

Aristophanes' *Wasps*. The Relevance of the Final Scenes

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ADVERSE CRITICISM of Aristophanes' *Wasps* generally centers on the scenes that follow the *parabasis*.¹ We are told, for example, that Bdelycleon's decision to take his father into polite society and the action that results from it are at best only loosely connected with the politics and law-courts of the first part of the play.² Recent studies by Strauss and Whitman, defending the later scenes against this line of criticism, contain much that is salutary. Especially valuable is their discussion of the problem of education, a major unifying theme in both parts of the play.³

The aim of this paper is to consider again along somewhat different lines the relevance of the final scenes of *Wasps*. Inevitably much of importance to a complete understanding of the play will be omitted, nor will a general interpretation be offered. Attention will rather be focused on certain important motifs that link the several parts of the play and give it an overall coherence of thematic structure.

Let us begin by examining the scene (1122–1264) that provides the transition from the law-courts of Part I to the symposia and drunken excesses of the later scenes. Here Bdelycleon persuades his father to change his clothes and instructs him in the ways of polite society. The social significance of Philocleon's change of costume is clear. The

¹ For convenience *Wasps* 1–1008 will be referred to as Part I, 1122–1537 as Part II. Unless otherwise noted, the text cited in this paper is that of D. M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes, Wasps* (Oxford 1971) [henceforth: MACDOWELL].

² See, for example, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Über die Wespen des Aristophanes," *SBBerl* (1911) 472 (= *Kl.Schriften* I [Berlin 1935] 298f) [henceforth: WILAMOWITZ]; Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der griech. Literatur* I.4 (Munich 1946) 276; and A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*, transl. J. Willis and C. de Heer (New York 1966) 435.

³ C. H. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1964) 160 [henceforth: WHITMAN]; L. Strauss, *Socrates and Aristophanes* (New York and London 1966) 132–35. Other recent discussions attempting to elicit a closer connection between Parts I and II of the *Wasps* are P. Händel, *Formen und Darstellungsweisen in der aristophanischen Komödie* (Heidelberg 1963) 229–32; K.-D. Koch, *Kritische Idee und komisches Thema* (Bremen 1965) 87 (131) with n.151; and MacDowell 6–7 with n.1.

τρίβων (1131) and the ἐμβάδες (1157) are typical of the poor and are unfit for society.⁴ But the change is also politically important, as the following show. (1) In the slave's dream at 31ff τρίβωνια are worn in the *ecclesia* by sheep-Athenians, who are subject to Cleon's influence, as are Philocleon and his fellow dicasts.⁵ (2) At 114ff we are told that Bdelycleon, deeply worried about his father's judicial mania, tried to persuade him not to wear his τρίβωνιον and not to go outdoors. The emphasis placed on this garment in a passage vividly describing the jury-mad Philocleon and his son's vain attempts to cure him permits us to regard it virtually as part of the father's dicastic uniform.⁶ Not to wear the τρίβωνιον means to give up serving on juries.⁷ (3) Finally at 103 and 275a ἐμβάδες are mentioned as necessary for the performance of Philocleon's judicial activities.⁸

Thus the change of costume at 1122ff looks back to the political and judicial themes of Part I and assists the transition to Philocleon's new life. For the old man with his fashionable new clothes will now be taken to symposia (1004–06, 1208–09, 1219), where he will associate

⁴ On ἐμβάδες as characteristic of older men of the poorer class in Aristophanes, see W. Amelung, "Ἐμβάδες," *RE* 5 (1905) 2483–84; and esp. Pollux 7.85 and Isaeus 5.11. On the τρίβων as the cloak of the poor, see E. Schuppe, "Tribon," *RE* 6A (1937) 2416–17. In general on Philocleon's costume see I. Richter (ed.), *Aristophanis Vespae* (Berlin 1858) 145ff.

⁵ Philocleon's name speaks for itself. On the dicasts' relation to Cleon, see lines 197, 242–44, 408ff, 596f.

⁶ So also C. E. Graves (ed.), *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (Cambridge 1899) ad 116.

⁷ According to MacDowell (ad 166), "The son wants his father to give up his life of poverty and wear warmer and more comfortable clothes." But this is to read 116 in the light of 1122ff and to neglect the immediate context (esp. 88–112). Here there is no question of a life of poverty opposed to one of ease or poor garments contrasted with "warmer and more comfortable clothes" but only of Philocleon's disease and his son's attempt to cure it. Moreover, the latter wants his father to stay indoors (117), where warmer clothes would not be needed. Another interpretation of 116 is offered by J. van Leeuwen (ed.), *Aristophanis Vespae*² (Leiden 1909) ad 116f [henceforth: VAN LEEUWEN], according to whom "not to wear the τρίβωνιον" means merely that being μονοχίτων Philocleon would have to remain indoors. Line 117, however, would then be pointlessly otiose. Moreover, μονοχίτωνες do not necessarily remain indoors (see e.g. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 25.4 [with Sandys ad loc.], Hom. *Od.* 14.478ff, and *FGrHist* 299 F 3). Note also that the cold of winter need not deter a dedicated μονοχίτων. It should be noted that the chorus of wasp-dicasts wear not the τρίβων but ἱμάτια, 408; on the correct interpretation of this line see Wilamowitz 476 (302f) and A. Roemer, *Studien zu Aristophanes und den alten Erklärern desselben* I (Leipzig 1902) 86–87 [henceforth: ROEMER]. But the chorus' costume with its sting and nipped-in waist is essentially a visual allegory, whereas that of Philocleon is realistic. Moreover, the longer ἱμάτια are needed to conceal the stings until they are dramatically revealed at 403ff. On the chorus' costume, see now MacDowell p.11 with nn.2–3.

⁸ See also 1157, where Bdelycleon's outburst is more naturally motivated if the ἐμβάδες are politically as well as socially unacceptable.

with rich (1168ff), learned, clever men (1174f), who are athletes, hunters and *κοφοί* (1190ff)—in short, *καλοί τε κἀγαθοί* (1256) ‘gentlemen’.⁹

Here begins the caricature of ‘gentlemanly’ manners which will be remorselessly and grotesquely continued in the scenes to follow. Here too occurs another bridge-passage of interest to our discussion. After his somewhat pompous instructions have been amusingly ridiculed by Philocleon’s vulgar buffoonery, Bdelycleon tries to teach his father to sing *scolia* by pretending that a symposium is taking place (1219ff). But who are the symposiasts? They include Cleon and two of his political lackeys.¹⁰ A far cry from the aristocrats we expect.¹¹ This incongruous gathering permits Aristophanes to burlesque a typical form of symposiac amusement, as well as to ridicule the hated demagogue and his circle.¹² Thus the passage combines both political and symposiac motifs, and like the clothes of 1122ff with their symbolic values, serves to bridge both parts of *Wasps*.

Finally at 1249 instruction is at an end, and we learn of the main business of the evening: dinner and drunkenness. The old man is now ready for the symposium—or so his son thinks. It was the latter’s wish that his father learn to be *συμποτικός* and *συνουσιαστικός*, ‘convivial’ and ‘sociable’ (1209). Philocleon learns both, though in a terrible and ironic way. For wine releases anew his wild and manic energy, which was formerly expended in the law-courts; and the erotic implications of *συνουσία* will not be forgotten in the scenes to follow.

