOS. Why this silence, Aischylos? You hear what he says.

EURIPIDES. He'll start with this supercilious pose! It's like

The kind of pretentious bluster he used in his plays.

DIONYSOS. I suggest, my man, that you tone down your words
a little.

EURIPIDES. I know what he's like; I saw through him long ago.

He's a poet who makes his characters wild and wilful,

His style's uncurbed, unruly, without any limits,

Devoid of slickness, verbosely vaunting its garbage.

AISCHYLOS. How dare you, 'son of a goddess who lives in the
fields'! 840

You abuse me like that, you collector of chatterbox talk,

Creator of beggars and rag-costume-stitcher to boot?

You won't get away with such words.

DIONYSOS. Stop, Aischylos,

'Don't let your intestines become inflamed with choler.'

AISCHYLOS. I've no intention of stopping before I've shown

The effrontery of this poet whose heroes are cripples.

DIONYSOS [*melodramatically*]. Bring out black sheep, my
slaves, bring out black sheep!

A whirlwind's on the point of bursting upon us.

AISCHYLOS [*to* EURIPIDES]. You collector of monodies written
in Cretan style,

And polluter of tragic art with stories of incest — 850

DIONYSOS. Please stop, o Aischylos, revered by many.

And you, o wretched Euripides, hide from this hailstorm,

Pull back, keep out of the way, if you've got any sense:
 There's a risk he'll strike your head with a word of anger
 So it splits wide open and out pours—*Telephos*!
 And Aischylos, don't yield to anger, be mild.
 Pose questions, be questioned in turn. But swapping abuse
 Is not for poets but only for female bread-sellers.
 You're roaring away like an oak-tree that's been ignited.

EURIPIDES. Well *I'm* quite ready—you won't see *me* pulling
 back—

860

To bite and be bitten in turn. If he wants, I'll go first.
 There's tragedy's verses and songs and sinews to test.
 And by Zeus I'll offer my *Peleus* and *Aiolos* too,
 And my *Meleager*—and on top of those, *Telephos*!

DIONYSOS. And what do *you* propose, tell us, Aischylos?

AISCHYLOS. I'd prefer this quarrel to take place somewhere else.
 The contest isn't on equal terms.

DIONYSOS. Why's that?

AISCHYLOS. In my case what I composed hasn't died with me,
 But *his* has died with him, so he'll have it to hand.

Nonetheless, since it's what you want, we must do these things. 870

DIONYSOS. Very well. [*Calling.*] Please bring me incense and
 fire to burn.

Before the clever exchanges begin I'll pray
 That I'm able to judge this contest with expert finesse.
 [*To CHORUS*] While I do, I'd like you to sing a song to the Muses.

[*An ATTENDANT brings out a small altar, on which DIONYSOS burns
 some incense while he makes gestures of prayer.*]

CHORUS. Nine maiden daughters of Zeus, you sacred
 Muses, who look down on the subtly reasoning,
 intelligent minds
 Of these shapers of thought, when they come
 together in strife
 Pitting speech against speech in wrestling bouts
 of cogitation,
 Come here to behold the power
 Of mouths so formidable at producing
 Words an artist's tools have cut to size.
 Now's the moment for wisdom's great contest

880

To move into action.

DIONYSOS. You two must pray as well before you speak.

AISCHYLOS [*adding incense*]. Demeter, goddess who nourished
my mind and thought,

Please make me worthy of what your Mysteries teach.

DIONYSOS [*to EURIPIDES*]. You too must burn some incense.

EURIPIDES. I'd rather not.

There are different gods to whom I make my prayers.

DIONYSOS. You have personal gods, a new coinage? 890

EURIPIDES. I certainly do!

DIONYSOS. Go on then, make your prayers to your private gods.

EURIPIDES. O Aither, where I pasture, and Pivoting Tongue,

Astuteness, Nostrils keen to follow the scent,

Help me refute my opponent in all that he says.

[AGON: 895–1098]

CHORUS. We feel the most intense desire *Strophe*

To hear from both these clever men

Their finely choreographed words.

Begin to launch your verbal assaults!

Your tongues are ready for violent combat,

You both possess courageous spirit,

Your minds are primed for agile moves.

Our expectation is of course 900

That one will speak in elegant style

And language polished to finest finish,

While the other will tear up words like trees

From their roots and falling upon his foe

Will fill the air with a horse's thick dust-clouds of
verses.

LEADER. It's time to deliver your speeches now. Be sure to
adopt a manner

That's full of wit and straight to the point and avoids
repeating clichés.

EURIPIDES. As regards myself and the kind of poet my work
reveals me to be,

I'll come to that at the end of my speech, but begin by
exposing *him*.

I want to show what a charlatan and a fraudster he was in the
theatre.

He kept on duping those stupid spectators who'd grown
up with Phrynichos' plays. 910

At the start of each work he liked to produce a veiled figure to
sit on the stage,

For example Achilles, or Niobe too: he wouldn't reveal their mask
But used them for purely showy effect, just stuck there
brooding in silence.

DIONYSOS. I swear that's true!

EURIPIDES. But instead the chorus would
dump great chains of songs,
Four lyric sequences strung together, with the characters stuck
there in silence.

DIONYSOS. But I rather liked that silence, you know. It gave me
just as much pleasure

As the figures who jabber in modern plays.

EURIPIDES. But *that's* because
you were mindless,
No doubt about that.

DIONYSOS. Well I rather agree! But why did this so-
and-so do it?

EURIPIDES. Pure charlatanry! He wanted spectators to sit
there on tenterhooks,
Not sure when Niobe's voice would emerge. And meanwhile
the play plodded on. 920

DIONYSOS. The wicked old crook! And there was I, taken in
by his fraudulent tricks!

[*To AISCHYLOS*] But why all this twitchy and peevish movement?

EURIPIDES. Because

I'm exposing his faults!
[*Resuming*] Then when he'd finished with all this nonsense and
half the play had passed,
He'd give his character twelve huge words, each one as large as
an ox,
And all of them shaggy with eyebrows and crests, like frightening
bogey faces.

They were words that nobody understood.

AISCHYLOS [*roaring*].

I can't take any more!

DIONYSOS.

Keep

quiet!

EURIPIDES. His language was never remotely clear—

DIONYSOS [*to AISCHYLOS*].

Will you

please stop grinding your teeth!

EURIPIDES. But perpetual talk of Skamander rivers and ditches and emblems on shields

Of griffin-eagles in beaten bronze. His words were enormous crags

That were hard to interpret at all.

930

DIONYSOS.

By the gods, I can certainly

vouch for that!

I once lay awake the whole night long unable to sleep while I puzzled

Over what kind of bird he might have meant by his phrase the 'tawny horse-cock'.

AISCHYLOS. It's a sign they painted on prows of ships—your ignorance knows no bounds!

DIONYSOS. Did they really? I thought that it must have meant Eryxis, Philoxenos' son.

EURIPIDES. Well why was it right to mention cocks in dignified tragic verse?

AISCHYLOS. You god-forsaken wretch, what about the things that *you* composed?

EURIPIDES. But I never mentioned horse-cocks for sure, nor goat-stags either, like you—

The sorts of things you see depicted on fabrics imported from Persia.

When *I* took over the tragic art from you, I found her condition Unhealthily bloated from constant bombast, all swollen with ponderous language.

940

So straight away I made her diet and removed that excess weight:

I slimmed her down with versicles and walks and lots of white beet.

I gave her the juice of babbling speech which I squeezed from the books I own.

Then I fed her up on monodic songs and mixed
Kephisophon in.

I didn't just talk any nonsense I liked nor heedlessly jumble my
words.

Instead, the character first on stage would start with a direct
statement

Of the ancestry of the plot.

AISCHYLOS. Which was bound at least to be better
than *yours*!

EURIPIDES. From the opening lines I would never allow any charac-
ter just to be idle.

It made no difference what sort they were: so wives and slaves
as well,

And masters and maidens and old women too—they all
spoke the same.

950

AISCHYLOS. Then surely
You deserved to die for such recklessness.

EURIPIDES. Not at all, in Apollo's
name!

This way of writing was *democratic*.

DIONYSOS. Don't pursue this line, old
chap.

It's not a direction of argument that promises well for you.

EURIPIDES [*points at audience*]. Moreover I taught these people
here to chatter away –

AISCHYLOS. Too true!

But before you'd managed to teach them that I wish you'd been
split down the middle!

EURIPIDES. And how to apply to language itself fine measuring-
rods and set-squares,

And to think, to observe, to comprehend, to wriggle and always be
crafty,

To cultivate a suspicious mind, to ponder all things—

AISCHYLOS. Yes, too
true!

EURIPIDES. And I staged *domestic* affairs of the kinds we all habit-
ually live with,

The sorts of things spectators know well. So *if* I'd got anything
wrong,

960

They would have found fault with my artistry. But I didn't, like
you, employ bluster

To distract their minds from serious thought, nor did I cause
frissons of horror

With Kyknos-type figures or Memnons as well, whose horses
have bells on their harness.

You can tell us apart by the kinds of men who are products of *his*
plays and mine.

Phormisios belongs to him, and Megainetos the Phrygian:

All trumpets and lances and long beards they are, the sort who rip
trees with their teeth.

But *my* disciples are Kleitophon and nimble Theramenes too.

DIONYSOS. Theramenes, hey? He's certainly clever and quick-
witted too in all things.

If ever he finds himself in trouble or even comes anywhere
near it,

He always escapes with a lucky throw—for him, nothing dicey
goes wrong!

970

EURIPIDES. Well, that's the sort of cogitation

I introduced in the lives of these people,

By making reasoning part of my art

And enquiry too, which means they now ponder

And thoroughly grasp all manner of things,

Especially how to improve the way

They organize their domestic affairs

And constantly ask 'Well how's this going?',

'Where's such and such?', and 'Who took that?'

DIONYSOS. I swear by the gods we've reached the point

980

Where every Athenian enters his house

And shouts at the top of his voice to the slaves

With urgent demands: 'Now where's that pot?

Who's eaten up the head of that fish,

The sprat I mean? That bowl of mine

I bought last year is finished for good.

And where's that garlic from yesterday?

Who's nibbled away at the olives as well?'

Yet in the past they were mindless dimwits

Who gaped as helpless as tiny babies

990

And sat there like nincompoops.

[While singing and dancing the following, the CHORUS gestures in the direction of AISCHYLOS.]

CHORUS. 'Beholdest thou this, noble Achilles?' *Antistrophe*
 Come then, what answer will you give?
 Be sure of this one thing:
 Don't let your anger seize hold of you
 And sweep you outside the chariot-tracks.
 Terrible charges he's brought against you.
 But even so, magnanimous man,
 Don't let your reply be driven by anger.
 Instead reduce your vessel's canvas,
 Make use of merely the tips of the sails, 1000
 Then gradually, gradually gather your speed
 While watching out for the moment when
 You catch a wind that's smooth and steady behind
 you.

LEADER. O first of all Greek poets who built a tower of mighty words
 And adorned a realm of tragic nonsense, be bold and spout your
 speech.

AISCHYLOS. These circumstances fill me with rage, my guts are
 wrenched with anger.
 To think that *I* must respond to *him*! But in case he should say
 I'm confounded—
 [To EURIPIDES] Just answer me this: what kinds of things should
 prompt our praise for a poet?

EURIPIDES. Sophistication and moral advice. And because it's our
 task to improve
 All the people who live in the cities of Greece. 1010

AISCHYLOS. So if you have
failed to achieve that
 And you took good people of noble mind and turned them
 instead into rabble,
 What penalty will you agree you deserve?

DIONYSOS. He should die! No
 need to ask *him*.

AISCHYLOS. Consider then whether the sorts of people I passed
 on to him at the start

Were of noble mind and stood tall and proud, not turn-and-run
 cowards in battle
 Nor vulgar loafers nor dirty tricksters nor rogues like people today.
 They breathed the spirit of lances and spears and headgear
 with flashing white plumes
 And helmets and greaves and mighty mettle of seven full ox-
 hides in strength.

EURIPIDES. Here we go, as I thought, with this awful stuff. He'll
 grind me down hammering helmets.

What actions of *yours*, could you please explain, taught the people
 to be quite so noble?

DIONYSOS. Answer him, Aischylos. Don't keep brooding in arro-
 gant, wilful rage. 1020

AISCHYLOS. I composed a play that was full of Ares.

DIONYSOS. Which one?

AISCHYLOS. The
Seven against Thebes.

Every man who saw that play performed would have longed for
 a warlike spirit.

DIONYSOS. Well that's a terrible thing that you did! You made the
 Thebans become

Far braver in war than they'd been before. And for that you
 deserve to be beaten.

AISCHYLOS. You Athenians too could have trained more for war;
 it's your fault, not mine, you chose not to.

Later on when I staged the *Persians* too I taught people always
 to want

To defeat their opponents, and at the same time I glorified what
 we'd achieved.

DIONYSOS. Yes, it gave me a thrill when the dead Dareios
 delivered a speech in that play

And the chorus immediately clapped their hands and chanted
 'iauai', 'iauai'.

AISCHYLOS. We expect our poets to do these things. Go back
 to the earliest times 1030

And consider how all the noble poets have helped us to lead
 our lives.

We were taught by Orpheus mystic rites and how to abstain
 from killing.

Musaios taught us cures for disease, and oracles too, while Hesiod
Taught working the land, the seasons of crops, when to plough.

As for Homer divine,

Why else did he win such honour and fame if not by teaching
so well

About army formations and valour and armour?

DIONYSOS.

But he failed

to teach Pantakles that,

The clumsiest man in the whole wide world. He was recently in
a procession

And was trying to fasten his helmet on first before fixing the
crest on the top!

AISCHYLOS. But he taught many other fine men nonetheless—
brave Lamachos, just to name one.

My mind in turn was moulded by Homer; I wrote about
heroes like his,

1040

The lion-heart types like Patroklos and Teukros. My aim was
to rouse every man

To emulate great figures like them when the trumpet of war
sounded out.

But I never created a whore like Phaidra, nor that other one
too, Stheneboia,

And no one can name a woman of mine who suffers from
sexual passion.

EURIPIDES. But that's because your work lacks Aphrodite's allure.

AISCHYLOS.

A good

thing!

Whereas you and yours fell victim to her in a quite spectacular
way:

She crushed you down with all her force.

DIONYSOS.

By Zeus, she certainly did!

All the things you'd written about other women afflicted your
very own life.

EURIPIDES. What harm, you blackguard, was done to the city
by women like my Stheneboias?

AISCHYLOS. You persuaded noble women, the wives of noble hus-
bands as well,

1050

To poison themselves with hemlock, ashamed by *your*
Bellerophon story.

EURIPIDES. But didn't the story I wrote about Phaidra exist
already before me?

AISCHYLOS. It did, but still it's the poet's duty to draw a veil over
evil

And not to stage or teach such matters. For just as smaller children
Have a teacher who tells them things, so poets are teachers to
those who are adults.

We've a serious duty to say what's best.

EURIPIDES. So when *you* use
mountain-sized words,
Lykabettos in size or as big as Parnassos, is *that* then teaching
what's best?

A poet should speak in a human voice.

AISCHYLOS. But we poets, you wretch,
have to strive

To give birth to words that match the greatness of all our
thoughts and ideas.

With characters too who are semi-divine you expect that
they'll use bigger words,

1060

In the very same way that the clothes they wear are far more
majestic than ours.

I set the standards in all these ways but *you* defiled them.

EURIPIDES. Just how?

AISCHYLOS. For one thing you dressed your kings in rags. You
wanted to make them seem

More pitiful in the spectators' eyes.

EURIPIDES. What harm did I do by that?

AISCHYLOS. It's because of these things that nobody rich is
willing to pay for a warship.

Each one of them wraps himself in rags and laments and
claims to be poor.

DIONYSOS. By Demeter, they do, while wearing a thick woollen
tunic beneath their rags!

When they've managed to take people in with their fraud, they're
seen buying fish in the market.

AISCHYLOS. You've also taught people to cultivate bad habits of
blather and chatter.

It's this which has emptied the wrestling-schools and worn
away the buttocks

1070

Of all the young men immersed in their chatter. It's
 persuaded the Paraloi too
 To dare to argue with those in command: when *I* was alive, by
 contrast,
 They only knew how to call for bread and to shout 'yo-ho' from
 their benches.

DIONYSOS. By Apollo, not half, though they also knew how to
 fart on the rowers below them
 And to smear their messmates' faces with shit and to nip onto
 shore for some crime.
 These days they argue and hardly row. The ships wander
 round on their sails.

AISCHYLOS. What evils *hasn't* he helped to cause?
 He's shown us women as go-betweens
 And women in childbirth in sacred places 1080
 And women who sleep with their very own brothers
 And women who say that life is death.
 The consequence of all these things
 Is our city's now teeming with minor officials
 And buffoons who serve as public monkeys
 Deceiving the people at every turn,
 And nobody's able to carry a torch
 Since nobody trains in gymnasia now.

DIONYSOS. How true! I laughed myself dry of tears
 At last year's Panathenaia. I saw 1090
 A runner all hunched and moving so slowly,
 White-faced and fat and lagging behind
 In a desperate state. At the Kerameikos
 The people standing there by the gate
 Slapped his stomach and ribs and sides and
 buttocks,
 And feeling the smacks from the palms of their
 hands
 He started farting
 And ran off while blowing his torch.

CHORUS. Momentous the issue, immense the strife, *Strophe*
 intense the approaching war.
 A difficult task to decide between them 1100

When one exerts its massive force
 While the other can wheel around and resist with
 vigour.
 The pair of you mustn't remain in your camps.
 Many the openings still for further attacks of clever
 ideas.
 So whatever resources you have for competing,
 Speak now, advance now, anatomize
 These subjects ancient and modern.
 Both take the risk of speaking some subtle and clever
 thoughts.

In case you're both afraid stupidity may *Antistrophe*
 prevent the minds
 Of these spectators watching here 1110
 From grasping subtleties that you speak,
 Feel no anxiety on that score—the situation's
 changed.
 These people are all old soldiers now,
 Each of them has a book and understands
 sophistication.
 Their natures are strong in other respects
 And now their wits are whetted.
 So have no fear about that.
 Launch an all-out attack in confidence that these are
 clever spectators.

EURIPIDES [*to AISCHYLOS*]. Very well, I'm going to turn to your
 prologues now.

[*To DIONYSOS*] I intend to take the opening part of a play 1120
 And put to the test his supposedly skilful work.

He was always obscure in explaining dramatic events.

DIONYSOS. Which prologue of his will you test?

EURIPIDES. A very large
 number.

[*To AISCHYLOS*] But start by reciting that one from the
 Oresteia.

DIONYSOS. Let everyone else keep quiet. Speak, Aischylos.

AISCHYLOS. 'Hermes below, watching over the father's power,

Become my saviour, my ally in time of need.

I come back to this land, returning from exile I come.'

DIONYSOS. Do you find any fault with these lines?

EURIPIDES. Yes, more than
a dozen!

DIONYSOS. But the lines themselves don't add up to more than
three.

1130

EURIPIDES. But each of the lines contains some twenty mistakes.

[AISCHYLOS *starts to make rumbling sounds of indignation.*]

DIONYSOS. Keep quiet, I warn you, Aischylos. If you don't,
I'll fine you more than these three iambic lines.

AISCHYLOS. I'm supposed to keep quiet for *him*?

DIONYSOS. If you take my
advice.

EURIPIDES. He starts straightaway with an error as broad as
daylight.

AISCHYLOS. You see what nonsense you speak.

EURIPIDES. I don't care what you
think.

AISCHYLOS. What error d'you claim I made?

EURIPIDES. Recite it again.

AISCHYLOS. 'Hermes below, watching over the father's power—'

EURIPIDES. Well doesn't Orestes say this at the tomb

Of his father after he's died?

1140

AISCHYLOS. I don't deny it.

EURIPIDES. Is the point he's making that when his father had died

A violent death at the hands of his very own wife

In a secret plot, Hermes was 'watching over'?

AISCHYLOS. That wasn't his point. He called Eriounian Hermes

As protector of souls in the earth, and his words explained

That Hermes possesses this role as a gift from his father.

EURIPIDES. Then you made an even bigger mistake than I
thought.

If Hermes possesses this underworld role from his father—

DIONYSOS. It would mean on his father's side he's a robber of
tombs!

AISCHYLOS. Dionysos, the wine you drink has a nasty stench. 1150

DIONYSOS. Recite some more, [*to* EURIPIDES] while *you* watch out for the flaws.

AISCHYLOS. ‘Become my saviour, my ally in time of need.

I come back to this land, returning from exile I come.’

EURIPIDES. He said the same thing twice, clever Aischylos!

DIONYSOS. How twice?

EURIPIDES. Consider the words, and I’ll explain.

‘I come back to this land’, he says, and ‘return from exile.’

But ‘come back’ and ‘return’ just mean the very same thing.

DIONYSOS. It’s as if, by Zeus, someone should say to his neighbour

‘Please lend me a kneading-trough—or a trough for kneading.’

AISCHYLOS. Not at all—you’ve been overwhelmed by his blather,
you have!

1160

The two things don’t mean the same. It’s poetic phrasing.

EURIPIDES [*sarcastically*]. How’s that? Do please enlighten me
what you mean.

AISCHYLOS. ‘Come back’ is something that any inhabitant does.

It applies when no special circumstances exist.

But a man who’s been in exile ‘comes back and returns’.

DIONYSOS. I like it! But what do you say then, Euripides?

EURIPIDES. I flatly deny that Orestes returned to his home.

He came back secretly and without permission.

DIONYSOS. I like that too! But I don’t really know what you mean.

EURIPIDES [*to* AISCHYLOS]. Continue the next bit then.

1170

DIONYSOS.

Yes do,

continue,

Keep going, Aischylos. [*To* EURIPIDES] *You* watch for faults.

AISCHYLOS. ‘Upon the mound of this tomb I beseech my father

To hearken, to hear—’

EURIPIDES. Another example again!

‘To hearken, to hear’, it’s blatant they both mean the same.

DIONYSOS. It’s because he was calling the dead, you stupid
bonehead!

We can’t even make them hear if we call *three* times.

But how did *you* compose your prologues?

EURIPIDES.

You’ll see.

If you catch me ever repeating myself or find padding

That doesn’t belong to the plot, you can spit on my work.

DIONYSOS. Come on then, speak. I really need to listen

1180

To the standards of diction your prologues exemplify.

EURIPIDES. 'A time there was when Oedipus was happy.'

AI SCHYLOS. Completely false! He was damned when he came into being!

He must have been, since even before he was born

Apollo foretold he was going to murder his father.

So how could a man like this have ever been happy?

EURIPIDES. 'His fortunes changed: he became most wretched of mortals.'

AI SCHYLOS. Completely false! He was wretched right from the start.

It must have been the case, since when he was born

They put him inside a jar and exposed him in winter, 1190

To make sure that he didn't grow up to murder his father.

He came to Polybos' court with his swollen feet.

Later still, he married a woman much older than him—

And not just a woman, his very own mother in fact!

He eventually blinded himself.

DIONYSOS [*sarcastically*]. Ah, happy indeed—

Provided he served alongside Erasinides!

EURIPIDES. What nonsense you're talking. My prologues are beautifully written.

AI SCHYLOS. I can't bear to continue this word-by-word dissection

Of every verse. With the help of the gods on my side

I'll use a miniature oil-jar to rubbish your prologues. 1200

EURIPIDES. A miniature *oil-jar* to deal with my prologues?

AI SCHYLOS. Just one.

Your style of writing means any old object will fit—

A fleecet, a miniature oil-jar, a little old sack—

The iambic lines you compose. I'll show you at once.

EURIPIDES. Oh you will, will you?

AI SCHYLOS. Yes.

EURIPIDES. All right then, listen to this.

'Aigyptos, so prevailing tradition relates,

With fifty sons traversed the sea by oar,

Put in to Argos and—'

AI SCHYLOS. lost his miniature oil-jar!

DIONYSOS. What's the point of the miniature oil-jar? It's damned annoying.

Recite him a further prologue—let's see what it means.

1210

EURIPIDES. 'Dionysos, equipped with thyrsos and wearing
fawnskins,

Among the pine-trees down Parnassos's slopes

Went leaping in dance and—'

AISCHYLOS. lost his miniature oil-jar!

DIONYSOS. Oh no, he's struck us again with this miniature
oil-jar!

EURIPIDES. I'm not concerned by that. Now *here's* a prologue

To which he won't be able to tag on an oil-jar.

'No man exists who's happy in all respects.

Perhaps born noble he falls in penury's way.

Or low by birth—'

AISCHYLOS. he loses his miniature oil-jar!

DIONYSOS [*confidentially*]. Euripides—

1220

EURIPIDES. What's wrong?

DIONYSOS. Let's lower
the sails.

This miniature oil-jar's about to blow a huge gale.

EURIPIDES. I swear by Demeter I'm not remotely troubled.

I'll show you now—I'll knock the thing from his hand.

DIONYSOS. Well recite another, but please avoid his oil-jar.

EURIPIDES. 'In ancient times, departing from Sidon his city,

Kadmos, Agenor's son—'

AISCHYLOS. lost his miniature oil-jar!

DIONYSOS [*to EURIPIDES*]. I beg you, friend, please *purchase*
the oil-jar from him,

To stop him from tearing your prologues to pieces.

EURIPIDES. You what?

You think I should buy this from *him*?

DIONYSOS. If you take my advice.

EURIPIDES. I certainly won't. There are numerous prologues of
mine

1230

To which he won't be able to tag on an oil-jar.

