

HOW TO AVOID BEING A *KOMODOUMENOS*<sup>1</sup>

This paper is based on two separate, though partly overlapping, registers (Registers I and II) of male Athenian citizens known to have been in the public eye between the years 432/1 and 405/4 B.C., inclusive. Register I comprises those who are known in this period to have held important elective public office, or to have proposed and carried resolutions in the Assembly; a total of 176 persons. These are singled out from the much wider range of ‘officials’, most of them chosen by lot, to be found in the prosopography of Develin 1989, because they are those who actively, and in some measure successfully, *competed* for the political favour of the Athenian public. The important elective public offices I take to be those of general, *proboulos* (in 413–411), member of any embassy, and delegate for swearing to an international treaty. Register II comprises those who are known in this period to have been referred to as individuals in Athenian comedies; a total of 224 persons. Both lists inevitably have somewhat fuzzy edges, mainly over questions of identification and dating; doubtful cases are briefly discussed in the notes to the Registers. Probably no other scholar will agree with every one of my decisions in these matters, but the general validity of the picture here presented is unlikely to be affected. Within Register II can be identified two small but important subgroups: those who are referred to not, as is normal, for disparagement but for praise; and those to whom is devoted an entire play or a large part of one. I will be returning to these.

The first feature of the two registers to which I wish to draw attention is the extent to which they overlap. Of the 176 men who can be identified as politically prominent, 65 or 37% are mentioned at least once in comedy<sup>2</sup>. We cannot, of course, infer directly from this that if one was a politically prominent individual (as just defined) one had a 37% chance of becoming a *komodoumenos*. On the one hand our sample of the politically prominent is skewed in favour of the better-known among them, who are more likely to be mentioned in literary sources, and in several cases it is precisely from comedy (or from ancient commentators on comedies) that we know about the offices they held. On the other hand we possess only a small fraction of the texts of comedy from this period; and, while the Aristophanic scholia often give a great deal of information about references in other comedies to persons mentioned in the surviving plays of Aristophanes, we are much less well informed about those who happen not to be mentioned in these plays. There is thus a high probability that many *komodoumenoi* of this period are not known to us as such, particularly those whose public activity had ended by 426/5 or whose spell of notoriety was brief.

What we can say is that the greater and more prolonged the political prominence of an individual, the more likely he was to attract the attention of comic dramatists. Of the 122 individuals who, so far as our direct evidence goes, took a prominent role

<sup>1</sup> A version of this paper was presented at the Xth Congress of the Fédération Internationale des Études Classiques held at the Université Laval, Québec, in August 1994. I am most grateful to the organizers of the Congress and to those whose interventions, and whose own papers, enriched my understanding of the matters here discussed, in particular Froma Zeitlin, Angelo Casanova, Christian Kopff, Tony Podlecki and Ian Storey; also to Paul Millett and an anonymous CQ referee. <sup>2</sup> These are the men listed in Section A of Register II.

in politics only on one occasion,<sup>3</sup> thirty-two are mentioned in comedy and ninety are not, a proportion of 26 %. Of the fifty-four individuals who have two or more claims to prominence<sup>4</sup> (two terms as general, a generalship and an ambassadorship, an ambassadorship and the successful proposal of a decree, etc.) thirty-three are mentioned in comedy and twenty-one are not, a proportion of 61 %. On this evidence it is reasonable to say that to be a leading politician was *ipso facto* to be fair game for comic satire. A more surprising finding is that the most satirizable position (leaving aside that of *proboulos*, which only existed for two years) was not that of general or of *rhetor* but that of ambassador: of thirty-six known ambassadors of the Peloponnesian War period, twenty-two or 61 % are mentioned in comedy. To some extent this disproportion is due to a passage in the *Acharnians* (594–617) which expresses resentment at those who allegedly avoid the dangers of military service by getting themselves elected to serve on safe and well-paid embassies, and names or clearly identifies no less than eight individuals; but then this passage itself would hardly have been written unless there was some public feeling against ambassadors as such. What, after all, did an ambassador *do*? A general led armies or fleets, risked his own life, and bore responsibility for the lives of those under him and often for the future of the entire *polis*. A *rhetor* staked his reputation on the advice he gave to Assembly meetings, and if that advice led to bad results prosecution and personal ruin were not unlikely consequences. An ambassador will have seemed to many little but a glorified messenger-boy, handsomely paid at public expense for doing what any Tom, Dick or Harry could do as well. It may be significant that several characters in contemporary Euripidean tragedies express a strong hostility to the glorified messenger-boy of heroic saga, the herald.<sup>5</sup>

What now of the 159 male Athenian *komodoumenoi* of the period in question who, so far as we know, did not within that period hold any position of political prominence on our definition? It is reasonable to assume that all, or virtually all, of them were known, at least by repute, to a large part of the Athenian public: enough, at any rate, for a joke about them not to fall flat. It is, to be sure, highly likely that a comic *persona*, once created, fed on itself, so that some frequently satirized persons ended up being better known to the public through comedy itself than in any other way: the allegedly effeminate Kleisthenes is perhaps the best example of this process.<sup>6</sup> But the *persona* had to be created in the first place, and it could not be created *ex nihilo*: the satirist needed to have a *point d'appui*. What made people vulnerable to his attentions?

Critics in antiquity generally assumed that the answer was normally 'vicious behaviour',<sup>7</sup> and accordingly the scholia frequently inform us that So-and-so was satirized for one or several of a wide range of moral or social defects – as a flatterer, a parasite, a passive homosexual, a *sykophantes*, a wicked man (*ponēros*), etc.<sup>8</sup> For

<sup>3</sup> These are the men listed in Section B of Register I.

<sup>4</sup> These are the men listed in Section A of Register I.

<sup>5</sup> Eur. *Hkld.* 292–3, *Tro.* 424–6, *Or.* 887–97, fr. 1012.

<sup>6</sup> He is mentioned in eight of the nine surviving Aristophanic comedies of the period under consideration (as well as in plays by at least two other dramatists), invariably with reference to his allegedly feminine appearance and habits, and usually with reference to nothing else.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Prolegomena de Comoedia* I 7–13, II 5, IV 1–14 Koster; Horace, *Serm.* 4.1–5; Quintilian 10.1.66.

<sup>8</sup> Some examples from the scholia to *Birds*: Melanthios (151) is said to have been satirized as effeminate, as a glutton, as an 'evildoer' (*kakopragmōn*), as a 'chatterer' (*lalos*) – and also as suffering from a disfiguring skin disease; Teleas (168) as a passive homosexual, a coward, a

good reason, this explanation is not now generally regarded as satisfactory: as Athenian oratory amply shows, for a person to be described in these terms is evidence, not that that is the sort of person he was, but that the speaker is seeking to cast him in a bad light. The question that matters is why the speaker should want to do so. In the case of oratory the answer is normally easy: the person attacked always either is or is connected with the speaker's opponent. In the case of comedy the answer is likely to be rather different. Casting well-known people in a bad light was comedy's business, just as it had once been the business of iambic poetry (whose relations with Old Comedy have been valuably explored in recent years by several scholars).<sup>9</sup> To ask what sort of people became *komodoumenoi* may be something like asking what made a person well known in fifth-century Athens.

And it proves to be the case that for the great majority of these 159 people it is possible to identify an objective factor (sometimes more than one) which will have made them well known. They can mostly be classified into four groups,<sup>10</sup> whom, shamelessly parodying Francis Bacon,<sup>11</sup> I shall call idols of the tribe, the theatre, the market and ... not the cave, but the dinner-table; idols not in the sense that anyone worshipped them, but only as being the likely victims of comic iconoclasm.

By *idols of the tribe* I mean those who were active in the institutions of the *polis*. These of course include the sixty-five 'politically prominent individuals' already noted, but there are many others:<sup>12</sup> men like Thoukydides son of Melesias, who had once been politically prominent but were so no longer; men like Androkles and Phormisios, who are known to have been politically active but happen not to be recorded as having held office or proposed decrees within our period; a large number who seem to have held minor public offices (sometimes the office is specifically mentioned – secretary to the Council, *poristes*, member of a drafting commission – sometimes it has to be inferred from an allegation of embezzlement which implies that the person in question has at least been in a position where he has handled public money); men like Euathlos and Nikarchos, who are spoken of as *sykophantai* and must therefore have been accusers in public prosecutions; a few subordinate military officers (taxiarchs, hipparchs, etc.); and lastly (for religion too was part of the *polis*) religious officials like Lykourgos (priest of Poseidon Erechtheus) or Kleokritos (herald of the Mysteries). In all, these political, administrative, forensic, military and religious 'idols of the tribe' account for just over half the total number of *komodoumenoi*, 115 out of 224.

By *idols of the theatre* I refer of course to poets, actors, dancers and musicians. There were forty-five *komodoumenoi* of this period who were in the public eye mainly for this reason,<sup>13</sup> and that excludes those like Sophokles and Karkinos who also held

glutton, an embezzler and for general wickedness (*ponēria*); Meidias (1297) as a gambler, an embezzler, a *sykophantēs*, a poor man who bragged of imaginary wealth (*ptōkhalazōn*), and again for *ponēria*.

<sup>9</sup> Notably Rosen 1988; Degani 1988, 1993; Henderson 1991: 17–23, 243–4; Mastromarco, forthcoming.

<sup>10</sup> Where a person qualifies for more than one of these categories, he is assigned in the Register to the category with which he seems to have stronger or earlier associations.

<sup>11</sup> Novum Organum i 39 (Spedding *et al.* 1857–74: i 163): primum genus, Idola Tribus; secundum, Idola Specus; tertium, Idola Fori; quartum, Idola Theatri vocentur.

<sup>12</sup> These are the men listed in Section B of Register II.

<sup>13</sup> These are the men listed in Section C of Register II. It is striking that, as Vetta 1995: 64 notes, all the *actors* mentioned in comedy are *tragic*. This is probably because any given comic dramatist could expect, during his career, to be collaborating at one time or another with all the leading comic actors, and would not wish to make an enemy of any of them.

political office; of the poets, fifteen were tragic, fourteen comic, and two dithyrambic. One person with theatrical connections which, however, cannot be precisely identified is the celebrated but obscure Kephisophon who was alleged to have had a share in the writing of Euripides' plays.<sup>14</sup>

The *idols of the market*<sup>15</sup> are a group whose significance for comedy has not always been realized. They are individuals whose names are well known because of their activities in and around the Agora (or in some cases the markets of the Peiraeus). Most of them are leading figures in one or another trade or profession (running the whole gamut from Meton the engineer and Antimachos the banker down to Philostratos the pimp), and it is striking that all the occupations are different: Sporgilos is the only barber referred to, Thearion the only baker, and so on. It is as if each occupation had an acknowledged star figure who was as it were synonymous with the occupation in the public mind. One other person much to be seen around the Agora and in other public places is also probably best placed in this group, namely Socrates. The total number of individuals in this category is about thirteen.