Wine and drinking next require our attention. For although these motifs are closely connected with the symposiac burlesque of Part II, they are introduced in the prologue and provide an important link with the first part of the play.

⁹ The social sense is unmistakable in this context. See esp. H. Wankel, *Kalos kai agathos* (Diss. Würzburg 1961) 40f.

¹⁰ Theorus and Phanus, on whom see Fiehn, “Theoros (1),” *RE* 5A (1934) 2244.15–23; and Ar. *Eq.* 1256 with Neil *ad loc.*

¹¹ MacDowell (*ad* 1220) suggests that Cleon and his friends “were . . . regarded . . . as important men,” and so “were not out of place in high-class society.” But political importance does not exclude ostracism from polite society, and furthermore, in the world of Old Comedy the demagogue and his followers are depicted as the lowest form of illiterate workmen (see esp. *Eq.* 180–193).

¹² Pace MacDowell (*ad* 1302) and Whitman (157), the symposiasts listed at 1301–02 are not “politicians and orators” but rather starveling parasites and a second rate theatrical coterie. See van Leeuwen, *ad* 1301f; *id.*, “Ad Aristophanis *Vespas* observationes criticae,” *Mnemosyne* n.s. 21 (1893) 114–16; A. Willems, *Aristophane I* (Paris and Brussels 1919) 553ff; E. Roos, *Die tragische Orchestik im Zerrbild der altattischen Komödie* (Stockholm 1951) 126f [henceforth: Roos].

At 15ff Xanthias tells his fellow slave what he saw in a dream. An eagle seizing an asp turned into Cleonymus dropping his *ἀσπίς*. The other slave replies that Cleonymus is exactly like a riddle and then poses the riddle, imitating a man addressing his fellow symposiasts (*τοῖσι συμπόταις*, 21).¹³ Is this merely a side remark without thematic relevance to the rest of the play? The action begins just before dawn (*cf.* 216), and both slaves find it hard to keep awake. Their sleep comes from Sabazius (9–10), a foreign deity whose cult existed at Athens.¹⁴ The mention of this 'metic' god, who was connected with Dionysus,¹⁵ wine and drunkenness,¹⁶ permits the inference that both slaves have been drinking. Thus the reference to *συμπόται* at 21 is not isolated, but connected with the action at the beginning of the play. We have in effect a servile symposium in which one of the participants apes the practices of his betters. And Xanthias' dream in its dramatic context introduces sympotic motifs that recur in Part II. Moreover, the incongruity of slaves at a symposium prefigures the old ex-dicast's caricature of sympotic manners.

Drinking is mentioned again in a passage of central importance to our discussion. At 54 Xanthias turns to the audience to inform them about the subject matter of the play.¹⁷ In particular, he intends to describe the strange disease (*νόσον . . . ἀλλόκοτον*, 71) afflicting his master's father. But before any precise information is given, Xanthias quizzes the spectators. Can they guess the disease by themselves? Various guesses are hazarded (74–82). The old man is *φιλόκυβος* ('morbidly fond of dicing'),¹⁸ or perhaps *φιλοπότης* ('morbidly fond of drinking'), or *φιλοθύτης* or *φιλόξενος* ('morbidly fond of feasting' or 'of hospitality').¹⁹ Thus we have references to diseased manifestations of gambling, drinking, feasting and hospitality. But what is the

¹³ For the correct interpretation of this line see Wilamowitz 514 (= 332f). An excellent account of *γρίφοι* at a symposium is given by Becker-Göll, *Charikles II* (Berlin 1877) 363ff.

¹⁴ See M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*² I (Munich 1955) 836; and L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 223.

¹⁵ See Nilsson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.14) 232, 566–67; and II (Munich 1961) 658 with n.2.

¹⁶ See Theoph. fr.8 (2.475–76 K.), Dem. 18.259, 19.199.

¹⁷ The entire passage 54–135 is delivered by Xanthias. So Wilamowitz 514f (= 333f). The objections of Macdowell, *ad* 74–85, and CQ N.S. 15 (1965) 49, are not cogent.

¹⁸ For a recent study of these *φιλο*-compounds see M. Landfester, *Das griechische Nomen 'philos' und seine Ableitungen (Spudasmata* 11, Hildesheim 1966) 155–71.

¹⁹ On 82 see W. Vollgraff, "Note sur un vers d'Aristophane," *RevUnivBrux* 2 (1896/97) 713–15; approved by C. von Holzinger, in Bursian *JAW* 116 (1903) 225f, and van Leeuwen *ad* 82.

purpose of this passage? Merely to satirize the foibles of certain Athenians?

Let us consider further. Why does Xanthias reject the suggestion that his master's father is *φιλοπότης*? "Because," he says, "this is the disease of *χρηστοὶ ἄνδρες*" (80). But who are these *χρηστοί*? "It is known that certain words, which usually bear a moral meaning, were used by the Greeks in a . . . social sense as well."²⁰ *Χρηστός* is such a word, meaning both 'worthy' and 'well-born'.²¹ That the primary, though not exclusive, meaning at *Wasps* 80 is social is suggested by the context²² and by external evidence. To quote Ehrenberg, ". . . a larger part of the social life of the nobles was devoted to singing and drinking. This general impression gained from comedy is confirmed by a great number of vase-paintings. Although this sort of life was not confined to the noblemen, they again were the only social class for which it was typical."²³ Thus we may translate line 80, ". . . this [that is, a morbid fondness for drink] is the disease of gentlemen."

The diseases at lines 75, 79 and 82 are aberrations of high living and are socially the opposite of Philocleon's disease. He, as we learn at line 88, is *φιληλιαστής*, 'morbidly fond of jury duty'. In *Wasps* 'juryitis'

²⁰ R. A. Neil (ed.), *The Knights of Aristophanes* (Cambridge 1901) 202.

²¹ The evidence is abundantly provided by the Old Oligarch (e.g., [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.2, 4, 6; and see E. Kalinka [ed.], *Die pseudoxenophontische 'Athenäer' πολιτεία* [Leipzig and Berlin 1913] 46 n.1). Ion of Chios, *FGrHist* 392 F 6 (IIIb, p.280.19), uses *χρηστός* in the social sense in a context of considerable interest to our discussion: the famous description of Sophocles at the Chian symposium. On the interpretation of *χρηστός* here see esp. V. Ehrenberg, *Sophokles und Perikles* (Munich 1956) 170f (= *Sophocles and Pericles* [Oxford 1954] 138f).

²² The poor can hardly be *φιλοθύται*: *οὐχ οἶόν τέ ἐστιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν πενήτων θύειν καὶ ἐωχεῖσθαι* ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 2.9).