'When Pelops, the son of Tantalos, came to Pisa

With his dashing horses—'

AISCHYLOS. he lost his miniature oil-jar!

DIONYSOS. You see? He's managed to tag on the oil-jar again.

Please pay him his price, my good man—it's not too late.

You'll be getting a very fine oil-jar for only an obol.

EURIPIDES. I certainly won't, not yet. I've lots more prologues.

'Oineus once from the land—'

AISCHYLOS. lost his miniature oil-jar!

EURIPIDES. Allow me first to get to the end of the line!

'Oineus once from the land took abundant crops
And making first sacrifice—'

AISCHYLOS. lost his miniature oil-jar!

DIONYSOS. What, in the act of sacrifice? Who filched it?

EURIPIDES. Ignore him, please. Let him try to respond to *this*.

'Zeus, as we're told by the truth of ancient reports—'

DIONYSOS. You'll finish me off! He'll say 'lost his miniature oil-jar'.

This oil-jar's now a wart on the face of your prologues,
Just like the styes that grow on people's eyelids.

Turn instead, in the name of the gods, to his choral songs.

EURIPIDES. I *will*! What's more, I'll prove that he's no good as well
At composing songs: he always writes the same thing.

CHORUS. What's about to happen next?
Perplexed I am, I cannot imagine
What kind of faults he'll find
With a man who's composed so many songs,
The most beautiful ones of those we know
From all tragic poets who've lived.

Astounded I am and wonder how
He'll try to fault this man,
The bacchic master himself,
For whom I feel afraid.

EURIPIDES [*sarcastically*]. Amazing songs indeed! We're about to
find out.

I intend to condense all his different songs into one.

DIONYSOS. I'll take some pebbles and count the number you use.

[EURIPIDES *gestures to the aulos-player to accompany him, adopts a suitably parodic pose, and proceeds to sing a jumble of Aischylean lyrics in a ludicrously portentous manner.*]

EURIPIDES. Phthian Achilles, why, when you hear the man-slaying,

Alas, alas, toil of battle, comest thou not to our aid?
Hermes our ancestor we worship, we the people round
the lake.

Alas, alas, toil of battle, comest thou not to our aid?

DIONYSOS. That's two toils, Aischylos, for you.

EURIPIDES. Most glorious of Achaians, wide-ruling son of Atreus,
hear me. 1270

Alas, alas, toil of battle, comest thou not to our aid?

DIONYSOS. A third toil, Aischylos, that was.

EURIPIDES. Sacred silence! Bee-keepers approach to unlock
Artemis's temple.

Alas, alas, toil of battle, comest though not to our aid?
I speak with authority of the destined power of men as
they start their journey.

Alas, alas, toil of battle, comest though not to our aid?

DIONYSOS. Zeus king of the gods! I'm losing count of these toils.
The only thing I want is to go to the baths:

These toils have given me swellings around the kidneys. 1280

EURIPIDES. Don't go till you've heard another collection of songs,
This one constructed from nomes meant for kithara music.

DIONYSOS. Very well, continue, but please leave toil aside.

[EURIPIDES *continues in much the same manner, but this time introduces
exaggerated vocal imitations of the strumming of a kithara-lyre.*]

EURIPIDES. When the twin-throned power of the Achaians, of
Greece's youth,
Thrum-splat, thrum-splat, thrum-splat,
Sends the Sphinx, the dog that presides over evil days,
Thrum-splat, thrum-splat, thrum-splat,
With spear and avenging hand a furious bird,
Thrum-splat, thrum-splat, thrum-splat, 1290
Leaving prey for dauntless, air-traversing hounds,
Thrum-splat, thrum-splat, thrum-splat,
The throng converging on Ajax,
Thrum-splat, thrum-splat, thrum-splat.

DIONYSOS [*to AISCHYLOS*]. What on earth's this 'thrum-splat'
sound and where did you hear it?

In Marathon's fields or the songs of a rope-hauling man?

AISCHYLOS. Not at all. My finest plays used the finest sources.

My poetic flowers were not those that Phrynichos culled:
 I went to a different part of the Muses' meadows. 1300
 [*Gesturing*] But *he* takes stuff from high and low: whores' ballads,
 Meletos' drinking songs, plus Karian pipe-tunes
 And dirges and dances as well. I'll show you right now.
 Bring any old lyre—though come to think of it, why?
 I'll dispense with that. But call that woman who plays
 The potsherd castanets—Euripides' Muse!
 She's just the right person to go with these songs that I'll sing.

[Enter from the stage building EURIPIDES' MUSE, a down-market female performer with a pair of ceramic castanets in each hand. She writhes around in a louche manner during the parody of Euripidean lyrics delivered by AISCHYLOS.]

DIONYSOS. Well here's a Muse who never found work on
 Lesbos!

AISCHYLOS [*singing parodically*].
 Halcyons, who by the sea's ever-flowing
 Waves mouth all your blather, 1310
 Dipping your wings in the moist
 Liquid, bedewing their skin,
 And you who in angles beneath the rafters
 Sp-i-i-i-i-i-in with your fingers, o spiders,
 Your loom-taut spool-threads,
 A singing shuttle's exercises,
 Where the pipe-loving dolphin gambols
 Near prows with dark-blue ramming rods
 In oracular fashion and in competition.
 Gleaming glory of the vine's wine-flower, 1320
 Grape-cluster's toil-ending tendril,
 Throw your arms around, o child.
 Do you see this dance-step?

EURIPIDES. I do.

AISCHYLOS. Well then, and this one too?

EURIPIDES. I do.

AISCHYLOS. And though you compose such things
 You dare to find fault with *my* songs,
 When your lyrics use a dozen contortions

That would suit Kyrene the courtesan?

Well that will do for your choral songs. But I want
To take to pieces the style of your monodies too.

1330

[AISCHYLOS *starts to sing again, producing another mishmash of pastiche and partial quotations.* EURIPIDES' MUSE *continues to cavort.*]

AISCHYLOS. O Night's black-gleaming darkness,
What is this anguished dream
You send me, emerging from invisible Hades
With a soul that is no soul,
Black Night's shuddering child,
Apparition horrendous,
Draped corpse-like in black,
Blood-filled, blood-filled look in its eyes,
Possessing huge talons.
Come, attendants, light me a lamp,
Scoop dewy liquid in pitchers from rivers
And heat the water,
So I may ablute this god-sent dream.
Hail deity of the sea!
Just what I expected. Occupants of the house,
Behold these portents! My cock's
Been snatched by Glyke, who's fled.
Mountain-born Nymphs!
O Mania, help me to catch her.
Poor woman that I am
I happened to be concentrating
On my work, a spindle full of flax
I was sp-i-i-i-i-i-ining in my hands,
Producing thread, so that
At dawn I might go to the Agora
And take it with me to sell.
But my cock has flown, has flown up high
On the lightest extremities of his wings,
He's left woes, woes for me
And tears, tears from my eyes
I've shed, I've shed in my misery.

1340

1350

Come Cretans, children of Mount Ida,
 Take your bows and come to my defence,
 Agitate your limbs
 As you surround her house.
 And with you may Diktyнна, lovely child,
 Bring her pack of delicate bitches and come
 Through the palace in every direction. 1360
 And you, daughter of Zeus, brandishing
 Twin-flamed, blazing torches in your hands,
 Hekate, light my way into Glauke's house
 To guide my search for the stolen goods.

DIONYSOS. You must both now stop these lyrics.

AISCHYLOS. I've had enough
 too.

I want to make him come to the weighing-scale challenge.
 This alone will fully assess our talents as poets.
 It's the *weight* of our words that will prove the definitive test.

DIONYSOS. Come here then, both, if I really have to do this
 And treat the art of poets like cheese for sale!

[During the following ode one of the ATTENDANTS brings out an enormous pair of scales and DIONYSOS starts to examine them before making the two tragedians take up position on either side of the equipment.]

CHORUS. How meticulous clever people are! 1370
 Here's yet another prodigious thing,
 Unprecedented, full of absurdity—
 Who else could have thought of it?
 Upon my word, if anyone else
 Had told me this, there isn't a chance
 I would have believed him. I'd simply suppose
 He was talking pure balderdash.

DIONYSOS. Right then, both stand beside the scales.

AISCHYLOS AND EURIPIDES. Okay.

DIONYSOS. Both hold a pan and utter a verse in turn
 And don't let go till I give you the cuckoo's call. 1380

AISCHYLOS AND EURIPIDES. We're holding now.

DIONYSOS. Then say your
 words in the scales.

EURIPIDES. 'If only the Argo's hull hadn't winged its way—'

AISCHYLOS. 'O river Spercheios and grazing lands of cattle—'

DIONYSOS. Cuckoo!

AISCHYLOS AND EURIPIDES. We've let go.

DIONYSOS. Well well, the

scales have dropped

On Aischylos' side.

EURIPIDES. But what's the reason for that?

DIONYSOS. It's because he put in a whole river: just like
wool-sellers

He made his verse weigh more by making it moist,

While *you* put in a verse that was winged and light.

EURIPIDES. Well, let him quote something else and compete again.

DIONYSOS. Then hold the pans once more. 1390

AISCHYLOS AND EURIPIDES. Okay.

DIONYSOS. Now speak.

EURIPIDES. 'Persuasion has no shrine but speech itself.'

AISCHYLOS. 'Alone among the gods Death craves no gifts.'

DIONYSOS. Let go.

AISCHYLOS AND EURIPIDES. We've done so.

DIONYSOS. It's tilting to *him* again.

He put death in the scale, the heaviest evil we know.

EURIPIDES. But *I* put in persuasion—my verse is perfect.

DIONYSOS. But persuasion is something light and lacking in
thought.

Try one more time to find a ponderous weight

Whose size and mass will tilt the scales on *your* side.

EURIPIDES. Now where, oh where can I find such a thing?

DIONYSOS. I'll tell you.

[*Facetiously*] 'Achilles threw—three dice, two ones and
a four!'

1400

[*To both*] Please speak again, since this is the final weighing.

EURIPIDES. 'Hefted with the iron the club he grasped in his
hand—'

AISCHYLOS. 'Chariot piled on chariot, corpse on corpse—'

DIONYSOS [*to EURIPIDES*]. He's managed to fool you again.

EURIPIDES. But how's he done it?

DIONYSOS. By placing in two chariots and two corpses,

Too much for even a hundred Egyptians to lift!

AISCHYLOS. Let him stop putting into the scales just lines of verse,
 Let him, his children, his wife, Kephisophon too
 All sit in the scales, let him take in his books as well.
 I'll still outweigh him with any two verses of mine. 1410

DIONYSOS [*despairingly*]. These men are both my friends: I can't
 choose a winner!

I've no intention of being at odds with either.

I think that one of them's wise, the other I like.

PLOUTON [*stepping forward*]. So it seems you won't achieve what
 you came here to do.

DIONYSOS. But suppose I decide?

PLOUTON. You'll leave with one of these
 men,

Whichever you choose—so your journey won't prove to be
 wasted.

DIONYSOS. Such kindness! I wish you well. [*To the poets*] Now
 listen to me.

I came down here to find a poet. And why?

To save the city and safeguard its festival plays.

So whichever of you is able to give the city 1420

The best advice, it's *him* I've resolved to take back.

Tell me first the view that each of you holds about

Alkibiades. The city's in pangs over him.

AISCHYLOS. Well what's the view of the city?

DIONYSOS. You want to know?

It pines for him yet loathes him but wants to *have* him.

But I need you both to tell me your thoughts about him.

EURIPIDES. I hate a man who'll always prove to be

Reluctant to help his homeland but quick to harm it—

A man who advances himself but hinders the city.

DIONYSOS. Hurrah for that, by Poseidon! [*To AISCHYLOS*] And
 what's your view? 1430

AISCHYLOS. Don't rear the whelp of a lion inside the city. 1431a

Ideally don't rear a lion inside the city, 1431b

But if one's bred, be sure to tend to its needs.

DIONYSOS. By Zeus the Saviour, I just can't choose between them!

The one spoke wisely, the other in lucid style.

[*Thinking*] Look, each of you give me a single further idea

Which you think would help to promote the city's survival.

EURIPIDES. Suppose Kleokritos flew with Kinesias—wings
And he soared on currents of air out over the sea—

DIONYSOS. What a ludicrous sight it would be! But what's the
point?

EURIPIDES. If they took with them vinegar jars, during naval
battles 1440
They could spray the vinegar down in our enemies' eyes—

[DIONYSOS *seems about to interrupt, but EURIPIDES is determined to
continue.*]

I know the solution. I'd like to explain it.

DIONYSOS. Go on then.

EURIPIDES. As soon as we start to trust what's now untrusted
And to lose our trust in what's trusted—

DIONYSOS. I'm baffled already!
Explain yourself in a clearer, less erudite way.

EURIPIDES. I mean the citizens whom we currently trust:
If we lost our trust in these but used instead
The ones we don't use now, we might be saved.
If our present leaders are bringing us close to ruin,
We'd surely be saved if we switched to the opposite ways? 1450

DIONYSOS. You're a true Palamedes, a genius, what a fine thought!
Who's idea was this: your own or Kephisophon's then?

EURIPIDES. It was mine—though Kephisophon thought of the
vinegar jars.

DIONYSOS [*to AISCHYLOS*]. Well what about *you*?

AISCHYLOS. Tell me first
what kind of leaders

The city has now. Are they really the best?

DIONYSOS. You're joking!
It simply loathes such people.

AISCHYLOS. And *likes* bad leaders?

DIONYSOS. Well, not exactly—she has no choice but to use them.

AISCHYLOS. Then how could anyone save a city like this

When it doesn't know whether a cloak or a goatskin will fit?

DIONYSOS. That's the problem for *you* to solve, if you want to go
back! 1460

AISCHYLOS. I'll say what I think back there, but not down here.

DIONYSOS. No, no, you can't. You must send up your help from
down here.

AISCHYLOS. As soon as they start to believe that the enemy's land
Belongs to themselves, while their own is their enemy's land,
And believe that the fleet is their wealth, all their other
wealth void.

DIONYSOS. I agree—though our juries consume all the wealth that
we have.

PLOUTON. It's time for you to judge.

DIONYSOS. Well here's my judgement.

[*Solemnly*] I'll choose the one my soul desires to have.

EURIPIDES. Remember the oath you swore by the gods before
That you'd take me home. Be sure to choose your friends. 1470

DIONYSOS. 'It's my tongue that swore'—but Aischylos is my
choice!

EURIPIDES. What on earth have you done, you revolting person?

DIONYSOS. What,
me?

I've judged that Aischylos wins—and what's to stop me?

EURIPIDES. Can you look me in the eye after being so shameless?

DIONYSOS. 'What's shameful if those watching don't think
it's so?'

EURIPIDES. You brute, you mean you'll leave me to die like this?

DIONYSOS. 'Who knows if life is really the same as death',
If breathing is eating, if sleeping is merely a blanket?

PLOUTON. Go inside, Dionysos, with Aischylos too.

DIONYSOS. What for?

PLOUTON. I'd like to feast you before you sail back. 1480

DIONYSOS. That's kind,

By Zeus, I don't object to an offer like that.

[DIONYSOS *leads AISCHYLOS back into the stage building, followed by*
PLOUTON *and, skulking behind them, EURIPIDES.*]

CHORUS. Happy indeed the man who has *Strophe*
Sharp astuteness in his grasp.
Many the things that make this clear.
Now his intelligence can be seen,
Aischylos is the one who'll go home
Bringing good to the citizens,

Bringing good, what's more, to his own
 Kith and kin and friends as well,
 All because he's astute in mind.

1490

Pleasing, then, not to sit around *Antistrophe*
 Talking hot air with Sokrates,
 Treating the Muses' work with contempt,
 Spurning the most important things
 About the art of tragic drama.
 As for pretentious arguments,
 Quibbles of nit-picking drivel:
 Devoting an idle life to *those*
 Is the mark of someone crazy!

[PLOUTON, *carrying a sword, some nooses, and a mortar and pestle, reappears from the palace door, leading out AISCHYLOS and DIONYSOS.*]

PLOUTON. Depart then, Aischylos, farewell! 1500
 Your task is now to preserve our city
 With good ideas. And educate
 The stupid folk—no shortage of them!
 Take this sword and give it to Kleophon,
 And these nooses here for the revenue board,
 For Myrmex and Nikomachos too,
 And give this hemlock to Archenomos.
 Tell them all to rush down here to me
 Without delay. If they don't come quickly,
 I swear by Apollo I'll treat them like slaves: 1510
 I'll brand them and shackle them up together
 With Adeimantos, son of Leukolophos,
 And dispatch them to Hades at once.

AISCHYLOS. I'll do as you say. And you meanwhile
 Please place my throne in Sophokles' care.
 He must keep it safe, in case I return
 Back here. He's the poet I judge to be
 Next best in artistry to me.
 But be sure the *other*—that scoundrel I mean, 1520
 The peddler of lies who plays the fool—
 Can't occupy that throne of mine
 Not even by accident!

PLOUTON [*to* CHORUS]. Now light the way for him, you people,
With your sacred torches. Escort him onwards
With songs belonging to plays of his own
And resounding chants.

[ATTENDANTS *have brought torches for the* CHORUS, *which sings its final song as it prepares to depart.*]

CHORUS. Grant as our first prayer a prosperous journey for this
departing poet
As he rises back up to the world of light, o deities
beneath the earth,
And grant to the city good thoughts productive of
great benefits. 1530
In this way we hope for a final end to our great
afflictions
And the grievous clashes of battle. Let Kleophon
fight,
Together with anyone else who wants, in his *own*
ancestral fields.

[*Exit* CHORUS.]

APPENDIX

THE LOST PLAYS OF ARISTOPHANES

THE purpose of this appendix is to give general readers an impression of the scope of Aristophanes' oeuvre as a whole by providing a brief account of what we know about each of the lost plays, together with a small selection of some of the more notable fragments. The numbering of fragments follows the standard edition of Kassel and Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*; the same numbering is used in Henderson's bilingual Loeb, *Aristophanes: Fragments* (for both works see Select Bibliography, 'Fragments'). The plays are listed in alphabetic order of their Greek titles. Incompleteness in the original is indicated by . . . , omissions from the translation by [. . .]. Abbreviations for the surviving plays of Aristophanes are the same as in the notes to the translation.

Aiolosikon (Aiolos-Sikon)

There were two versions of the play, the later staged near the end of Aristophanes' life (c.388–385) in the name of his playwright son Araros; cf. on *Kokalos* below. It is possible that at least the second version, like the surviving *Assembly-Women* and *Wealth*, had a diminished choral element and no parabasis, though fr. 9 shows that there was a chorus of women in at least one of the versions, and fr. 8 too is choral. The title (as the protagonist's name) is a compound of Aiolos (guardian of the winds: cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 10.1 ff.) and Sikon, possibly here a cook's name: the protagonist presumably had something in common with both identities. There were certainly references to food: a bakery (fr. 1), shopping in the Agora (fr. 2), boiled pig's trotters (fr. 4), onions (fr. 5), cooking utensils (fr. 7). A gluttonous Herakles (see note on *F*. 62) was either mentioned or brought onto stage (fr. 11). It is likely that there was some relationship to Euripides' tragedy *Aiolos* (cf. n. on *C*. 1372), in which Makareus and Kanake committed brother–sister incest and later (after they failed to be paired in a lottery for incestuous marriages of all Aiolos' children) killed themselves. But nothing remotely like a plot can be reconstructed. There are several references to the world of women: in addition to frs. 8 and 9 there was a reference to a woman's 'perfume-case' (fr. 16).

fr. 8 (choral, probably referring to a woman, possibly to diaphanous attire: cf. *L*. 48):

And we see gleaming through,
Just as with a new lamp,
Everything (beneath?) the off-the-shoulder dress.

fr. 9 (female chorus singing):

No wonder, women,
The men always lambast us
With every kind of abuse.
When we do our terrible deeds
We're caught by them.

Amphiaraos

Staged at Lenaia 414, directed by Philonides (who also produced *Frogs* and possibly *Wasps*: cf. on *Proagon* below). At least part of the play was set at the oracular shrine (near Oropos, to the north of Attika) of the healer-hero Amphiaraos: visitors slept in the shrine ('incubation') in the hope of finding a cure. Compare the similar procedures with the healer-god Asklepios at *We.* 653–748; fr. 21 represents/reports Amphiaraos addressing his own daughter Iaso (the same name as a daughter of Asklepios at *We.* 701). Fr. 29 may refer to a character's sexual impotence; but the plot cannot be reconstructed. The parabasis, as in several earlier Aristophanic plays, contained reflections on the playwright's own career (frs. 30–1).

fr. 21 (probably a husband addressing his wife; in preparation for incubation at the shrine?):

In the name of Zeus, go and fetch us out of the bedroom
A cushion and pillow, from the ones that are made of linen.

fr. 28 (recitative metre, speaker and addressee uncertain):

And the snakes you supply
Seal up in a basket,
And stop your selling of drugs.

fr. 29 (hexameters, indicating an oracular utterance delivered from Amphiaraos' shrine):

And make the old man's loins wiggle vigorously, like a wagtail's.
This way (the god?) will effect a healing spell.

fr. 30 (choral, from the parabasis, probably in the voice of the poet):

I know I'm doing something old-fashioned, I'm not unaware of that.

fr. 31 (choral, almost certainly, like fr. 30, from the parabasis; cf. *Geras*, fr. 130 below):

. . . since the time I recognized the comic bogey-mask.

Anagyros

Date uncertain, but probably c.417. Anagyros was the eponymous hero of

an Athenian deme, Anagyrous (subject of a passing joke at *L.* 67–8). The main known myth about him involved a story pattern somewhat like that of Theseus, Phaidra, and Hippolytos: Anagyros took revenge on an old Athenian by making the man's concubine fall in love with his son then falsely accuse the latter of a sexual crime; when the father punished the son and discovered the truth, both he and the concubine committed suicide. Whether/how Aristophanes' play used this myth is entirely unclear. The fragments contain several references to horses, including (fr. 43) the same kind of thoroughbred racehorse mentioned at *C.* 23, 438. Other topics include the rich and poor using the same bath-houses (fr. 59). Given the 'Phaidra complex' theme (above, with Index of Names), it is striking that Euripides, *Hippolytos* 219–22 (where Phaidra deliriously imagines hunting with Hippolytos) is parodied in fr. 53. Fr. 58 is apparently a charge of plagiarism (or derivativeness) against another poet, possibly Eupolis (cf. *C.* 554).

fr. 53 (recitative, female speaker):

In the name of the gods, I lust to eat cicadas
And crickets, after hunting them myself
With a delicate reed.

fr. 58 (choral recitative, from the parabasis, representing the poet's viewpoint):

From the cloak belonging to me he made three simple tunics.

Babylonians

An early landmark in Aristophanes' career; cf. the general Introduction, 'Aristophanes' Career in Context'. Staged at Dionysia 426, with Kallistratos as producer, it may have won first prize; it certainly caused some political controversy. If we can trust the poet's own allusions to the affair at *A.* 377–82, 502–3, 630–1, the leading politician Kleon launched an official complaint to the Council (but not, so far as we can tell, a legal prosecution) that Aristophanes had 'slandered the city in the presence of visitors'. All we know for certain is that the chorus consisted of tattooed Babylonian mill-slaves (frs. 71, 90, 95, 99). The god Dionysos was a character (fr. 75); he presumably brought the chorus with him to Athens, where he was put on trial (for what, we do not know), but given a chance to bribe demagogues to win an acquittal (fr. 75, cf. fr. 68); one of those demagogues was probably Peisander (fr. 84; cf. later references to him at *B.* 1556, *L.* 490), another *may* have been Kleon himself (if *A.* 5–8, as some scholars suppose, refers to a scene in *Babylonians* and not to a historical event). The successful general Phormion (cf. *K.* 562, *P.* 348, *L.* 804) was also mentioned (fr. 88). If, again, we can safely glean something from Aristophanes' own words at *A.* 633–42,

which it is hard not to understand as related to *Babylonians*, the play seems to have satirized the supposed ease with which Athenian assemblies could be impressed (and turned into ‘gaping-mouthed citizens’, *A.* 635, cf. fr. 67 below) by the rhetoric of allied ambassadors; it apparently also made comic material out of Athens’ treatment of her allies (*A.* 642). But how exactly these themes fitted into a plot with Dionysos and the Babylonian chorus remains obscure.

fr. 67 (probably from a narrative account of an Assembly meeting):

Every one of them had a gaping-wide mouth, just like
Mussel-shells cracked open when roasting upon hot coals.

fr. 81 (recitative; someone anticipating the entry of the chorus):

I expect they’ll march in rows and screech in horrid barbarian tones.

Georgoi (Farmers)

Probably staged at some point during 424–421, the play exploited similar thematic contrasts (war vs. peace, city vs. countryside) to those of *Acharnians* and *Peace*: nostalgia for the supposedly easy life of rural Attika was clearly evoked. But details of the plot are unknown. The sons of Hippokrates (see *C.* 1001 with n.) were mocked for the abnormal shapes of their heads (fr. 116). One fragment (102) depicts the general Nikias as a figure keen to escape from front-line politics; it may, but need not, allude to his withdrawal from command of the Pylos campaign in summer 425 (Thucydides 4.28; cf. n. on *C.* 186).

fr. 102:

(A) I want to farm the land. (B) Who’s stopping you then?
(A) You and your friends. If I pay a thousand drachmas,
Will you let me escape from office. (B) We’ll accept the money.
With the payment Nikias made, that makes two thousand.

fr. 109 (choral recitative):

Let’s leave the city behind us now and return to the countryside.
We should have gone long ago to soak in the bath and take it easy.

fr. 111 (choral song):

Peace, bringer of deep wealth, and my little pair of oxen,
How I wish I could give up this war and then
Dig the soil, dress the vines, have a bath and quaff
Some wine, with a gleaming loaf and a radish.

fr. 117 (referring to a tragic poet called Meletos: cf. on frs. 156, 453 below, with n. on *F.* 1302; for Kallias cf. *F.* 428, fr. 583):

. . . he penetrates Kallias . . .