The *idols of the dinner-table*<sup>16</sup> I have so designated because the feature they have in common is their connection with the world of the symposium. They number about fifteen. The majority of them are referred to as being fond of expensive food or of *hetairai*, sometimes as being fat or as having grand houses or as being spendthrifts; they include the typical comic 'gluttons' Glauketes and Morychos as well as men also known from outside comedy such as Kallias son of Hipponikos,<sup>17</sup> or Lykon the host in Xenophon's *Symposium*. All these can be collectively characterized as 'conspicuous consumers' in their various styles, and together they may be regarded as a counterexample to the claim once made by de Ste Croix (1972: 360) that in Aristophanes 'the rich are never once attacked as such'.<sup>18</sup> Since Athenians did not

<sup>14</sup> Ar. *Frogs* 944, 1408\*, 1452–3; fr. 596\*. It was reasonable enough for ancient biographers such as Satyros (*POxy* 1176 fr. 39 col. xii 21–xiii 22; cf. Lefkowitz 1981: 167–8) to deduce from the two asterisked passages (in which he is described as sharing Euripides' life in many ways, and being as close to him as his wife or children) that Kephisophon had actually lived in Euripides' house. Nothing, however, suggests that he was a member of Euripides' family, and a slave might be suspected of having seduced Euripides' wife (Satyros loc.cit., *Life of Euripides* 93 Méridier) but hardly of having helped compose his plays. Was Kephisophon perhaps a former live-in boyfriend (*paidika*) of Euripides who had remained close to him in later life? The suggestive phrase *συνεποίεις ... τὴν μελωδίαν* (Ar. fr. 596.3; cf. Kassel & Austin ad loc., to whose references add *Frogs* 1328 *ἀνὰ τὸ δωδεκαμήχανον Κυρήνης μελοποιῶν*, cf. Borthwick 1994: 36) could as easily have a homosexual as a heterosexual reference. We hear more than once of a statesman using his ex-*paidika* as a confidential agent (Thuc. 1.132.5, Aischines 3.162); might not a poet be suspected of using his as a ghost-writer, as Pericles was said to have used Aspasia (Pl. *Menex.* 236b)? For an anecdote in which Euripides appears as a pederast see Hieronymos of Rhodes fr. 35 Wehrli. Kovacs 1990, rightly arguing against the tradition that Kephisophon was Euripides' slave, suggests that Thomas Magister (in his life of Euripides, §12) may have had a good source for describing him as an actor; but Thomas's source can be identified with fair confidence as Ar. *Ach.* 400–1, where Dikaiopolis, admiring the cleverness of Euripides' slave (whom the scholia identify as Kephisophon), exclaims *ὦ τρισμακάρι' Εὐριπίδῃ, ὅθ' ὁ δούλος οὕτωσ' ὁσφῶς ὑποκρίνεται* (R: *σαφῶς ἀπεκρίνατο* cett.).

<sup>15</sup> These are the men listed in Section D of Register II.

<sup>16</sup> These are the men listed in Section E of Register II.

<sup>17</sup> In later years Kallias became an important figure in public life, but there is no surviving evidence that he was politically active before 404; his religious role as *dadouchos* of the Eleusinian Mysteries is never alluded to in comedy, not even in *Frogs* 428 which is actually sung by a chorus of Eleusinian initiates.

<sup>18</sup> To be fair to de Ste Croix, he appears to be referring exclusively (though he does not say so) to attacks on the rich *collectively* as a class; and he explicitly excludes one play (*Wealth*) from the generalization.

normally know each other's income or capital, a man's wealth would usually become occasion for persistent comment only if (like Meidias as portrayed by Demosthenes)<sup>19</sup> he flaunted it before those less fortunate, by the size of his house, by the lavishness of his entertaining, by frequently being seen at the most expensive fishmongers' stalls,<sup>20</sup> and so on. Two minor groups who moved in the same circles are young men of exceptional good looks (like Lykon's son Autolykos, or Demos son of Pylilampes) and society hangers-on known for their witty conversation (like Lysistratos and Thoupkrastos). The former group, we know, exercised their talents not only in the private circle of the symposium but also in more public places such as baths and *palaistrai*, and it is likely that the latter group did too; in order to be a symposiac *kolax*, after all, one had first to get some invitations. Talking of *palaistrai*, it is remarkable that one group that seems to be almost completely unrepresented among Athenian *komodoumenoi* is that of athletes: the only instance I can find is that of Autolykos, who won the *pankration* at the Great Panathenaia of 422.<sup>21</sup>

There remain about thirty-six Athenian *komodoumenoi*<sup>22</sup> who do not fit into any of the above categories. Some of these may owe their notoriety to recent court cases or other scandals: this is certainly true, for instance, of Grypos (if that is his name), whom Paphlagon in *Knights* (877) boasts of having deprived of citizen rights for having been a male prostitute, and also of 'Kallias' bastard' (Metagenes fr. 14), the issue of Kallias' marriage with his former mother-in-law. A few more are well known because their sons are well known: owing to the conventions of Athenian nomenclature, if the public knew a lot about you they also knew the name of your father, and hence, for example, the mock *makarismos* of Automenes in *Wasps* 1275 for having sons like Arignotos and (especially) Aripkrades. There are one or two special cases, such as Pantakles (*Frogs* 1036), who had apparently on some occasion made a fool of himself in public and never been allowed to forget it. There are just over twenty persons whose claim to notoriety is entirely unclear. Several of these are described as having marked peculiarities of appearance (being very short or thin, beardless or one-eyed, etc.) or of sexual behaviour, but we cannot assume that anyone who had such peculiarities was *ipso facto* likely to have come to public notice. It is more probable that most of them were publicly known for other reasons of which we do not happen to be aware.

In general, then, the only reliable advice for someone who wanted to avoid being a *komodoumenos* was the advice of Epicurus, 'live unnoticed'. At the same time, the fact that virtually anyone in the public eye could expect to become a target of comic satire meant that in most cases the effect of comic satire was unlikely to be seriously damaging. Why should I worry when rude comic remarks are made about me, if they are being made about all my political rivals as well?<sup>23</sup>

And yet there is significant fifth- and early fourth-century evidence that some Athenians at least did regard comedy as a significant element in influencing public opinion in particular directions. In approximate chronological order, the evidence is

<sup>19</sup> Dem. 21.133, 151-3, 158-160.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Davidson 1993.

<sup>21</sup> Xen. *Symp.* 1.2; Plin. *NH* 34.79. On the absence of other athlete-*komodoumenoi*, the *CQ* referee comments: 'Is it relevant that picking up boys at gyms, and spreading rumours about *paidika* to please disgruntled ex-lovers, are things Ar. claims credit for avoiding (*Wasps* 1023ff. [and *Peace* 762-3: AHS])? Did poets have in fact to be careful with the gymnastic beauties when they were still young, *before* they'd started other public activities?'

<sup>22</sup> These are the men listed in Section F of Register II.

<sup>23</sup> Indeed, as Froma Zeitlin suggested in discussion at the FIEC Congress, a politician might actually be *pleased* to find that he was considered sufficiently prominent to be worth satirizing.

as follows. Between 440 and 437 a decree was in force imposing some restrictions on the freedom of comic satire (we do not know exactly what restrictions).<sup>24</sup> In 426 Aristophanes (or possibly Kallistratos) was threatened with prosecution by Kleon for 'slandering the city' in his *Babylonians*;<sup>25</sup> an event which provides the most plausible context for the celebrated remarks by the so-called Old Oligarch<sup>26</sup> on how the Athenians do not allow themselves to be spoken ill of *as a people* in comedy, but do allow and encourage vilification of prominent (and therefore normally wealthy) *individuals*. Two years later, after the production of *Knights*, there was a second threat of prosecution, or at the very least a violent public denunciation of Aristophanes by Kleon.<sup>27</sup> In 415 there may have been a further attempt at restrictive legislation, the so-called decree of Syrakosios.<sup>28</sup> In 405/4 the Assembly congratulated and crowned Aristophanes for the political advice his chorus had given in *Frogs*, and ordered a restaging of the play, which strangely enough took place just about the same time as the successful attempt by anti-democratic circles to engineer the death of one of the play's principal satirical targets, Kleophon.<sup>29</sup> And either Socrates in 399, or Plato writing the *Apology* a few years later, ascribed to Aristophanes and *Clouds* a significant degree of responsibility for the creation of what he claimed was an erroneous public perception of Socrates.<sup>30</sup> This catalogue is well known. I would add one further item to it, though the evidence here is indirect.<sup>31</sup> In 417 or 416,<sup>32</sup> for the first time in perhaps a quarter of a century, the Assembly voted to hold an ostracism. The chief candidates were Nikias and Alkibiades, though from literary sources and surviving ostraka<sup>33</sup> we know of several others including Phaiax and, surprisingly at so early a date, Kleophon. Nikias and Alkibiades, suspecting that the votes against the two of them would be almost equally divided, came secretly to terms and agreed

<sup>24</sup> Σ Ar. *Ach.* 67; cf. Halliwell 1991: 57–59.

<sup>25</sup> Ar. *Ach.* 377–382, 502–3, 630–31. On the question whether the attack was directed against Aristophanes or against Kallistratos (the *didaskalos* both of *Babylonians* and of *Acharnians*) see Halliwell 1980, MacDowell 1982, Carawan 1990: 138 n.3, Mastromarco 1994: 46–7.

<sup>26</sup> [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 2.18: *κωμωδεῖν... καὶ κακῶς λέγειν τὸν... δῆμον* echoes Ar. *Ach.* 503 *τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω* and 631 *κωμωδεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καθυβρίζει* too closely for coincidence (though of course they may both in fact be echoing the words of Kleon), and we know of no other instance of a comic dramatist being judicially or politically attacked on this particular ground.

<sup>27</sup> Ar. *Wasps* 1284–91; see Sommerstein 1980a: 2–3, 1983: 233–4.

<sup>28</sup> See Sommerstein 1986, and for a novel interpretation of the decree Atkinson 1992: 61–4. Halliwell 1991: 59–63 has adduced reasons for doubting the historical reality of the decree; but if Phrynichos (fr. 27) really wrote of Syrakosios *ἀφείλετο γὰρ κωμωδεῖν οὗς ἐπεθύμουν* then Syrakosios must have *somehow* deprived him and other comic dramatists of potential targets; and if on the other hand these five words come not from Phrynichos but from the ancient commentator who quotes him, then one is entitled to ask why that commentator supposed that Syrakosios, rather than anyone else, had authored such a decree.

<sup>29</sup> See Salviat 1989, Sommerstein 1993.

<sup>30</sup> Pl. *Ap.* 18c–d, 19b–c.

<sup>31</sup> For the events here referred to see Plut. *Nik.* 11; *Alk.* 13.4–9; *Arist.* 7.3–4.

<sup>32</sup> Rhodes 1994: 91 favours the date 415 for this ostracism, on the ground that this appears to be the dramatic date of [Andok.] 4; but this 'speech' is too chronologically confused to rely on in the face of Thucydides' silence (cf. Mattingly 1994: 23), of the obvious interpretation of Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 96, and of the lack of any reference in [Andok.] 4 itself to an impending invasion of Sicily. Rhodes convincingly defends the credibility of Plutarch's story of a plot by other candidates against Hyperbolos (*contra*, Harding 1994: 152–61).

<sup>33</sup> See Lang 1990, who gives the following totals of surviving ostraka from this last ostracism (an asterisk denotes a known *komodoumenos*): \*Kleophon 8, \*Alkibiades 5, \*Phaiax 5, Hippokles 3, \*Hyperbolos 3, Charias, Myrrhinikos, \*Nikias, Philerippos and \*Philinos one each. The dating of the Myrrhinikos and Philerippos ostraka is doubted by Mattingly 1994: 24 n. 123.

to instruct their supporters to vote against a third party. For the role of victim, it was vital to fix on one person who was widely enough disliked to be sure of getting plenty of adverse votes from the uncommitted. They settled, not on Phaiax (who, according to a tradition going back to the fourth century,<sup>34</sup> was generally considered, ahead of the vote, to be the third likeliest victim), but on Hyperbolos;<sup>35</sup> and Hyperbolos was ostracized, thus saving Nikias and Alkibiades and destroying the institution of ostracism. We happen to know<sup>36</sup> that from 421 onwards there had been a whole series of comedies containing vicious satire on Hyperbolos, and that he or his mother or both had been central figures in at least three plays. Is it coincidental that shortly after Aristophanes (in the revised parabasis of *Clouds*) had commented on this trend,<sup>37</sup> two leading politicians with their careers at stake guessed that Hyperbolos would be (next to themselves) the likeliest winner of a national unpopularity contest, and that they guessed right? There is an epilogue, too. In the spring of 411 Hyperbolos was assassinated by a combination of local and Athenian oligarchs at Samos.<sup>38</sup> The motive of the Samians, according to Thucydides, was primarily to prove their loyalty to their Athenian confederates – something which, as recently converted democrats,<sup>39</sup> they badly needed to do. But what was the Athenian oligarchs' own motive for destroying Hyperbolos? It may be that they feared he might be able, with his known ability as a popular orator, to stir up opposition to them among the crews of the fleet based at the island. But also he must have symbolized and embodied for them the 'shameful wickedness' (Thucydides' words) of the regime they detested;<sup>40</sup> and as he had not been able to display these qualities in political action since his ostracism, it is likely that he had simply retained the reputation which had brought the ostracism about in the first place. There is a strong case for the view that the comic dramatists were ultimately responsible, at least in part, for Hyperbolos' murder.