²³ V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes*³ (New York 1962) 102; cf. 103 with n.2. Important parallels are Ar. *Ran.* 739–40 *Πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ γεννάδας, ὅστις γε πίνειν οἶδε καὶ βινεῖν μόνον*; and Alexis, fr.283–84 (2.400 K.). MacDowell (*ad Vesp.* 80), however, informs us that neither *Vesp.* 79–80 nor *Ran.* 739f "means that drinking is a sign of high social rank. Both *χρηστός* and *γεννάδας* are terms that may be applied to slaves, e.g. *Frogs* 179." Against MacDowell we may note the following. (1) That a moral-social predicate is used in a moral sense in one context hardly rules out social meaning in an entirely different context. (2) At *Ran.* 179 *γεννάδας* is used with a definite nuance of social irony. As Stanford (*ad* 179–80) notes, the word "suggests something of the 'gentleman'." See also G. Björck, *Das Alpha impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache* (Uppsala, Wiesbaden and Leipzig 1950) 51–54. Further, *χρηστός*, being combined with *γεννάδας*, may itself contain a hint of social irony; and *Ran.* 179 may be translated: "You're a noble fellow and a real gentleman." The context—Dionysus commends his slave for carrying the baggage—serves to heighten this irony. (3) Since *Ran.* 179 does not weaken but rather supports the view that *γεννάδας* at *Ran.* 738f means 'gentleman', we have at *Ran.* 739–40, to paraphrase Stanford (*ad* 740), a cynical slave's eye-view of what constitutes a 'gentleman', sc. wining and wenching.

is a disease of poor old men, who subsist on the triobol. Of the contrasting diseases one, *φιλοποσία*, is specifically termed a *νόσος* and ascribed to good society. It is this motif of a disease typical of a certain class of society that serves as a link between the dicastic themes of Part I and the symposiac themes of the later scenes. For how is the old man's manic energy released again after the *parabasis*? It is when he has been costumed as a 'gentleman' and taught to ape the manners of the upper crust at a symposium. And the means is wine.

At 1299 we learn that Philocleon has behaved abominably at the drinking party: οὐ γὰρ ὁ γέρων ἀτηρότατον ἄρ' ἦν κακὸν | καὶ τῶν ξυόντων πολὺ παροινικώτατος; While a victim of 'juryitis', Philocleon was called *κνώδαλον* (4), and his disease, τὸ κακόν (77). Here the old man is himself 'a most pernicious evil', the cause being *παροινία*. Philocleon's drunkenness is stressed again at 1322 and later by Bdelycleon (1392f). Moreover, 1309–10 contain a striking allusion to both maladies, juridical and vinous. As the old man begins to behave outrageously, one of the guests essays two comparisons: ἔοικας, ὦ πρεσβῦτα, νεοπλούτῳ τρυγί | κλητῆρί τ' εἰς ἀχυρὸν ἀποδεδρακότι.²⁴ *Νεόπλουτος* suggests the insolence of the *nouveau riche*²⁵ and refers to Philocleon's drunken misbehavior (1303–07). *Τρύξ* too is appropriate in this connection.²⁶ The word means 'new, raw wine' and 'dregs' (of wine), and both meanings are exploited here. First, *τρύξ* ('dregs') may be used figuratively of anything that is worthless, and with *νεόπλουτος* suggests 'a base upstart'.²⁷ Second, in the sense 'new wine' (underscored by *νεο-*)

²⁴ On this popular Athenian form of jest see now M. H. McCall Jr, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Simile and Comparison* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1969) 12ff with 13 n.43. To the literature there cited may be added Meineke, *FCG* II.52; W. G. Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica* III (London 1905) 276–78; G. Monaco, *Paragoni burleschi* (Palermo 1966) esp. 29–35; MacDowell *ad Vesp.* 1308–13.

²⁵ See *LSJ s.v. νεόπλουτος* and F. H. M. Blaydes (ed.), *Aristophanis Vespae* (Halle 1893) *ad* 1309 [henceforth: *BLAYDES*].

²⁶ T. Kock, "Veri similia," *NJbb* suppl. 6 (1872/73) 199f, conjectured Φρυγί for τρυγί at *Vesp.* 1309. Kock's conjecture was approved by van Leeuwen *ad loc.*; see also *Mnemosyne* n.s. 21 (1893) 112f; V. Coulon, *Aristophane*⁴ II (Paris 1958) 74; J. Taillardat, *Les Images d' Aristophane*² (Paris 1965) 10, 237; Wilamowitz and Fraenkel in E. Fraenkel, *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* (Florence 1960) 163f n.4; and Monaco, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) 30 with n.2. The principal Mss. all read τρυγί (see White-Cary, *HSCP* 30 [1919] 31), as does the *Souda* (T 1096 Adl). For a defense of this reading, if any is needed, see Roemer 134–36.

²⁷ So *LSJ s.v. νεόπλουτος*. For the figurative use of *τρύξ* see *Ar. Plut.* 1085f, *Plut. Mor.* 125A, *App.Prov.* 2.43 (=Pherecr. fr. dub. 249 [1.209 K.]), and *Macar.* 7.58 (=com. fr. adesp. 901 [3.564 K.]). See also A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer* (Leipzig 1890) 130f; and H. Blümner, *Studien zur Geschichte der Metapher im Griechischen* I (Leipzig 1891) 86. *Schol. ad Vesp.* 1309 suggests that *τρύξ* refers to Philocleon's old age, presumably on the basis of *Plut.* 1085f

τρύξ alludes to Philocleon's energetic and youthful antics (νεανικῶς 1307).²⁸ Finally, in either sense τρύξ reminds us that wine is the cause of this new aberration and that our φιληλιαστής has become φιλοπότης.

The second comparison (1310) in fact recalls Philocleon's past affliction. The phrase κλητήρ εἰς ἄχυρὸν ἀποδεδρακῶς is based on the proverb ὄνος εἰς ἄχυρα²⁹ and like νεόπλουτος τρύξ refers to the old man's παροιμία. One may compare the simile at 1306 (ὥσπερ καχρῦων ὀνίδιον εὐωχημένον), which also describes Philocleon's drunken antics. But the substitution of κλητήρ, 'summons-witness',³⁰ for ὄνος alludes

(so also *LSJ Suppl. s.v. η.4*; cf. Graves, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.6] *ad* 1309). But τρύξ 'dregs' is not of itself a metaphor for old age, and in each case we must determine precisely what is worthless. At *Plut.* 1085f it is the decrepit old woman herself, as opposed to the good things (the οἶνος of 1084) which she lavished on her young gigolo. But at *Vesp.* 1309 it is Philocleon not *qua* old man, but *qua* drunken lout. Indeed to judge from the evidence of Middle Comedy, the appropriate vinous metaphors for old age are ὄξος, 'wine-vinegar' (*Antiph.* fr.240 [2.116–17 K.]) and 'old, mellow wine' (see W. G. Arnott, "Studies in Comedy, II: Toothless Wine," *GRBS* 11 [1970] 43–47; cf. Alexis, fr.45.5ff [2.313–14 K]; but contrast Alexis, fr.278 [2.399 K.]).