Geras (Old Age)

Date uncertain. The chorus appears to have consisted of rejuvenated old men (fr. 129). Various female characters appeared, including a mother and daughter (fr. 131), a woman abandoning a lover for a bridegroom (fr. 144), and a bread-seller (fr. 129, cf. *W.* 1388 ff.). Fr. 128 *may* be an elaborate culinary metaphor for the difference between Euripides and Aischylos (cf. *F.* 941–4). Incidental details include references to someone vomiting on statues in the Agora (fr. 135) and to allotment machines (cf. *AW* 681) used for allocation of jurors to courts and for the selection of Council members from deme nominees.

fr. 128:

This vinegary, silphium-flavoured stuff, all bulbs and beet,
Sour sauce, fig-leaves with animal brain, oregano—
It's utter crap compared to a big piece of meat.

fr. 130 (cf. fr. 31 above):

Who can tell me where I'll find Dionysos' shrine,
The one where bogey-masks hang on the walls?

fr. 148 (speaker possibly a brothel-keeper, male or female):

Old man, do you like your courtesans quite ripe
Or very young, as firm as salted olives?

Gerytades

The title is the mock-name of a male character, roughly meaning 'Proclaimer'; we have no idea why. Our one piece of information about the plot is that it involved an embassy of poets who went down to Hades, presumably in some way to consult past masters of the art—so something a little akin to *Frogs* (though we cannot be sure of the relative chronology of the two works). We get a lively glimpse of this scenario from fr. 156. Other fragments include references to the operator of the theatrical 'crane' (fr. 160, cf. *Daidalos* fr. 192 below and *P.* 174), to someone praising the poetry of Aischylos (fr. 161), and to people eating the wax off their writing-tablets (fr. 163). It is possible that the embassy brought back personified Poetry: cf. fr. 591.84–5 (unattributed) below.

fr. 156 (beginning with a near-verbatim quotation of Euripides, *Hekabe* 1):

(A) And who to this vault of corpses and gates of darkness
Has dared descend? (B) For each poetic genre
We elected one man at a meeting of all the poets:
We chose the ones we knew were Hades-tourists
And liked to come down here. (A) You mean to say

- You have Hades-tourists up there? (B) We certainly do.
 (A) You mean like tourists to Thrace? (B) Exactly right.
 (A) And who are these men you mean? (B) Sannyrion first
 From the comic poets, and then from tragedy's ranks
 Meletos, with dithyramb's envoy Kinesias.¹
 (A) How thin and slender the hopes you're riding upon!
 These men are so slight they'll be snatched and carried away
 By the mighty force of the river of diarrhoea!²

Daidalos

Daidalos was a mythical Cretan craftsman, designer for King Minos of the labyrinth at Knossos, and father of Ikaros, with whom he eventually fled after incurring Minos' anger (cf. on *Kokalos* below). So the play was presumably a mythological burlesque. Daidalos' ability to make 'moving statues' was referred to (fr. 202). Zeus was mentioned, or even depicted, as using metamorphosis to engage in mischievous behaviour (fr. 198). A character was suspended at one point on the theatrical crane and addressed the crane-operator (fr. 192, cf. *Gerytades*, fr. 160 above).

fr. 191 (for the motif cf. e.g. *WT* 392, 417, *L.* 107, 212–13):

All wives are the same in this respect at least:
 They arrange to keep an adulterer as a side-dish.

Daitales (Banqueters)

Aristophanes' very first play, staged in 427 (probably Lenaia), with either Kallistratos or Philonides as producer. The parabasis of *Clouds* (528–33, with my nn.) refers back to it as a precedent for *Clouds* itself, in being aimed at clever, sophisticated spectators—i.e. for being itself an 'intellectualizing' comedy (see my Introduction to *Clouds*). The link involved comic treatment of clashing educational/cultural values in contemporary Athens, in the case of *Banqueters* through the relationship between a father and a contrasting pair of sons, 'one bashful, the other an arsehole' (C. 529). The thematic threads were complex; there were affinities, but not a complete correspondence, with (a) the Strepsiades–Pheidippides relationship and (b) the debate between Moral and Immoral in *Clouds*. The sons, one traditional and one 'modern' in conduct, diverged at an early stage in their

¹ Sannyrion: a minor comedian whose plays included one called *Laughter*. Meletos: possibly the tragedian who took part in the prosecution of Sokrates; see Plato, *Apology* 19b–c, 23e, etc. Cf. the same name in fr. 117 above, 453 below. Kinesias: see Index of Names. All three figures are supposed to have been notoriously gaunt and, by comic exaggeration, suitably corpse-like for a trip to Hades.

² Cf. the 'river of shit' at *F.* 146.

upbringing (fr. 206). The modern son was corrupted, according to the father, into a life of sybaritic hedonism (fr. 225); he refused to countenance traditional work on the land (fr. 232); and he abused his father with language which the latter associated with contemporary orators, showy aristocrats like Alkibiades (cf. fr. 244), and fashionable teachers of rhetoric (fr. 205, where Thrasymachos is the rhetorician memorably depicted at Plato, *Republic* 1.336b ff.). This same son, it seems (fr. 233), was reluctant to answer questions (of the kind a schoolteacher might ask) about the meaning of certain words in Homer; instead, he challenged his father and brother to explain archaic *legal* terms in Solon's law-code. Fr. 235 probably depicts the father inviting the decadent son to sing traditional sympotic poetry (and presumably being rebuffed with a more 'modern' choice of poets: cf. C. 1354–72). The chorus consisted of a kind of religious dining-club (a *thiasos*) which met in a shrine of Herakles, but their status vis-à-vis the characters is not clear.

fr. 205 (the sophisticated son abusing his father):

- (A) You coffinette and funeral myrrh and pile of wreaths!
- (B) Hah, 'coffinette'! Lysistratos gave you that word.
- (A) It won't be long before you find you're wrong-footed.
- (B) You've learnt 'wrong-footed' as well from the orators' lingo.
- (A) Your words will have an upshot, of that I'm sure.
- (B) That's Alkibiades' term, to have an 'upshot'.
- (A) Why these conjectures and all this abuse of men
Who cultivate distinction? (B) Oh Thrasymachos!
Which legal advocate uses these flashy retorts?

fr. 206 (one brother—probably the 'modern' one—speaking to the other):

- Do *you* have the clever ideas that *I* acquired?
- Did you not play truant from school at the earliest stage?

fr. 225 (the father describing the decadent son; recitative metre, probably from an agon):

- When I sent him to school it wasn't these things he learnt, but instead
- To drink, then sing in a rotten way, and to eat rich food
- From Syracuse, and to feast as the Sybarites do [. . .]

fr. 229 (same metre as fr. 225; probably a description of the decadent son):

- His skin as smooth as that of an eel, his hair in golden ringlets.

fr. 232 (the 'modern' son speaking; recitative metre, probably from an agon):

- When I've worn myself down with all that practice on music for pipes and
lyres,
- Do you really expect me to dig the soil?

fr. 235 (the father speaking? See above. For the poets named, cf. *WT* 161–2):

Pick up the lyre, sing a drinking-song from Alkaïos or Anakreon.

fr. 247 (for the possible theme, cf. *C.* 1044–54):

We [or ‘he’] washed in cold water.

Danaids

Evidently a play with an element of mythological burlesque: for the story of Danaos’ fifty daughters and their flight from Egypt to Argos, see esp. Aischylos, *Suppliants*. There are only faint traces of the Danaid theme as such in frs. 267 (an Egyptian word for sourdough bread), 270 (‘very Danaos-like’), 272 (Lynkeus, husband of one of the Danaids). Otherwise the fragments preserve miscellaneous details, including references to buying cheap octopus/fish in the market (fr. 258), a box for storing actors’ equipment (fr. 259), and sellers of emetics/purgatives (fr. 269). We know that there was a parabasis from the following two fragments, which reflect on the history of comedy itself (cf. e.g. the parabases of *Knights* and *Peace*), though quite what fr. 264 envisages (primitive, rustic costumes? and food for the post-play party?) is uncertain.

fr. 264 (recitative metre):

The chorus used to dance while draped with rugs and sacks of bedding,
And ribs of beef tucked under their arms—yes, sausage and radishes too.

fr. 265 (same metre, and probably from the same passage, as fr. 264):

That’s how little trouble it was for them to compose their verses back then.

Dionysos Shipwrecked

Virtually nothing is known about this play. It was included in lists of Aristophanes’ works, but it was one of four plays whose authorship was disputed by some (and attributed alternatively to the late 5th-century playwright Archippos).

Dramas I (also Centaur) and II (also Niobus)

Aristophanes appears to have written two plays called *Dramas*, though some ancient scholars questioned the attribution of *Dramas II* to Aristophanes (and assigned it to the late 5th-century playwright Archippos instead; cf. the previous entry). Euripides was a character in one of the two. Little is known about the contents of either. *Dramas I* may have been connected to Herakles’ visit to the centaur Pholos and his subsequent fight with other centaurs (cf. Index of Names). Incidental references in the fragments include urination (fr. 280), a brothel (fr. 283), and lewd dancing (fr. 287).

The alternative title of *Dramas II* may denote a male equivalent of Niobe

(see n. on *F.* 912), who was mentioned in the play (fr. 294). There seems to have been a scene set in Hades (fr. 289, someone speaking for ‘those of us here below’); fr. 290, in which someone’s lamp goes out, might also belong there. There was mention of Chairephon, Sokrates’ companion (see Index of Names), as a ‘thief’ (fr. 295).

One of the two plays included the ritual of weighing sacrificial animals for the Apatouria (nn. on *WT* 558, *F.* 798): a speaker asks another to press down the scales to make an animal seem heavier than it is (fr. 299).

Eirene (Peace) II

We cannot be sure whether this was a revised version of the surviving *Peace* or a separate work. But it must in any case have involved a thematic contrast between war and peace, including the association of the latter with the rural life of Attika (compare *Georgoi* above, *Nesoi* below): personified Farming was a character (fr. 305). There are only a handful of fragments; one contains a reference to triangular notice-boards on which military rosters were displayed in Athens (fr. 309).

fr. 305:

(Farming) Of Peace, so dear to all of human kind,
 Her faithful nurse, her steward and helper and aide,
 Her daughter, her sister—I was all these things to her.
 (B) Then what’s your name? (F) You want my name? I’m Farming.

fr. 306:

 Well take the shield
 And use it at once as a lid on top of the well.

Heroes

Named after its chorus (‘heroes’ in the sense of semi-divinized figures from the past). But we know nothing at all of the plot. Incidental details include references to a device like a neck-brace to prevent slaves from eating dough while kneading it (fr. 314), a bull-roarer for whirling round the head on a string (fr. 315), a hermaphroditic deity (fr. 325), and Dietrephes (fr. 321), known to have been an Athenian military commander in the period 414–411 (cf. *B.* 800).

fr. 322 (sung by the chorus, probably as part of its parodos or entrance):

 So for these reasons, men, take care
 And worship us these heroes, since
 We are the stewards of all things,
 The sufferings and the good things too.
 Our eyes are peeled for unjust people,
 Like thieves and highway robbers:

These are the ones we cause diseases—
 Enlargement of spleen and coughs and dropsy,
 Catarrh and scabies and gout,
 Insanity and ulcerous skin,
 Swollen lymph nodes, shivers, fever
 . . . —that's what we give to thieves.

Thesmophoriazousai (Women at the Thesmophoria) II

Probably later than the surviving play of the same name, this one was set on the third day (called Kalligeneia: cf. *WT* 300) of the women's Thesmophoria festival; Kalligeneia spoke the prologue (fr. 331). One fragment contains an extraordinarily detailed list (from, it seems, a disbelieving male speaker) of women's toiletries, clothes, cosmetics, and jewellery (fr. 332). There was at least one reference to Agathon (fr. 341), who actually appears at *WT* 101–265; but there is no reason to suppose the play had much to do with Euripides. The Thesmophoria as an interruption in marital relations is presumably the background to fr. 344. Frs. 347–8, in similar lyric metres, contain reflections on the earlier history of comedy which probably belong to the parabasis (for the reference to Krates in fr. 347, cf. *K.* 537–40). Also from the parabasis must have been fr. 346 (preserved only in an Arabic paraphrase of a work by Galen), where Aristophanes claimed, whether factually or fictionally, that he had been ill for four months (with a shivering cold and a fever).

fr. 334 (naming wine from various Greek islands; the last line is sexual):

I won't allow the drinking of Pramnian wine
 Nor Chian nor Thasian nor wine from Peparethos,
 Nor any other that will raise your battering-ram.

fr. 338 (cf. fr. 664, *WT* 139, 251, 638, though the Greek term here is different):

. . . she'd just undone the flap of her little dress
 As well as the bands which held her tiny breasts.

fr. 341 (a reference to literary style that puns on effeminate lack of facial hair):

. . . and an antithesis that's shaved in Agathon's style

fr. 344:

I wish to mount my wife.

fr. 347 (where it is important that 'salt fish' was a cheap food in Athens):

Indeed the words and music of comedy's art provided a tasty dish
 At the time when Krates regarded his salt fish 'ivory-textured'

And 'glistening bright' and 'effortlessly called to mind'
And had thousands of other such things to make his audience giggle.

fr. 348 (where the 'director' is probably also the playwright; cf. e.g. *A.* 628, *K.* 507):

... nor summon the Muses with their curling tresses
Nor call upon the Olympian Graces to join the dance:
They're with us already here, so says our director ...

Kokalos

The play was staged near the end of Aristophanes' life (c.388–85) in the name of his playwright son Araros, possibly at the Dionysia of 387 (when we know that Araros won first prize); cf. on *Aiolosikon* above. Ancient critics claimed that the plot, with 'rape, recognition (sc. of identity) and other elements', anticipated typical features of New Comedy; but we have no idea how. Kokalos was king of Kamikos (later Akragas) in Sicily, where Daidalos (see above on the play named after him) took refuge from Minos, who was subsequently killed by Kokalos' daughters. Aristophanes' plot possibly had a parodic relationship to Sophokles' *Kamikioi* (Men of Kamikos), though the latter may itself have been a satyr-play. The few surviving fragments are entirely miscellaneous: e.g. references to chilblains (fr. 359), old women drinking unmixed wine (fr. 364), someone vomiting after drinking unmixed wine (fr. 365), and Korinthian prostitutes (fr. 370, cf. *We.* 149).

Lemniai (Lemnian Women)

A mythological burlesque, probably from the late fifth century and parodying parts of a set of myths used by several tragedians. The women of Lemnos, afflicted with a horrible odour by Aphrodite, were rejected by their husbands; in revenge, the women murdered all the men of the island—with the exception of Hypsipyle, who saved her father Thoas. The women subsequently became the lovers of the visiting Argonauts, Hypsipyle being Jason's mistress. Fr. 373 mentions Hypsipyle and the previous reign of Thoas, fr. 374 the women's killing of their husbands, and fr. 375 may refer to the arrival of the Argonauts. But we cannot reconstruct the plot as a whole.

fr. 375:

Every colonnade is swarming with foreign men.

fr. 382:

The women are fencing off their fannies.

fr. 383 (referring to a game like jacks and supposedly played especially by women):

<Playing> five-stones with broken bits of a pot.

Nephelai (Clouds) I

The surviving *Clouds*, as we are told by ancient scholars, is an extensively but incompletely revised version of the original play of 423: cf. my Introduction to the play. Three parts in particular were, we know, substantially changed by Aristophanes: the parabasis (which, in the surviving version, at 520–33, actually refers back to the ‘failed’ first performance), the agon between Moral and Immoral (where the contestants may have been presented as fighting-cocks in the first version), and the burning of Sokrates’ school in the final scene. Among a handful of small fragments of the original text of 423 are the following.

fr. 392 (referring to Sokrates; cf. n. on *F.* 1492):

The man who writes Euripides’ plays for him,
Those loquacious, clever plays—well, *this* is the person!

fr. 393 (referring to Chairephon and/or others like him; see Index of Names):

They’ll lie like a pair of moths that are fucking each other.

Nesoi (Islands)

The title refers to the play’s chorus, which might have consisted of personified islands belonging to the Athenian empire (though other scenarios are possible). We know nothing at all about the plot: the idealized contrast between rural and urban life in fr. 402 does not point to a specific historical context (cf. on *Georgoi* and *Eirene* II above). This was one of four plays whose attribution to Aristophanes was questioned by some ancient scholars: see above on *Dionysos Shipwrecked*.

fr. 402 (compare *Georgoi*, fr. 111):

You fool, you fool, all these things are enjoyed when there’s peace.
This man can live in the fields on his small plot of land,
Quite free from all the troubles the Agora brings,
And possessing his own trim pair of oxen as well.
He can hear the calls of his flock of bleating sheep
And the sound of new wine being filtered into a pot.
For food he’ll enjoy small finches and thrushes too—
No need to spend time in the Agora looking for fish
That’s three days old, overpriced, and weighed for him
By a seller who really cheats him by pressing the scales.

fr. 403 (with reference to the chorus’s entry via an *eisodos*; compare *C.* 323–7):

- (A) But what do you mean? Where exactly are they?
- (B) They’re here, coming through the entrance you see over there.

(?)*Odomantopresbeis* (Envoys to the Odomantians)

Highly dubious: both the title and the attribution to Aristophanes involve conjectural reconstructions of an entry in an inscription (*IG II² 2321.87–8*) recording comic performances at the Lenaia of uncertain date. The Odomantians were a Thracian tribe; cf. *A.* 156–64.

Holkades (Merchant-Ships)

Probably belongs to the late-420s; Lenaia 423 is one possibility. Ancient evidence indicates that the play's themes involved war and peace. The title suggests a chorus of personified ships (cf. *K.* 1300–15 for the trope), which are generally assumed to have represented Athens' extensive trading activity (impeded by war). There was an encounter between an Athenian and a Spartan (fr. 415), who appear to have compared notes on the war.

fr. 415:

Well I never, Spartan! So both our sides, it's clear,
Had lots of trouble of greasy and onerous kinds.

fr. 416 (describing a flatterer's exaggerated attentiveness—but to whom? Cf. *K.* 908):

He scratches that person's dandruff and always plucks
His grey hairs from his beard.

fr. 422 (for Straton, cf. *A.* 122, *K.* 1374):

. . . beardless boys, Straton . . .

fr. 424 (for Euathlos, cf. *A.* 710, *W.* 592):

We too have a wretched archer who's state prosecutor
The way that Euathlos is for you younger men.

Pelargoi (Storks)

References to the politician Neokleides (fr. 454, cf. *AW* 254, 398, *We.* 665, etc.) and to the rich miser Patrokles (fr. 455, cf. *We.* 84) suggest a date in the early fourth century. A tragic poet called Meletos was described as 'the son of Laios' with reference to his trilogy of plays on the Oedipus myth; he was possibly the same person as in fr. 156, but probably not as in fr. 117: the relation of all these figures to the Meletos who was prosecutor of Sokrates remains uncertain (cf. n. on *F.* 1302). The scanty fragments give no clues either to the plot or to the point of the title.

fr. 444 (for sympotic singing, cf. *A.* 979, *C.* 1364, *W.* 1225, 1238):

He held the myrtle branch to sing 'Admetos',
But the other insisted on the 'Harmodios' song instead.

Ploutos (Wealth) I

This play was staged in 408, twenty years earlier than the surviving *Wealth*. We do not know whether the latter was a revision of the former or a completely new work: compare the cases of *Eirene* and *Nephelai* above.

fr. 459 (cf. *F.* 1093–8 for the scenario envisaged here):

... for those who find themselves coming last in the torch-race
It's the cause of flat-handed slaps.

Poiesis (Poetry)

One of four plays whose attribution to Aristophanes was questioned by some ancient scholars: see above on *Dionysos Shipwrecked*. The title probably indicates that the play contained a female personification of poetry: one of only two surviving fragments refers to a group of people seeking all over Greece for a particular woman (fr. 466.3–4); a scenario in which Poetry had (symbolically) hidden herself away is a possibility.

fr. 467 (from a context comparing old and new musical styles; cf. the contest in *Frogs*):

... not the sort of early songs, monotonous seven-stringed pieces, they used to sing.

Polyidos

Polyidos was a Korinthian seer who, among other things, used magic to restore to life Glaukos, son of King Minos of Crete. We do not know what the play made of him, though fr. 469 shows a Cretan connection, since Phaidra was also daughter of Minos; whether coincidentally or not, the Athenian Theseum (temple of Theseus, later husband of Phaidra) was also mentioned (fr. 475, cf. fr. 577).

fr. 468 (the second line is identical to Sophokles, *Elektra* 1173):

To be afraid of death is a load of nonsense:
All human beings are bound to suffer this fate.

fr. 469 (speaker and addressee uncertain):

So there, I give you this woman to be your wife,
Phaidra here: I'm no doubt adding fuel to the fire.

Proagon (Preview)

Our best evidence is that *Proagon* was staged at Lenaia 422, the same festival as *Wasps*. This creates a puzzle about how one poet could have two plays staged in the same competition: the likeliest solution, but not certain, is that *Proagon* was produced in Philonides' name (and won first prize), with Aristophanes himself producing *Wasps* (which won second

prize). The proagon was a ceremony at which (only tragic?) dramatists and actors gave a preview of forthcoming plays at Athenian dramatic festivals: see Plato, *Symposium* 194b. We have no idea how this shaped the plot of Aristophanes' comedy, but we are told Euripides was a character and we know the work contained parodic treatment of the story of Thyestes (who unwittingly ate his own children); Euripides had handled this story in at least two tragedies (cf. *A.* 433).

fr. 477 (probably Thyestes speaking, after having eaten his own children):

O wretched me, what's churning up my stomach?
Oh hell! Where on earth can I find a chamber-pot?

fr. 478 (Thyestes speaking: the second line is in lyric metre, for singing):

I tasted, o miserable me, a sausage of children.
How then behold a roasted pig-snout?

Skenas Katalambanousai (Women Pitching Tents)

The title refers to women claiming sites for temporary accommodation at a festival (cf. e.g. *WT* 624, 658); the women in question probably formed the chorus. There were individual female characters as well, one of whom called a wine-flask her 'fellow-festival-goer' (fr. 487). An ancient source claims that Aristophanes himself was a speaking character (fr. 488), though this has been doubted.

fr. 488 (Aristophanes himself describing his relationship to Euripides?):

I use the rounded style that belongs to his voice
But the thoughts I compose are far less vulgar than his.

fr. 490 (possibly referring to a comedy by Strattis about Kallippides, a leading tragic actor known for his hyper-realistic style):

Just as in *Kallippides*
I sit on the floor in the rubbish that's swept together.

fr. 494:

'The leopardess' is the name they give that strumpet.

Tagenistai (Frying-Pan Men)

The play may have involved the utopian fantasy of a 'life' of feasting in the underworld (see fr. 504). All we know for sure is that there was an abundance of references to food and drink: several fragments suggest feasting that takes place on stage.

fr. 504 (for Plouton, see the Index of Names):

How on earth would Plouton ever have got his name
If he hadn't acquired what's best? Here's one example

Of how the world below outdoes Zeus's realm.
Whenever you weigh with scales, the heavier side
Goes *downwards*, the empty side up to Zeus.

...

... It would never have been the case
That our heads wear garlands ...
When our corpses lie on the bier ...
If there weren't a drinking-party awaiting us there.
That's the reason why the dead are called 'the blessed'.
For everyone says 'The blessed man has left us',
'He's fallen asleep', 'he's happy, he'll feel no pain'.
And we sacrifice sacred offerings to the dead
The way we do to the gods. We pour libations
And ask them to send all good things up to us here.

fr. 506 (for Prodikos, cf. *C.* 361; for books, see n. on *F.* 1114):

This man's been corrupted: the cause is either a book
Or Prodikos or some other blathering type.

fr. 513 (recitative; spoken perhaps by the chorus-leader?):

We've had a little too much to drink, my fellows, and eaten well.

fr. 514 (recitative):

This soup before us that's in the pots is hot and bubbling away.

fr. 515 (from a passage of recitative; for the names cf. e.g. *WT* 858, *F.* 293):

(A) And chthonic Hekate
Entwined with coiling snakes.
(B) ... Why summon Empousa?

fr. 516 (in lyric metre; not necessarily literal: cf. *B.* 463–4):

Bring water for handwashing quickly, slave,
And pass the towel around.

fr. 520 (in lyric metre):

Enough whitebait for me!
I've been laid flat
Scoffing things cooked in oil.
Bring me instead some liver
Or a young boar's
Neck. Otherwise a rib or a tongue
Or a spleen or intestine or an autumn pig's
Womb—bring me this with bread-rolls
That are warm.

Telemesses (Telemessians)

The chorus were people from Tel(e)messus, a city in Lykia (SE Asia Minor)

which possessed an oracle of Apollo and belonged to the Delian League (in effect, the Athenian empire), at least in the mid-fifth century. We are practically clueless about the scenario. Sokrates' companion Chairephon (see Index of Names) was satirized as a *sukophantes*, a kind of blackmailer or malicious prosecutor (fr. 552). Aristyllos (cf. *AW* 647, *We.* 314) was also mentioned. The play is likely to belong to the second half of Aristophanes' career.

fr. 543 (possibly from the play's prologue):

We're not holding this contest in just the same old way
That used to be done, but our business is novel . . .

fr. 545:

(A) Bring us out a table
That has three legs—it really mustn't have four.
(B) But where on earth will I find a three-legged table?