Comedy, then, both was believed to have and did have, from time to time, a significant effect on public feeling about issues and personalities. It did not, however, produce that effect by its regular run-of-the-mill satire on anyone and everyone in the public eye. Rather we should look at the two other groups of individuals to whom I referred at the beginning: those who are mentioned favourably, and those who are

<sup>34</sup> Cf. [And.] 4.2 – a 'speech' probably composed many years after the event, but almost certainly put into the mouth of Phaiax: the speaker, like Phaiax, had been on an embassy to Italy and Sicily ([And.] 4.40, cf. Thuc. 5.4–5) and had been tried and acquitted on a capital charge when many thought the case against him was a strong one ([And.] 4.36–7, cf. Ar. *Knights* 1377–80). Some authors, among them Theophrastos, even substituted the name of Phaiax for that of Nikias in the story of the candidates' collusion against Hyperbolos (Plut. *Nik.* 11.10, *Alk.* 13.8), perhaps rightly, given that the doings of obscure persons tend in course of time to attach themselves to famous names rather than vice versa (cf. Mattingly 1994: 24).

<sup>35</sup> It is not at this point relevant whether Plutarch (*Alk.* 13.6) was right to believe that Hyperbolos himself had proposed the ostracism in the first place: doubtless, if this was so, Nikias and Alkibiades will have been glad to seize the opportunity of taking revenge on him, but their first concern must still have been to do what would be most likely to save themselves from exile and political ruin.

<sup>36</sup> Ar. *Clouds* 551–9. He specifically mentions Eupolis' *Marikas* (cf. Eupolis fr. 192.149–50, 192.155, 208, 209) and an unnamed play of Hermippos, identified by the scholia as *Artopolides*; in addition we know of a *Hyperbolos* by Platon.

<sup>37</sup> *Clouds* 518–62 took its present form between spring 420 and spring 416 (Henderson 1993, cf. Storey 1993), most probably between spring 419 and spring 418 (Sommerstein, forthcoming a, n. 22).

<sup>38</sup> Thuc. 8.73.3.

<sup>39</sup> Thuc. 8.73.2.

<sup>40</sup> Thucydides himself was not in Athens during the period when Hyperbolos was the leading 'demagogue', between the death of Kleon in 422 and Hyperbolos' own ostracism, and his violently hostile characterization of the man may in large measure reflect the views of his informants (doubtless anti-democratic Athenian exiles).

satirized not in one-liners, short passages or even whole scenes, but throughout an entire play or a substantial part of one.

To start with those who receive favourable mention. The list is short, and many of those on it do not get praised until they are dead, for Old Comedy works almost (though, as we shall see, not quite) invariably on the principle *nil boni nisi de mortuis*. In this class come three famous names, Perikles,<sup>41</sup> Lamachos<sup>42</sup> and Kratinos,<sup>43</sup> who when alive had been targets of derogatory satire of the usual kind (I ignore, of course, the favourable portrayal of Kratinos in the *Pytine* of Kratinos); and a fourth, Phormion,<sup>44</sup> who is not known to have been mentioned in comedy at all during his lifetime. The number of *living* male Athenians mentioned favourably in comedy during the period studied is just five, and these are they: Archeptolemos,<sup>45</sup> Nikias,<sup>46</sup> Oulios son of Kimon,<sup>47</sup> Sophokles,<sup>48</sup> and Thoukydides son of Melesias.<sup>49</sup> A remarkable quintet. Sophokles, presumably, got this treatment because he and his work were so universally admired. The others are all to a greater or lesser extent political figures; and they are all opponents of the dominant radical democratic trend. Thoukydides, of course, was one of the two great rivals of Perikles; Oulios was a son of the other; Nikias was an opponent of Kleon and Hyperbolos; Archeptolemos is likewise mentioned in *Knights* as an opponent of Kleon, and thirteen or fourteen years later he was one of the Four Hundred and on their fall was executed for treason.<sup>50</sup>

The category of individuals satirized throughout all or most of a play contains, so far as our knowledge goes, thirteen persons, of whom six were politically prominent during this period and seven were not. The latter seven are almost a cross-section of the various categories of non-political *komodoumenoi*: four theatrical figures (Euripides,<sup>51</sup> Kinesias the dithyrambist,<sup>52</sup> Konnos the musician,<sup>53</sup> and Kallippides the actor),<sup>54</sup> one 'idol of the market' (Socrates),<sup>55</sup> one high religious official who was also known for wealth and extravagance (Kallias son of Hipponikos),<sup>56</sup> and one youthful beauty (Autolykos).<sup>57</sup> The politicians are anything but a cross-section. In terms of character, the most vulnerable of them all to satire was surely Alkibiades – and he is

<sup>41</sup> Ar. *Knights* 283, *Clouds* 213; Eupolis fr. 102, 104, also 112 if spoken by or to the resurrected Pericles. <sup>42</sup> Ar. *Thesm.* 841, *Frogs* 1039. <sup>43</sup> Ar. *Peace* 700ff., *Frogs* 357.

<sup>44</sup> Ar. *Knights* 562, *Lys.* 804; probably also Eupolis *Taxiarchs* (fr. 268, 269; the play has usually been dated to c. 427, but Handley 1982: 24–5 and Storey 1990: 22–4 put it c. 415; at any rate it can hardly precede Phormion's death in 428, inferred from Thuc. 3.7.1). Several other references to Phormion for which no context survives (e.g. Ar. fr. 88, 397) may well also have been complimentary. <sup>45</sup> Ar. *Knights* 327, 794.

<sup>46</sup> Eupolis fr. 193 (where Nikias is supported by the semichorus hostile to the abominable Marikas–Hyperbolos); Telekleides fr. 44 is more equivocal, since it implies that Nikias buys off *sykophantai* to avoid prosecution.

<sup>47</sup> Ar. *Knights* 407 (τὸν Ἰουλίου τ' codd., τὸν Οὐλίον τ' Raubitschek).

<sup>48</sup> Ar. *Peace* 531; Kratinos fr. 17.

<sup>49</sup> Ar. *Ach.* 703ff., *Wasps* 947.

<sup>50</sup> [Plut.] *Ten Orators* 833d–834b.

<sup>51</sup> Ar. *Thesmophoriazousai* and *Frogs*.

<sup>52</sup> Strattis, *Kinesias*. If Σ Ar. *Frogs* 405 are to be believed, this play would postdate the period with which we are concerned, but their sole evidence would appear to be a highly dubious interpretation of Strattis fr. 16 (cf. Kaibel ap. Kassel & Austin ad loc.), and the mention in fr. 19 of Laispodias (all datable references to whom, in comedy or elsewhere, come from the period 414–11) points to an earlier date. <sup>53</sup> Ameipsias, *Konnos*.

<sup>54</sup> Strattis, *Kallippides*. Although the exiguous fragments we possess of this play contain nothing to prove that its eponym was the celebrated tragic actor (for whom cf. Ar. fr. 490, Xen. *Symp.* 3.11, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2319.82–83, 2325.253), we know of no other comparably prominent Kallippides in this period. <sup>55</sup> Ar. *Clouds*.

<sup>56</sup> Eupolis, *Kolakes* (cf. Athenaios 5.218b–c, 11.506f).

<sup>57</sup> Eupolis, *Autolykos*.



not on the list<sup>58</sup>, which runs as follows: Hyperbolos,<sup>59</sup> Kleon,<sup>60</sup> Kleophon,<sup>61</sup> Peisandros,<sup>62</sup> Perikles,<sup>63</sup> Teisamenos. Of the six, four are firmly established as leading figures in the radical tradition: Perikles the lieutenant of Ephialtes and the great sponsor of payment for public service; Kleon who is represented in contemporary comedy as the scourge of the rich and champion of the poor;<sup>64</sup> Hyperbolos and Kleophon, one of them in the end assassinated, the other murdered judicially,<sup>65</sup> by anti-democratic conspirators. Peisandros, of course, became himself in 411 a leading oligarch; but as recently as 415 he had been on the other side, 'being thought extremely loyal to the *demos*', proclaiming that the mutilation of the Hermai was part of a plot to overthrow the democracy, and proposing a tenfold (or maybe an elevenfold) increase in the reward suggested by Kleonymos for information about profanations of the Mysteries,<sup>66</sup> and his change of front seems to have come so late that even at the time when *Lysistrata* was produced it was not yet public knowledge.<sup>67</sup> This leaves Teisamenos, the eponym of a play by Theopompos, usually identified with the son of Mechanion (*PA* 13443), the mover of a decree from the first days of the restored democracy in 403/2 cited by Andok. 1.83–4 (cf. *Lys.* 30.28). It is not clear whether Theopompos' play actually falls within our period,<sup>68</sup> but at any rate we may note that Teisamenos enjoyed strong public confidence immediately after the restoration of democracy, and that one of the laws passed under the procedure he instituted annulled all verdicts given by non-democratic courts (Andok. 1.87 with *Dem.* 24.56).

It appears therefore that while run-of-the-mill comic satire selected its victims fairly impartially, the few political figures singled out for vilification on the grand scale were all on what may be called the Left, and the few singled out for favourable mention were all among their opponents. Those who maintain that the authors of Old Comedy neither intended nor expected their work to have any impact on the course of public life may fairly be challenged to account for these facts. Thus far they have not to my knowledge done so effectively.<sup>69</sup> The most persuasive suggestion has been that of

<sup>58</sup> Alkibiades was satirized in some way in Eupolis, *Baptai*, and there grew up a legend, refuted in vain by Eratosthenes (*FGrH* 241 F 19), that Alkibiades had caused the dramatist's death in revenge; all one can say is that none of the twenty-three surviving fragments of the play probably or even probably refers to Alkibiades, and that Plutarch's life of Alkibiades makes no reference to *Baptai*. Perhaps Alkibiades had an unflattering cameo-appearance in the play, like Euripides in *Acharnians* or Meton and Kinesias in *Birds*.

<sup>59</sup> Eupolis, *Marikas*; Hermippos, *Artopolides*; Platon, *Hyperbolos*; cf. *Ar. Clouds* 551–9.

<sup>60</sup> *Ar. Knights*.

<sup>61</sup> Platon, *Kleophon*.

<sup>62</sup> Platon, *Peisandros*.

<sup>63</sup> Kratinos, *Dionysalexandros*; cf. *POxy* 663 s.f. and Hermippos fr. 47 where Perikles is addressed as 'King of the Satyrs' with evident reference to the presentation of him under the guise of Dionysos in Kratinos' play.

<sup>64</sup> See e.g. *Ar. Knights* 223–4, 261–5, 775–6, 923–6; *Wasps* 240–4, 463ff.

<sup>65</sup> *Lys.* 13.12; 30.10–14.