²⁸ So F. H. Bothe (ed.), *Aristophanis comoediae*² II (Leipzig 1845) *ad* 1262 (= 1309): "... senex fervens ferventi musto comparatur." Cf. K. P. Conz in *Notae in Aristophanem* I (London 1829) *ad Vesp.* 1309. The best parallel is Alexis, fr.45.2–4 (2.313 K.), where the raw energy of youth is compared to the ferment of νέος οἶνος (that is, τρύξ; for the equation see schol. *ad Ar. Nub.* 50, *Pax* 576, *Plut.* 1085; *Souda* T 1097 Adl., Hesych. T 1559 Sch., Phot. *s.v.* τρύξ [2.230 Nab.]). For the metaphorical use of τρύξ ('new wine') at *Vesp.* 1309, MacDowell compares *Plut.* 1085–86, "where there is a pun on 'youth' and . . . 'dregs' . . ." The pun is probable, but the formulation inexact. At *Plut.* 1085 τρύξ (as opposed to οἶνος, 1084) means 'dregs' and refers to the old woman (see *supra* n.27). At 1086 the Young Man plays on the meaning and reference established at 1085 and the other meaning of τρύξ, 'new wine'. He also plays on the meaning of παλαιὰ καὶ καπρά: 'old and mellow', when applied to wine (*LSJ s.v. παλαιός* 1.2, and καπρός 11.3; cf. Arnott, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.27] 44), and 'old and decrepit', when applied to people. At 1087 Chremylus picks up τρύξ, 'new wine', with τρύγουπος, 'filter for new wine'; see H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Lf. 20 (Heidelberg 1969) 935f. Thus 1086 ἀλλ' ἔστι κομιδῆ τρύξ παλαιὰ καὶ καπρά contains a double objection to 1084f, "But nevertheless, since you thought fit to drink the wine, you must drink the dregs as well." (1) "But it [the τρύξ 'dregs', that is, the old woman] is altogether old and decrepit τρύξ." And so unpalatable. (2) "But it [the τρύξ 'new wine'] is altogether old and mellow τρύξ." And so to apply the term τρύξ to the old woman makes no sense. MacDowell renders (2), "She's very old to be called τρύξ (youth)." But he omits (1) and the pun on καπρός. Finally, τρύξ, 'new wine', with its suggestion of νεότης, together with νεανικῶς (1307), introduces the motif of the rejuvenation of Philocleon, which is to be of great importance in the scene to come (1333, 1351–63; and see *infra* n.41).

²⁹ So schol. *ad loc.* with Roemer 134 n.1. See also Leutsch-Schneidewin *ad* Diogenian. 6.91 (*Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum* I.284) and *ad* Greg.Cypr. 4.61 (II.124f).

³⁰ Certain commentators suggest that at *Vesp.* 189 and 1310 there is a pun on two senses of κλητήρ, 'summons-witness' and 'donkey'. This view is as old as Conz, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.28) *ad Vesp.* 185 (p.506b) and 1310 (p.619b), and T. Mitchell, *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (London 1838) *ad* 189. More recent adherents are *LSJ s.v. ι*; Ehrenberg, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.23) 77 n.2;

to the judicial mania of Part I and in particular recalls the vivid scene at 169–96. There the jury-mad Philocleon tried to escape to the law-courts by clinging to the belly of a donkey. His son upon catching him made the following comparison: ὡστ' ἔμοιγ' ἰνδάλλεται | ὁμοιώτατος κλητῆρος εἶναι πωλίω (188–89).³¹ Here too κλητῆρ is unexpectedly substituted for ὄνος, the point being that Philocleon's "position suggests that he is a 'sucking foal': his litigious tastes that he is the foal of a κλητῆρ."³² Thus the association of κλητῆρ with ὄνος is established in an extended scene vividly portraying Philocleon's passion for jury-duty, a scene in which a donkey³³ appears on stage with our dicast riding below; and when κλητῆρ recurs at 1310 again replacing ὄνος, we are justified in attempting to elicit some connection between the two passages.

Aesopica also provide a link between the dicastic and symposiac parts of the play. We first hear of *Αἰσώπου τι γέλοιοι* as a device employed by defendants to amuse and pacify the dicasts (566–67). Next *Aesopic* or *Sybaritic* fables are mentioned as a specific against prosecution resulting from drunken misbehavior (1252–63).³⁴ Thus *Aesopica* have here a quasi-legal function, and in addition one learns these fables by associating with 'gentlemen' (1256) at symposia (1260). In the scene that follows, Philocleon, when threatened with prosecution by summoners (*προσκαλούμενοι*) and their witnesses (*κλη-*

Taillardat, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.26) 37, 152; and MacDowell *ad* 189, 1310. Opponents are less numerous: Stephanus-Dindorf 5.1641D and Monaco, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.24) 32–34. But the only evidence that κλητῆρ means 'donkey' is its substitution for ὄνος at *Vesp.* 189 and 1310. Nor do the scholiast or the ancient lexica offer any support. To the arguments of Monaco (of which the second deserves perhaps some consideration) one may add that καλέω 'call', 'name', generally implies the possession of articulate speech and is not used of mere animal sounds. Thus we should follow the schol. *ad Vesp.* 189 and 1310: κλητῆρ means only 'summons-witness' and is substituted for ὄνος as an allusion to Philocleon's juryitis.

³¹ The same trope (*εἰκασμός*) is used here as at 1309f, on which see *supra* n.24. For the formula ὅμοιος εἶ τῶδε see Hesych. E 807 L.

³² W. C. Green (ed.), *Aristophanes, The Wasps* (London 1868) *ad* 189. Green further suggests that κλητῆρος may be a comic substitution for κάνθωνος (*cf.* 179). This is rather unlikely, but the substitution may involve a play on κλάεις (179): the κλάων κάνθων of 179 (who continues to cry at 180f) becomes the κλητῆρ of 189. One may compare the puns at 353, 1513 and 1534.

³³ A 'super', or 'supers', in donkey-costume. See P. D. Arnott, "Animals in the Greek Theatre," *G&R* n.s. 6 (1959) 178f.

³⁴ ἀποτίειν ἀργύριον (1255) and ἀποτείω (1263) refer to a fine or payment to avoid prosecution (*cf.* 1423–25). See also Epicharmus fr.148.4f Kaibel, Antiphanes fr.239.3 (2.116 K.), and Eub. fr.94.9 (2.196 K.).

τῆρες),³⁵ declares he will tell clever and charming fables to reconcile his victims and so avoid a trial (1393–95, 1399f). But the audacious old drunkard instead tells clumsy, improvised fables, calculated further to enrage the victims of his inebriety.³⁶ Here the burlesque of polite manners coincides with ironic reminders of Philocleon's former dicastic life. Finally, the last fable, begun by Philocleon as his exasperated son is about to haul him off stage, specifically refers to legal matters.³⁷ It is the well-known fable about the eagle and the dung beetle, which Aesop told the Delphians when falsely accused of theft (1446–48).³⁸ Philocleon of course is guilty of stealing the symposiasts' flute girl (1368–69).

Here we may note that Philocleon's drunken theft of the girl vividly realizes on stage a motif introduced in the *proagon* and restated in the transitional scene in which Philocleon is prepared for the social whirl. When the chorus of dicasts come to pick up Philocleon on the way to court, they find him imprisoned and urge him to escape (317ff). They remind him that when he was on military service at the siege of Naxos, he stole some spits and then let himself down the wall (354–55).³⁹ Philocleon can only lament that he was young and vigorous then and had no guard watching over him (356ff). Later when Bdelycleon tries to teach his father polite conversation, he asks, "What do you think is the most valiant deed of your youth that you could relate while drinking with foreign gentlemen?" "I've got it," cries Philocleon. "Quite the bravest thing I ever did. I filched some vine-props from Ergasion."⁴⁰ Later, his youthful energy restored by wine, the old man steals the flute girl and carries her off (1345–46).⁴¹

³⁵ 1332ff, 1392, 1406–08, 1415–18, 1441, 1445.