Triphales (Tri-Phallus?)

The title may involve wordplay on the name Phales, personification of the phallus (see *A.* 263–76); there was at least one mention of large penises and/or a priapic god (fr. 567). We do not know to whom the title referred; but his mother was either shown or described giving birth to him (fr. 562). The sons of Hippokrates were mocked: see above on *Georgoi*. In fr. 563 someone is afraid of the political power of Theramenes (cf. n. on *F.* 541). Other references include Iberian mercenaries (cf. Thucydides 6.90.3) and the city walls of Athens (fr. 569). There is no secure basis for the conjecture that the play had something to do with Alkibiades.

Phoinissai (Phoenician Women)

The play probably stood in a parodic relationship to Euripides' *Phoinissai* (c.409), which deals with the fateful conflict between the two sons of Oedipus. Among the handful of fragments is a reference to a *theatropoles* (fr. 575), an entrepreneur who held a franchise from the city for selling theatre-tickets.

fr. 570 (possibly from the prologue; reminiscent of a tragic messenger-speech):

On Oedipus' pair of sons, the twofold boys,
Ares crashed down: for single-combat's contest
They now stand ready.

Horai (Seasons)

The play apparently contained a 'trial' of foreign gods like Sabazios (fr. 578) and their expulsion from Athens. One long fragment (581) involves

an argument from an agon between representatives of old and new gods, though the identity of the speakers has been widely disputed. The chorus presumably represented the seasons of the year. The play may partly have thematized major changes brought about by the cosmopolitanism of Athenian culture in the later fifth century (cf. e.g. Thucydides 2.38.2 on Athens' import of goods from 'the whole world'). The butts of individual jokes in the play included Kallias (fr. 583, cf. fr. 117 above) and Chairephon, called 'child of night' (fr. 584; see the Index of Names).

fr. 577 (spoken perhaps by a foreign god as though a slave seeking 'sanctuary'; cf. *K.* 1312):

It's best for me to run to Theseus' shrine
And stay there till we find a buyer for me.

fr. 578 (for Sabazios cf. *W.* 9–10, *B.* 873, *L.* 388):

. . . the Phrygian, the pipe-player, Sabazios . . .

fr. 581 (it is uncertain whether A is a traditional or new god, e.g. Athena or Sabazios):

- (A) You'll see that even in winter's depths cucumbers, grapes and fruit
grow.
There'll be garlands of violets too. (B) More likely, a blinding cloud of
dust.
- (A) The same man's stall sells thrushes and pears and honeycombs, olives as
well,
Beestings, stuffed tripe, swallows, cicadas, and animal embryo flesh.
You'd see baskets of figs and myrtle-berries abounding everywhere.
- (B) I assume that means they sow the seeds of pumpkins and turnips
together,
So that nobody knows any longer precisely what time of year it is?
- (A) Well doesn't it count as the greatest good if right the way through the
year
A person can get anything he desires? (B) The greatest *evil*, you mean!
If it just couldn't happen, they'd lack the desires. And they'd save their
money as well.
I'd personally let them try these things for a while then take them away.
- (A) But that's what I do with *other* cities—these things are only for Athens.
And the reason they have this privileged state is because they worship
the gods.
- (B) You think, it seems, it's their reward for worshipping you. (A) Don't
you?
- (B) Their city's no longer Athens at all—you've turned it into Egypt!

Fragments Unattributed to Specific Plays

I translate a very small selection of some striking items in this category.

fr. 591.84–6, 89–91 (one of several quotations embedded in a fragmentary ancient commentary on a lost play by Aristophanes; the goddess *may* be personified Poetry: cf. on *Gerytades* and *Poiesis* above):

Right, let me take this goddess I've brought back up
To the Agora, and dedicate her with ox-sacrifice.
Come, mistress, follow me here. It's noble for you
To quickly heed my prayer.

fr. 592.15–30 (two female speakers; possibly from *Thesmophoriazousai* II. Cf. *L.* 108–10):

- (A) Well, what's to happen? (B) Look, answer me this question.
What's the thing they say Milesian women employ
To have some fun? I'm asking. The leather thing.
(A) That's empty nonsense, outrageous to consider,
And besides a cause of shame and a laughing-stock.
To use this thing is the same as handling those eggs
That are full of nothing but air, no chicks inside.
It's exactly the same. Whenever your husband's away
You resort to this, but it's just not worth the trouble.
(B) And yet they say this thing resembles a willy,
The real thing itself. (A) By Zeus, my dear, no more
Than the moon resembles the sun. In colour perhaps
There's some likeness to see—but the moon will never *heat* you!
(B) You don't think it's worth it? (A) . . .
(B) Look, suppose we share this business of ours with our slaves.
What d'you think of that? In secret . . .

fr. 596 (for Kephisophon see n. on *F.* 943–4):

Kephisophon, you finest, swarthiest man,
You lived for most of the time with Euripides
And helped him compose, they say, his lyric songs.

fr. 656 (someone speaking about Euripides):

. . . (the tongue) with which he used to clean his . . . words.

fr. 664 (female speaker; cf. fr. 338 above):

. . . but with my breast-band undone
My nuts fell out.

fr. 682:

. . . like a tangled fleece in his art, Euripides.

fr. 691 (lyric metre; describing an intellectual: cf. n. on *C.* 179):

. . . who ponders things out of sight
But eats what's on the ground.

fr. 694 (recitative; referring to Euripides. For the idea, cf. esp. *WT* 167):

... the sorts of things he makes his characters say
Are just what he's like himself.

fr. 696 (recitative metre; two separate passages: the first spoken by Aischylos, the second *to* him. The *Phrygians* was related to events in *Iliad*, book 24):

... I myself composed the dance-steps for my choruses.

I know this from watching your *Phrygians*,
When they came to accompany Priam in ransoming his dead son
And they made many moves like *this* and *this*, and *this* way, in their dances.

fr. 699:

You people mix our city like wine then sell it in cups to the poor.

fr. 706 (recitative metre):

... he has the city's middling style of speech,
Not the somewhat effeminate urban type
Nor the somewhat rustic and slavish kind.

fr. 719 (lyric metre; probably a parabasis song):

... a display of fancy language and witty jokes,
All fresh from the bellows and freshly sculpted.

fr. 720:

... darkness since the death of Aischylos

fr. 732 (describing a young man unable to speak; for weasels, cf. n. on *WT* 559):

He's swallowed a weasel.

fr. 821 (attesting a unique verb; for the brain's hemispheres, cf. *F.* 134):

... to be half-brained ...

fr. 910:

... with make-up under her eyes ...

EXPLANATORY NOTES

The Explanatory Notes are designed to provide concise guidance on historical and other details which might puzzle a modern reader. Fuller information about most points can be found in the Oxford commentaries cited in the Bibliography. The following abbreviations are occasionally used in the notes:

- DK *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz, 6th edn. (Zurich, 1962)
- IEG *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, ed. M. L. West, 2nd edn., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1989–92)
- OCD⁴ *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, 4th edn. (Oxford, 2012)
- PMG *Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1962)

The fragments of comic and tragic poets are cited, respectively, from the following editions:

Poetae Comici Graeci, ed. R. Kassel and C. Austin (Berlin, 1984–)

Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, ed. B. Snell *et al.* (Göttingen, 1971–2004)

Aristophanes' play titles are abbreviated as follows:

- A. *Acharnians*
AW *Assembly-Women*
B. *Birds*
C. *Clouds*
F. *Frogs*
K. *Knights*
L. *Lysistrata*
P. *Peace*
W. *Wasps*
We. *Wealth*
WT *Women at the Thesmophoria*

CLOUDS

- 7 *punish my slaves*: there was a higher risk during wartime that (ill-treated) slaves would desert to the enemy; cf. e.g. Thucydides 2.57.1.
- 14 *grow long*: long hair was associated with, among others, the young cavalrymen (n. on 120) of Athens; see *K.* 580 and cf. n. on 349–50.
- 15 *chariot-racing*: the chariot mentioned here is a two-horse vehicle (*sunoris*); there were races for these in e.g. the Panathenaia festival (see Index of

- Names). Cf. notes on 28, 69, 122 below for other kinds of chariots mentioned in connection with Pheidippides.
- 17 *twentieth*: Athenian months were 29/30 days long; Strepsiades is dreading the latest demands of his creditors at the end of the month.
- 21 *Twelve minas*: a fifth of a talent or 1,200 drachmas; the price of a very good horse (cf. 1224) but a huge amount for most Athenians (skilled workers around this time might be paid a drachma a day). For other prices cf. nn. on 118, *WT* 1195, *F.* 173.
- 23 *dashing*: the Greek specifies a horse branded with a special letter (*koppa*) to show its thoroughbred status; the same term is used in line 438.
- 28 *war-carts*: these were also two-horse chariots (cf. n. on 15) with their own races at the Panathenaia.
- 30 '*What burden . . .*': a phrase adapted from the lyrics of an unknown play by Euripides (fr. 1011). The names Pasias and Ameinias (cf. 686–92) need not denote real individuals here.
- 32 *rolled clean*: a horse would have its sweat removed after exercise by making it roll on the dusty ground of an enclosure; cf. the metaphor at *F.* 904.
- 35 *seize my goods*: the law sometimes allowed a creditor to seize property (which might have been pledged as security in advance) in lieu of unpaid interest; cf. 241.
- 37 *debt enforcer*: Strepsiades refers to a demarch, a local deme magistrate (cf. n. on 134), who seems to have been responsible, among other things, for enforcing the penalties on certain debt contracts. For the pun on bedbugs, cf. 'being bitten' at 12.
- 41b *matchmaker*: arranged marriages, common in Athenian society, were sometimes negotiated with the help of a female matchmaker.
- 46 *Megakles*: the name was associated with the Alkmaionids, an old but controversial Athenian aristocratic family (see *OCD*⁺ 54) whose recent members included Perikles (see Index of Names) and Alkibiades (n. on *F.* 1423). For the nature of Strepsiades' marriage, see my Introduction to the play. It was standard for respectable Athenian women to be publicly identified by the names of male relatives; cf. e.g. *WT* 605, 619, 840–1.
- 48 *Koisyra*: this name too (cf. 800) was found among the Alkmaionidai; see also *A.* 614.
- 51–2 *she . . . cults*: Strepsiades associates his wife not only with an expensive lifestyle (saffron was used for dyeing dresses: see n. on *WT* 138–9) but also with sexual sensuality and involvement in cults of Aphrodite and other deities (cf. n. on *WT* 130).
- 65 *Pheidonides*: Strepsiades gives a lengthened form to the name Pheidon (see 134), whose etymology means 'sparing', by implication connoting stinginess in Strepsiades' mind. The mother's suggestions all contain the *-(h)ippo* element ('horse') which was a feature of traditionally aristocratic names.

- 69 *Akropolis*: if the imagined context is the cavalcade of the Panathenaia (see Index of Names), as illustrated on the N and S friezes of the Parthenon, then Pheidippides would be driving an *apobates* chariot, i.e. with a hoplite warrior alongside him. But it is uncertain whether such chariots actually ascended the Akropolis during the Panathenaia. Cf. *WT* 811–12.
- 83 *Hippios*: lit. ‘(god) of horses’; for this title of Poseidon’s, cf. *K.* 551.
- 94 *Thinking Institute*: the image of an esoteric community of intellectuals may have been influenced by Pythagoreanism, the only philosophical movement of which this was a feature at this date.
- 97 *charcoal*: the analogy between cosmic phenomena and everyday objects (here a lid heated by being placed over charcoal) is of a kind used by early Greek thinkers; cf. e.g. Anaximenes A7.6 DK on heavenly bodies turning like a felt cap round the head, with Herakleitos A16.130 DK for another analogy with charcoal. See *B.* 1001 for the same baking-lid analogy, which had apparently been made by Hippon of Samos (mid-5th c.), earlier satirized for it in Kratinos fr. 167.
- 104 *Chairephon*: see Index of Names. Pheidippides invokes a stereotype of intellectuals as pale-faced (on account of their supposedly indoor life) and going barefoot (cf. nn. on 362–3, 1167).
- 109 *Leogoras*: a rich Athenian, father of the orator Andokides; his family had various connections with the Alkmaionids (see n. on line 46), but he is mentioned chiefly in comedy for his luxurious lifestyle (pheasants being bred by some aristocrats at this time as an exotic status-symbol). Cf. *W.* 1269.
- 113 *stronger . . . weaker*: Protagoras had boasted he could teach his students how ‘to make the weaker argument into the stronger’ (A21, B6b DK), which in the present play means above all making an *immoral* argument defeat a (conventional) moral position; see 882 ff. and cf. my Introduction to the play.
- 118 *obol*: a sixth of a drachma; for comparative prices cf. n. on 21 with 612, 864, 1235, *WT* 1195, *F.* 140, 173–7, 1236.
- 120 *cavalry men . . . complexion*: the ‘cavalry men’ are the knights (*hippeis*), a class of Athenian citizens who owned their own horses. On Pheidippides’ concern about his complexion, cf. 103.
- 122 *fancy horses*: the reference includes those for four-horse chariots (*tethrippa*), which raced in the Panathenaia and Olympic games. Cf. nn. on lines 15, 28, 69.
- 132 *Hello there!*: for various door-knocking routines in Aristophanes see e.g. *F.* 37 ff., 460 ff., *A.* 395 ff., *B.* 57 ff.
- 134 *Kikynna*: the location of this rural deme (one of the c. 140 administrative districts into which Attika was officially divided) is uncertain but probably lay SE of the city beyond Mount Hymettos. For Strepsiades’ father’s name, see 65 with note.
- 137 *aborted*: lit. ‘made to miscarry’. Sokrates uses the same term in connection with his self-image as ‘midwife’ of ideas at Plato, *Theaetetus* 150e. Related

- vocabulary is used of impeded/misguided thought at Empedokles B2.2, 110.7 DK.
- 145 *a flea can jump*: ironically, the mechanics of a flea's jump still interest modern scientists: see <<http://jeb.biologists.org/content/214/5/836.full.pdf+html>>.
- 150 *both its feet*: Aristophanes ignores (or is unaware of) the fact that a flea has six legs.
- 151 *Persian slippers*: a luxurious form of soft female footwear; cf. *WT* 734 (a baby's).
- 156 *Sphettos*: it is unclear why Chairephon's deme (see on line 134) is mentioned at this point; there may be a joke of some sort.
- 179 *stole a cloak*: the abrupt shift from a geometry lesson to an act of theft is an extreme example of a *para prosdokian* ('contrary to expectation') punchline. The joke-form erases any plausible psychology on the Student's part. But the gap between abstract ideas and material life is a telling motif: cf. Eupolis fr. 386 (Sokrates has intellectualized everything—except where to get enough to eat), fr. 395 (Sokrates steals a jug at a symposium), and Aristophanes fr. 691 (Appendix).
- 180 *Thales*: philosopher-scientist of the early 6th cent. (see *OCD*⁺ 1448), a legendary polymath. Strepsiades means, of course, that he is even more impressed by what he has just heard about Sokrates. Cf. *B.* 1009.
- 184 *tableau* [stage direction]: there are various theories about how this scene was staged; one involves use of the wheeled platform, *ekuklêma* (see the general Introduction, 'Stage Directions', n. 87).
- 186 *Pylos . . . Lakonian*: Spartan troops who had surrendered at Pylos in summer 425 and had been brought back to Athens (Thucydides 4.30–41). Strepsiades is referring to the dishevelled and emaciated appearance of the students.
- 188 *under ground*: this echoes a formula ('things up in the air and under the earth') used to mock the unworldly interests of some intellectuals; see Hippokrates, *Ancient Medicine* 1, Plato, *Apology* 18b, 23d.
- 192 *Erebos . . . Tartaros*: primordial parts of the cosmos (cf. *B.* 693, 698) which had become associated with the underworld's darkest recesses.
- 195 *master*: Sokrates.
- 203 *cleruchies*: a cleruchy was a colony in which parcels of land were allotted to Athenian citizens; see *OCD*⁺ 333–4. Strepsiades' instinct that only practical 'geometry' (lit. 'earth-measuring') is useful matches the view ascribed to Sokrates himself at Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 4.7.2–3.
- 205 *the people at large*: Strepsiades thinks the cleruchy principle (see n. on 203) is being extended to claim the whole world as Athenian land and will accordingly benefit the entire *demos* or citizen body.
- 206 *map*: for the existence of 'world maps' at this time, see Herodotos 4.36, 5.49.

- 208 *jurors*: the Athenians came to think of their elaborate jury-court system, and the possibilities of litigiousness that went with it, as a salient feature of the democracy; in addition to *Wasps*, cf. 863–4, with the jokes at *B.* 40–1, 109, *F.* 1466.
- 210 *Kikynnian*: see 134.
- 211 *Euboia*: the largest island in the W Aegean, running roughly parallel to the mainland of Greece.
- 213 *laid them out*: the Athenians, with Perikles as general, had quashed a Euboian revolt more than twenty years previously, in 446 (Thucydides 1.114).
- 225 *Air-walking*: an invented verb in the Greek; cf. the famous reference to this passage in Plato, *Apology* 19 c.
- 228 *higher*: lit. ‘up in the air’; cf. n. on 188.
- 233 *moisture of . . . thoughts*: Diogenes of Apollonia (roughly contemporary with Sokrates), who believed mind/soul was itself air (B4 DK; cf. Anaximenes B2 DK for the same view), suggested that moisture could impede thought (A19.44 DK).
- 241 *seizing my goods*: cf. n. on 35.
- 249 *iron coinage*: responding to Sokrates’ metaphorical use of ‘currency’ (cf. *F.* 890), Strepsiades makes a (feeble?) joke about real currency; the Byzantines still used iron coins, where cities like Athens used (mostly) silver (see n. on *F.* 720–6). The whole passage may have a subtext: coins as bearers of images of the gods.
- 254 *holy couch*: but the reality is probably a cheap bed of some sort; cf. 633.
- 257 *Athamas*: a Boiotian king who found himself facing sacrifice as an expiatory victim but was rescued at the last minute; there is probably an allusion to a scene in a lost play by Sophokles where Athamas stood at an altar wearing a wreath. One of Athamas’s wives was the goddess Nephele, ‘Cloud’, which may have added a tacit resonance to the humour!
- 260 *floury*: Sokrates uses a term meaning lit. ‘fine flour’ and metaphorically ‘a subtle speaker’; the sprinkling of flour over Strepsiades is a sort of parodic ritual (sacrificial animals usually had grain thrown at them).
- 264 *earth up high*: Sokrates’ words imply the view that the earth is held in its cosmic position by the surrounding air; for similar views see e.g. Anaximenes A20 DK. Diogenes of Apollonia (n. on 233) thought air was in some sense ‘god’ (B5 DK). Aither: see Index of Names. For ‘measureless’, cf. n. on 393.
- 270–4 *If now . . . heed our prayer*: Sokrates uses a traditional Greek prayer form, invoking the deity to come from its current abode and promising it continued worship; cf. n. on *WT* 319. In traditional Greek mythology, Ocean was a primordial river-god (Hesiod, *Theogony* 20, 133, etc.) often imagined as encircling the earth; the gardens are probably those of the Hesperides (Hesiod, *ibid.* 215–16). The Maiotian lake is the modern sea of Azov (NE of the Black Sea); Mount Mimas is on a headland in W Asia Minor.

- 275 *on the roof*: i.e. to be imagined as in the sky. Most scholars think the Chorus sang from entirely out of sight (until 323 ff.), but this poses acoustic problems for the audibility of their lyrics. Cf. the birds on the *skênê* roof at *B.* 267–93 and see the general Introduction, ‘Formality and Performance’.
- 278 *father Ocean*: see 271.
- 300–1 *Pallas . . . Kekrops*: two periphrases for Athens/Attika. For Pallas see Index of Names; Kekrops was a mythical early king of Athens.
- 302–4 *ame . . . ritual acts*: a reference to the Eleusinian Mysteries (see Index of Names).
- 311–13 *spring . . . pipes*: a reference to the Great Dionysia festival, the most important of the Athenian dramatic festivals and the one at which the first version of *Clouds* itself was performed. See general Introduction, ‘Aristophanes’ Career in Context’.
- 323 *Parnes*: a large mountain range at the NW edge of Attika.
- 326 *entrance*: the Greek term *eisodos* denotes one of the side entrances to the *orchêstra*; see general Introduction, ‘Stage Directions’. This is therefore a metatheatrical moment.
- 331–4 *clever . . . Muses*: Sokrates (in a voice which ironically undercuts his own supposed religion) lumps together all sorts of figures who might be cynically thought of as vapidly ‘cloudy’ in their pretentiousness (or, in their own terms, inspired by the Muses: see Index of Names).
- 335–9 *they wrote . . . wolfed down*: Strepsiades quotes snippets of ‘airy’ phraseology from dithyramb (a genre of choral song in honour of Dionysos) and pictures the poets being rewarded (by patrons) with lavish banquets. The giant Typhos (Typhoios) is the origin of winds at Hesiod, *Theogony* 869.
- 349–50 *Xenophantos . . . centaurs*: the target is Hieronymos, a dithyrambic poet (cf. n. on 335–9) and exceptionally hairy (cf. n. on 14), apparently the same person as at *A.* 388–9; there *may* be innuendo of pederastic behaviour in the present gibe. For centaurs, see Index of Names.
- 351 *Simon*: a contemporary politician and probably the same person as at 399.
- 353 *Kleonymos*: see Index of Names.
- 355 *Kleisthenes*: see Index of Names.
- 358 *CHORUS*: the context justifies chanting by the whole chorus at this point, though in dialogue scenes like this the chorus-leader alone normally speaks (as I assume from 412 onwards).
- 361 *Prodikos*: a contemporary polymathic intellectual or ‘sophist’ (see e.g. Plato, *Protagoras* 314–17); see n. on 659 and cf. fr. 506 (Appendix), *B.* 692.
- 362–3 *smagging walk . . . face*: Alkibiades confirms this description at Plato, *Symposium* 221b. Sokrates’ eyes were exceptionally protruding: see Xenophon, *Symposium* 5.5, Plato, *Theaetetus* 143e, 209c. His physiognomy and deportment were perceived by some as arrogant: see e.g.

- Ameipsias fr. 9.3, Plato, *Symposium* 220c, Xenophon, *Symposium* 5.6. For his barefoot habit (cf. 103) see e.g. Plato, *Symposium* 220b, Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.6.2.
- 364 *Earth*: in early Greek mythology, the primordial wife of Ouranos (Sky); see Hesiod, *Theogony* 20, 45, etc.
- 373 *Zeus . . . sieve*: most Greeks did not take literally Zeus's traditional image as a rain-god (cf. *F.* 246); Strepsiades embodies ludicrous naivety.
- 380 *swirl*: several early Greek thinkers, including Empedokles (e.g. B35.4, 115.11 DK), posited a kind of cosmic vortex to explain processes of material change on the largest scale. The Greek word *dinos* used here can also mean a large wine mixing-bowl: a specimen of the latter stands outside the door of Sokrates' school (see n. on 1473).
- 385 *Panathenaia*: see Index of Names.
- 393 *endless*: Sokrates echoes the vocabulary of those Greek philosophers, starting with Anaximander in the 6th century, who took physical reality to be in some sense without limits, even 'infinite'; cf. 264.
- 394 *sounds themselves*: Sokrates actually says 'the words themselves', i.e. *brontê* (thunder) and *pordê* (fart), which have some phonological resemblance in Greek.
- 398 *Kronos*: see Index of Names.
- 399–400 *Simon . . . Theoros*: Simon (cf. 351), Kleonymos (see Index of Names), and Theoros (e.g. *A.* 134 ff., *W.* 42–51, 1220–42) were all minor politicians, the second and third associated with the leading demagogue Kleon (see 549, 586 ff.).
- 401 *Sounion*: the southernmost tip of Attika (cf. *B.* 868); Sokrates quotes a phrase from Homer, *Odyssey* 3.278. We do not know whether the first half of the line refers to a specific lightning strike on a temple of Zeus.
- 404–7 *dry wind . . . ignites*: the explanation is in the tradition of Ionian natural science; cf. esp. Anaximander A23 DK.
- 408 *Diasia*: a winter festival of Zeus Meilichios; see 864 and cf. Thucydides 1.126.6.
- 424 *Chaos*: originally the primeval void from which all reality came into being (cf. *B.* 693); but here as at 627 Sokrates associates it with the infinite air above (cf. 393). For Tongue as a pseudo-deity, cf. *F.* 892.
- 438 *thoroughbred*: see n. on 23.
- 451 *lip-smacking creep*: we do not know the exact meaning of this last term nor the precise slang sense of several other words in the preceding list.
- 475 *seek your advice*: the chorus picture Strepsiades as a legal consultant in great demand.
- 478–80 *disclose . . . defences*: this may evoke a distinctively Sokratic interest (seen in both Plato and Xenophon) in getting 'inside' individuals' ways of thinking; the theme is developed further at 695 ff.