<sup>66</sup> *And.* 1.27, 36, 43.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *Ar. Lys.* 489–92; the interpretation of this passage by Henderson 1987: xxi–xxv, 132 (followed in essentials by Sommerstein 1990: 2–3, 178–9) is to be preferred to that of Sommerstein 1977a: 113–14.

<sup>68</sup> Though the mention of Akestor (fr. 61) – on whom see MacDowell 1993: 365–7 – makes it probable; Akestor's career as a *komodoumenos* begins as early as c.430 (Kratinos fr. 92, Kallias fr. 17), and all other known references to him are certainly or probably earlier than 405; moreover we know of no *Demagogenkomödie* securely datable after 404. Apart from Theopompos' play Teisamenos does not appear in our literary sources before 403/2 (unless the ambassador of *Ar. Ach.* 603 is the same man), but there is epigraphic attestation for his political activity at an earlier date (see his entry in Register I).

<sup>69</sup> In part this is perhaps because the evidence has not previously been systematically collected and presented. At any rate the carefully argued discussions of this subject by Stephen Halliwell

Dover<sup>70</sup> that 'the good comic writer is almost inevitably committed to rebellion ... against the established order', so that since during this period the Left was usually the predominant force in Athenian politics, one would expect comic satire to concentrate mainly upon it: Old Comedy, as Dover among others has well shown,<sup>71</sup> is partly about debunking the pretensions of the powerful, and successful politicians are more powerful and hence more debunkable than unsuccessful ones. This argument does not explain why Old Comedy should make *favourable* mention of anyone at all, and it does not explain why the hostility to Kleon, Hyperbolos and their like should be as strong in *Clouds* (produced in 423 when a truce had been concluded on the initiative of Kleon's enemy Laches)<sup>72</sup> or in *Peace* (when Kleon was dead and Nikias at the height of his prestige) as in *Acharnians* or *Wasps*: in *Peace*, indeed, more is said about the dead Kleon than about any living individual, and it is asserted (679–92) that Hyperbolos (not Nikias) currently dominates the Assembly. I consider it established that Old Comedy had a right-wing bias.<sup>73</sup> In forthcoming work<sup>74</sup> I suggest that this was at least as much due to the anticipated prejudices of the theatre audience as to any prejudice in the dramatists' own minds,<sup>75</sup> and that there is independent reason to believe that the theatre audience of the late fifth century was far from being

(1984a, 1984b, 1991, 1993), which are much the most persuasive presentations of the case against ascribing political aims to the authors of Old Comedy, do not deal with the issue of the dramatists' choice of satirical targets; while the thoughtful and open-minded study of Carey 1994, who has much of interest to say about aspects of the political style of Kleon that made him particularly vulnerable, mentions among the relatively unscathed only Nikias (p. 79), and in arguing that his comparative immunity was due to his 'political methods [being] successful but uncontroversial' begs the question of why the far from uncontroversial, and extremely flamboyant, Alkibiades was not satirized much more than he was.

<sup>70</sup> The quotation is from Dover 1954: 103; cf. Dover 1972a: 33–6, 1972b: 205, and the anonymous critic quoted by de Ste Croix 1972: 361. I do not mean to suggest that this is Dover's current view; see Dover 1987: 219 (last sentence), 1993: 69–76.

<sup>71</sup> See especially Dover 1972: 30–41.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Thuc. 4.118.8; the enmity between Kleon and Laches is attested by *Wasps* (240–44, 835–42, 894ff.).

<sup>73</sup> At least from some time before 440 until 404. On the period before this, see the admirable study of Edwards 1993, who argues that when comedy was first given official status in the 480s the measure was designed (by Themistokles, I would suspect) 'in part ... as a check upon the authority and prestige of ... the aristocrats', and that some time after the Ephialtic revolution what had been a demotic form of entertainment was 'appropriated' (I am tempted to substitute 'hijacked') by poets from the educated élite who used it against 'the leaders whom the demos ha[d] chosen for itself'. Edwards sees in this the source of a permanent tension between the 'popular-grotesque' origins of the genre and its 'political-aesthetic agenda', which may explain many of the seeming contradictions or self-deconstructions that have been detected in Aristophanic comedies by recent critics (notably Bowie 1993). The process of appropriation may have been inadvertently facilitated by changes in the composition of the theatre audience due to pressure on seating space and a probable increase in admission charges (see Sommerstein, forthcoming b). After 404 further demographic, economic and political changes (notably the impoverishment of former beneficiaries of empire, and reaction to the experience of the Thirty) seem to have caused a drastic shift in Aristophanes' political self-projection (Sommerstein, 1984) and eventually led him and others to abandon political comedy altogether.

<sup>74</sup> Sommerstein, forthcoming b.

<sup>75</sup> I agree with Carey 1994: 81 that in general 'the poet seeks to harness (rather than to change) existing public opinion', provided that public opinion is understood to mean the opinion of the *theatrical* public, which was not necessarily the same as that of the Assembly majority. Earlier in the same article (p. 75) Carey considers various possible resolutions of the 'seeming paradox' that Kleon was elected a general in 424 soon after the success of *Knights*, without considering the possibility (or rather probability) that the theatre audience and the electoral assembly differed significantly in their social composition.

a representative sample of the Athenian citizen body. At any rate we can now answer the indirect question that formed the title of this paper. The way to avoid being a *komodoumenos*, or at any rate the way to avoid the worst excesses of comic satire, may be summed up in three pieces of advice: (1) don't write or perform drama or dithyramb; (2) don't give, and preferably don't attend, extravagant parties and entertainments; and (3) if you must be a politician, *don't be beastly to the rich*, whether in Athens or in the allied states.<sup>76</sup> It might be no laughing matter. As we have seen in the case of Hyperbolos, it might be a matter of life and death.

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## APPENDIX

### REGISTER I: POLITICALLY PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS, 432/1–405/4<sup>77</sup>

#### SECTION A: *Men with more than one claim to prominence* (54)

Adeimantos Leukolophidou Skambonides (202), G 407/6, 406/5, 405/4.

Alkibiades Kleiniou Skambonides (600), G freq. 420/19 to 407/6; A 418/7; R 422/1, 419/8, 407/6.

Aristokrates Skelliou Trinemeieus (1904), G 413/2, 410/09, 407/6, 406/5; O 422/1 (?).

Autokles Tolmaiou Anaphlystios (2724), G 425/4, 424/3, 418/7.

Demosthenes Alkisthenous Aphidnaios (3585), G freq. 427/6 to 413/2; O 422/1.

Demostratos (3611), R 422/1 (?)<sup>78</sup> and 416/5.

Dieitrephes Nikostratou Skambonides (3755), G 414/3, 411; R 408/7.

Diomedon (4065), G 412/1, 406/5.

Erasinides (5021), G 406/5, R 410/09.

Eukrates Nikeratou Kydantides (5757), G 412/1, 405/4.

Eukrates Meliteus (5759), G 432/1; R 422/1 (?)<sup>79</sup>.

Eumachos Euonymeus (5842), G 411/0 and (?) 410/9.

Euphemos (6035), A 415/4; R 418/7 (?)<sup>80</sup>.

Eurymedon Thoukleous (5973), G freq. 427/6 to 413/2.

Euthydemos Eudemou (5521), G 422/1 (?), 418/7, 414/3, 413/2.

Hagnon Nikiou Steirious (171), G 431/0, 430/29, 429/8; P 412/1; O 422/1.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. de Ste Croix 1972: 355–76, which remains one of the most perceptive analyses of the political orientation of Aristophanic comedy.

<sup>77</sup> In this Register, G = general, A = ambassador, P = proboulos, O = oath-taker for a treaty, R = rhetor (proposer of a decree). Where a person figured in the same role five times or more, only the first and last are mentioned with the addition of 'freq.'. For evidence, see Develin 1989 where not otherwise stated; queries, if not discussed here in a note, are his. For persons having an entry in *Prosopographia Attica*, the number of the entry is given after the person's name. As in Develin, dates are Athenian archon years except that '411' denotes the time when the Four Hundred were in power. Claims to prominence (mostly for proposers of decrees) which cannot be assigned to a precise year within the war period, and which Develin lists in the Appendix to his Section V, are here given an approximate date where possible.

<sup>78</sup> See Develin 1989: 429.

<sup>79</sup> My tentative identification of the rhetor of 422/1 with the general of 432/1 is based on the evidence (see Register II, Section A) that a Eukrates of Melite, who had connections with the bran and hemp trades and had been active in public life at least since the death of Pericles, was a target of comic satire over a long period extending from the 420s to 409 or later.

<sup>80</sup> This depends on the disputed dating of *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 11, on which see now Chambers *et al.* 1990, Chambers 1993 (supporting 418/7) and Henry 1992, 1995 (supporting 458/7).

- Hippokrates Aripheon Cholargeus (7640, ? = 7628), G 426/5, 424/3, R 427/6 (?).<sup>81</sup>  
 Hyperbolos Antiphon Perithoides (13910), G 425/4 (?);<sup>82</sup> R 421/0(?), 418/7.  
 Karkinos Xenotimos Thorikios (8254), G 432/1, 431/0.  
 Kleomedes Lykomedous Phlyeus (8598), G 418/7 (?),<sup>83</sup> 417/6, 416/5.  
 Kleon Kleainetou Kydathenaieus (8674), G 425/4, 424/3, 423/2, 422/1; R 428/7, 426/5, 424/3.  
 Kleonymos (8680), R 426/5, 415/4.<sup>84</sup>  
 Kleophon Kleippidou Acharneus (8638), G before 404 (?),<sup>85</sup> R c. 410/09.  
 Kleopompos Kleiniou (8613), G 431/0, 430/29.  
 Konon Timotheou Anaphlystios (8707), G freq. 414/3 (?) to 405/4.  
 Laches Melanopou Aixoneus (9019), G 427/6, 426/5, 422/1 (?), 418/7; R 424/3; O 422/1.  
 Laispodias Andronymou (8963), G 414/3; A 411.  
 Lamachos Xenophanous Oethen (8981), G freq. 425/4 to 414/3; A c. 426/5; O 422/1.  
 Lampon (8996), R *ann.incert.*; O 422/1.  
 Leon (9100), G 412/1; O 422/1.  
 Menandros (9857), G 414/3, 413/2, 405/4.  
 Nikias Nikeratou Kydantides (10808), G freq. 427/6 to 413/2; A 420/19; R 420/19.  
 Nikostratos Dicitrephous Skambonides (11011), G freq. 427/6 to 418/7.  
 Onomakles (11476), G 412/1; A 411.  
 Patrokleides (11685), R c. 426 (?),<sup>86</sup> and 405/4.  
 Peisandros Glauketou Acharneus (11770), A 412/1; R 415/4, 412/1.<sup>87</sup>  
 Perikles Perikleous Cholargeus (11812), G 409/8 (?), 407/6 (?), 406/5.  
 Perikles Xanthippou Cholargeus (11811), G 432/1, 431/0, 430/29, 429/8; R 432/1, 431/0, 430/29.  
 Philokles (14517), G 406/5, 405/4.  
 Philoxenos Diomeieus (14707),<sup>88</sup> A c. 426 (?),<sup>89</sup> R c. 420 (?).<sup>90</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Develin's query relates to the identification of this rhetor (= PA 7628) with the son of Ariphon (PA 7640).

<sup>82</sup> Develin regards Ar. *Knights* 1313 οὐ γὰρ ἡμῶν γε στρατηγῶν ἐγχανεῖται τῇ πόλει as strong, though not quite decisive, evidence that Hyperbolos was a general when the play was produced; but the line is in the future tense, and may indicate only that Hyperbolos was (or was thought to be) a *candidate* for a generalship.

<sup>83</sup> Develin has no query against this generalship; but only the first letter of the general's name survives in IG i<sup>3</sup> 370.21.