³⁶ 1401–05, 1427–32, 1435–40.

³⁷ Cf. the fable at 1435–40.

³⁸ Aesop. *fab.* 3 Perry (= *fab.* 3 Hsr. = *fab.* 4 Ch.; also *Vita G Aesopi* 135ff and *Vita W Aes.* 135ff Perry). See also A. Wiechers, *Aesop in Delphi (Beiträge zur klass. Philol. 2, Meisenheim/Glan 1961)* esp. 11–14.

³⁹ Note also that two dicasts of the chorus were petty thieves in their youth (237–39).

⁴⁰ 1200–01. MacDowell, *ad* 1201 on the name Ergasion, notes, "a fictional name, formed from *ἐργασία*." So also H. Steiger, *Der Eigenname in der attischen Komödie* (Diss. Erlangen 1888) 10. But the name is attested. See H. Pope, *Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions* (Diss. Columbia 1935) 134 (3 examples); and F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle 1917) 161.

⁴¹ Whitman, who considers these passages in connection with Philocleon's rejuvenation, tells us (157), "It is of only minor consequence that Philocleon is not really rejuvenated, but only drunk; he feels young, and the imagery is there." But is it "of only minor consequence" to the audience, who see the same actor's mask and presumably the same caricature of old

Let us now consider the relevance of the *exodos*. Here opinions differ radically. Wilamowitz, for example, while praising the brilliance and originality of the finale, says of it, "Mit der Fabel des Stückes hat sie nicht das mindeste mehr zu tun . . ." ⁴² Others, however, like Willems and Roos, have tried to elicit some connection between the final scene and the rest of the play. ⁴³ The *exodos* (we are told) is didactic in purpose: modern tragic dancing is criticized as a perverse degeneration of former excellence. Thus both parts of the play are directed against modern perversions, one of political, the other of theatrical life. More recently, Whitman has informed us that in the final scene "the threads are now all pulled together and the final dance begins, a whirling dance which seems to convey symbolically the underlying idea of the vicious circle where all things return upon themselves." ⁴⁴

There is perhaps some truth in the view of Willems and Roos, but little or none in that of Whitman. One need only try to visualize the dance-steps performed by Philocleon and the sons of Carcinus, only half of which could be described as circular or whirling. ⁴⁵ Moreover,

age? Another element of the actor's costume may reasonably cause one to wonder whether Philocleon "feels young." For at 1343 Philocleon himself refers to his *phallus* as rotten, and we may infer that this part of his costume had a less sturdy look than the *phalli* of the other actors. The reference here in the midst of a youthful freak to the saddest part of old age gives the lie to Whitman's statement. Philocleon remains essentially an old man, and this is a matter of major consequence. Wine releases new energy and permits the reenactment of some youthful tricks, but the bitter reality is visible to all, and much of Philocleon's boasting must be interpreted as humorous because incongruous with the real state of affairs.

⁴² Wilamowitz 479 (= 307): cf. van Leeuwen, pp. xv f; and D. M. Jones, *CR* n.s. 3 (1953) 55.

⁴³ Willems, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.12) 556-58; Roos 137-39.

⁴⁴ Whitman 160f.

⁴⁵ The fullest and best analysis of the dance-*σχήματα* at *Vesp.* 1484ff remains that of Roos (esp. 21-106), an invaluable study that hardly deserves Dover's curt dismissal at *Lustrum* 2 (1957) 84. For juster appraisals see E. W. Handley, *JHS* 73 (1953) 153f; and T. B. L. Webster, *Gnomon* 24 (1952) 70-72. A convenient summary of Roos' analysis of the choreography at *Vesp.* 14-84ff may be found at Webster, *The Greek Chorus* (London 1970) 185. More recent studies of this choreography are L. B. Lawler, *The Dance of the Ancient Greek Theatre* (Iowa City 1964) 56-58; and E. K. Borthwick, "The Dances of Philocleon and the Sons of Carcinus in Aristophanes' *Wasps*," *CQ* n.s. 18 (1968) 44-51. An excellent discussion of the *Tanzburleske*, which modifies and improves Roos' general interpretation, is provided by P. Rau, *Paratragodia* (*Zetemata* 45, Munich 1967) 155-57 [henceforth: RAU]. Most interpreters of the final dances believe that directions given by the chorus at 1518ff coincide with the *σχήματα* danced by the *Cartinitae*. Not so MacDowell, whose radical interpretation of the *exodos* requires discussion. Briefly MacDowell holds (1) that "the sons of Karkinus appeared in person in the original performance of *Wasps*" (*ad* 1501), (2) that Aristophanes does not intend a parody of or attack on their *δρχηστική* ("1518-34 is complimentary,"

the text places most stress on the high kick (1492, 1524–27, 1530). Wilamowitz, in fact, calls the dance a cancan.⁴⁶ One hesitates then to approve an interpretation which, contrary to the indications of text and performance, isolates one type of movement of a complex choreography and invests it with symbolic significance.

But perhaps a better answer can be given to the question of relevance. First we may note that Philocleon began dancing “when he had been drinking after long abstinence and had heard the flute” (1476–77). The connection with the symposiac themes of the previous scenes is unmistakable, and the music and dancing to come may be viewed as the continuation and completion of the symposium so rudely and recently interrupted by our ancient balletomane.⁴⁷

“. . . Philokleon’s boastful bantering . . . merely reveals his own character” [*loc.cit.*], and (3) that “it should not be assumed that [the directions at 1518ff] have a close correspondence with the movements which the sons of Karkinos performed” (*ad* 1516–37). Let us first consider (2), since if it falls, (1) cannot stand. Parody and paratragedy at 1518–34 have been amply demonstrated by Roos 132–34 with 133 nn.1–2, 134 n.1 (with citations of earlier literature) and Rau 156. Moreover, at 1520–22 epic vocabulary coincides with jesting allusions to the marine environment of Crab’s sons, and this combination of parody and jest fully justifies Rau’s characterization of 1518–27 as “eine launig-ironische Magnifikation des Karkinos, des ‘Krebses’, und seiner zwergwüchsigen Söhne.” See also B. B. Rogers (ed.), *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (London 1915) *ad* 1518, 1519, 1522. Furthermore, Philocleon’s ‘bantering’ is shared by the οἰκέτης (1507, 1510) and the chorus (1520–22, 1532–34), and reveals not only Philocleon’s character but also the parodistic tendency of the entire scene. Again, parody of Xenocles’ *Licymnius* at *Nub.* 1259ff (*cf.* Rau 191) suggests that the attitude of *Vesp.* 1500ff toward the δρχητικὴ of this ‘Crablet’ and his brothers is not complimentary but again parodistic. Finally, it is characteristic of Old Comedy to criticize and ridicule contemporary innovations in tragedy. (See G. Kaibel, “Aristophanes (12),” *RE* 2 [1896] 991.54ff; A. Körte, “Komödie,” *RE* 11 [1922] 1238.52ff; T. Gelzer, “Aristophanes (12),” *RE* suppl. 12 [1970] 1536.38ff, 1547.14ff; W. Kassies, *Aristophanes’ Traditionalisme* [Diss. Amsterdam 1963] 37ff; Rau, *passim*). Are we to assume in spite of the considerations urged above that the dancing of the Carcinitae at *Vesp.* 1516ff is an exception to this rule? Thus MacDowell’s hypothesis 2 should be abandoned and with it hypothesis 1. The Carcinitae and their papa did not appear in person in *Vesp.* anymore than Euripides in *Ach.* (On special dancers in the *exodos* of *Vesp.* see *infra* n.67). Lastly, a word on hypothesis 3. Practical considerations of theatrical production, the existence of rehearsals, and the availability of expert dancers make it highly unlikely that words and music at *Vesp.* 1518ff were composed before the dances were choreographed. It is far more reasonable to suppose that text, music and choreography were arranged in combination with one another, and that the chorus’ directions at 1520, 1523–26 and 1528–31 reflect the choreography.