- 494–6 *blows . . . charge*: for a scenario of this kind, with roles reversed, see lines 1297–1302, and cf. e.g. *W.* 1331–3.
- 499 *stolen goods*: in certain circumstances Athenian law permitted someone to enter another's house in search of stolen property, but the searcher was required to remove their clothing so as not to be able to 'plant' something.
- 503 *Chairephon*: see Index of Names.
- 507–8 *cake . . . cave*: visitors to the cave oracle of Trophonios in Boiotia took a honey-cake to placate the snakes believed to live in the cave.
- 518–19 *Spectators . . . Dionysos*: it soon becomes apparent that the chorus-leader is speaking (notionally) in the voice of the playwright, with Dionysos invoked as god of theatre/comedy. On the metre of this passage (eupolideans), cf. the general Introduction, 'Translating Aristophanes'.
- 524 *defeated*: the reference is to the first staging of *Clouds*, in 423; see my Introduction to the play.
- 528–32 *Ever since . . . so proudly*: a reference to Aristophanes' first play, *Banqueters* (427), which included a pair of brothers with sharply contrasting characters and values; see the Appendix, s.v. *Daitales*. The play was produced by Kallistratos or Philonides, hence the humorous trope of the unmarried girl who could not bring up her own baby: see the general Introduction, 'Aristophanes' Career in Context'.
- 534–6 *Elektra . . . hair*: the simile is loosely based on the story of Elektra living in hope of the return of her exiled brother Orestes, after the murder of Agamemnon by Klytaimnestra, and finding a lock of Orestes' hair on their father's tomb (cf. Aischylos, *Choephoroi*, esp. 166–211).
- 538–9 *leather . . . laugh*: i.e. the phallus often/standardly worn by comic actors but sometimes 'tied up' rather than left dangling. The ostensible disdain for blatant phallic humour is not a sincere Aristophanic attitude: see e.g. *WT* 236–48, 643–8.
- 543 *torches*: comically disingenuous in the light of 1490 ff.; see my Introduction to the play.
- 549–50 *struck him . . . flat*: the reference, cast in a metaphor from all-in-wrestling (*pankration*), is to the comic assault on Kleon (see Index of Names) in *Knights* (424). Cf. n. on 1047.
- 551–2 *Hyperbolos*: see Index of Names.
- 553–7 *Eupolis . . . Hermippos*: Eupolis, one of Aristophanes' main rivals, staged *Marikas* (a satirical sobriquet, of uncertain origin, for Hyperbolos) at Lenaia 421. Phrynichos, a somewhat older comic poet (cf. *F.* 13), had written a comedy in which Andromeda was threatened by a sea-monster (cf. n. on *WT* 1012). Hermippos's *Bread-Sellers* apparently contained a role for Hyperbolos's mother (cf. *WT* 840–5). There was also a *Hyperbolos* by Plato comicus.
- 559 *eel-fishing*: apparently a reference to *K.* 864–7, though we do not know which poet(s) had supposedly copied the image.

- 566 *trident's keeper*: Poseidon (see Index of Names).
- 571 *charioteer*: a traditional image of the sun (e.g. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 88–9).
- 580 *let you know*: adverse weather might be interpreted as an omen of divine displeasure; cf. n. on 581–3.
- 581–3 *tanner . . . thunder cracked*: the politician Kleon (allegorized as a Paphlagonian tanner in Aristophanes' *Knights*; cf. n. on 549) was elected general for 424–3, but the elections were initially postponed on account of meteorological omens (including a solar eclipse, 21 March 424). The quotation in 583 is from Sophokles' lost play *Teucer*, fr. 578.
- 591–2 *cormorant . . . stocks*: Kleon had already been called a cormorant at *K.* 956. Stocks or pillories, sometimes fastening just the neck (cf. *L.* 680–1, *We.* 476, 606) and sometimes the arms and legs as well (*K.* 1049; cf. n. on *WT* 931 for a particularly brutal form), were used to imprison/punish certain (low-grade) criminals.
- 596 *Kynthos*: the highest point on the island of Delos, birthplace of Apollo (Index of Names).
- 598 *deity*: Artemis (see Index of Names); her great 6th-century temple at Ephesos had benefited from Lydian contributions (Herodotos 1.92.1) and served the religious needs of both peoples.
- 602 *aegis*: traditionally a garment (often a snake-fringed cape) worn by Athena (see Index of Names), here treated, by an extravagant metaphor, as though it were a means of transport.
- 616 *confusion*: the Athenians used a calendar of twelve lunar months (cf. 1191) for their festival year, but had to make periodic intercalations to prevent major deviation from the solar year.
- 620 *trials*: Athenian courts (and other state institutions) were traditionally closed during religious festivals; cf. *WT* 78–80. On the torture of slaves for judicial purposes, see n. on *F.* 616.
- 622 *Memnon or Sarpedon*: non-Greek heroes with divine parents and both killed at Troy; the first (cf. *F.* 963) a Lykian, son of the goddess Dawn and killed by Achilles, the second an Aithiopian, son of Zeus and unforgettably mourned by his own father with tears of blood at Homer, *Iliad* 16.458–61.
- 623–6 *Hyperbolos . . . days of life*: Hyperbolos (see 551–8) had been elected Athens' sacred ambassador to the Delphic Amphictyony, but seems to have had an embarrassing experience on a ceremonial occasion; the passage may also imply he had been involved in official adjustments to the city's calendar (n. on 616).
- 627 *Chaos . . . Air*: see nn. on 264, 424. 'Respiration' is uniquely deified here, but in keeping with Sokrates' general emphasis on 'airy' gods.
- 638 *rhythms*: technical classification of metrical rhythms was an interest of several contemporary thinkers, including Damon (n. on 651) and Hippias (Plato, *Hippias Major* 285d).

- 642 *verses*: Sokrates' technical terms (trimeters and tetrameters: cf. the general Introduction, 'Translating Aristophanes') must have been familiar to anyone educated in or appreciative of poetry, especially drama (and therefore, practically by definition, the spectators of *Clouds* itself). Strepsiades thinks only of the measures in which grain was sold: his references are to a *medimnos* ('bushel') and the eight sub-units into which it was divided.
- 651 '*military beat*' . . . '*bending finger*': enoplian and dactyl (*daktulos*, lit. 'finger'). Both terms were recent metrical coinages by the musical theorist Damon (see Plato, *Republic* 3.400b), though we cannot be sure exactly which metres he designated by them.
- 653 *like this*: presumably an obscene gesture with the middle finger; related gestures are involved at *A.* 444, *K.* 1381, *P.* 549.
- 659 *rightly* . . . *gender*: an allusion to new ideas of systematic grammar, especially concepts of 'correct language' held by the likes of Protagoras (*A*24, *A*26–8 DK) and Prodikos (Plato, *Euthydemus* 277e). Cf. n. on *F.* 1181.
- 664 *for both*: the Greek *alektruôn* originally meant 'cock', but had become used also for the hen of the domestic fowl.
- 667 *Air*: cf. 627.
- 673 *Kleonymos*: see Index of Names.
- 676 *used himself*: lit. 'kneaded (himself) in a round mortar'. Evidently a sexual joke, though we do not know whether masturbation or anal sex is the point of the slang.
- 690 *Ameinia*: the vocative form of this name (cf. 31) lacks the final -s, producing an ending which coincides with that of some female names (e.g. Demetria, 684).
- 692 *military service*: a figure called Ameinias (or Amunias) was the butt of various jokes in this period (e.g. *W.* 74, 466, 1267); but we cannot be sure how precisely targeted this gibe is.
- 695 *think very deeply*: what follows parodies an exercise in intensive self-scrutiny and problem-solving which may well evoke the distinctive intellectual style of the historical Sokrates (roughly speaking, his preoccupation with 'the examined life': see Plato, *Apology* 38a); cf. n. on 478–80.
- 708 *ails you*: in the course of this exchange between chorus and character there are several parodic overtones of scenes of tragic suffering.
- 710 *Korinthian*: in Greek there is a phonetic pun (*koreis*, bedbugs, having the same first syllable as *Korinthioi*); the Corinthians were allies of Sparta and therefore on the enemy side in the Peloponnesian war at the time of the first production of *Clouds* in 423.
- 719 *shoes*: while inside Sokrates' school between 510 and 635, Strepsiades had been stripped of most of his clothes (cf. 497–500).
- 731 *Right then* . . . : the odd relationship of this line to 723 ff. may be the result of the incomplete revision of the play; an alternative is to take Sokrates off stage briefly between 726 and 731.

- 749 *sorceress*: the Greek world knew many women who practised assorted magic. ‘Drawing down the moon’ (cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 513a) seems to have been metaphorical for causing an eclipse, but Strepsiades has naively superstitious belief in the literal act.
- 758 *five talents*: an enormous sum of money; n. on 21.
- 763 *beetle*: in a children’s game, a cockchafer’s leg was tied to a piece of thread; the beetle was then released into the air.
- 768 *glass*: a rare commodity in classical Athens, here used as a burning-lens; cf. the glass vessels at *A.* 74.
- 772 *melt*: Strepsiades envisages a charge written on a wax tablet (cf. Strepsiades’ own tablet at 19 ff.).
- 789 *crows*: more strictly, ‘ravens’; for this colloquial curse (also in the Greek at 123, 133, 646, 871), see *WT* 1079, *F.* 187–9, and cf. *B.* 28 (with a situational pun).
- 800 *Koisyra-like*: see n. on 48.
- 804 *Antistrophe*: the antistrophe is longer than the strophe at 700–6, an irregularity which may reflect the incomplete revision of the play.
- 814 *Mist*: following his earlier experience in the School, Strepsiades is now inventing his *own* meteorological deities; but cf. 330.
- 815 *Megakles*: see 124 with n. on 46; ‘colonnades’ conjures up the image of a grand house.
- 827 *Smirl*: cf. 380–1.
- 830 *Melos*: island in the SW Aegean; Strepsiades confuses Sokrates with Diagoras the Melian (see *B.* 1073–4), a contemporary thinker with a scandalous reputation for challenging traditional religious beliefs.
- 831 *fleas’ feet*: see 144–52.
- 837 *baths*: cf. 1044–54.
- 842 *know yourself*: an echo of the famous injunction on Apollo’s temple at Delphi; see e.g. Plato, *Protagoras* 343b.
- 845 *court order*: Athenian legal procedure allowed a son to have control of family affairs transferred to him on the grounds of his father’s dementia.
- 856 *lost your cloak*: see 497–505 with stage direction before 634.
- 859 *‘special reasons’*: Plutarch, *Perikles* 23.1 records that Perikles used such a disingenuous phrase in his accounts as general in 445 to cover a large sum of money spent on a bribe to the Spartans.
- 864 *Diasia*: see n. on 408. Athenian jurors were paid on a daily basis: 3 obols (n. on 118) by this date (see esp. *W.* 684). Cf. n. on 208.
- 876 *Hyperbolos*: see Index of Names; Sokrates implies he had been a stupid pupil of forensic rhetoric and had needed hugely expensive teaching (for the value of a talent see nn. on 21, 758).
- 888/9 [*stage direction*]: the original version of *Clouds* would at this point have

had a choral ode (during which the actor playing Sokrates would have changed into the costume of either Moral or Immoral). The evidence suggests it was cut but not replaced by Aristophanes in the unfinished revision of the play.

902 *Justice*: Dike is a deity, or at least a divine personification, in some Greek texts, the earliest being Hesiod, *Theogony* 902, *Works and Days* 256–62.

905 *father*: Kronos (see Index of Names). The argument is of a kind already used at Aischylos, *Eumenides* 640–2.

922–4 *Telephos . . . Pandeletos*: on Telephos, see the Index of Names. Pandeletos, mentioned also by Kratinos (fr. 260), is unknown: the name was probably proverbial.

964 *music lessons*: from a *kitharistês*, who taught boys poetry and music; cf. *K.* 992 and e.g. Plato, *Protagoras* 326a–b.

966 *fooling around*: the Greek refers to a boys' game of squeezing the thighs together, while seated, so as to make the penis protrude.

967 '*Pallas . . . lyre*': openings/portions of two songs (i.e. lyric poems), both of uncertain authorship but implicitly representative of rather old-fashioned types; for Pallas see Index of Names.

971 [no line 970 in modern editions] *Phrynis*: a mid-5th-century professional performer who became known for use of a certain kind of modulation in his musical practices.

973 *wrestling*: a traditional element in athletic education, at least for those wealthy enough to afford it; cf. *F.* 729.

984–5 *Dipolieia . . . rites*: the Dipolieia was a summer festival of Zeus held on the Akropolis; a special ox-slaying ritual (Bouphonia) formed part of it. Cicada hair-brooches are mentioned as outmoded by Thucydides 1.6.3; cf. *K.* 1331. Kekeides was a dithyrambic poet (cf. n. on 335–9) of uncertain date.

986 *Marathon-fighters*: the generation of those who fought in the battle of Marathon (see Index of Names) became a byword for patriotic heroism.

988–9 *Panathenaia . . . Tritogeneia*: on the Panathenaia, see Index of Names; Tritogeneia is a very old title (e.g. Hesiod, *Theogony* 895) of Athena.

997 *apple*: throwing an apple is here a flirtatious gesture; the kind of dancing-girl envisaged is assumed to be also a prostitute (cf. *F.* 514–20, *A.* 1093).

1001 *Hippokrates*: probably the nephew of Perikles who served as general and died at the battle of Delion in 424 (Thucydides 4.101.2); his three sons were mocked by several comic poets for being simpletons (see fr. 116, Appendix). Cf. *WT* 273.

1005 *Academy*: a gymnasium/park to the NW of the city, later to become the location of Plato's philosophical school.

1019 *decree*: symbolizing engagement in the politics of the Assembly (see Index of Names).

- 1022–3 *Antimachos* . . . *arsehole*: we do not know whether Antimachos is the same man as at *A.* 1050. For the abusive sexual language, cf. 529, 909, 1083 ff.
- 1047 *in my grip*: as quite often in Aristophanes, the imagery is drawn from wrestling; similarly 126 and e.g. *F.* 878. Cf. n. on 549.
- 1051 *baths* . . . *Herakles*: hot springs, at least such as those at Thermopylai (Herodotos 7.176.3), were associated with Herakles (see Index of Names). ‘Cold baths’ could obviously be thought of as old-fashioned or primitive; the hot-water supply of public baths was a ‘modern’ urban amenity (cf. 837).
- 1055 *Agora*: see Index of Names.
- 1057 *agora-speaker*: Nestor is *agorêtês* (in Homeric Greek, ‘assembly speaker’) at *Iliad* 1.248, 4.293; the same term is used of e.g. Trojan elders, *Iliad* 3.150, and Peleus, 7.126.
- 1063 *knife*: Peleus (father of Achilles) virtuously resisted seduction by Hippolyte, who then falsely accused him. Hippolyte’s husband, Akastos, left Peleus defenceless in the wild but the gods arranged for him to have a knife to protect himself.
- 1065 *Hyperbolos*: see Index of Names.
- 1067–9 *Thetis* . . . *bed*: Thetis, a sea-nymph, could never have lived in a normal ménage with a mortal; but Immoral represents her as abandoning Peleus, after they had produced their son Achilles, on grounds of sexual dissatisfaction.
- 1083 *radish and ashes*: an adulterer caught in the act could be physically abused by the wronged husband; having a radish forced up his anus and his pubic regions singed with hot ashes (cf. *WT* 537–8) are vivid examples of what might be done sadistically.
- 1085 *And suppose* . . . : the lines shorten here from iambic tetrameters to iambic trimeters, with a further shortening to dimeters at 1089 ff. (and some variations of length thereafter).
- 1131–4 *fifth* . . . *last*: the last ten days of the month were counted in reverse; the very last was known as ‘old-and-new’. Cf. 1178–1200.
- 1149 *the one*: i.e. Immoral.
- 1150 *queen*: Strepsiades improvises a goddess of fraud (cf. 729), also using a term which echoes his address to the Clouds at 357.
- 1160 *tongue* . . . *sword*: cf. 1108–10.
- 1167 *emaciated*: the following scene suggests that Pheidippides appears in a different mask from previously, one which highlights his new ascetic look (cf. n. on 104).
- 1176 *Attic expression*: see Index of Names, s.v. Attika.
- 1179 *one day*: see n. on 1131–4.
- 1181 *deposit*: a plaintiff had to make a monetary deposit with a magistrate in order to institute proceedings leading to a court-case.

- 1187 *Solon*: Solon (c.640–560), the greatest statesman of archaic Athens, was popularly credited with being the city's first lawgiver (cf. *B.* 1660) and with having laid the foundations for 'democracy'.
- 1191 *moon*: the Athenian calendar was divided into twelve lunar months; cf. n. on 616.
- 1198 *tasters*: it seems that these were people who officially sampled food the day before certain festivals.
- 1209 *demesmen*: members of the same deme (cf. n. on 134).
- 1224–5 *minas . . . horse*: we are reminded of what Strepsiades said at 21–2.
- 1233 *gods*: an ironic echo of 246–7.
- 1235 *obols*: cf. n. on 118.
- 1237 *salt*: hides were rubbed with salt prior to tanning; 1238 shows what Strepsiades has in mind.
- 1251 *grammar*: Strepsiades is using the idea that Sokrates used with *him* at 669–80; 'one obol', cf. n. on 118.
- 1256 *deposit*: see n. on 1181.
- 1261 *Karkinos*: a tragic poet whose career had started more than two decades earlier; with his three sons, including Xenokles (see Index of Names), he is also the butt of jokes at *W.* 1499–1537, *P.* 781–95, 864, *WT* 440.
- 1264–6 *Harsh . . . Tlempolemos*: a parody of a tragic passage, possibly by Xenokles (n. on 1261). Tle(m)polemos was a son of Herakles (e.g. Homer, *Iliad* 2.653–70): it is possible that the tragedy alluded to here involved a chariot-crash (compare Sophokles, *Elektra* 698–756).
- 1300 *trace-horse*: one of the two outer horses of a four-horse chariot.
- 1327–30 *father-beater . . . roses*: compare 910–12; Pheidippides has learnt to model himself on Immoral's insouciant shamelessness.
- 1337 *stronger . . . weaker*: see n. on 113, with 882 ff. Strictly speaking, 1334 has already committed Pheidippides to taking the 'weaker', i.e. immoral, side of the argument.
- 1352 *chorus*: this kind of (extra-dramatic) self-reference by the chorus is more familiar in the parabasis; see 1115.
- 1354 *feasted . . . the way*: Strepsiades refers to a dinner of the kind that was followed traditionally by drinking and singing of songs.
- 1356 *Simonides*: a famous lyric poet (c.556–468). The song referred to (*PMG* 507) was a victory-song for a wrestler who had defeated an opponent called Krios, a name whose literal sense is 'ram'. Cf. *B.* 918–19.
- 1360 *cicadas*: these insects were proverbial 'singers'; cf. *B.* 39–40 and the famous story about them told by Sokrates at Plato, *Phaedrus* 258e–9d.
- 1364 *myrtle*: it was a sympotic custom sometimes to hold a myrtle-branch when singing; cf. fr. 444 (translated in the Appendix).
- 1367 *noisy ranting . . .*: very much the view of Aischylos taken by Euripides in the contest in *Frogs*; see my Introduction to that play.

- 1372 *brother . . . sister*: in Euripides' *Aiolos* Makareus committed incest with his sister Kanake; both characters ended up committing suicide. Cf. *F.* 1081, 1475, *P.* 114–19, with my Appendix on Aristophanes' *Aiolosikon*.
- 1378 *cleverest*: see my Introduction to *Frogs*.
- 1415 *the children . . .*: a perverted echo of Euripides, *Alcestis* 691, which is quoted in its proper form at *WT* 194 (see n. there).
- 1435 *you in turn*: Strepsiades is apparently preparing to make the point that any son of Pheidippides, according to the latter's new law, will *also* be entitled to hit his own father.
- 1450 *criminals' pit*: the pit, just outside the city walls and under the control of a public official, into which the corpses of executed criminals were thrown; cf. *F.* 574. There is a memorable image of the place in Plato, *Republic* 4.439c–40a.
- 1468 *'paternal Zeus'*: Strepsiades quotes a phrase that probably comes from tragedy; 'paternal' might alternatively be translated 'ancestral', but the point here is the implication that Zeus will support the demands of a father.
- 1471 *'It's Swirl . . .'*: Pheidippides quotes back line 828 at his father.
- 1473 *this pot*: a large wine mixing-bowl called a *dinos* has stood throughout outside the door of Sokrates' school; cf. n. on 380. The term *dinos* allows puns in Greek on Zeus's name (in oblique cases starting *Di-*).
- 1478 *Hermes*: a herm, i.e. a symbolic (and probably priapic) statue of Hermes, stands outside Strepsiades' house door. Cf. the reference at *L.* 1094 to the notorious scandal of the mutilation of many Athenian herms in 415 (Thucydides 6.27–9).
- 1485 *Xanthias*: a common slave-name (lit. 'blonde-haired') in Aristophanes; cf. Dionysos's slave in *F.*
- 1498 *cloak*: see 497–505 with stage direction before 634; cf. 856.
- 1503 *'Air-walking . . .'*: Strepsiades quotes back line 225 at Sokrates; see the n. there.
- 1507 *backside*: the noun can denote the position of a heavenly body but one of its other meanings is that of a person's bottom; cf. *WT* 133.
- 1507–8 *exit running*: some modern scholars talk about Sokrates and his pupils being 'burned to death' inside the school; but the text clearly indicates that they escape from the building and are chased off stage. See my Introduction to the play.

WOMEN AT THE THESMOPHORIA

- 1 *swallow*: herald of spring in Greek folklore; but the Kinsman means the question metaphorically, i.e. when will his misery end?
- 14–18 *Aither . . . hearing*: for Aither, see Index of Names. Euripides offers a mishmash of speculative cosmogony and science of the kind associated with presocratic Greek thinkers.

- 56 *model*: the Servant's elaborate mix of technical metaphors for poetic composition here alludes to the *cire perdue* method of creating a wax model (with a clay covering), which is then heated away to create a mould for bronze statue-making.
- 68 *verses*: the Greek term *strophé*, which refers to matching sections of choral lyric (cf. the general Introduction, 'Formality and Performance'), literally means a 'turning' and therefore allows a pun here on bending poetic timbers. The reference to winter suits the dramatic setting at the time of the Thesmophoria (Oct.–Nov.), soon to be mentioned (80).
- 78–80 *courts . . . underway*: cf. n. on C. 620.
- 83 *Thesmophorion*: lit. 'the shrine of the Thesmophoroi' (i.e. Demeter and Persephone); the location is not certain but was probably on the N slope of the Akropolis.
- 85 *bad reputation*: for the (exaggerated) idea that Euripides specialized in depicting scandalous female characters, cf. *F.* 1043–54, *C.* 1371–2, *L.* 368–9.
- 94 *crafty scheming*: Euripides boasts of such a (supposed) trait of his work at *F.* 957.
- 98 *Kyrene*: a well-known courtesan; cf. *F.* 1327–8.
- 100 *anthill tunnels*: a metaphor for musically/poetically intricate structures of the kind the Kinsman takes to belong to a pretentiously 'modern' style and which are in a sense exemplified by the song that follows.
- 101 *chthonic goddesses*: Demeter and Persephone; 'chthonic' means 'belonging to the earth/underworld'.
- 102 *free*: the implied scenario may be that of Troy during the period when the Greeks (deceptively) appear to have sailed away and abandoned the war.
- 110 *Simoeis*: one of the two main rivers of Troy (e.g. Homer, *Iliad* 4.475, 5.774); for Phoibos, see Index of Names.
- 118–22 *Leto . . . Phrygian Graces*: Leto was mother of both Apollo and Artemis; the Graces (see Index of Names) are assimilated to the 'Asiatic' associations of her cult.
- 130 *gods of the female domain*: Genetyllides, deities (literally of childbirth) linked with Aphrodite and associated in comedy with female sensuality; the singular Genetyllis occurs at both *C.* 52 and *L.* 2.
- 135 *Lykourgeia*: a tetralogy (three tragedies plus satyr play); in the first play, *Edonians*, the Thracian king Lykourgos resisted the introduction of Dionysiac rites. The following lines contain an uncertain mixture of quotation and parody of a scene where Lykourgos questioned Dionysos himself about his exotic dress and appurtenances, which the king regarded as mixing effeminate and masculine features.
- 138–9 *saffron dress . . . breast-band*: saffron-dyed dresses were fine women's wear (cf. 253 with e.g. *C.* 51, *L.* 44–51, *AW* 332, 879) but could also be Dionysiac (*F.* 46, Kratinos fr. 40); a breast-band supported a woman's breasts like a modern brassiere (cf. 251–5, 638, frs. 338, 664).