<sup>84</sup> Kleonymos was also the mover of two further decrees whose dates are not precisely known (IG i<sup>3</sup> 70 and 1454 bis).

<sup>85</sup> Develin has no query against this generalship, but the sole evidence for it is Σ Ar. *Frogs* 679, and the scholiast may, after the manner of his kind, have made an illegitimate deduction from *Frogs* 1532 Κλεοφῶν δὲ μάχεσθω which implies no more than that Kleophon was strongly opposed to attempts to make peace.

<sup>86</sup> Develin confidently identifies the proposers of these two decrees separated by twenty years; it is not unlikely that they were indeed one and the same (cf. MacDowell 1962: 106, Sommerstein 1987: 248), but the identification cannot be regarded as fully firm.

<sup>87</sup> Peisandros was also the mover of another decree whose date is not precisely known (IG i<sup>3</sup> 174).

<sup>88</sup> This Philoxenos should not be identified with the glutton Philoxenos son of Eryxis, known from Arist. *Eth.Eud.* 1231a17 and later sources; see Storey 1995: 183–4.

<sup>89</sup> If Philoxenos is the Διομειαλαζών of Ar. *Ach.* 605 (see Register II, Section A), he must have been an ambassador in 426/5 or shortly before.

<sup>90</sup> Develin does not commit himself, even tentatively, to an identification for this rhetor; M. H. Jameson on IG i<sup>3</sup> 137.3 offers PA 14707 as one of two possibilities.

Phormion Asopiou Paianieus (14958), G 432/1, 431/0, 430/29, 429/8.  
 Phrynichos Stratonidou Deiradiotes (15011), G 412/1; A 411.  
 Proteas Epikleous Aixoneus (12298), G 432/1, 431/0.  
 Pythodoros Isolochou Phlyeus (12399), G 426/5, 425/4.  
 Pythodoros (12402, ? = 12410), G 414/3; O 422/1.  
 Sokrates Antigenous Halaieus (13099), G 432/1, 431/0.  
 Sophokles Sostratidou (12827), G 426/5, 425/4.  
 Strombichides Diotimou Euonymeus (13016), G 413/2 (?), 412/1, 405/4 (?).<sup>91</sup>  
 Teisias Teisimachou Kephaleten (13479), G 417/6, 416/5.  
 Theogenes Acharneus (6703),<sup>92</sup> A 409/8 (?); O 422/1 (?).  
 Theramenes Hagnonos Steirieus (7234), G continuously 411 to 408/7; A 405/4.  
 Thrasyboulos Lykou Steirieus (7310), G continuously 411/0 to 407/6.  
 Thrasykles (7317), G 412/1, 410/09, 409/8, 408/7; R 421/0; O 422/1.  
 Thrasyllus (7333), G freq. 411/0 to 406/5.

*SECTION B: Men with only one claim to prominence (122)*

Adousios (207), R 418/7.  
 Agak[les], A 424/3.  
 Agyrrhios Kollyteus (179), R c. 406.  
 Aischines (? = 337), A 423/2 (?).<sup>93</sup>  
 Alexikles (535), G 411.  
 Ameiniades Philemonos (666), A 430/29.  
 Amynias Pronapous (Prasieus?) (737), A 423/2.  
 Andron Androtionos Gargettios (921), R 411/0.  
 Antichares (1309), R 408/7.  
 Antiphon Lysonidou (1283), G before 411.<sup>94</sup>  
 Antiphon Sophilou Rhamnousios (1304), A 411.<sup>95</sup>  
 Anytos Anthemionos Euonymeus (1324), G 409/8.  
 Archeptolemos Hippodamou Agrylethen (2384), A 411.  
 Archestratos Phrearrhios (2430), G 406/5.

<sup>91</sup> The uncertainty relates to the interpretation of Lys. 13.13. Since Lysias speaks of 'some of the generals and taxiarchs, including Strombichides and Dionysodoros [*PA* 4278]', it is plausible to suppose that one of the two men he names was a general and the other a taxiarch; and Strombichides, who is named first and who had been a general before, is much more likely than Dionysodoros to have been the senior of the two.

<sup>92</sup> Develin identifies the oath-taker firmly as *PA* 6703 and treats the ambassador as a different person (= *PA* 6688); but our evidence suggests that from 425 (Thuc. 4.27.3) to 411 (Ar. *Lys.* 63) there was only one prominent Theogenes or Theagenes (cf. MacDowell 1961, Sommerstein 1977b: 273–4), and the ambassador of 409 could perfectly well have been the same man, though he cannot be proved to have been.

<sup>93</sup> Not in Develin, but Ar. *Wasps* 1243–8 could well indicate that Aischines, like Amynias (below), had recently served on an embassy to Thessaly.

<sup>94</sup> [Plut.] *Ten Orators* 832f attests at least one generalship (though ascribing it, probably wrongly, to the Rhamnousian); there is no evidence that the office was held more than once, and (*pace* Develin) no evidence that it was held under the Four Hundred. Indeed there is evidence that it was not: Antiphon son of Lysonides was executed under the Thirty ([Plut.] *Ten Orators* 833a, cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.40), and Theramenes, arguing before an oligarchic audience that this Antiphon had been a good citizen, makes no reference to his having held office under an oligarchy (Xen. *ibid.*).

<sup>95</sup> Develin identifies the ambassador (colleague of Archeptolemos and Onomakles) as *PA* 1283 (above); but the death sentence on Archeptolemos and Antiphon ([Plut.] *Ten Orators* 834a–b), which gives the patronymics and demotics of both, identifies the latter as 'Ἀντιφῶν Σοφίλου Ῥαμνούσιος'.

- Arcestratos (2402), R 405/4.  
 Arch[estratos], R 424/3.  
 Archinos ek Koiles (2526), R *c.* 406.  
 Aristarchos (1663), G 411.  
 Aristeides Archippou (1685), G 425/4.  
 Aristogenes (1781), G 406/5.  
 Aristonymos, A 424/3.  
 Aristophon (2102), A 411.  
 Aristoteles Timokratous Thoraieus (2055), G 411.  
 Asopios Phormionos Paianieus (2669), G 428/7.  
 Axiochos Alkibiadou Skambonides (1329 = 1330), R 407/6 (?).<sup>96</sup>  
 Chaireas Arcestratou (15093), G 411/0.  
 Charikles Apollodorou (15407), G 414/3.  
 Charminos (15517), G 412/1.  
 Charoiades Euphiletou (15529), G 427/6.  
 Demaratos (3283), G 414/3.  
 Demodokos Anagyrasios (3464), G 425/4.  
 Demokleides (3475), R *c.* 425.  
 Dexikrates Aigilieus (3226), G 410/09.  
 Diodotos Eukratous (3889), R 428/7.  
 Diokles (3983), R 410/09.  
 D[iopei]thes (4308, ? = 4309),<sup>97</sup> R 430/29.  
 Diophantos, R 410/09.  
 Diphilos (4464), G 413/2 (?).  
 Dorotheos (4589), A 409/8.  
 Drakontides Aphidnaios (4546), R 405/4.  
 Epilykos Teisandrou (4925), A 424/3.  
 Eryximachos, G 405/4.<sup>98</sup>  
 Eudikos (5419), R 410/09.  
 Euetion (5460), G 414/3.  
 Eukleides (5672 = 5680), G 410/09.  
 Eukles (5704), G 424/3.  
 Euktemon (5782), G 412/1.  
 Euryptolemos (? Peisianaktos Sounieus) (5981 = 5985), A 409/8.  
 Euxitheos (? = 5901), R *c.* 415.  
 Geres, A *c.* 426.<sup>99</sup>  
 [He]rmodoros, R 424/3.  
 Hestiodoros Aristokleidou (5207), G 430/29.  
 Hipparchides, A *c.* 426.<sup>100</sup>  
 Hippokles Menippou (7620), G 413/2 (?).  
 [Hi]ppomenes (7554), R after 420.  
 Hipponikos Kalliou Alopekethen (7658), G 426/5.

<sup>96</sup> The uncertainty relates to the date of the decree.

<sup>97</sup> This rhetor (*PA* 4308) is satirized in comedy from *c.* 430 to 414 (see Register II, Section A), often in terms suggesting he had strong religious interests and therefore should probably be identified with the mover of the decree of 438/7 against atheists (*PA* 4309); cf. MacDowell 1971: 179–180.

<sup>98</sup> Not listed by Develin; added by Rhodes 1990: 348 from *PRyl* iii 489 col. iv 105–8.

<sup>99</sup> Not in Develin; added on the evidence of *Ar. Ach.* 605.

<sup>100</sup> Not in Develin; added on the evidence of *Ar. Ach.* 603.

Iolkios (7739), O 422/1.  
 Isotimides (7721), R 415/4.  
 Isthm(i)onikos (7689, ? = 7690), O 422/1.  
 Kalliades, G 430/29.  
 Kallias Kalliadou (7827), G 432/1.  
 Kallias (7810), R 424/3.  
 [K]allisthenes (? = 8088), R 415/4.  
 Kal[istr]atos Empedou Oethen (8142, ? = 8125), G 418/7.  
 Kallixenos (8042), R 406/5.  
 Kephisodotos (8312), G 405/4.  
 Kleippides Deiniou Acharneus (8521), G 429/8.  
 Kleitophon Aristonymou (8546), R 412/1.  
 Kritias Kallaischrou (8792), R 411/0.  
 Learchos Kallimachou (9031), A 430/29.  
 Leogoras Andokidou Kydathenaieus (9075, ? = 9072), A 426/5 (?).<sup>101</sup>  
 Leotrophides (9159), G 409/8.  
 Lykiskos (9213), R 406/5.  
 Lysias (9351), G 406/5.  
 Lysikles (9417), G 428/7.  
 Lysikrates (9443), G before 414 (?).<sup>102</sup>  
 Mantitheos (9670), A 409/8.  
 Megakles Megakleous Alopekethen (9697), A c. 426.  
 Melanthios (9768), G 411.  
 Melesandros (9803), G 430/29.  
 [Mel]es[a]ndr[os], G 414/3 (?).  
 Melesias Thoukydidou Alopekethen (9813), A 411.  
 Meneteles (10022), R 412/1.  
 Menippos (10024), R 415/4.  
 Myrtilos (10497), O 422/1.  
 Neon, A 424/3.  
 Oinobios Dekeleieus (11357), G 410/09.  
 Paches Epikourou (11746), G 428/7.  
 Pasiphon Phrearrhios (11668), G 410/09.  
 Phaiax Erasistratou Acharneus (13921), A 423/2.  
 Phainippos Phrynichou (13979), A c. 426.<sup>103</sup>  
 Phanomachos Kallimachou (14069), G 430/29.  
 Phanosthenes, G 407/6.  
 Philokrates Demeou (14585), G 416/5.  
 Philokydes, A 409/8.  
 {Phr]asidem[os], R c. 407.  
 Phrasmon (14988), R *ann.incertain*.  
 [Pl]eistias, A 426/5.  
 Prokles Theodorou (12214), G 427/6.

<sup>101</sup> The ambassador (to Perdikkas of Macedon) is *PA* 9072, but in view of Andok. 2.11, where the son of *PA* 9075 claims to be a *ξένος πατρικός* of Perdikkas' son Archelaos, it is highly probable that the two Leogorai are one (cf. MacDowell 1962: 2).

<sup>102</sup> *Σ* Ar. *Birds* 513 is rightly taken by Develin as evidence that Lysikrates was a general at some time (though it is rather weak evidence; according to the scholiast's next sentence, 'some say he was a tragic dramatist'). It justifies, however, no conclusions as to when he held the office.

<sup>103</sup> Not in Develin; added on the evidence of Ar. *Ach.* 603.