⁴⁶ Wilamowitz 479 (= 307).

⁴⁷ Xen. *Symp.* 2.1–2, 7–8, 11, 21–23, 3.1, offers an excellent illustration of music and dance at a symposium. Indeed, Philocleon’s dance (*Vesp.* 1482–95) may well be compared to Philip’s grotesque and ridiculous performance (Xen. *Symp.* 2.21–22). On drunkenness and dancing see W. J. M. Starkie (ed.), *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (London 1897) *ad* 1478.

Moreover, the reference to drinking suggests a connection with the *νόσος*-theme previously discussed.⁴⁸ The text provides abundant confirmation. As Philocleon appears, the slave cries, "Look, here comes the mischief (τὸ κακόν 1483)." At 1299 the drunken disrupter of symposia was ἀτηρότατον κακόν; at 77 his 'juryitis', τὸ κακόν. Further, when Philocleon declares that he is beginning a dance-step (1485), the slave replies, "No, it's more likely the beginning of madness' (μανία ἀρχή 1486).⁴⁹ Next, the old man is told to drink hellebore, which is to say that he is mad;⁵⁰ and at 1491 he is warned, τάχα βαλλήσει, that is, he will soon be pelted with stones like a madman.⁵¹ Finally, at 1496 our aged Nijinsky asks, "Wasn't that good?" "No, by Zeus," the slave replies, "certainly not! It's a mad business" (μανικὰ πράγματα).⁵²

Thus the *νόσος*-theme forms an important link between the first part of the play, the scenes after the *parabasis*, and the finale. Each explores its own disease, dicastic, vinous and balletic. The relation between the disease of the φιληλιαστής and that of the φιλοπότης has been described above, and the final mania proceeds from the second, παροιμία.

The reference to Thespis' dances (1479) suggests another connection with the earlier parts of the play. Philocleon, like the chorus of wasp-dicasts (219–20), sings the songs of Phrynichus, the old tragedian (269). In fact, he is such an enthusiast of song that he expresses his inability to escape his son's guard by saying, "My friends, long have I been pining, while I listened to you through the window. But what shall I do, since I am unable to sing?" (317–19).⁵³ Even in his speech defending the dicast's life, Philocleon does not forget μουσική. If Oeagrus the actor is hauled into court as a defendant, he is not acquitted until he recites the finest speech from *Niobe* for the jury. And if a flute-player wins his suit, as payment for services rendered by

⁴⁸ See *supra* pp.338ff.

⁴⁹ Cf. Xen. *Symp.* 2.19: Charmides fears that Socrates is mad, when he finds him dancing. At Eub. fr.94.10 (2.196 K.) we learn that the tenth *crater* of wine brings μανία.

⁵⁰ 1489. See Blaydes and MacDowell *ad loc.*

⁵¹ So Roos 79–82 and *Eranos* 50 (1952) 142f, Blaydes, and MacDowell *ad loc.* Other interpretations are offered by M. Platnauer, *CQ* n.s. 1 (1951) 167, and Borthwick, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.45) 46f.

⁵² On the attribution see C. Beer, *Ueber die Zahl der Schauspieler bei Aristophanes* (Leipzig 1844) 155; Wilamowitz 479 (= 306); and Roos 94 with n.3. See also *infra* n.72.

⁵³ The correct interpretation is given by Rau 150f n.35: "der Alte hört seine Genossen, mit ihnen singen, d.h. mit ihnen ziehen, kann er nicht." Less convincing are MacDowell *ad* 318 and Händel, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 251.

the dicasts, he puts on his mouthband and plays an exit march for them as they leave. The court-room virtually becomes a stage! Thus it is no surprise that the drunken ex-dicast, inspired by the music of the flute, cannot stop dancing in Thespis' old-fashioned style.⁵⁴

Finally, we come to the last and most important motif linking the finale to the rest of the play. At 1479 the slave notes that Philocleon has been performing the dances with which Thespis competed in the tragic contests (*ἡγωνίζετο*). We also learn that Philocleon intends to dance in rivalry (*διορχησάμενος*) with contemporary tragic dancers (1480f). The old man himself issues the challenge at 1497ff. He summons contestants (*ἀνταγωνισταί*) to dance against him (*διορχησόμενος*). The sons of Carcinus enter one by one, and the contest begins. The last part of the *exodos* then is a dance-*ἀγών* which takes place in the theater.⁵⁵

Wasps contains three staged *ἀγῶνες*.⁵⁶ The first is the great rhetorical contest between father and son on the advantages of the dicastic life (526–727), and is announced by the chorus, who warn Philocleon: *ὄρατς γὰρ ὧς σοι μέγας ἐστὶν ἀγών* . . . (533f). The reference to *ἀγών* here emphasizes the fact that what follows will be a formal contest, the victory to be awarded by a judge (in this case the chorus), as opposed to the disorganized struggles of the preceding scenes.

The contestants are Philocleon and his son. The latter wins, but only a partial victory. And this motivates the next scene: a trial staged at Philocleon's house. The trial of course is an *ἀγών*, as Philocleon, who acts as sole dicast, stresses when he asks about the outcome of his

⁵⁴ The references to Phrynichus at 1490 and 1524 are not included here, since they are rather to Phrynichus son of Chorocles (see Blumenthal, "Phrynichos (6)," *RE* 20 [1950] 918.6–56; and J. B. O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece* [Chicago 1908] 138, no.500), than to Phrynichus son of Polyphrasmon (see Blumenthal, "Phrynichos (4)," *ib.* 911.29–917.62; and most recently H. Lloyd-Jones, "Problems of Early Greek Tragedy," in *Estudios sobre la tragedia griega (Cuadernos de la Fundación Pastor* 13, Madrid 1966) 19ff. The case for Phrynichus 6 is fully set out (with copious references to earlier literature) by Roos 107ff (esp. 122ff), who is followed by Rau 156, and Gelzer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.45) 1449.7ff. Phrynichus 6 remains the more probable candidate despite recent attempts to renominate Phrynichus 4 made by Borthwick, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.45) 44f, and MacDowell *ad* 1490. (Lloyd-Jones, *op.cit.* 32, is also an adherent of Phrynichus 4 but does not argue the case).