- 142 *Lakonian shoes*: a standard type of male footwear in Athens; ‘Lakonian’ (lit. from the territory of Sparta) designates the style, not the source of the shoes.
- 153 *kinky sex*: lit. ‘you ride a horse’ (sexually, of a woman sitting on a man; cf. e.g. *W.* 501). Phaidra: see Index of Names.
- 156 *role-playing*: Greek *mimēsis*, a term which was starting to be used for artistic ‘representation’ and ‘expression’ in general. Agathon offers a version of a theory of poetic composition that combines creative imagination with quasi-theatrical role-playing: cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, ch. 17 for something similar.
- 157–8 *satyr-plays . . . erection*: satyrs (wild creatures with half-animal features) normally formed the chorus of satyr-plays written by tragedians; they were typically depicted in vase-painting as wildly oversexed.
- 161–3 *Ibykos . . . softness*: Agathon names three major 6th-century lyric poets; ‘Ionian’ refers here loosely to ideas of luxury and decadence (cf. *AW* 883, 918) which Greeks associated with Near Eastern influence.
- 164 *Phrynichos*: an early tragic poet (active c. 510–470); cf. *B.* 749, *F.* 910, 1299.
- 167 *nature*: a different theory from the one Agathon put forward at 149–56.
- 168–70 *ugly . . . plays*: Kinsman names three late 5th-century tragic poets. Philokles (cf. *B.* 281, 1295) was a nephew of Aischylos; for Xenokles, see Index of Names; Theognis is a target of jokes also at *A.* 10–12, 138–40.
- 177–8 ‘*it’s the mark . . . words*’: Euripides quotes from one of his own plays, *Aiolos* (fr. 28); cf. n. on *C.* 1372.
- 194 ‘*You’re happy . . .*’: Euripides, *Alkestis* 691, where Pheres refuses to die on behalf of his son Admetos; cf. the parodic form of the line at *C.* 1415.
- 198–9 ‘*When disaster strikes . . .*’: Agathon quotes from one of his own plays (unknown), fr. 34.
- 222 *peg*: a reference to a technique used by butchers to force open a pig’s mouth for inspection; cf. *K.* 375–81.
- 224 *Awesome Goddesses*: the Semnai, whose cave shrine was near the Areopagos hill and sometimes served as a refuge for those fleeing persecution (cf. *K.* 1312, Thucydides 1.126.11).
- 232 *manliness*: the Greek involves a pun, ‘I shall serve in the army as *psilos*’, the latter adjective meaning either ‘smooth-shaven’ or ‘light-armed’.
- 235 *Kleisthenes*: see Index of Names. The joke will in a sense ‘come true’ at 574 ff.
- 237 *piglet*: slaughtered pigs had their bristles singed off before they were cooked; there may also be a sexual double entendre (‘piglet’ was slang for female genitalia: cf. 289, 537–40, with *A.* 764 ff.).
- 254 *By Aphrodite*: a type of oath especially used by women! Cf. *AW* 189–91.
- 272 *Aither*: see 14, 1068 and Index of Names. The line is based on Euripides fr. 487 (*Melanippe the Wise*); cf. *F.* 100.
- 273 *Hippokrates*: we do not know which individual is meant (cf. *C.* 1001 for one

- such person), nor why his house (probably a kind of hostel with rented rooms) was good for a joke at this date.
- 275–6 *mind . . . tongue*: a partial, inverted quotation of the notorious line at Euripides, *Hippolytos* 612 ('My tongue has sworn but my mind is under no oath'); cf. *F.* 101–2, 1471, and for a later indication of the line's notoriety see Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3.15, 1416a28–31.
- 278 *signal*: a signal of some sort was given for the start of the city's *ekklésia* or political Assembly (see Index of Names). The implication of the present line is that the women's Thesmophoria assembly (cf. 84) will be a female equivalent to the *ekklésia*; cf. nn. on 295–311, 335–8, 372–9.
- 279 *Thratta*: an ethnic name ('Thracian') used for some female slaves in Athens.
- 281 *hill*: the Akropolis; see n. on 83.
- 282 *Thesmophoroi*: Demeter and Persephone, patron deities of the festival; see my Introduction to the play.
- 287 *Pherrephatta*: the Attic form of 'Persephone' (Index of Names).
- 289 *Piglet*: see n. on 237.
- 291 *Willy*: a made-up name from the same slang term as used at 254 and 515; there may be parody of a mother's playful hypocorism for a small child.
- 295–311 *Let sacred silence . . . rejoice*: the Leader's proclamation, in prose, is partly reminiscent of the herald's announcement at the start of a meeting of the city's Assembly; cf. n. on 278. Ploutos ('wealth') was the son of Demeter. Kalligeneia (perhaps Demeter's nurse), lit. 'fair birth', gave her name to one of the days of the Thesmophoria; cf. fr. 331 from *WT* II (Appendix). Kourotraphos ('child-rearer') is a deity identified in later periods with Earth. 'Paion' is here an exclamatory prayer for good fortune. For Hermes and the Graces, see Index of Names.
- 319 *come here*: in Greek prayers, deities are standardly invited to come in person to their worshippers; cf. n. on *C.* 270–4. The gods mentioned after Zeus are Apollo and Athena (see Index of Names).
- 321 *Offspring*: Artemis (see Index of Names); for Leto, cf. 118–29.
- 327 *phorminx*: a large traditional lyre; cf. *F.* 231.
- 332–4 *Pythian . . . Delian*: see Index of Names under Delphi and Delos.
- 335–8 *plots . . . tyrant*: a (distorted) version of the curses delivered as part of the preliminaries of an Assembly meeting. 'Medes' was synonymous for Greeks with 'Persians', though the two peoples were originally distinct; on this passage and 365, see my Introduction to the play.
- 340–1 *surrogate baby . . . go-between*: the Leader's curses switch abruptly from political to sexual matters. The surrogate baby is envisaged either where a woman herself has not given birth (cf. 407–8) or where one child is swapped for another (see 564–5). For a slave go-between in an adulterous affair, see the legal case described in a speech of the Athenian orator Lysias (Lysias 1.19–20); cf. n. on *F.* 1079–82.

- 365 *Medes*: see n. on 335–8.
- 372–9 *decision . . . motion*: the formalities again follow those of the city's Assembly; cf. n. on 278. For the invitation to speak cf. *A.* 45, *AW* 130 (the latter in the women's *rehearsal* for the Assembly).
- 383 *swear . . . pretension*: the oath by Demeter and Persephone is distinctively female: cf. 594, 875, 916, *L.* 112, *AW* 155. But the woman's denial of self-interested motivation is a motif used by male orators in the city's politics.
- 387 *vegetable-seller*: a standing comic gibe at Euripides (possibly a satirical distortion of some kind of commercial activity on the part of his family); cf. 456, 910, *F.* 840, and e.g. *A.* 478.
- 390–1 *wherever . . . choruses*: i.e. every time a play by Euripides is performed; this could include stagings in local deme theatres as well as at the major city festivals (see n. 68 to the general Introduction).
- 392–3 *adultery . . . tongues*: ideas which chiefly belong to a *comic* stereotype of women; relevant to Euripides only in so far as he (but not alone among tragedians) sometimes depicted women with strongly erotic character and/or a capacity for boldly independent decision-making. Cf. my Introduction to the play.
- 395 *when they return*: the passage is often taken to indicate that most Athenian women did not normally attend the theatre in Athens; cf. *B.* 793–6 with n. 32 to the general Introduction. At this date, most seating in the Theatre of Dionysos consisted of wooden benches: see general Introduction, 'Stage Directions'.
- 401 *garland*: taken (on the husband's suspicion) to be some sort of dedicatory offering for a secret lover.
- 404 *Korinthian guest*: in Euripides' *Stheneboia* (cf. *F.* 1043–9) the heroine of that name was illicitly in love with the Korinthian guest Bellerophon (Index of Names); among other things, she even (superstitiously) 'dedicated' fallen/dropped objects to him.
- 407–9 *pregnant . . . birth*: see the idea of surrogate 'births' at 339–40; compare the scenario at Herodotos 5.41.
- 413 *'If . . . ruler'*: Euripides fr. 804.3 (*Phoinix*).
- 414 *women's quarters*: it was a standard practice for Athenian houses to be internally divided into male/female quarters, though exactly what this amounted to in practice would vary; cf. e.g. Lysias 1.9.3, Xenophon, *Oikonomikos* 9.5–6. The (clay) 'seals' in 415 are put on storeroom doors: see 424–8.
- 423 *Lakonian keys*: evidently an elaborate kind; cf. n. on 142.
- 430 *poison*: ironically this is itself an idea found in Euripidean tragedy; see esp. *Medea* 384–5. Cf. line 561.
- 432 *decree . . . scribe*: apart from the gender of the scribe (cf. 374), Mika talks like a male speaker proposing a decree in the city's Assembly.

- 433 *Strophe*: unusually, the matching antistrophe (see general Introduction, ‘Formality and Performance’) is not the next choral song (459 ff.) but the one after that (520 ff.).
- 440 *Xenokles*: see Index of Names; for Karkinos, cf. n. on C. 1261.
- 446 *Kypros*: we do not know of any Athenian actions on the island (under Persian control at this time) for several decades before this; there may or may not be a joke lurking here.
- 451 *gods*: the most extreme statement of atheism by a Euripidean character is Bellerophon’s in fr. 286; passages such as *Hercules Furens* 1341–6 are somewhat less radical. Compare Sokrates at C. 247 ff.
- 456 *vegetable plots*: see n. on 387.
- 461–3 *verbiage . . . convincing*: a characteristic example of Aristophanic ‘discontinuity’ of characterization.
- 466 *Let me start*: various parts of the Kinsman’s speech echo the defence speech of the disguised Telephos (see Index of Names and my Introduction to *WT*) in Euripides’ play.
- 481 *scratched*: cf. *AW* 36 for scratching on a door as a prearranged signal.
- 486 *juniper*: juniper berries; the three ingredients are for a potion to settle an upset stomach.
- 489 *laurel*: sacred to Apollo; a pillar dedicated to the god stood outside some house doors (see n. on 748 and cf. *W*. 875).
- 495 *guarding the walls*: sentry duty on the city’s walls was urgent at this date; see Thucydides 8.69.1.
- 499–501 *wife . . . house*: the scenario is taken from folktale, not ordinary reality—one of several symptoms of the Kinsman’s absurd naivety.
- 504 *to help with the birth*: both drugs and amulets were sometimes used for this purpose.
- 518–19 *rage . . . we’ve done*: based on lines from Telephos’s defence speech in Euripides’ play (fr. 711).
- 520 *Antistrophe*: see n. on 433.
- 530 *orator*: this replaces ‘scorpion’ in the proverb referred to. Some scholars see here an allusion to current events in Athenian politics: see my Introduction to the play.
- 533 *Aglauros*: one of the daughters of the mythical Athenian king Kekrops (see C. 301); she committed suicide and had a shrine dedicated to her on the eastern slope of the Akropolis.
- 537 *ashes*: compare the violent genital depilation of an adulterer at C. 1083. Women sometimes used a lamp to singe off pubic hair (see *AW* 12–13, *L*. 828); Euripides’ earlier treatment of his Kinsman at 215, 230 ff. was modelled on that practice. ‘Pussy’ in the next line is literally ‘piglet’; cf. n. on 237.
- 547 *Melanippes . . . Phaidras*: Euripides wrote two plays about Melanippe, who

bore twins (after either rape or seduction) to the god Poseidon, and two about Phaidra (see Index of Names). The contrast with Odysseus's faithful wife is comically naive.

556 *scraper*: i.e. a 'strigil', a device with which athletes scraped olive oil (as a cleaning agent) off the body; the Kinsman probably envisages a type made of a hollow reed.

558–9 *meat . . . weasel*: the suggestion is that women bribe procuresses with meat left over from the Apatouria (a three-day festival which included a ritual, with animal sacrifice, for the admission of new members to the kinship group or phratry; cf. nn. on *F.* 417, 798) then tell their husbands it was taken by a weasel (kept as a vermin-killing house pet: cf. e.g. *W.* 363, *P.* 794).

561 *poison*: cf. n. on 430.

562–3 *Acharnian . . . bathtub*: Acharnai was one of the northernmost demes (n. on *C.* 134) of Attika; cf. *L.* 62 and the chorus of Aristophanes' *Acharnians*. The circumstantial details of these lines make one wonder whether there is reference to an actual sensational crime.

564–5 *boy . . . daughter*: economic reasons might lead to the preference for a boy over a girl; cf. n. on 340.

566 *two goddesses*: Demeter and Persephone; see nn. on 282, 383.

570 *gobbling*: the women were supposed to be fasting on this day of the Thesmophoria; cf. my Introduction to the play.

576 *spokesman*: Kleisthenes absurdly purports to be a *proxenos* (normally someone who semi-officially looked after another city's interests in his own city; cf. *B.* 1021) for the women.

586 *end . . . deed*: parts of the exchange between chorus-leader and Kleisthenes parody some of the stylized dialogue conventions of tragedy.

594 *goddesses two*: the Kinsman tries to use a typical female oath; cf. n. on 383.

602 *spokesman*: see n. on 576.

605 *Kleonimos*: see Index of Names. For the practice of publicly identifying women by the names of male relatives, see 619, 840–1, with n. on *C.* 46–7.

620 *Kothokidai*: a small, remote deme (n. on *C.* 134) in NW Attika.

624 *tent*: the women lived in a tented village on the Akropolis for the duration of the Thesmophoria.

638 *breast-band*: see n. on 138–9.

639 *she*: Mika incongruously continues to refer to the Kinsman as though he were a woman.

647–8 *isthmus . . . Korinth*: see Index of Names, s.v. Korinth.

654 *Prytaneis*: see Index of Names.

658 *Pnyx . . . tents*: the Pnyx was the hill west of the Akropolis where the Athenian Assembly met; the women are notionally on the Akropolis itself (83, 281) but in keeping with their Assembly-like procedures (nn. on 278,

- 295–311, 335–8, etc.) speak momentarily as though they were on the Pnyx. For tents, see n. on 624.
- 672 *the gods*: the chorus talk as though an infiltrator of their rituals would by definition be a non-believer in the traditional gods; cf. Kritylla's view of Euripides at 450–1.
- 690 *baby*: the Kinsman's seizure of the 'baby' (see 733) activates paratragedy based on Euripides' *Telephos*; cf. my Introduction to the play, with the Index of Names, s.v. *Telephos*.
- 697 *trophy*: normally erected on the battlefield by an already victorious army; here comically proleptic—or perhaps we are meant simply to infer that Mika is ignorant of military matters.
- 700 *Fates*: the Moirai, goddesses responsible for determining the length and other inescapable elements of each human life; see *B.* 1734, *F.* 453, with e.g. Hesiod, *Theogony* 217, 904.
- 727 *set him on fire*: for such comically extreme behaviour, cf. the male chorus's intentions at *L.* 269–70, as well as the form of Strepsiades' revenge at the end of *Clouds*.
- 734 *Persian bootees*: two of the tied ends of the wineskin have been fitted with miniature slippers (cf. *C.* 151), as seen in the illustration of the scene on an Apulian 4th-century vase cited in n. 91 to the general Introduction.
- 738 *No wonder*: i.e. because they are drunk.
- 741 *nine*: the Greek says 'ten', but that is a kind of inclusive counting.
- 746 *vintage*: the Greek refers to the Choes ('Wine-jugs') festival; cf. *A.* 1000–2. The Kinsman puns on counting a baby's years and the age of a wine.
- 747 *Dionysiac*: Athens had several Dionysia, festivals of Dionysos; all that matters is the allusion to Dionysos as god of wine.
- 748 *right here*: the Kinsman gestures towards a statue of Apollo outside the stage building; cf. n. on 489.
- 758 *perk*: a priest(-ess) would often be allowed to keep part of a sacrificial animal.
- 770–1 *Palamedes . . . oars*: a scene from Euripides' play *Palamedes* (see Index of Names), staged in 415; was there an ironic reference to Palamedes as himself the mythic inventor of writing?
- 773 *tablets*: wooden votive dedications lying on or near the altar.
- 781 *rho*: i.e. 'r'; one might imagine the Kinsman as having reached the third letter of Euripides' name.
- 785 *Step forward*: the Greek verb here is the one from which the term 'parabasis' derives; cf. *P.* 735 and see the general Introduction, 'Formality and Performance'. The present parabasis is in truncated form; it lacks songs and has only a single 'epirrhematic' section (contrast e.g. *C.* 510–626 for the full form).
- 790 *forbid . . . doors*: this presupposes a social protocol subscribed to (though

- not necessarily upheld in all respects) by ‘respectable’ (and in practice wealthier) Athenian families, whereby women led much of their lives indoors and did not move freely in public; cf. e.g. *L.* 16, *AW* 335–41.
- 795 *visit . . . dancing*: women did socialize in this way, sometimes for festivals like the Adonia (*L.* 389–96); cf. *AW* 348–9, *L.* 700–1 (with a special twist).
- 797–9 *peek . . . peeking*: prostitutes might lurk alluringly in this way (cf. *AW* 924–5); but the passage interestingly hints at the sexual charge that might be generated even by such rare glimpses of ‘respectable’ women (cf. n. on 790). Compare *P.* 979–85.
- 804 *Nausimache . . . Charminos*: Nausimache means ‘naval battle’; Charminos was a general who had suffered a recent naval defeat to the Spartans (Thucydides 8.41–3).
- 805 *Salabaccho*: a prostitute whose name occurs also at *K.* 765; Kleophon was a radical politician associated with an aggressive stance on the war (see n. on *F.* 678).
- 806–7 *Aristomache . . . Stratonike*: the first means ‘best fighter’, the second ‘army victory’. Aristomache is called ‘Marathonian’ simply because the famous victory over the Persians at Marathon (Index of Names) was indeed remembered as the Athenians’ ‘best’. The logic, militarily speaking, is of course absurd.
- 808–9 *Euboule . . . somebody else*: Euboule means ‘good council/counsel’; in 413–12 the Athenians had partly curbed the powers of the Council (see Index of Names) by the temporary appointment of a group of ten (later thirty) *Probouloi*, ‘Commissioners’ (see *L.* 387 with Thucydides 8.1.3).
- 811–13 *No woman . . . same day*: the Leader contrasts major misappropriation of public funds by a male politician (actual or generic is unclear), then pictured as hypocritically taking part in the Panathenaic procession (see n. on *C.* 69), with the petty domestic filching supposedly (i.e. comically) typical of Athenian wives.
- 823 *parasols*: in origin a Greek borrowing from the Near East; rarely used by Greek men, hence the piquancy of Prometheus’s parasol at *B.* 1494–1551. For the idea of women as naturally conservative in habits, compare *AW* 221–8.
- 827–9 *thrown . . . parasol*: the women give an absurd twist to the idea of cowardly soldiers throwing away their shields in order to flee from battle.
- 834–5 *Stenia . . . our own*: the Stenia (just before the Thesmophoria) and Skira (cf. *AW* 18, 59) were examples of festivals exclusive to women.
- 838 *cropped close*: the reference is to a rounded hairstyle suitable only for a slave; cf. *A.* 849, *B.* 806.
- 845 *loans . . . loins*: the Greek puns on a noun (*tokos*) which can mean both interest on a loan and offspring; for Hyperbolos and Lamachos, see Index of Names.
- 850 *recent*: staged in the previous year (412).

- 855–7 *Lo . . . dwell*: these lines borrow Euripides, *Helen* 1–2, plus a line that starts from *Helen* 3 but then veers away from its model (and refers incongruously to an Egyptian fondness for purges: cf. *P.* 1253–4). The main correspondences to *Helen* in what follows (in some cases only parts of lines, and with some differences of detail) are: *WT* 859–60 ~ *Helen* 16–17, *WT* 862 ~ *Helen* 22, *WT* 864–5 ~ *Helen* 52–3, *WT* 866 ~ *Helen* 49, *WT* 868 ~ *Helen* 56, *WT* 871 ~ *Helen* 68, *WT* 874 ~ *Helen* 460, *WT* 878 ~ *Helen* 461, *WT* 881: cf. *Helen* 467, *WT* 886 ~ *Helen* 466, *WT* 905 ~ *Helen* 72 + 557, *WT* 906 ~ *Helen* 558, *WT* 907–12 ~ *Helen* 561–6.
- 858 *Hekate*: see Index of Names.
- 860 *Tyndareos*: King of Sparta, notional human ‘father’ of Helen, though Zeus himself had seduced her mother, Leda.
- 861 *Phrynonidas*: a proverbial malefactor.
- 864 *Skamander*: one of the rivers of Troy; cf. *F.* 928.
- 868 *ravens aren’t hungry*: lit. ‘because of the poor quality of the ravens’ (sc. in failing to eat you). Compare the curse ‘To the crows/ravens’ at line 1079, with n. on *C.* 789.
- 870 *deceive me not*: the first half of the line is actually based not on Euripides but on Sophokles fr. 493 (*Peleus*).
- 874–6 *Proteus . . . Proteas*: Proteus was an Egyptian king with whom, on the version followed in Euripides’ *Helen* (line 4; cf. Herodotos 2.112–20), Helen resided for the duration of the Trojan War. Kritylla, using a female oath (cf. n. on 383), confuses him with a contemporary Athenian (the name is found as that of a general at Thucydides 1.45.2).
- 880 *Thesmophorion*: see n. on 83.
- 894 *to steal*: Kritylla makes a common-sense but mistaken assumption about why a man has infiltrated a women’s festival.
- 897 *Theonoe*: in Euripides’ *Helen* a priestess who gives Helen advice and assistance; ‘crone’ (896) rather suggests the abusive doorkeeper at *Helen* 437 ff. (whose words the Kinsman himself had adapted at 874, 886).
- 898 *Kritylla*: after her own name she identifies herself, as is the norm for respectable women in public (see n. on 605), by her husband and his deme (cf. e.g. *C.* 134).
- 902 *What did you say?*: what follows is based on the recognition scene between Helen and Menelaos at Euripides, *Helen* 526–96 (cf. n. on 855–7).
- 903 *cheeks*: the Kinsman alludes, with absurd incongruity, to his earlier shaving (221 ff.).
- 919 *Tyndareos*: cf. n. on 860.
- 931 *plank*: the reference is to a brutal form of imprisonment/torture (and sometimes execution) in which five metal clamps (1003) fastened a person’s neck, arms, and legs to a wooden board. Cf. n. on *C.* 591–2.
- 935 *Egyptian sailor*: Kritylla says ‘a sail-stitcher’, probably an allusion to

Egyptian linen production and/or the rags in which Euripides is costumed.

- 949 *Pauson . . . fast*: Pauson is also mocked for poverty/hunger at *We.* 602 and as a parasite at *A.* 854; he may be the caricaturist painter of e.g. Aristotle, *Poetics* 2.1448a6. Here his hunger is satirically assimilated to the ritual fasting on this day of the Thesmophoria (Index of Names).
- 962 *slander*: a reference to the traditional expectation of satirical songs from a comic chorus. Is the passage an allusion to avoidance of political topicality at a time of dangerous political developments in Athens? See my Introduction to the play.
- 972 *victory*: the Chorus speaks momentarily in its theatrical rather than dramatic persona.
- 973–6 *Hera . . . marriage*: Hera, consort of Zeus, was traditionally a goddess of marriage.
- 988 *Bacchic god*: Dionysos (see Index of Names); the following part of the song celebrates him.
- 990–1 *Euios . . . Bromios*: two cult titles of Dionysos, the former derived from ritual exclamations ('euoi', 994); both are used frequently in e.g. Euripides' *Bacchae*.
- 996 *Kithaironian*: Mt Kithairon, near Thebes (birthplace of Dionysos).
- 1001 *'Ere den . . .*: for the Archer's 'pidgin' Greek, see the general Introduction, 'Translating Aristophanes'.
- 1012 *Andromeda*: daughter of Kepheus, king of the Ethiopians; she was tied to a rock by her father as propitiatory sacrifice to a sea-monster (sent by Poseidon to punish the family), but was rescued by the hero Perseus, returning from killing and decapitating the Gorgon Medusa (cf. 1102). Euripides' play on the theme was produced the previous year, 412 (at the same festival as *Helen*: n. on 855–7); see n. on 1015 with my Introduction to *WT*.
- 1015 *Dear maidens*: this opening is taken directly from the heroine's song to the chorus in Euripides' *Andromeda* (fr. 117). The precise extent of other borrowings from the play, obviously diluted by various comic incongruities, is uncertain; but the following quotations/adaptations are reasonably secure: *WT* 1018–19 ~ fr. 118, *WT* 1021–2 ~ fr. 120, *WT* 1029–39 ~ fr. 122, *WT* 1065–9 ~ fr. 114, *WT* 1070–2 ~ fr. 115, *WT* 1098–1100 ~ fr. 124.1–3, *WT* 1101–2 ~ fr. 123/124.5–6(?), *WT* 1105–6 ~ fr. 125.1–2.
- 1018 *you who sing*: i.e. Echo, who repeated parts of Andromeda's lament from a cave in Euripides' play.
- 1033 *Glauketes*: the name of a contemporary satirized at *P.* 1008 as a glutton.
- 1044 *saffron*: see n. on 138–9.
- 1061 *role*: a particularly ironic case of 'metatheatre'; see my Introduction to the play.

- 1069 *Olympos*: the name here connotes not just the mountain (Index of Names) but the whole sky.
- 1103 *Gorgos* . . . *scribe*: Gorgos was evidently secretary (n. on 372–9) to the Council at this time or in the recent past but is not otherwise known.
- 1130 *Bringing words* . . .: the line is a quotation from Euripides, *Medea* 298.
- 1142 *holder of the keys*: the reason for the term is not clear but the keys imagined may be those to the treasury in the Parthenon; for Pallas as a cult title of Athena, see Index of Names.
- 1149 *mistress deities*: Demeter and Persephone; see nn. on 83, 282.
- 1158 *Come now* . . .: cf. n. on 319.
- 1168–9 *denounce* . . . *secret*: Euripides alludes to the same male stereotype of women's behaviour used previously by the Kinsman in his speech at 466–519; for the assumption that most Athenian males are away on military campaigns, cf. *L.* 99–104.
- 1195 *drachma*: probably a high price for a prostitute's services; cf. nn. on *C.* 21, 118, *F.* 173.
- 1200 *Artemisia*: the best-known holder of this name was the queen of Halikarnassos who accompanied the Persian Xerxes on his invasion of Greece in 480; cf. *L.* 675, with Herodotos 7.99, etc. But it here serves as an amusingly pretentious name for a disreputable bawd of the kind Euripides impersonates.
- 1230 *Thesmophoroi*: see n. on 282.