Prokles (12206), O 422/1.  
 Protomachos (12318), G 406/5.  
 Pythodoros Polyzelou Anaphlystios (12412), R 412/1.  
 Simichos (?)<sup>104</sup> (13030), G 411/0.  
 Simonides (12713), G 426/5.  
 (S)kironides (12730), G 412/1.  
 Sophokles Sophilou ek Kolonou (12834), P 412/1.  
 Speusippos (12845), R 415/4.  
 Syrakosios (13041), R 415/4.  
 Teisamenos, A c. 426.<sup>105</sup>  
 [T]eisamenos (Mechanionos?) (?13443), R c. 410.  
 Telephonos, G 415/4.  
 Theaios (6642), R 422/1.  
 Theodoros, A c. 426.<sup>106</sup>  
 Thoudippos (7251), R 425/4.  
 Thoukydides Olorou Halimousios (7267), G 424/3.  
 Thoukydide[s] (7264), R 424/3.  
 Thymochares (7406), G 411 (retained in office 411/0).  
 Timarchos (13623), G 409/8.  
 Timokrates (13746), O 422/1.  
 Timokrates (13748), R 406/5.  
 Tydeus Lamachou Oethen (13884), G 405/4.  
 Xenophon Euripidou Meliteus (11313), G 430/29.

## REGISTER II: ATHENIAN MALE KOMODOUMENOI, 432/1 to 405/4<sup>107</sup>

### SECTION A: Politically prominent individuals<sup>108</sup> (65; \*33)

- \*Adeimantos Leukolophidou Skambonides (202), *Frogs* 1512, Eupolis 224.
- Aischines (? = 337), *Wasps* 459, 1220, 1243ff; *Birds* 823.
- \*Alkibiades Kleiniou Skambonides (600), *Ach.* 716, *Wasps* 44ff., *Birds* 147,<sup>109</sup> *Frogs* 1422–32, Ar. fr. 205, 244, Eupolis 171, 385, Pherekrates 164, Adesp. 123.

<sup>104</sup> The long-standing confusion over this man's name, which led to his appearance as Συμβίχος in *PA*, has been effectively resolved with the clear presentation by Dilts 1992: 64 (on line 201) of the evidence for the text of Σ Aischines 2.31, showing the paradosis to be Σιμμίχου and confirming the correctness of Sauppe's emendation Σιμίχου.

<sup>105</sup> Not in Develin; added on the evidence of Ar. *Ach.* 603.

<sup>106</sup> Not in Develin; added on the evidence of Ar. *Ach.* 605.

<sup>107</sup> In this Register comic references to individuals are listed in the following order: surviving plays of Aristophanes; fragments of Aristophanes; fragments of other authors, in alphabetical order; adespota. All fragments are cited from Kassel & Austin 1983–. The surviving plays of Aristophanes are cited without author's name. Many individuals, according to our sources, would qualify for more than one section of the Register (Sophokles is an obvious example); such persons have normally been listed in the first section for which they qualify, and in particular all 'politically prominent' *komodoumenoi* appear in Section A. Men known to us only by their patronymics appear as (e.g.) 'X Chaireou'. *Prosopographia Attica* numbers are given where possible. Where there is uncertainty as to whether a man was a citizen or a metic, he has normally (in contrast with *PA*'s practice) been given the benefit of the doubt.

<sup>108</sup> In this list an asterisk denotes a person who figured in Section A of Register I.

<sup>109</sup> An indirect but clear allusion to Alkibiades' arrest in 415 (see Σ ad loc. and Thuc. 6.61).



- Amyntias Pronapous (Prasieus?) (737), *Clouds* 686ff, *Wasps* 74, 325 (?),<sup>110</sup> 466, 1267; Eupolis 222; Kratinos 227; Adesp. 244.
- Antiphon Lysonidou (1283), *Wasps* 1270 (?), 1301 (?),<sup>111</sup> Kratinos 212.
- Antiphon Sophilou Rhamnousios (1304), Platon 110 (?).<sup>112</sup>
- Anytos Anthemionos Euonymos (1324), Theopompos 58.<sup>113</sup>
- Archeptolemos Hippodamou Agrylethen (2384), *Knights* 327, 794.
- Archestratos,<sup>114</sup> Eupolis 298.
- Aristarchos (1663), Ar. fr. 564, Eupolis 49.
- \*Aristokrates Skellios Trinemeios (1904), *Birds* 126, Ar. fr. 591.71.
- Chaireas Archestratos (15093), Eupolis 90.
- Charikles Apollodorou (15407), Telekleides 44.<sup>115</sup>
- Charminos (15517), *Thesm.* 804.
- Demaratos (3283), Adesp. 1151.7.<sup>116</sup>
- \*Demosthenes Alkisthenos Aphidnaios (3585), *Knights* 1–497 passim,<sup>117</sup> 742.
- \*Demostratos (3611), *Lys.* 391ff., Eupolis 103, 113.
- \*Dietrephes Nikostratos Skambonides (3755), *Birds* 798, 1442; Ar. fr. 321; Platon 30.
- Diopithes (4308, ? = 4309), *Knights* 1085, *Wasps* 380, *Birds* 988, Ameipsias 10, Phrynichos 9, Telekleides 7.
- Drakontides Aphidnaios (4546), Platon 148.<sup>118</sup>
- \*Erasinides (5021), *Frogs* 1196.
- \*Eukrates Nikeratos Kydantides (5757), *Lys.* 103.

<sup>110</sup> The man called 'the son of Sellos' here might be either Aischines or Amyntias, both of whom are designated by similar patronymics elsewhere in the same play (Aischines 459, 1243; Amyntias 1267). In favour of identifying the man meant here with Amyntias see MacDowell 1971: 178 and Sommerstein 1983: 176–7.

<sup>111</sup> For this identification of the Antiphon of *Wasps* see Storey 1985.

<sup>112</sup> This passage might alternatively refer to *PA* 1283.

<sup>113</sup> If this play (*Stratitides*) falls within our period, which it probably does. A play with a chorus of women soldiers is likely to have been produced at a time when Athens was at war, i.e. before 404 or after 395; and after 395 or rather 396 (*Hell.Oxy.* 6.2) Anytos disappears from our sources, so the earlier period is the more likely.

<sup>114</sup> This Archestratos could be any, or none, of the three men of that name in Register I, Section B; but being mentioned in Eupolis' *Golden Race*, a play produced during the ascendancy of Kleon (cf. fr. 316), he is most likely to have been the rhetor of 424/3. According to Zenobios 4.59 and Hesychios κ3681 he was the son of one Korydeus, but the name Korydeus is otherwise unknown in Attica according to Osborne & Byrne 1994. Either (i) Korydeus is a semi-mythical figure typifying ugliness (cf. Zenobios loc.cit.) as Timon typified misanthropy or Phrynondas villainy, and Archestratos was called 'son of Korydeus' as being himself ugly; or (ii) Korydeus was a nickname ('Lark') for a man with a high-crowned head (cf. *Birds* 1295 on Philokles, who is called ugly in *Thesm.* 168).

<sup>115</sup> Charikles' first known political activity dates from 415 (Andok. 1.36); this is probably too late for Telekleides, who appears to have been considerably older than Aristophanes, but the fragment mentions Charikles together with Nikias, and may come e.g. from Telekleides' *Hesiodoi*, which seems to have been produced not long before Aristophanes' *Wasps* with whom it has three *komodoumenoi* in common (Androkles, Philokles, Proxenos: fr. 15, 16, 19).

<sup>116</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Peter Parsons for having alerted me to the existence of this fragment in advance of its publication.

<sup>117</sup> That the more important of the two slaves in the early part of *Knights* is meant (at least intermittently) to represent Demosthenes is proved by 54–7 where this slave claims to have 'kneaded a Laconian barley-cake at Pylos' which Paphlagon-Kleon stole and served up to the Demos as if he had made it.

<sup>118</sup> From *Sophists* (produced after 411). For the Drakontides of Ar. *Wasps* 157, see Register II Section B.

- \*Eukrates Meliteus (5759), *Knights* 129, 254; Ar. fr. 149, 716; Kratinos 339;<sup>119</sup> Adesp. 399.  
 Geres, *Ach.* 605.  
 \*Hagnon Nikiou Steirieus (171), Eupolis 251, Kratinos 171.68.  
 Hipparchides, *Ach.* 603.  
 \*Hippokrates Ariphronos Cholargeus (7640, ? = 7628), *Thesm.* 273 (?).<sup>120</sup>  
 Hipponikos Kalliou Alopekethen (7658), Eupolis 20, 156 (?),<sup>121</sup> Kratinos 492.  
 \*Hyperbolos Antiphanous Perithoides (13910), *Ach.* 846, *Knights* 1303ff., 1363, *Clouds* 551ff., 623, 876, 1065, *Wasps* 1007, *Peace* 681ff., 922, 1319, *Thesm.* 840, *Frogs* 570, Eupolis *Marikas* passim, Eupolis 252, Hermippos *Artopolides* passim, Kratinos 209, 283, Leukon 1, Platon *Hyperbolos* passim, Polyzelos 5, Adesp. 846.  
 \*Karkinos Xenotimou Thorikios (8254), *Clouds* 1261, *Wasps* 1501ff., *Peace* 782ff., Pherekrates 15, Platon 143, Adesp. 951.2.  
 Kleitophon Aristonymou (8546), *Frogs* 967.  
 \*Kleon Kleainetou Kydathenaieus (8674), *Ach.* 300, 377ff., 502, 659ff., *Knights* passim, *Clouds* 549, 581ff., *Wasps* 35ff., 62, 133ff.,<sup>122</sup> 242, 343, 409, 596, 759, 895ff., 1031ff., 1220ff., 1285ff., *Peace* 47, 269f, 313, 648ff., 753ff., *Frogs* 569ff., Eupolis 211, 316, 331, Hermippos 47, Kratinos 228, Platon 115, 236, Adesp. 297, 461, 740, 846.  
 \*Kleonymos (8610), *Ach.* 88, 844, *Knights* 958, 1290ff., 1372, *Clouds* 354, 400, 673ff., *Wasps* 19ff., 592, 822, *Peace* 446, 673ff., 1295ff., *Birds* 289f, 1473ff., *Thesm.* 605, Eupolis 352, Adesp. 1151.5.  
 \*Kleophon Kleippidou Acharneus (8638), *Thesm.* 805, *Frogs* 678ff., 1504, 1532ff., Platon *Kleophon* passim.  
 \*Laches Melanopou Aixoneus (9019), *Wasps* 240, 836ff., 895ff.  
 \*Laispodias Andronymou (8963), *Birds* 1569, Eupolis 107, Philyllios 8, Phrynichos 17, Strattis 19, Theopompos 40, Adesp. 380.  
 \*Lamachos Xenophanous Oethen (8981), *Ach.* 572ff., 722, 960ff., 1071ff., 1174ff., *Peace* 304, 473, 1290, *Thesm.* 841, *Frogs* 1039.  
 \*Lampon (8996), *Clouds* 332,<sup>123</sup> *Birds* 521, 988, Eupolis 319, Kallias 20, Kratinos 125, Lysippos 6, Adesp. 1105.98.  
 Leogoras Andokidou Kydathenaieus (9075, ? = 9072), *Clouds* 109, *Wasps* 1269, Platon 114.  
 Leotrophides (9159), *Birds* 1406, Hermippos 36, Theopompos 25.

<sup>119</sup> This reference to a man who 'has a hairy arse, because he eats bran' can hardly be to anyone but this Eukrates, who is described in comedy both as hairy (cf. Ar. fr. 149) and as a dealer in bran (*Knights* 254, Ar. fr. 716).