⁵⁵ So K. Kunst, *Studien zur griechisch-römischen Komödie* (Vienna and Leipzig 1919) 28f. Cf. Whitman 160: ". . . Philocleon has . . . a new disease, worse than the first, but with equally contentious, agonistic purport . . ." Unfortunately, Whitman dismisses these important motifs in a sentence in order to chase after *pirouettes*.

⁵⁶ Note that *ἀγών* is used here in the general sense of 'contest' and not in the special sense of (epirrhetic) *ἀγών*.

vote: πῶς ἄρ' ἠγωνίμεθα; (993). The verb ἀγωνίζομαι also suggests that Philocleon is ἀγωνιστής as well as judge.⁵⁷ Nor is this surprising. For the trial is partly a contest between the old dicast and his son, the former eager to vote guilty, the latter striving for an acquittal. Philocleon is tricked into acquitting the defendant, and his ensuing despair finally tranquilizes his judicial frenzy.

In terms of the ἀγών-motif, which is of major dramatic importance, the play may be divided as follows. Prologue, *parodos* and *proagon* (1–525) prepare for the great rhetorical contest between father and son, in which Philocleon is formally a contestant and by his own and the chorus' admission the loser (526–727). Then lyric and iambic scenes (728–890) introduce the brilliant domestic parody of a trial (891–1008), in which Philocleon is formally the judge and in his own terms a failure. The iambic scenes (1122–1264, 1292–1449) that follow the *parabasis*, and the first part of the *exodos* (1474–96), lead to the final ἀγών (1497ff). Here again Philocleon is formally an ἀγωνιστής.

Two questions of some importance to the interpretation of the *exodos* remain. First, who wins the contest? Philocleon? The dancing Crustaceans? Or is it left undecided? According to Kunst and Roos, Carcinus' sons win.⁵⁸ The only argument offered is based on 1535f: ἀλλ' ἐξάγετ', εἴ τι φιλεῖτ', ὀρχούμενοι θύραζε ἡμᾶς ταχύ. ἐξάγετ', like the plurals at 1520 and 1523 (πηδᾶτε, κυκλοσοβεῖτε), is addressed to the Carcinitae, who as victors lead out the chorus. But at 1518–27 the subject of the imperatives is specified (τέκνα τοῦ θαλασσίοιο [1519]), whereas at 1535 it is not. Further, the subject has since changed twice: 1528–31 are addressed to Philocleon,⁵⁹ and 1532–34 announce the entrance of Carcinus. Finally, ἡμᾶς (*sc.* the chorus) suggests that ἐξάγετ' is addressed to all persons in the orchestra apart from the

⁵⁷ Cf. Blaydes *ad* 993f. Green in fact gives the question to Bdelycleon, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.32) *ad* 993.

⁵⁸ Kunst, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.55) 31f; Roos 140.

⁵⁹ So Roos 95 with n.5 and 96 with n.2. Directions to the Carcinitae are given by imperatives in the 2nd p. pl. (1520, 1523) and the 3rd p. sing. (1525). The change then to the imperative in the 2nd p. sing. at 1528–30 is significant (*pace* MacDowell) and naturally marks a change of subject. The chorus has moved from the center of the orchestra to give the dancers room (1516–17) and probably remains at the back and/or sides until 1535, when it takes its position for the exit. The Carcinitae have begun their dance at 1518, according to the directions of the chorus. Thus of the persons in the orchestra at 1528 only Philocleon has not been accounted for. He enters the orchestra at 1514f to dance against the Carcinitae (see *infra* n.60), and the most likely purpose of 1528 is to indicate the beginning of his dance. The Carcinitae of course can easily continue dancing after 1527 without special directions from the chorus.

chorus, that is, Philocleon (1514),⁶⁰ the three Carcinitae (1500, 1505, 1508, 1516f) and their father (1532–34). The exit of all of these would naturally be provided for in this final direction.⁶¹ Thus victory cannot be awarded to any of the contestants on the basis of 1535f, and since the text offers no clear statement as to victor or vanquished,⁶² we must conclude that the poet intended this final ἀγών to remain undecided.⁶³

But how is the exit staged? Dale conjectures that “Philocleon and the three sons of Carcinus . . . each lead out one of the four files of the chorus . . .”⁶⁴ Webster suggests that “perhaps the sons of Karkinos lead the chorus off in three files.”⁶⁵ Finally, Händel asserts, “Vier Tänzer, Karkinos und seine Söhne geleiten einen tanzenden Chor hinaus.”⁶⁶ But, as we have seen, there are five persons in the orchestra beside the chorus at 1535. Dale’s staging fails to account for Carcinus; Webster’s, for Philocleon and Carcinus; Händel’s, for Philocleon. The problem is as follows. Five persons and 24 *choreutai* must exit from the orchestra down the *parodos* at 1537.⁶⁷ Five files

⁶⁰ The οἰκέτης exits into the *scaenae frons* at 1515, when Philocleon tells him to prepare a brine-pickle for the ‘Crabs’. At 1515 Philocleon goes into the orchestra, and in the absence of any indication to the contrary, we must assume he remains there until the exit down one of the *parodoi* (1537). On the interpretation of 1514 see esp. P. Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions* (Oxford 1962) 34. According to S. Srebrny, “Studia scaenica,” *Archivum Filol* 5 (Wrocław 1960) 70, Philocleon dances in the orchestra (1484–95), goes back on stage (1497ff), then returns to the orchestra (1514f). The text, however, offers no confirmation, and the entire scene 1474–1515 is played by Philocleon and the οἰκέτης in front of the *scaenae frons* and not in the orchestra. The existence of a low platform separating the actors’ playing area from the orchestra may be assumed: see Arnott, *op.cit.* 1–41; Srebrny, *op.cit.* 66–74; C. Fensterbusch, *Die Bühne des Aristophanes* (Diss. Leipzig 1912) 1–11; H.-J. Newiger, *RhM* 108 (1965) 231; N. C. Hourmouziades, *Production and Imagination in Euripides* (Athens 1965) 58–74; T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Theatre Production*² (London 1970) 7, 166. Bdelycleon does not appear in the final scene (1474ff): see *infra* n.72.

⁶¹ Schol. ad 1535 observes: εὐχερώως δὲ, ὡς ἐν τέλει, τὴν ἔξοδον τῶν προσώπων βούλεται ποιῆσαι. See also *infra*.

⁶² It is true that Carcinus himself (“the ocean ruling king crab”) enters at 1532f, “pleased with his dancing, prancing trio of sons.” But the context (1500–13 and 1518–22, on which see *supra* n.45) and the comic manner of the entrance (*προσέρπει*, cf. 1509) permits us to interpret Carcinus’ pleasure ironically: an absurd father revels in the antics of his peculiar offspring. Furthermore, Papa-Crab and his brood may all be wearing crab-costumes to heighten the comic effect of 1500ff (see *infra* n.69).

⁶³ So Handley, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.45) 154; Whitman 161f; MacDowell ad 1516–37.