FROGS

- 3 *hard-pressed*: i.e. by carrying a heavy load; Dionysos warns Xanthias off clichéd jokes about the physical labour of slaves. Cf. an ironic joke on the same Greek verb by the jester at Xenophon, *Symposium* 1.11.
- 13–14 *Phrynichos* . . . *Ameipsias*: three contemporary comic poets, the first and third both well established and successful; Phrynichos (cf. n. on *C.* 553–7) was actually competing against *Frogs* at this same festival with a play called *Muses*.
- 18 *a year*: a kind of temporal pun, since the major dramatic festivals were annual.
- 33 *sea-fight*: the battle of Arginousai in summer 406 (an Athenian victory but with heavy losses of men; cf. n. on 541), after which slaves who had fought for the city were given freedom and citizenship (cf. 190–1, 693–4).
- 38 *Centaur*: see Index of Names.
- 46 *saffron dress*: see n. on *WT* 138–9.
- 47 *boots*: high boots of a kind worn mostly by women (the same sort at *L.* 657, *AW* 346) but sometimes forming part of an 'effeminate' Dionysiac costume; cf. 557. The whole line resembles *WT* 136–40 and may echo the same Aischylean text as there (n. on *WT* 135).

- 48 *Kleisthenes*: see Index of Names.
- 49–50 *sea-fight* . . . *ships*: another reference to Arginousai (n. on 33).
- 52–3 *read to myself* . . . *Andromeda*: the context (on a ship) seems pointedly odd, but the line may still allude to the growing practice of reading plays in the late fifth century; cf. n. on 1114. For the *Andromeda*, see *WT* 1011 ff., with my Introduction to that play.
- 55 *Molon*: Dionysos probably refers ironically to someone (possibly a tragic actor) who was known for his considerable size.
- 62 *soup*: in comedy Herakles often had the persona of a glutton; cf. 107, 549 ff., with e.g. *W.* 60, *B.* 1583–90, and fr. 11 (Appendix).
- 73 *Iophon*: son of Sophokles and a tragic playwright himself for many years by this date. Sophokles had died a few months after Euripides in the second half of 406 (when Aristophanes was already writing *Frogs*). See my Introduction to the play.
- 82 *even-tempered*: our best evidence for Sophokles' personality is the vignette of him (going back to his contemporary Ion of Chios) at a dinner-party in Athenaios, *Dinner-Sophists* 13.603c–4f. Cf. n. on 788.
- 83–5 *Agathon* . . . *land of plenty*: for Agathon see Index of Names, with *WT* 29–265; the Greek puns on (i) the traditional idea of 'the islands of the blessed' (a privileged afterlife for a special few) and (ii) the luxury of the Makedonian court of King Archelaos, where Agathon was receiving patronage (as Euripides had done before him: n. on 953).
- 86–7 *Xenokles* . . . *Pythangelos*: for the former see Index of Names; Pythangelos was evidently also a minor tragedian, but is otherwise unknown.
- 100–2 *Aither* . . . *mind*: on Aither see Index of Names; Dionysos (mis-)quotes from Euripides fr. 487 (see n. on *WT* 272), *Bacchae* 889, and (very loosely) *Hippolytos* 612 (cf. nn. on 1471, *WT* 275–6).
- 111 *Kerberos*: guard-dog of Hades, usually depicted as three-headed; Herakles kidnapped him as one of his labours. Cf. 187, 467.
- 126 *freezing them*: hemlock is depicted as having this chilling effect on Sokrates in the famous passage at Plato, *Phaedo* 117e–18a.
- 129 *Kerameikos*: lit. 'Potters' district', in the NW part of the city, including Athens' largest burial-ground (part of the joke here?); cf. nn. on 422–7, 1093, with *K.* 772, *B.* 395. The tower in line 130 cannot be identified for certain.
- 131 *torch-race*: a type of event, found in several Athenian festivals, in which the runners carried torches; some evidently started in the Kerameikos. Cf. 1089–98.
- 134 *mincemeat* . . . *brain*: the Greek puns on a word which can mean (i) a fig-leaf stuffed with food (including animal brains: cf. fr. 128, Appendix), (ii) a hemisphere of the brain.
- 137–40 *lake* . . . *obols*: the Acherousian lake (or Acheron, cf. 471), over which souls of the dead are ferried in Charon's boat (180 ff.). 'Two obols', a third of a drachma (cf. nn. on 173, *C.* 118), combines (i) a reference to coins put in

- the mouth of the dead as a notional ‘fare’ for Charon’s ferry, and (ii) an allusion to a daily dole paid to poorer citizens (on the proposal of Kleophon: see Index of Names) for certain periods during the later years of the war.
- 142 *Theseus*: mythological Athenian king/hero; he went down to Hades to help his friend Peirithoos and was eventually rescued by Herakles.
- 145 *mud*: this idea (cf. the Orphic beliefs at Plato, *Republic* 2.363d) may have been part of Eleusinian imagery; ‘river of shit’ is comic overkill (cf. fr. 156.13 in the Appendix).
- 151 *Morsimos*: minor tragic poet (and grand-nephew of Aischylos); cf. *K.* 400–1, *P.* 802.
- 153 *Kinesias*: see Index of Names; here apparently thought of as writing (bad) music to a type of dance in armour; cf. 366, 1437.
- 159 *proverbial donkey*: evidently denoting someone who does all the work without any reward; humorously harks back to the donkey in the play’s opening scene.
- 165 *bedding*: part of the baggage consists of mats, pillows, etc., for sleeping on the journey; cf. slaves carrying bedding on a journey at Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.13.6.
- 173 *two drachmas*: cf. nn. on 137–40, *WT* 1195; no doubt a high price for a porter’s service. Dionysos offers one-and-a-half drachmas (nine obols, 177).
- 185–7 *Plain of Forgetting . . . Tainaron*: the list of destinations jumbles traditional underworld geography, euphemisms for death, and a real place (Tainaron: the central S tip of the Peloponnese) where there was supposedly an entrance to Hades. ‘Crows’ end’ links to the expression in 189 (for which see n. on *C.* 789).
- 191 *sea-fight*: see n. on 33.
- 204 *Salamis type*: the island of Salamis, off the W coast of Attika and location of the famous naval defeat of the Persians in 480, was a traditional source of good Athenian sailors/rowers; cf. *AW* 37–9.
- 215–19 *Nysa . . . precinct*: Nysa, a probably mythic mountain (outside Greece), was sacred to Dionysos. The frogs then refer to the third day (‘Pots’) of the Anthesteria festival, celebrated in the precinct of Dionysos ‘in the marshes’ (somewhere south of the Akropolis: Thucydides 2.15.4).
- 229–34 *Muses . . . marshes*: for the musical deities with whom the frogs identify themselves (as if they were in the ‘high’ tradition of Greek poetry) see the Index of Names. For Apollo’s phorminx, cf. *WT* 327.
- 270 *two obols*: see n. on 137–40.
- 282 *There’s nothing . . .*: an adaptation (with ‘Herakles’ for ‘a man’) of a line from Euripides, fr. 788.1 (*Philoktetes*).
- 293 *Empousa*: a bogey figure of Greek folklore with supposedly prodigious shape-shifting powers; cf. *AW* 1056 (‘spook’ in my translation), fr. 515 (apparently identifying Empousa with Hekate: cf. Index of Names).

- 297 *priest . . . later*: a priest of Dionysos (in whose shrine the theatre was located) was seated in the front row; Dionysos, as god of theatre, envisages a drinking-party (for the cast) after the performance. Cf. *A.* 1085–7.
- 304 *weasel*: the word is here a mispronunciation (a notorious slip by Hegelochos, a tragic actor) of a word meaning ‘calm seas’; the line is taken from Euripides, *Orestes* 279. For weasels as house-pets, see n. on *WT* 558–9.
- 311 *Aither . . . time*: see line 100.
- 316 *Iakchos*: a divine name invoked during the procession of initiates from Athens to Eleusis and sometimes identified (outside *Frogs*) with Dionysos himself.
- 320 *Agora*: see the Index of Names; the procession to Eleusis probably started from the Agora.
- 338–9 *pig flesh . . . sausage*: piglets were (probably) sacrificed on one of the preliminary days of the Eleusinian Mysteries; some scholars also detect sexual doubles entendres here (for piglets as female genitalia cf. n. on *WT* 237).
- 354–71 *the following section* [stage direction]: this section has something in common with the ‘anapaests’ usually found in the parabasis (see general Introduction, ‘Formality and Performance’). The parabasis proper in *Frogs* lacks such a section, as though it has been brought forward to this point, where it is a comic version of a proclamation (excluding the impure, etc.) made on the first day of the Eleusinian Mysteries.
- 357 *Kratinos*: the leading comic playwright of the period 450–420; cf. e.g. *A.* 849, *K.* 400, *P.* 700, with my general Introduction, ‘Aristophanes’ Career in Context’. ‘Bull-eating’ was a cult title of Dionysos: Kratinos is comically treated as the god of comedy (which is assimilated to a Dionysiac ‘mystery’ religion).
- 363 *Thorykion*: cf. 382 but otherwise unknown; presumably a real figure who had abused his position as collector of a 5 per cent tax on seaborne goods (see Thucydides 7.28.4) to sell contraband via the island of Aigina to Epidaurus in the NE Peloponnese.
- 366 *who shits*: a reference to an embarrassing/impious episode (actual or maliciously invented) involving Kinesias (n. on 153); on Hekate, see Index of Names.
- 367 *fees*: we have no other evidence on how much money playwrights received for having their plays performed at dramatic festivals, but evidently some payment was involved.
- 378 *Saviouress*: probably Athena, but just possibly Persephone.
- 392 *playful humour*: cf. 374–5, 404, 416 ff.; there were in fact several opportunities for laughter and mirth in the course of the Eleusinian festivities; but the chorus’s identity here is a sort of melding of Eleusinian and comic personae (cf. my Introduction to the play).
- 406 *rags*: some Eleusinian initiates deliberately wore old clothes which were

dedicated after the festival; cf. *We.* 845. The suggestion is that the producer of *Frogs* (Philonides) has saved costs by giving the comic chorus correspondingly cheap costumes.

417 *Archedemos*: a prominent politician at this date but here satirically accused of not being a legitimate Athenian citizen (hence not having been introduced as a young child into a traditional kinship group or ‘phratry’: see n. on 798); cf. 588. The Greek involves an untranslatable pun on growing teeth and belonging to a phratry.

422–7 *Kleisthenes’ son . . . Anaphlystos*: we know nothing else about the son of Kleisthenes (see Index of Names), here obscenely depicted in behaviour which mixes gestures of bereavement with a desire to be sodomized (probably as a prostitute: ‘tombstones’ hints at one of the seedier associations of the Kerameikos area of the city; cf. n. on 129). Anaphlystos was an Athenian deme, but the context activates a pun on a slang term for ‘masturbate’.

428–30 *Kallias . . . lion-skin*: Kallias was a member of one of the richest Athenian aristocratic families, a patron of intellectuals (Plato’s *Protagoras* is set in his house) but ridiculed in comedy (cf. *B.* 283–4) for a profligate, sexually scandalous life-style; his father’s name Hipponikos (‘horse-victor’) is changed to the obscene Hippobinos. Cf. frs. 117, 583 in the Appendix.

439 *same old story*: the Greek says lit. ‘Korinthos son of Zeus’, a proverb derived from the Corinthians’ harping on their divine founder; cf. *AW* 828.

453 *Fates*: see n. on *WT* 700.

470–7 *Styx . . . Teithras*: the Doorkeeper, with quasi-tragic rhetorical vehemence, mentions three underworld rivers/lakes (cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 10.513–14), before bathetically linking the Gorgons (snake-haired monsters, including Medusa: see n. on *WT* 1012), as though they were merely feisty human women, to the real deme of Teithras in E Attika.

516 *trimmed*: i.e. their pubic hair; cf. e.g. *L.* 89, 151.

531 *Alkmene’s son*: Herakles (Index of Names).

541 *Theramenes*: a politician with a reputation for side-switching adroitness; cf. 967–70. In 411 he helped both to set up and overthrow the oligarchy of the Four Hundred (cf. Introduction to *WT*): Thucydides 8.68, 89 ff. After the battle of Arginousai in 406 (n. on 33) he succeeded in pinning blame on the generals (six were executed: n. on 1196) for failing to pick up shipwrecked survivors, though he himself had failed to do so with his own ship. He was later part of the oligarchy of the Thirty imposed on Athens by Sparta at the end of the war; feuds within the group led to his execution.

542 *Milesian*: woollen fabrics from Miletos, a Greek city in Asia Minor, were prized for their fine quality (cf. *L.* 729).

545 *winkle*: the Greek here uses the term ‘chickpea’ in a slang sense.

546–8 *caught sight . . . mouth*: it is hard (one hopes) for a modern reader to get

- the humour of something which depends on imagining role-reversal in a scene in which a master violently punishes a slave for voyeurism.
- 557 *boots*: see n. on 47; the Innkeeper absurdly talks as though footwear could be the key to recognition of another person.
- 569–70 *Kleon . . . destroy*: see Index of Names for Kleon and Hyperbolos; they are imagined as (still) politically active on the side of ordinary people in Hades.
- 574 *pit*: see n. on C. 1450.
- 582–3 ‘*mortal slave*’ . . . ‘*Alkmene’s son*’: Xanthias ironically echoes Dionysos’s words at 531.
- 588 *Archedemos*: see n. on 417. The preceding line is, of course, an oath fit for an ordinary person, not a god.
- 590 *Strophe*: the metrical form of 590–604 corresponds to that of 534–48.
- 608 *Ditylas* . . . : all three names are probably parodic of non-Greek slave-names.
- 616 *torture*: Athenian law allowed the evidence of slaves to be adduced in court only if it had been extracted under torture; a defendant, as here, might offer his slaves as a supposed sign of his innocence. Cf. C. 620 and e.g. *We*. 875–6.
- 651 *Diomeia*: an Athenian deme just south of the city walls; the location of an important annual festival (at Kynosarges) in honour of Herakles.
- 661 *Hipponax*: late 6th-century author of vigorous satirical poems (*iamboi*) in which one can imagine a character exclaiming vehemently.
- 664–7 *Poseidon . . . depths*: Dionysos yelps with pain then tries to mask his reaction by quoting (loosely) from an invocation to Poseidon in Sophokles’ *Laocoon* (fr. 371).
- 671 *Pherrephatta*: another name for Persephone (Index of Names).
- 674 *P R B SIS*: here in a shortened form; see n. on 354–71, with my general Introduction, ‘Formality and Performance’.
- 678 *Kleophon*: see Index of Names; he is here depicted as of barbarian origin and in danger of being condemned in court even on a split vote (which in Athenian law usually produced an *acquittal*). Kleophon was in fact subsequently accused (and executed) by his political opponents on a dubious charge at the end of the war (Lysias 13.12, 30.13).
- 689 *Phrynichos*: a leading oligarchic conspirator in 411; see esp. Thucydides 8.48, 68, 92.
- 693–4 *those . . . masters*: another reference (see n. on 33) to the enfranchisement of slaves who fought at Arginousai, here compared with Plataians who had been made citizens of Athens after the destruction of Plataia (just to the NW of Attika) by Sparta in 427 (see Demosthenes 59.104).
- 704 ‘*Tossed on stormy waves*’: the phrase is taken from a poem by the 7th-century poet Archilochos (fr. 213 *IEG*).
- 706 ‘*If my eye . . .*’: a quotation from a tragedy by Ion of Chios (fr. 41).

- 709 *Kleigenes*: probably more than a bath-keeper; perhaps a political ally of Kleophon (678).
- 720–6 *old coins . . . stamped*: a reference to a change from Athens' traditional silver coinage (and some special gold coinage minted in 406) to inferior (probably silver-plated) bronze coinage; for later changes in coinage, cf. *AW* 815–22.
- 734 *idiots*: abuse of the audience is a stock element in Old Comedy (and affects the tone of the present passage); compare e.g. 276, 783, *C.* 1095–1102.
- 764 *dining rights*: in Athens such rights were bestowed on various people (certain politicians, officials, victorious athletes, and others); cf. e.g. *K.* 535, 766, *P.* 1084. Despite its name, the Prytaneion was not used by Prytaneis (see Index of Names).
- 788 *not like that*: this implies something similar to the idea of Sophokles' easy-going personality at 82.
- 791 *Kleidemides*: we have no idea who he was or in what sort of context he was supposed to have behaved in a manner analogous to Sophokles' attitude here.
- 798 *meat*: the reference is to a ritual at the Apatouria festival (cf. n. on *WT* 558–9), at which fathers weighed sacrificial meat before introducing their sons to the kinship group (phratry); cf. n. on 417, with fr. 299 (Appendix).
- 830 *the throne*: cf. 765–90. Some scholars think the chair was physically brought on stage (perhaps on the *ekkuklêma* or trolley: see the general Introduction, 'Stage Directions'), together with a throne for Plouton. But the text does little to encourage this view.
- 840 '*son of . . .*': a distortion of Euripides fr. 885 (with 'fields' for 'sea') and a gibe at the supposed profession of the poet's mother (see n. on *WT* 387).
- 842 *beggars . . . rag-costume-stitcher*: Euripides had long had a (comic) reputation for creating tragic heroes (including Telephos: Index of Names) who appeared onstage as (disguised) beggars or in rags; cf. 1063, *A.* 412–34.
- 844 '*Don't let . . .*': the line has all the hallmarks of an Aischylean quotation (fr. 468).
- 846 *cripples*: a running gibe against Euripides (see esp. *A.* 411, *P.* 146–8); one conspicuous case was that of Bellerophon (Index of Names), who in the play named after him fell from Pegasos and appeared onstage mortally wounded.
- 847 *black sheep*: sacrificed to avert a storm.
- 849–50 *monodies . . . incest*: monodies (solo songs) were characteristic of Euripides' later plays; see 944, 1330 (and the parody that follows it). Euripides wrote several plays with Cretan themes; cf. n. on 1356. For the motif of incest see 1081 with n. on *C.* 1372.
- 855 *Telephos*: Euripides' symbolic 'brains'; see Index of Names.
- 862 *sinews*: see n. 17 to my Introduction to the play.

- 863–4 *Peleus* . . . *Telephos*: *Peleus* probably dealt with the hero's life prior to his marriage to *Thetis* (cf. C. 1063–7) and his fathering of *Achilles*. For *Aiolos* see n. on C. 1372, for *Meleager* n. on 1240–1 below, for *Telephos* the Index of Names.
- 886–7 *Demeter* . . . *Mysteries*: Aischylos was born in the area of Eleusis; cf. Index of Names, s.v. *Mysteries*.
- 890 *coinage*: for gods as currency/coinage, cf. C. 247–9.
- 892–3 *Aither* . . . *Nostrils*: on *Aither*, which *characters* in Euripides sometimes treat as a god (e.g. fr. 941), see Index of Names. For Tongue as a quasi-sophistic deity, cf. C. 424. Astuteness: reclaimed for Aischylos at 1483, 1490. *Nostrils*: possibly implying contemptuous sneering.
- 904 *a horse's*: the reference is to a horse rolling on the ground after exercise to remove sweat; cf. n. on C. 32.
- 910 *Phrynichos*: an early tragic playwright (active c.510–470), thus different from those mentioned in lines 13 and 689. Cf. 1299, *WT* 164.
- 912–13 *Achilles* . . . *silence*: the reference is to protracted dramatic silences by the main characters in Aischylos' *Myrmidons* (= the Thessalian tribe of *Achilles*) and *Niobe* (where the heroine mourned the loss of her many children, killed by *Apollo*).
- 928–9 *Skamander* . . . *eagles*: for *Skamander* see *WT* 864; the compound (and unique) Greek noun for 'griffin-eagles' was probably found in Aischylos (fr. 422).
- 932 *'tawny horse-cock'*: a phrase from Aischylos' *Myrmidons* (cf. n. on 912–13), fr. 134; cf. *P.* 1177, *B.* 800. The hybrid figure in question was a kind of winged horse found in the visual symbolism of the late archaic period.
- 934 *Eryxis*: we know too little about this figure to guess why it was funny to identify him as a 'horse-cock'.
- 943–4 *books* . . . *Kephisophon*: Euripides was reputed to have a large private library; cf. 1409, with n. on 1114 for books more generally. For monodies, see n. on 849–50. About *Kephisophon* we know nothing for certain, but he is treated in comedy as a collaborator of some kind with Euripides and perhaps a member of his household (some later sources said a slave); cf. 1408, 1452–3, and fr. 596 in the Appendix.
- 953 *not a direction*: either because of some of Euripides' associates (see 968 with n.; and perhaps also *Sokrates*?, cf. 1492) or because he moved to the Makedonian court of *Archelaos* for the last part of his life (cf. n. on 83–5).
- 957 *crafty*: cf. *WT* 94. The ethos of Euripides' plays is characterized here as a sort of cross between philosophical questioning and neurotic suspiciousness.
- 963 *Kyknos* . . . *Memnon*: two victims of *Achilles* in the Trojan War; on *Memnon* cf. n. on C. 622. We do not know where *Kyknos* appeared in Aischylos, but *Memnon* was the subject of an entire trilogy of plays.
- 965–7 *Phormisios* . . . *Theramenes*: if *Phormisios* (probably a politician) is the

- same man as at *AW* 97, the joke here may depend simply on his shaggy appearance; Megainetos is unknown. Kleitophon and Theramenes (see n. on 541) were two figures towards the oligarchic end of the political spectrum who also moved in intellectual circles (Kleitophon is present at the conversation in Plato's *Republic*: 328b, 340a–b).
- 970 *dicey*: there is a pun in the Greek on dice-throws and place-names which no one has satisfactorily decoded; but Theramenes' ability to escape from tight corners is clearly the basis of the joke.
- 992 '*Beholdest . . . Achilles?*': from the opening of Aischylos' *Myrmidons*, fr. 131, where the chorus beseech their silent leader, Achilles; cf. n. on 912–13.
- 1017 *seven full ox-hides*: an echo of the description of Ajax's shield at Homer, *Iliad* 7.220, etc.
- 1021 *Seven against Thebes*: produced in 467; it concerns the mutually fatal encounter between Oedipus's sons, Eteokles and Polyneikes (and is therefore hardly an encouragement to martial valour!).
- 1026–7 *Persians . . . glorified: Persians*, produced in 472, dramatizes Persian reactions to the news of Xerxes' defeat in the battle of Salamis; its 'glorification' of Athenian success is set against a partly tragic view of the enemy's sufferings. Dionysos's (approximate) recollection in 1028–9 of the scene involving the ghost of Dareios refers to *Persians* 681–851.
- 1032–4 *Orpheus . . . Homer*: various collections of poems passed apocryphally under the names of the mythical singers Orpheus and Musaios (the latter from Eleusis and occasionally treated as son of the former). Hesiod (c.700 BC) was author of, among other things, *Works and Days*, a didactic poem about farming. Homer's *Iliad* (c.700) could also be (naively) thought of as didactic in matters military.
- 1036 *Pantakles*: possibly a contemporary lyric poet of the same name.
- 1039 *Lamachos*: see Index of Names.
- 1043 *Phaidra . . . Stheneboia*: see Index of Names under Phaidra and (for Stheneboia) Bellerophon. Both women made false sexual allegations against men with whom they had fallen in love.
- 1048 *own life*: we do not have reliable biographical information to shed light on this apparently sexual allusion.
- 1051 *Bellerophon*: see Index of Names.
- 1057 *Lykabettos . . . Parnassos*: Lykabettos is a hill NE of the Akropolis in Athens; for Parnassos, see Index of Names.
- 1061 *clothes*: possibly a reference to theatrical tragic costume or to depictions in visual art.
- 1063–4 *rags . . . pitiful*: see n. on 842.
- 1065 *pay for a warship*: the costs of maintaining warships were charged to wealthy citizens as a form of taxation ('liturgy': see *OCD*⁴ 850).
- 1070–1 *emptied . . . chatter*: the same charges brought against modern 'immoral' education at e.g. *C.* 1052–4.

- 1071–3 *Paraloi* . . . *benches*: the Paraloi were the rowing-crew of one of two Athenian triremes used for official state business; they had shown special loyalty to the democracy during the oligarch coup of 411 (Thucydides 8.86.9).
- 1079–82 *women* . . . *death*: the Nurse in *Hippolytos* acts as a go-between; the mother of Telephos (Index of Names) gave birth to him in a shrine in *Auge*; there was sibling incest in *Aiolos* (n. on C. 1372); for ‘life is death’, see n. on 1477.
- 1087 *carry a torch*: i.e. in a torch-race (cf. n. on 131) in the Panathenaia (see Index of Names).
- 1093 *Kerameikos*: cf. n. on 129, with n. on 131 for the torch-race in question.
- 1114 *a book*: this seems *prima facie* to refer to the availability of texts of (some) tragedies and the growing size of a ‘reading public’; but there is much dispute about exactly what we can infer from the passage. Cf. nn. on 52, 943–4.
- 1124 *Oresteia*: the trilogy (produced in 458) comprising *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi*, *Eumenides*. Aischylos proceeds to quote from the second play, *Choephoroi* 1–3 (spoken by Orestes).
- 1144 *Eriounian*: a traditional epithet of Hermes (see Index of Names), but of uncertain meaning.
- 1150 *wine* . . . *stench*: Aischylos uses the idea of malodorous breath (ironically of the god of wine) as a gibe conveying general disdain.
- 1172–3 ‘*Upon the mound* . . .’: Aischylos, *Choephoroi* 4–5.
- 1181 *standards of diction*: the terminology here is related to contemporary studies in proto-linguistics and stylistics by Protagoras and other intellectuals; cf. n. on C. 659.
- 1182 ‘*A time there was* . . .’: the first line of Euripides’ *Antigone* (fr. 157).
- 1187 ‘*His fortunes changed* . . .’: Euripides fr. 158 (*Antigone*).
- 1192 *Polybos*: after being exposed at birth, Oedipus was brought up by Polybos, king of Korinth, and grew up mistakenly believing him to be his father; cf. Sophokles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 774, 827.
- 1196 *Erasinides*: one of six generals executed the previous year for failing to pick up survivors after the battle of Arginousai (see nn. on 33, 541).
- 1220 *oil-jar*: a small container (for oil and perfume) used by athletes and others. The humour of the following passage has been variously explained; apart from a charge of formulaic writing, there may be sexual innuendo (an oil-jar resembling testicles?).
- 1206–8 ‘*Aigyptos* . . . *Argos*’: Euripides fr. 846 (play uncertain).
- 1211–13 ‘*Dionysos* . . . *dance*’: Euripides fr. 752 (*Hypsipyle*). For Parnassos, see Index of Names.
- 1217–19 ‘*No man* . . . *birth*’: Euripides fr. 661.1–3 (*Stheneboia*: cf. n. on 1043).
- 1225–6 ‘*In ancient times* . . . *Agenor’s son*’: Euripides fr. 819 (*Phrixos*).