<sup>120</sup> The identification of this Hippokrates with the son of Ariphron (who had been dead over twelve years when *Thesm.* was produced) is due to the scholia; the text merely refers to a building known as 'Hippokrates' tenement block', but ancient commentators may have known of other comic references to this building which associated it more firmly with the general of the 420s. For Hippokrates' sons see Section F.

<sup>121</sup> The (deceased) subject of this fragment is not named, but Meineke's conjecture that Hipponikos is meant and that his economical (or, as the speaker says with comic exaggeration, miserly) ways are being contrasted with the extravagance of his son Kallias, who was the central figure of Eupolis' *Kolakes*, is extremely attractive.

<sup>122</sup> In these lines the names of the characters Philokleon and Bdelykleon, which derive their point from their association with Kleon, are introduced for the first time; I have not included subsequent mentions of these names (though *Δημολογοκλέων* in 343 has been treated as a separate allusion to Kleon).

<sup>123</sup> *Θουριομάντις* clearly points to Lampon, the *μάντις* who had been the oikist of the Thourioi colony (D.S. 12.10.3, Plut. *Mor.* 802d). As he had been prominent since the 440s some of the comic references to him may date from before our period.

Lysikles (9417), *Knights* 132, 765, Kallias 21.

Lysikrates (9443), *Birds* 513.

Megakles Megakleous Alopekethen (9697), *Ach.* 614, *Clouds* 46, 70, 124, 815, Ar. fr. 108, Leukon 1.

Melesias Thoukydidou Alopekethen (9813), *Clouds* 686 (?).<sup>124</sup>

Menippos (10034), *Birds* 1293.

\*Nikias Nikeratou Kydantides (10808), *Knights* 1ff.,<sup>125</sup> 358, *Birds* 363, 639, Ar. fr. 102, Eupolis 38 (?).<sup>126</sup> 193, 351, Kratinos 171.73 (?),<sup>127</sup> Phrynichos 23, 62, Telekleides 44.

\*Nikostratos Dietrephous Skambonides (11011), *Wasps* 81ff.

\*Patrokleides (11685), *Birds* 790.<sup>128</sup>

\*Peisandros Glauketou Acharneus (11770), *Peace* 395, *Birds* 1556, *Lys.* 490, Ar. fr. 84, Eupolis 35, 99.1, 195, Hermippos 7, Phrynichos 21, Platon *Peisandros* passim, Adesp. 119.

\*Perikles Perikleous Cholargeus (11812), Eupolis 110, 192.166.

\*Perikles Xanthippou Cholargeus (11811), *Ach.* 530ff., *Knights* 283, *Clouds* 213, *Peace* 606ff., Eupolis 102, 104, 110, 112 (?),<sup>129</sup> Hermippos 47, Kratinos *Dionysalexandros* passim, Kratinos 73, Platon 207, Telekleides 18, Adesp. 701.

Phaiax Erasistratou Acharneus (13921), *Knights* 1377, Eupolis 2, 116.

Phainippos Phrynichou (13979), *Ach.* 602.

\*Philoxenos Diomeieus (14707), *Ach.* 605 (?),<sup>130</sup> *Clouds* 686, *Wasps* 84, Eupolis 249, Phrynichos 49.

\*Phormion Asopiou Paianieus (14958), *Knights* 562, *Peace* 348, *Lys.* 804, Ar. fr. 88, 397, Eupolis 44, 268, 269, Adesp. 957.

\*Phrynichos Stratonidou Deiradiotes (15011), *Frogs* 689.

\*Proteas Epikleous Aixoneus (12298), *Thesm.* 876ff.

Sophokles Sophillou ek Kolonou (12834), *Peace* 531, 695ff., *Birds* 100, *Frogs* 76ff., 786ff., 1516ff., Ar. fr. 595, 598, Eupolis 268.7, Kratinos 17, Phrynichos 32, Adesp. 480.

<sup>124</sup> I was perhaps too negative about this identification in my commentary (Sommerstein 1982: 197): Pl. *Men.* 94d, at any rate, takes it for granted that Melesias would be agreed not to have been an *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός*.

<sup>125</sup> In defence of this identification of the second slave, see Sommerstein 1980b: 46–7.

<sup>126</sup> Kassel & Austin ad loc. prefer to identify the subject of this fragment, who had at some time ‘been in command at Minoa’, with Hippokrates (Thuc. 4.67) rather than Nikias (Thuc. 3.51); but Hippokrates’ command at Minoa in 424 was followed within a few months, and before the next dramatic festival, by his death at Delion (Thuc. 4.101.2), whereas *αὐτὸς οὐτοσί* strongly suggests that the person being spoken of here was alive when the play was performed and quite possibly a character in it.

<sup>127</sup> There is no particular reason to doubt that the Nikias here said to have once worked as a hired stevedore is to be identified with the famous politician. The allegation is of a type familiar in comic political abuse; Nikias, to be sure, seems to have been in fact a man of inherited wealth (details in Davies 1971: 403–5), but then so was Kleon! The play (*Ploutoi*) was produced in 429 or 428, when Nikias had yet to attain high office.

<sup>128</sup> If the rhetor of the 420s and the rhetor of 405/4 were two different people (cf. note 86), the *χέστητιών* of *Birds* might be either of them.

<sup>129</sup> The speaker describes the sons of Hippokrates as miserable creatures, *οὐδαμῶς τοῦ<-> τρόπου: τοῦμοῦ* and *τοῦ σοῦ* are both plausible conjectures, and since Perikles (returned from the dead) is known to have been a character in the play (*Demes*) and Hippokrates was his nephew, it is likely that Hippokrates sons are being unfavourably compared here with their great-uncle.

<sup>130</sup> The identification of this ‘big talker from Diomeia’, whom the text does not name, is of course uncertain, but we can at any rate say that no other politically prominent individual within our period is known to have belonged to the deme of Diomeia.

Syrakosios (13041), *Birds* 1297, Eupolis 220, 259.72, Phrynichos 27.

Teisamenos [ambassador c. 426], *Ach.* 603.

Teisamenos Mechanionos (13443), Theopompos *Teisamenos* passim.

Theodoros, *Ach.* 605.

\*Theogenes Acharneus (6703), *Wasps* 1183, *Peace* 928, *Birds* 822, 1126, 1295, *Lys.* 63, Ar. fr. 582, Eupolis 99.5–10, 135.

\*Theramenes Hagnonos Steirieus (7234), *Frogs* 541, 967ff., Ar. fr. 563, Eupolis 251, Philonides 6, Polyzelos 3.

\*Thrasyboulos Lykou Steirieus (7310), Strattis 20.

## SECTION B: Other idols of the tribe (50)

### Persons politically prominent before 432 (2)

Drakontides Leogorou Thoraieus (4551; G 433/2, R 438/7), *Wasps* 157 (?).<sup>131</sup>

Thoukydides Melesiou Alopekethen (7268; G 444/3 [?], then ostracized), *Ach.* 703ff., *Wasps* 947.

### Assembly speakers not known to have 'claims to prominence' before 404 (10)

Androkles Pitheus (870), *Wasps* 1187, Ekphantides 5, Kratinos 223, 281, Telekleides 16, Adesp. 278, 951.1.

Archedemos (2326), *Frogs* 417ff., 588, Eupolis 80.

Dionysios (? = 4084),<sup>132</sup> Kallias 3, Kratinos 223.

Kleidemides, *Frogs* 791.<sup>133</sup>

Kleigenes (?Halaieus, ? = 8488), *Frogs* 708ff.

Kleombrotos<sup>134</sup> Peisiou, *Birds* 766, Kratinos 185, 282, Phrynichos 55.

Panaitios, Ar. fr. 409.<sup>135</sup>

Phormisios (14945; A 394/3, R 403/2), *Frogs* 965.

Theoros (7223), *Ach.* 134ff., *Knights* 609, *Clouds* 400, *Wasps* 42ff., 418, 599, 1220, 1236ff.

Thouphanes (7074), *Knights* 1103.

<sup>131</sup> The Drakontides mentioned in *Wasps*, like Thoukydides (next entry), is named as a recent or possible target of sykophantic prosecution; and it may therefore be significant that Drakontides Leogorou, like Thoukydides, had been an enemy of Perikles (Plut. *Per.* 32.3). Perhaps he had attempted to take over the mantle of Thoukydides as the leading opponent of Perikles and of radical democracy.

<sup>132</sup> That the 'barber's grandson' (Hesychios δ1890) Dionysios was a politician is made likely by his being paired with Androkles in Kratinos fr. 223.

<sup>133</sup> For the suggestion that Kleidemides was a politician, remembered for his use of the striking phrase *ἐφεδρος καθεδείσθαι*, cf. Stanford 1963: 139–40.

<sup>134</sup> The Kleombrotos of Phrynichos fr. 55 and the 'son of Peisias' of *Birds* 766 are both called 'son of Partridge'. Zanetto 1987: 245 suggests that the accusation against the latter of 'betraying the gates to the *ἀτιμοί*' may refer to his having proposed a decree restoring citizen rights to (some of?) those who had been disfranchised (as a result of the religious scandals of 415, cf. the scholia?). He is to be distinguished from the musician Meles son of Peisias (*PA* 9802); not only is there no hint of treason in the many hostile comic references to Meles and his son Kinesias (Sommerstein 1987a: 247), but the *Birds* scholia, who are at a loss to identify their 'son of Peisias', make no mention of Meles although he and his father are named in another scholion on *Birds* (858, citing Pherekrates fr. 6).

<sup>135</sup> Calling him 'son of a cook', a type of gibe which in Old Comedy is normally directed at politicians.

*Minor public officials (18)*

Antimachos (1106, syngrapheus c. 426), *Ach.* 1150ff.  
 Apolexis (1352, syngrapheus 411), Platon 150.  
 Archenomos (2376), *Frogs* 1507.<sup>136</sup>  
 Derkylos (3247), *Wasps* 78.<sup>137</sup>  
 Diognetos (member of Eleven *ann. incert.*; ? = 3850, zetetes 415), Eupolis 99.114.  
 Gorgos (secretary, probably of boule, c. 412/1), *Thesm.* 1102ff.<sup>138</sup>  
 Hierokleides (alleged embezzler),<sup>139</sup> Hermippos 39, Phrynichos 18.  
 Meidias (9714, alleged embezzler<sup>140</sup>), *Birds* 1297ff., Metagenes 12, Phrynichos 4, 43,  
 Platon 85, 116.  
 Metrobios (10133, secretary, perhaps of boule, *ann. incert.*), Kratinos 1.  
 Myrmex, *Frogs* 1506.  
 Nikomachos (10934, anagrapheus 410–404), *Frogs* 1506.  
 Oulios Kimonos Lakiades (11496; sitophylax 425/4), *Knights* 407, Kratinos 484.<sup>141</sup>  
 Philinos,<sup>142</sup> Eupolis 223.  
 Prepis Eupherou (12184, secretary of boule 422/1), *Ach.* 843.  
 Simon (12686, alleged embezzler), *Clouds* 351, 399, Eupolis 235.  
 Sosias Pythidos *vel* Parmenonos (13177/8), *Wasps* 78.<sup>143</sup>  
 Teleas Telenikou Pergasethen (13500, secretary to Treasurers of Athena 415/4),  
*Peace* 1008, *Birds* 168, 1025, Phrynichos 21.  
 Thorykion (7419, tax-collector 406/5), *Frogs* 363, 382.

*Prosecutors (11)*

Chairephon (15203),<sup>144</sup> *Clouds* 104, 144ff., 503, 831, 1465, *Wasps* 1408ff., *Birds* 1296,  
 1563, Ar. fr. 295, 552, 584, Eupolis 180, 253, Kratinos 215.  
 Diokleides (3973), Phrynichos 61.