⁶⁴ A. M. Dale, *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*² (Cambridge 1968) 209.

⁶⁵ *The Greek Chorus* (*supra* n.45) 185.

⁶⁶ *Op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 162.

⁶⁷ Chorus, actor and extras presumably follow the flute-player down the *parodos*. See Albert Müller, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Bühnenalterthümer* (Freiburg 1886) 216; A. Pickard-

are less than likely, and there remain three possibilities. (1) Philocleon precedes Carcinus and his sons, who lead out the chorus in four files. (2) Carcinus precedes Philocleon and the three Carcinitae, who lead out the four files. (3) Philocleon and Carcinus precede the Carcinitae, who lead out the chorus in three files.⁶⁸ The comic chorus regularly arranges itself into four files and six ranks. Thus (1) and (2) are more likely than (3). The sons of Carcinus and their father are similarly costumed and form a natural group of four.⁶⁹ Thus (1) is more likely than (2). Philocleon then probably leads the exit-dance,⁷⁰

Cambridge, J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*² (Oxford 1968) 244. The presence and position of the flute-player is taken for granted: ἐξάγερ' . . . ὀρχούμενοι (1535) is addressed only to Philocleon, Carcinus and the Carcinitae; and the possibility that the flute-player joins actor and extras in leading out the chorus in six ranks may be excluded.

⁶⁸ MacDowell (*ad* 1516–37) suggests that Carcinus “may have led the procession . . . ,” but is silent on the position of Philocleon and the Carcinitae. “Saltantes abeunt omnes; praeunt Carcini filii, quos persequitur senex” is Van Leeuwen’s stage direction (p.229). But a group of three followed by Philocleon and the chorus is a rather unnatural arrangement. And where is Carcinus? Note that since Carcinus is included in the subject of ἐξάγερ' (1535; see *supra* pp.348f), he precedes the chorus and joins the final dance (contrast Roos 95 n.6; MacDowell *loc.cit.*). The parts of Carcinus and his sons are taken by four boy-dancers (*cf.* Xen. *Symp.* 2.1 for such a παῖς), three very short (the Carcinitae) and one somewhat taller (Carcinus). These (and perhaps others) appeared with the chorus in the *parodos* (230ff) and exited at 414 with the cloaks of the *choreutae*. *Cf.* Starkie, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.47) p.xxix. Twenty four cloaks may suggest more than four boys in the *parodos*, but perhaps four boys moving down the four files of the chorus could each pick up six cloaks in sufficient time. As many as 14 boys have been suggested (Richter, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.4] 55).

⁶⁹ The following considerations suggest that Carcinus and his sons are wearing crab-costumes. (1) The fondness of Old Comedy for animal mummery. Compare the *Logoi* in *Nub.*, who perhaps appeared as fighting-cocks (see schol. *ad Nub.* 889 and K. J. Dover [ed.], *Aristophanes, Clouds* [Oxford 1968] pp.xc–xciii). And in general see A. Pickard-Cambridge and T. B. L. Webster, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*² (Oxford 1962) 151–55; M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*² (Princeton 1961) 36f. (2) Since Aristophanes intends to burlesque the ὀρχηστική of the Carcinitae (see Rau 155–57 and *supra* n.45), such costumes would add much to the comic effect of the dances at 1518ff. If the dancers’ arms are used for the claws, four legs hanging down each side would flop about ridiculously during leaps (1520) and pirouettes (1517). (3) 1507, 1510, 1518–22 and 1532f are more effective if they refer to grotesque crab-costumes than if they involve mere verbal playing on the name Carcinus. (4) φάλαγξ (‘spider’ 1509) may adequately be explained as referring to the crab-costume (*cf.* Green, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.32] *ad loc.*) and the small size of this son of Carcinus (*cf.* Taillardat, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.26] 124f). Contrast Borthwick, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.45) 50f, who does not take the possibility of such a costume into account; but ᾠτρος for ὄξικ (1509) is attractive, as is the suggestion that Xenocles enters performing the ‘peering *cxḥma*’ (*ib.* 47–50). Crab-costumes at 1500ff are assumed by Willems, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.12) 514; and H. van Daele (Coulon / van Daele, *Aristophane*⁴ II [Paris 1958] 82).

⁷⁰ The chorus may have danced the *kordax* while exiting (see Roos 153–60).

that is, he assumes the usual position of *ἐξάρχων* and acknowledged victor.⁷¹

Although he is not the victor in this sense, it is Philocleon whose final burst of manic energy motivates and inspires the last scene. As a *φιληλιαστής*, his mania was difficult to cure but not impossible to control. For Bdelycleon was able to keep him prisoner. As a drunken symposiast, Philocleon grew more difficult to restrain, overturning and grotesquely parodying the *dolce vita* of the smart set. But still his son was able to drag him into the house. The old man comes out again, however, inspired by music and wine, an acknowledged *μανικός*. Bdelycleon is no longer on stage to curb him, and his furious antics proceed unhindered.⁷² This last display of inspired enthusiasm—the slave invokes Dionysus in describing it—is the moving spirit of the final scene. It is the uninhibited balletomane who stages the contest which brings the play from the fictional world of the drama to the actual world of the Theater of Dionysus.⁷³ Final judgement on the wild, grotesque old man is not given. Aristophanes leaves this purposely ambiguous. But as the initiator of the final action, he rightly takes his place at the head of the exiting band of chorus and dancers.⁷⁴

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⁷¹ See T. Gelzer, *Der epirrhematische Agon bei Aristophanes* (Zetemata 23, Munich 1960) 224f with 225 n.1.

⁷² The evidence that Bdelycleon appears on stage during the scene 1482–1515 is that certain Mss. attribute to him 1483, 1496, 1500b, 1501b–02a, 1504b–06a, 1507–08, 1510–11. For details see White-Cary, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.26) 35. These attributions are properly discarded by Beer, Wilamowitz and Roos (*loc.citt.* [*supra* n.52]). (1) The attributions of mediaeval Mss. have no authority beyond that of editorial conjecture; see J. C. B. Lowe, “The Manuscript Evidence for Changes of Speaker in Aristophanes,” *BICS* 9 (London 1962) 27–42. (2) Beside the entrances of the three Carcinidae (1500–08) the text indicates the entrances of only two actors: the *οἰκέτης* (1474) and Philocleon (1482f). Thus we must assume an unannounced entrance for Bdelycleon. (4) 1514f motivate the exit of one person, and that the slave rather than the son. Thus Bdelycleon exits without motivation, or he remains on stage after 1515, although the text gives no indication that he is present. (4) All the lines attributed to Bdelycleon may be spoken by the *οἰκέτης*. None entail the presence of Bdelycleon. (5) At 1482–1515 no attempt is made to interfere with Philocleon’s insane behavior, whereas from the beginning of the play Bdelycleon never ceases from such attempts. (Cf. MacDowell *ad* 1496). The conclusion is obvious. Bdelycleon exits at 1449 and does not reappear.

⁷³ “Wo spielt . . . diese letzte Szene? Wo anders als im Theater.” Wilamowitz 479 (= 307).

⁷⁴ A preliminary version of this paper was delivered to the University Seminar in Classical Civilization at Columbia University on 16 April 1970.