- 1232–3 ‘*When Pelops . . .*’: Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1–2.
- 1236 *an obol*: cf. n. on 137–40.
- 1240–1 ‘*Oineus . . . sacrifice*’: Euripides, fr. 516 (*Meleager*: cf. 864). Oineus was father of Meleager; his failure to sacrifice to Artemis made the goddess send the Kalydonian boar, which Meleager killed, but with a sequel that led to his own death (cf. Homer, *Iliad* 9.529–99).
- 1244 ‘*Zeus . . .*’: Euripides, fr. 481.1 (*Melanippe the Wise*).
- 1252–60 *Perplexed . . . afraid*: some scholars believe 1252–6 and 1257–60 are alternatives stemming from a partial authorial revision of *Frogs*; cf. my Introduction to the play, with nn. on 1431a–2, 1436 below. ‘Bacchic master’ associates Aischylos with Dionysos (see Index of Names).
- 1264–77 *Phthian Achilles . . . to our aid*: the farrago starts from Aischylos, fr. 132 (*Myrmidons*: cf. nn. on 912–13, 992) and repeats the second line (ungrammatically) as a refrain. Other phrases: ‘Hermes . . .’ = fr. 273 (*Psychagogoi*); ‘Most glorious . . .’ = fr. 238 (*Telephos*); ‘Sacred silence! . . .’ = fr. 87 (*Priestesses*); ‘I speak with authority . . .’ = *Agamemnon* 104.
- 1282 *nomes*: traditional songs for solo performance to the accompaniment of a large lyre (*kithara*).
- 1284 *When the twin-throned . . .*: the further farrago starts from *Agamemnon* 108–9, then continues: ‘Sends the Sphinx . . .’ = fr. 236 (*Sphinx*, a satyr-play), but with ‘sends’ transferred from *Agamemnon* 111; ‘With spear . . .’ = *Agamemnon* 111; ‘Leaving prey . . .’ = fr. 282 (play unknown); ‘The throng . . .’ = fr. 84 (*Thracian Women*).
- 1296 *Marathon . . . rope-hauling*: despite its great military associations, Marathon (see Index of Names) may have been thought of as a remote/rustic region of Attika; Dionysos also alludes to the simple songs of a workman operating a water-well.
- 1299 *Phrynichos*: see n. on 910.
- 1302 *Meletos*: identity uncertain; probably not the tragic poet(s) of frs. 117, 156, 453 (see the Appendix); ‘Karian’ here connotes the disreputably ‘foreign’ and vulgar (from a region of SW Asia Minor, a source of many Greek slaves).
- 1308 *work on Lesbos*: probably a double joke, implying (i) she could not find success in lyric poetry, (ii) she was not in demand for sexual services. The island of Lesbos had notable traditions of lyric (starting with Terpander, 7th century) but also a reputation for sexually expert prostitutes (cf. *W.* 1346, *AW* 920), though not usually ‘Lesbians’ in the modern sense.
- 1309–23 *Halcyons . . . dance-step*: a chaotic mélange of Euripidean and pseudo-Euripidean material, including fr. 856 (‘Halycons . . . skin’), fr. 528a, *Meleager* (‘exercises of a singing shuttle’), *Electra* 435–6 (‘Where . . . rods’), fr. 765a, *Hypsipyle* (‘Throw . . . child’). The protracted syllable ‘Sp-i-i-i-i-i-i-in’ (1314, cf. 1349) represents a musical mannerism.
- 1328 *Kyrene*: see n. on *WT* 98; there is some sort of comparison here between musical intricacy and sexual positions.

- 1330 *monodies*: see n. on 849–50. What follows is a continuation of the technique of 1309–23 but this one apparently involving more pastiche than quotation: a stream-of-consciousness monody, neurotic in manner yet about a banal incident (the theft of a cockerel), and correspondingly jumbling high and low linguistic registers.
- 1345 *Mania*: a female slave-name.
- 1356 *Come Cretans . . .*: from Euripides' *Cretans* (fr. 472 f), a play dealing with the consequences of the birth of the minotaur to Pasiphae after her mating with Minos' bull. 'Bows' in the next line reflects a specialist Cretan military tradition of archery (e.g. Thucydides 6.25.2).
- 1358 *Diktyнна*: the name sometimes of a Cretan nymph but here probably an epithet of the goddess Artemis (see Index of Names).
- 1369 *like cheese*: compare Xanthias's similar sarcasm at 798.
- 1382 *'If only . . .'*: Euripides, *Medea* 1; the *Argo* was the ship that took the Argonauts to the Black Sea.
- 1383 *'O river Spercheios . . .'*: Aischylos, fr. 249 (*Philoktetes*). The Spercheios, in central Greece, flows into the Malian Gulf.
- 1391 *'Persuasion has . . .'*: Euripides, fr. 170.1 (*Antigone*).
- 1392 *'Alone among . . .'*: Aischylos, fr. 161.1 (*Niobe*).
- 1400 *'Achilles threw . . .'*: the start of the line is presumably from Euripides, but Dionysos creates the expectation of something weighty, only to make a joke out of throwing dice (which Achilles is shown doing in various Greek vase-paintings).
- 1402 *'Hefted . . . hand'*: Euripides, fr. 531 (*Meleager*).
- 1403 *'Chariot piled on chariot . . .'*: Aischylos, fr. 38.1 (*Glaukos Potnieus*).
- 1406 *Egyptians*: reflecting Greek awareness of the scale of certain Egyptian monuments; cf. *B.* 1133–4.
- 1408–9 *Kephisophon . . . books*: see n. on 943–4.
- 1413 *one . . . the other*: this line (and likewise 1433) has been a source of unending disagreement; what matters most is that Dionysos is acknowledging poetic value in both playwrights (cf. my Introduction to the play).
- 1423 *Alkibiades*: one of the most controversial of Athenian politicians, who spent much of the period 415–407 working against Athens with the Spartans and/or Persians. Opinion in the city had long been divided over him (cf. esp. Xenophon, *Hellenika* 1.4.13–17, referring to 407). See *OCD*⁴ 52–3.
- 1431a–2 *Don't rear . . . needs*: speculatively treated by some as a fragment of Aischylos (fr. 452), but more likely just a comic allusion to the famous Aischylean choral image at *Agamemnon* 717–36. Lines 1431a and 1431b appear to be alternative versions; cf. n. on 1252–60.
- 1436 *city's survival*: for this theme, cf. my Introduction to the play. From here to 1466 there are several vexed textual questions about the order of lines

and the attribution of lines to speakers: compare nn. on 1252–60, 1431a–2. Most modern editors change the order of lines and/or posit more than one version of the play (see my Introduction); but since all remedies are debatable and there is no strong consensus, I retain the transmitted line-order.

- 1437 *Kleokritos* . . . *Kinesias*: probably fat and thin respectively (cf. *B.* 876, 1378); on the latter, see the Index of Names.
- 1451–2 *Palamedes* . . . *Kephisophon*: on the former see Index of Names with *WT* 769 ff., on the latter n. on 943–4.
- 1459 *a cloak or a goatskin*: probably proverbial for making a basic choice between alternatives.
- 1463–5 *enemy's land* . . . *the fleet*: i.e. a military policy, similar to that of Perikles at the start of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 1.142–3, 2.13.2), of using the Athenian fleet to raid enemy territory while allowing Sparta to make incursions into Attika.
- 1466 *our juries*: the expense of the Athenian jury system (with daily pay for serving jurors: cf. n. on *C.* 864) had long been politically contentious; cf. *W.* 656–63 (read by some as ironic).
- 1471 *'tongue that swore'*: the first half of Euripides, *Hippolytos* 612; cf. n. on 100–2.
- 1475 *'What's shameful . . .?'*: Euripides, fr. 19 (*Aiolos*), with 'those watching' (alluding to the theatre audience) substituted for 'those involved in it'.
- 1477 *'Who knows . . . death?'*: Euripides, fr. 638 (*Polyidos*); cf. line 1082.
- 1492 *with Sokrates*: Euripides had at least a comic reputation for being an intellectualizing acquaintance of Sokrates (see Index of Names), even for receiving poetic help from him (see fr. 392 in the Appendix). The motifs in the following lines, 'treating the Muses' work . . .' and 'nit-picking drivel', seem aimed more at Sokrates himself than at Euripides.
- 1504–7 *Kleophon* . . . *Archenomos*: on Kleophon see Index of Names; oddly, Nikomachos (a legal official) was later accused by some of having caused Kleophon's death (Lysias 30.13); Myrmex and Archenomos are otherwise unknown.
- 1516 *Sophokles*: cf. 787–94.
- 1532–3 *Kleophon* . . . *ancestral*: a reprise of the gibe at 678–82.

INDEX OF NAMES

Listed here are those proper names (excluding the purely fictional) of people, places, and institutions that are not glossed in the Explanatory Notes. References are selective; fragments of Aristophanes cited here are mentioned in the Appendix. Capitals within entries indicate cross-references. For abbreviations of play-titles see p. 255.

- AGATHON (*c.* 445–*c.* 400), Athenian tragic poet; treated as effeminate in person (*WT* 29–35, 191–2) and, somewhat like EURIPIDES (cf. *WT* 187), stylistically ‘modern’ in his work, with mannered lyrics (*WT* 101–29) and some rhetorical features (fr. 341); he eventually left Athens for (and died at) the Makedonian court (*F.* 83–5)
- AGORA, civic centre of Athens, a general social meeting-place (*C.* 991, 1003, *WT* 578) but also containing courts, other official buildings, temples, and shops (*F.* 1350, *WT* 457)
- AISCHYLOS (*c.* 525–456), the greatest of early Athenian tragic poets, but found difficult and old-fashioned by some in the later fifth century (*C.* 1365–7); his plays were associated with values of poetic grandeur, military heroism, elaborate choral lyrics, and portentous atmosphere (*F.* 814–1533 *passim*)
- AITHER, traditional poetic term (a quasi-divinity at Hesiod, *Theogony* 124) for the upper regions of the air (*C.* 285, *WT* 43), semi-deified by Sokrates and the Clouds (*C.* 265, 570) and by Euripides (*WT* 272, *F.* 100), who also speaks of it as a cosmogonic force (*WT* 14)
- AKROPOLIS, limestone citadel, the original location of settlement at Athens, and in the classical period its major religious centre, particularly sacred to ATHENA (*C.* 602), site of Parthenon and other temples/shrines, including the Thesmophorion (*WT* 83, 281), and final destination of the PANATHE-NAIA procession (*C.* 69, *WT* 812)
- APOLLO, son of Leto (*WT* 129), born on DELOS, brother of ARTEMIS, god of music/song (*WT* 111–12, 969, *F.* 231–2) and prophecy (*F.* 1184), with major oracle at Delphi; sometimes titled PHOIBOS (*WT* 109–12)
- ARTEMIS, virgin goddess of hunting and wild animals (*WT* 114–19, 971), daughter of ZEUS and Leto (*F.* 321), twin-sister of APOLLO; women swear oaths by her (e.g. *WT* 517, 569, 742); sometimes associated with bees (*F.* 1273)
- ASSEMBLY (*ekklesia*), the sovereign citizen body of the Athenian democracy; it met several times a month on the Pnyx (*WT* 658) and proposals were put to it, before being voted on, by individual speakers (*C.* 432–3, 1019); the women’s assembly in *WT* is in part parodic of its procedures
- ATHENA, daughter of ZEUS, patron-goddess of Athens, a virgin (*WT* 317, 1139), worshipped especially on the AKROPOLIS and typically depicted

- as a warrior (*WT* 318); her cult titles included PALLAS, her traditional epithets 'grey-eyed' (*WT* 318), and her festivals the PANATHENAIA
- ATTIKA (adj. Attic), the entire geographical territory of the Athenian polis, comprising both the city proper and the territory of the demes (*C.* 209–10); its characteristic products included honey (*WT* 1192), and Athenians could think of themselves wryly as having distinctively 'Attic' qualities (*C.* 1176)
- BELLEROPHON, hero from KORINTH, who escaped death after Stheneboia (*F.* 1043, 1049) fell in love with him then falsely accused him to her husband Proitos, whose guest Bellerophon was (*WT* 404; cf. the related story at Homer, *Iliad* 6.155 ff.); in Euripides' *Stheneboia*, Bellerophon later killed her by throwing her from the winged horse Pegasos, from which he fell himself and was mortally wounded in Euripides' *Bellerophon* (n. on *F.* 846)
- CENTAURS, mythological tribe, half-man and half-horse in form, notorious for their wild, violent behaviour (*C.* 346, 350); HERAKLES fought against them (cf. *F.* 38, with Appendix on *Dramas* I)
- CHAIREPHON, lifelong associate of SOKRATES (*C.* 104, 144, 156 etc.), reputed to have a sickly appearance (*C.* 503); cf. frs. 295, 393, 552, 584
- COUNCIL (*boulê*), of 500, responsible for day-to-day administration of Athenian democracy (*WT* 79, 943), including preparation of ASSEMBLY agendas (*WT* 372, parodic); temporarily suspended in 412 (*WT* 808–9); the PRYTANEIS were its standing committee
- DELOS, Aegean island, associated with the birth and cult of APOLLO (*C.* 596, *WT* 316, *F.* 659)
- DEMETER, daughter of ZEUS and mother of PERSEPHONE, goddess of corn and fertility whose cults included the Eleusinian MYSTERIES (*F.* 383 ff., 886–7) and THESMOPHORIA (*WT* 286 ff.)
- DIONYSOS, son of ZEUS and Semele (*WT* 990–1); god of wine (*WT* 747, *F.* 22) and ecstatic revels (*C.* 606, *F.* 1211–13), including comedy itself (*C.* 519, *F.* 357, 368); associated with Mount Nysa (*F.* 215); also called 'Bacchic' (*WT* 987, *F.* 1259), his followers bacchantes (*C.* 605); patron god of Athens' dramatic festivals, including the springtime City Dionysia (*C.* 311)
- ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES, see s.v. MYSTERIES
- EURIPIDES (c.485–406), the youngest (after AISCHYLOS and SOPHOKLES) of the trio of Athens' most famous tragedians; his work became associated with rhetorical style (e.g. *F.* 775), realistic psychology (*F.* 959–60), erotic subject-matter (*C.* 1371–2), including female characters like PHAIDRA (hence supposed misogyny, *WT passim*), and new intellectual ideas (*F.* 814–1533 *passim*)
- GRACES, a trio of divine females, often associated with the MUSES (cf. e.g. Hesiod, *Theogony* 60–4), personifications of beauty, charm, sophistication in music and other activities (*C.* 773, *WT* 122, 301, *F.* 333, fr. 348)
- HADES, the underworld (*F.* 69, 118, 172, etc.), ruled by PLOUTON

- HEKATE, a deity associated with the underworld, magic and monstrous apparitions (fr. 515); sometimes depicted as a torch-carrying figure (*WT* 858, 1362), she had various shrines in Athens (*F.* 366)
- HERAKLES, son of ZEUS and Alkmene (*F.* 531, 582), 'masculine' hero par excellence (*C.* 1050–2, *F.* 464), usually recognizable by his lion-skin and club (*F.* 46–7, etc.); his famous 'labours' included descent to the underworld to capture the fearsome dog Kerberos (*F.* 108–11, 467–9), but his comic persona is associated with gluttony (*F.* 62–5, 107, 549 ff.); he became a god after his death (*F.* 593)
- HERMES, traditionally a messenger-god, whose various associations included the underworld (*F.* 1126–48), guile (*WT* 1202), and pastoral matters (*WT* 977); often represented by a statue ('herm') outside the doors of Athenian houses (*C.* 1478 ff.)
- HOMER, traditional name for the creator of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; the poems could be invoked as repositories of heroic values and general wisdom (*C.* 1056–7, *F.* 1034–41)
- HYPERBOLOS, prominent politician from the late 420s, ostracised c.416 and later murdered (Thucydides 8.73.3); for some a crude 'demagogue' (*C.* 876, cf. *F.* 570), of 'vulgar' origin (*C.* 1065), and corrupt (*C.* 1065–6); held various offices (*C.* 623–6); together with his mother (*C.* 552, *WT* 840) a frequent target of comic poets (*C.* 551–8)
- KINESIAS, a dithyrambic poet and chorus-trainer (*F.* 153, 1437, cf. *B.* 1372 ff.), mocked for both cultural and personal features (fr. 156), including an episode of supposedly scandalous behaviour in a temple (*F.* 366)
- KLEISTHENES, a late fifth-century Athenian of some social and perhaps political prominence, repeatedly satirized as effeminate and a passive homosexual (*C.* 355, *WT* 235, 574 ff., *F.* 48)
- KLEON, leading Athenian politician of the 420s (died 422), a major target of Aristophanes' early plays (*C.* 549–50), including *Babylonians* (see Appendix); elected general twice but satirized as a corrupt, vulgar 'demagogue' (*C.* 581–91, *F.* 569–77)
- KLEONYMOS, minor Athenian politician, probably an associate of KLEON's in the 420s; mocked for alleged perjury (*C.* 400), aberrant sexual behaviour (*C.* 675–6), and cowardice in battle (*C.* 353–4); there is a joke about his 'wife' at *WT* 605
- KLEOPHON, a radical democratic Athenian politician in the later fifth century; a *bête noire* for some (*WT* 805), he proposed a dole for poorer citizens (cf. *F.* 140–2); satirized as of foreign birth (*F.* 678–82), possibly for reasons connected with his mother (his father had served as a general), and as 'pro-war' (*F.* 1532–3); a whole comedy about him, by Plato comicus, was staged at the same festival as *Frogs*
- KORINTH, major Greek city on the isthmus (with paved causeway for vehicles: *WT* 648) between the Peloponnese and central Greece; traditional enemy of Athens (*C.* 710); named after Korinthos, son of Zeus (n. on *F.* 439), its heroes included BELLEROPHON

- KRONOS, a Titan, ruler of the gods in the era before ZEUS, his son and over-thrower (C. 905–6); reference to the period of his rule of the world could be used to denote things very primitive (C. 398, 929, 1070)
- LAMACHOS, prominent Athenian general before and during the Peloponnesian War; treated retrospectively (after death in 414) as a heroic military figure (WT 841, F. 1039), though the etymology of his name ('very warlike') lends itself to punning
- MARATHON, remote NE region of ATTIKA (F. 1296), site of famous Athenian victory over invading Persian army in 490 (C. 986, WT 806)
- MUSES, nine daughters of ZEUS (F. 875) and Memory, goddesses of poetic and artistic inspiration (C. 334, 972, WT 41, F. 229, 356, fr. 348); Euripides' Muse is comically personified at F. 1306 ff.
- MYSTERIES, Eleusinian, an initiatory cult of DEMETER and PERSEPHONE, centred on their sanctuary at Eleusis in NW ATTIKA (C. 302–4); initiates were offered the prospect of a happy afterlife (F. 154–8, 316 ff.)
- NIGHT, sometimes personified as a quasi-divine entity (WT 1065, F. 1331–5), in keeping with her status as a primeval cosmic deity (e.g. Hesiod, *Theogony* 20, 107, 123, etc.)
- NYMPHS, lesser female divinities or nature-spirits typically linked to mountains, rivers, etc. (C. 271, WT 326, F. 1344) and associated with such deities as PAN (WT 978) and DIONYSOS (WT 992)
- OLYMPOS, mountain in Thessaly, traditional abode of Zeus and other major gods (C. 270, WT 1069) who are hence called 'Olympian' (C. 366, 817, WT 331–2, 960)
- PALAMEDES, a Greek warrior at Troy, famed for his cleverness (F. 1451) but an enemy of Odysseus, who had him condemned to death on a trumped-up charge of treachery, after which Palamedes' brother Oiax sent a message to their father scratched on oars which floated across the sea (WT 769–84)
- PALLAS, a cult title of ATHENA (C. 300, 967, 1265, WT 1136)
- PAN, a god of the wilds, associate of NYMPHS (WT 978) and often depicted with the lower body of a goat and playing reed-pipes (F. 230)
- PANATHENAIA, major Athenian festival in honour of ATHENA, celebrated in midsummer with much public feasting (C. 386) and various athletic events (C. 988, F. 1090); its procession (C. 69, WT 811–12), depicted on the Parthenon frieze, culminated on the AKROPOLIS
- PARNASSOS, large mountain (F. 1057) whose southern slope overlooks Delphi; occupied in winter by Dionysos (C. 603–6, F. 1212)
- PERIKLES, major political leader at Athens from c.460 to 429; member of aristocratic Alkmaionid family (cf. n. on C. 46); served frequently as general (C. 213, 859) and pursued imperial policy of establishing cleruchies (cf. C. 203); known as 'the Olympian' for his impressive rhetorical style (A. 530)

- PERSEPHONE, also known as Pherrephatta (*WT* 287, *F.* 671), daughter of DEMETER and consort of PLOUTON; with her mother she was worshipped in the MYSTERIES and THESMOPHORIA (*WT* 101, 282, etc.)
- PHAIDRA, wife of Theseus; her adulterous passion for her stepson Hippolytos was a prime subject for tragedy (*WT* 153), including two versions of *Hippolytos* by Euripides (*WT* 497, 547, 550, *F.* 1043, 1052)
- PHOIBOS, lit. 'radiant', traditional title of APOLLO (*C.* 595, *WT* 109, 112, 128, *F.* 754)
- PLOUTON, god of the underworld, HADES (*F.* 163, 432, 784); the name was sometimes connected with *ploutos*, 'wealth' (cf. fr. 504)
- POSEIDON, brother of ZEUS and a major Olympian deity; god of the sea (*WT* 322, *F.* 665–7) and horses (*C.* 83)
- PRYTANEIS (SING. PRYTANIS), members of the standing committee of the COUNCIL, responsible for presiding at its meetings and those of the ASSEMBLY, each Athenian tribe's fifty representatives serving for a prytany (a tenth of the year); they were the first port of call for much official business (*WT* 654, 764, 854, 923 ff.)
- PYTHIAN (adj.), equivalent to 'Delphic' with reference to APOLLO's oracular shrine at Delphi (*WT* 332–3); the shrine itself can be called 'Pytho' (*F.* 659)
- SOKRATES (469–399), Athenian philosopher; mentor of CHAIREPHON; his popular reputation for esoteric intellectualism is reflected at *F.* 1491 as well as throughout *Clouds*
- SOPHOKLES (c. 496–406), major tragic playwright (*F.* 787–94, 1516), father of Iophon (*F.* 73–9); he died shortly after Euripides (cf. *F.* 76); had reputation for mildness of character (*F.* 82, 788–90)
- SPARTA, leading city of Peloponnese and head of military league at war with the Athenian empire 431–404 (*C.* 186, 214–18); in mythology, the home of Helen (*WT* 860); its core territory was Lakonia (cf. *C.* 186, *WT* 142, 423)
- TELEPHOS, mythical king of Mysia (in Asia Minor), wounded by Achilles during aborted first Greek expedition against Troy. Later came to Argos and, disguised as beggar (*C.* 922, cf. *F.* 842), infiltrated the Greek assembly to deliver a speech in defence of the Mysians/Trojans. When his disguise was uncovered, he seized Agamemnon's baby son Orestes as hostage and made supplication at an altar. Euripides' play on the subject may have acquired some notoriety; it certainly appealed to Aristophanes' parodic imagination (*WT* 689 ff., *F.* 855, 864, cf. *A.* 430–556)
- THESMOPHORIA, a three-day women-only fertility festival in honour of DEMETER and PERSEPHONE; one location, the Thesmophorion (*WT* 83, 89), may have been on the AKROPOLIS; the women camped in tents (*WT* 624, 658), and their various rituals included a day of fasting (*WT* 949, 985, cf. 570) and a day called Kalligeneia (*WT* 300)
- XENOKLES, late 5th-century minor tragic poet (*WT* 169, 440–3, *F.* 86), son of Karkinos (see *C.* 1261)

ZEUS, son of KRONOS, supreme ruler of the gods (C. 2, 153, 563, *WT* 315, *F.* 1278) on OLYMPOS; father of, among others, DIONYSOS (*WT* 990, *F.* 216), the MUSES (*F.* 875), and HERAKLES (C. 1048–50); in origin a sky-god (C. 368–79, 1279–80, *F.* 246), wielder of thunderbolts (C. 397); his titles include ‘Saviour’ (*WT* 1009, *F.* 738) and ‘paternal/ancestral’ (C. 1468); he frequently experiences sexual desire for human women (C. 1080–1)