<sup>136</sup> The men whom Pluto invites to become his permanent guests include one politician (Kleophon) and two office-holders (Myrmex and Nikomachos); so Archenomos might belong to either category.

<sup>137</sup> The passage shows that it was known in advance of the performance of *Wasps* that Derkylos would have a front seat in the audience, which implies that he must have held some public office in 423/2 (MacDowell 1971: 138–40).

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Sommerstein 1994: 230; not listed in Develin.

<sup>139</sup> He was called *Κολακοφωροκλείδης* (Hesychios κ3309).

<sup>140</sup> According to *Σ Birds* 1297 Metagenes, Phrynichos and Platon all described him as such, and [Pl.] *Alk. I* 120a–b confirms that he was active in public life as an office-holder and/or an Assembly speaker.

<sup>141</sup> For the reading in the text of *Knights* (Ἰουλίου codd.), and the identification with Kimon's son, see Raubitschek 1942: 1999 and Davies 1971: 306–7. Ar. calls him *πυροπίπην*, which the scholia, among other less plausible explanations, interpret as τὸν φύλακα τοῦ σίτου (cf. Sommerstein 1980b: 49–50).

<sup>142</sup> Probably to be identified with (i) the office-holder whom the speaker of Ant. 6 tried to prosecute for embezzlement (Ant. 6.35, *PA* 14300), (ii) the brother of Kleophon against whom an ostrakon was cast c. 416 (*Agora* xxv no.659). He had a front seat at the performance of Eupolis' *Poleis* (Eupolis fr. 223 follows the same pattern as the remarks addressed to individual spectators in *Wasps* 74ff.).  
<sup>143</sup> Cf. note 137 above.

<sup>144</sup> Chairephon is usually satirized in comedy on grounds apparently remote from politics, such as his pale complexion and his association with Socrates, but Ar. fr. 552, in which he is called a sykophant, shows that he took part in public life (cf. also Pl. *Apol.* 21a which lightly indicates, for a jury highly suspicious of Socrates' political leanings, that one of his closest friends was an active democrat).

Euathlos Kephisodemou (5238), *Ach.* 704ff., *Wasps* 592, Ar. fr. 424, Kratinos 82, Platon 109.  
 Ktesias, *Ach.* 839.  
 Nikarchos (10718), *Ach.* 908ff.  
 Pandeletos,<sup>145</sup> *Clouds* 924.  
 Phanos (14078), *Knights* 1256, *Wasps* 1220.  
 Philippos (14368),<sup>146</sup> *Wasps* 421, *Birds* 1701, Ar. fr. 118.  
 Smikythion, *Wasps* 401.  
 Teisiades, *Wasps* 401.<sup>147</sup>  
 X Chaireou, *Wasps* 687.

*Subordinate military and naval officers (4)*

Eryxis Philoxenou (Kephisieus?) (5190, ? = 5191), *Frogs* 934.<sup>148</sup>  
 Megainetos (taxiarch?),<sup>149</sup> *Frogs* 965.  
 Panaitios (11566, hipparch), *Knights* 243.  
 Simon (12687, ? = 12689, hipparch), *Knights* 242.

*Religious officials (5)*

Amphoteros (diviner), Eupolis 225.  
 Hierokles (7473, hieropoios 446/5, oracle expert), *Peace* 1046ff., Eupolis 231.  
 Kleokritos (8570, herald of the Mysteries),<sup>150</sup> *Birds* 876, *Frogs* 1437, Eupolis 136, 177.  
 Lykourgos Lykomedous Boutades (9249, priest of Poseidon Erechtheus), *Birds* 1296, Kratinos 32, Pherekrates 11.  
 Stilbides (diviner), *Peace* 1131, Eupolis 225.

*SECTION C: Idols of the theatre (45)*

*Tragic poets (15)*

Agathon Teisamenou (83), *Thesm.* 29ff., *Frogs* 83ff., Ar. fr. 178, 341.  
 Akestor (474; *TrGF* 25), *Wasps* 1221, *Birds* 31, Eupolis 172, Kallias 17, Kratinos 92, Metagenes 14, Theopompos 61.  
 Euripides Mnesarchou Phlyeus (5953), *Ach.* 394ff., *Knights* 18, *Clouds* 1371ff., *Wasps* 61, *Peace* 147, 532, *Lys.* 283, 368, *Thesm.* passim, *Frogs* 67ff., 758–end passim, Ar. fr. 392, 488, 595, 596, 682, Kratinos 342, Platon 29, 142, Strattis 1, Telekleides 41, 42, Adesp. 860, 1111.7.  
 Gnesippos Kleomachou (*TrGF* 27), Eupolis 148, Kratinos 17, 276, Telekleides 36.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Suda π171.

<sup>146</sup> According to *Birds* 1694–701 he is one of the men who ἐν Φαναίσι πρὸς τῇ Κλεψύδρᾳ ... συκαζουσιν, living by the work of their tongues.

<sup>147</sup> The other two names in *Wasps* 401, Χρήμων and Φερέδειπνος, are fictitious, but may be comic distortions of the names of other contemporary prosecutors (MacDowell 1971: 187–8).

<sup>148</sup> For the identification of the Eryxis of *Frogs* with Eryxis of Kephisia (councillor in 408/7) and the suggestion that this 'tawny horsecock', like those of *Peace* 1177 and *Birds* 800, was so called because he was or had been a military officer, see Storey 1995: 184.

<sup>149</sup> That Megainetos was a military officer is an inference from the description of him and Phormisios as σαλπιγγολογχοῦσιν (Frogs 966). Phormisios, we know, had a heavy beard (*Σ Frogs* 965, cf. *Ekkl.* 97), so the 'trumpets and spears' may belong to Megainetos.

<sup>150</sup> The identification is favoured by Dover 1993: 376.

Hieronimos Xenophantou (*TrGF* 31), *Ach.* 388, *Clouds* 349.  
 Iophon Sophokleous ek Kolonou (7584; *TrGF* 22), *Frogs* 73ff.  
 Melanthios Philokleous (9767; *TrGF* 23), *Peace* 804ff., 1009, *Birds* 151, Eupolis 43,  
 178, Kallias 14, Leukon 3, Pherekrates 148, Platon 140.  
 Meletos (9829; *TrGF* 47), Ar. fr. 117, 156, Sannyrion 2.  
 Morsimos Philokleous (10416; *TrGF* 29), *Knights* 401, *Peace* 803, *Frogs* 151, Ar. fr.  
 723, Platon 136.  
 Nothippos (*TrGF* 26), Hermippos 46, Telekleides 17.  
 Philokles Philopeithous (14529; *TrGF* 24), *Wasps* 462, *Birds* 281, 1295, *Thesm.* 168,  
 Ar. fr. 591.44, Kratinos 323, Telekleides 15, Adesp. 842.  
 Pythangelos (*TrGF* 44), *Frogs* 87.  
 Sthenelos (*TrGF* 32), *Wasps* 1313, Ar. fr. 158, Platon 72, 136.  
 Theognis (6736; *TrGF* 28), *Ach.* 11, *Thesm.* 170.  
 Xenokles Karkinou Thorikios (11222; *TrGF* 33), *Wasps* 1510ff., *Peace* 783ff., 863,  
*Thesm.* 169, 441, *Frogs* 86, Pherekrates 15, Platon 143.

*Comic poets, excluding self-references (14)*

Ameipsias (708), *Frogs* 14.  
 Aripheades Automenous (2201)<sup>151</sup>, *Knights* 1280ff., *Wasps* 1280ff., *Peace* 883, Ar. fr.  
 926.<sup>152</sup>  
 Aristophanes Philippou Kydathenaieus (2090), Ameipsias 27, Aristonymos 3, Eupolis  
 62, 89, Kratinos 213, 342, Platon 86, Sannyrion 5.  
 Ekphantides (4654), Kratinos 361, 462, 502.  
 Eupolis Sosipolidos (5936), *Clouds* 553ff., Ar. fr. 58.  
 Hermippos Lysidos (5112), *Clouds* 557.  
 Kallias Lysimachou (7829), Kratinos 361.  
 Kantharos (8247), *Peace* 1.<sup>153</sup>  
 Kratinos Kallimedous (8755), *Ach.* 847ff., 1173, *Knights* 400, 526ff., *Peace* 700ff.,  
*Frogs* 357, Adesp. 952.  
 Lykis, *Frogs* 14.  
 Pherekrates (14195), *Lys.* 158.  
 Philyllios (14796), Strattis 38.  
 Phrynichos Eunomidou (15006), *Clouds* 556, *Frogs* 13, Hermippos 64.  
 Sannyrion (12554), Ar. fr. 156, Strattis 21, 57.

*Dithyrambic poets (2)*

Kedeides,<sup>154</sup> *Clouds* 985, Kratinos 168.  
 Kinesias Meletos (8438), *Birds* 1372ff., *Frogs* 153, 1437, Ar. fr. 156, Pherekrates 155.8,  
 Platon 200, Strattis *Kinesias* passim.

*Actors and dancers (8)*

Hegelochos, *Frogs* 303, Platon 235, Sannyrion 8, Strattis 1, 63.  
 Kallippides, Ar. fr. 490, Strattis *Kallippides* passim.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1458b31, and see Sommerstein 1977: 276.

<sup>152</sup> The Aristophanic status of this fragment is somewhat uncertain, but there is no doubt that it is a fragment of Old Comedy, and its language clearly indicates that the Aripheades mentioned in it is the alleged cunnilincter of *Knights*, *Wasps* and *Peace* (cf. Henderson 1991: 134, 174).

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Sommerstein 1985: 136, Lanza 1989: 307–10.

<sup>154</sup> On the evidence for the spelling of the name cf. Kassel & Austin on Kratinos fr. 168.

Molon,<sup>155</sup> *Frogs* 55.

Oiagros, *Wasps* 579.

Phrynichos<sup>156</sup>, *Wasps* 1302.

Xenarchos<sup>157</sup> Karkinou Thorikios (11183), *Wasps* 1501f, *Peace* 783ff., 863, Pherekrates 15.

Xenotimos Karkinou Thorikios (11269), *Wasps* 1505, *Peace* 783ff., 863, Pherekrates 15.

X Automenous, *Wasps* 1279.

*Others associated with the theatre (2)*

Kephisophon, *Frogs* 944, 1408, 1452f, Ar. fr. 596.

Mnesilochos (10329),<sup>158</sup> Telekleides 41.

*Musicians (4)*

Arignotos Automenous (1612), *Knights* 1278, *Wasps* 1277–8.

Chairis, *Ach.* 16, 866, *Peace* 951, *Birds* 858, Kratinos 126, Pherekrates 6.

Konnos Metrobiou (8697), *Knights* 534, *Wasps* 675, Ameipsias *Konnos* passim, Eupolis 77 (?),<sup>159</sup> Kratinos 349, Adesp. 371.

Meles Peisiou (9802), Pherekrates 6.<sup>160</sup>

*SECTION D: Idols of the market (13)*

*Trades and professions (12)*

Antimachos (1107, banker), Eupolis 134.

Chairestratos (potter), Phrynichos 15.

Eucharides (greengrocer), *Wasps* 680.

Meton Pausaniou Leukonoieus (10093, engineer), *Birds* 992ff., Phrynichos 22.

Nikeratos Acharneus (corn-dealer?),<sup>161</sup> Eupolis 99.15.

<sup>155</sup> That Molon was a celebrated actor appears from Dem. 19.246; Del Corno 1985: 159 makes the attractive conjecture that he had been the protagonist of Euripides' *Andromeda* (referred to in *Frogs* 53).

<sup>156</sup> The Phrynichos of *Wasps* 1302 is (tentatively) identified by Storey 1985: 328–30 with the Phrynichos whom Andok. 1.47 refers to as *ὁ ὀρχησάμενος* 'one-time winner of a dancing competition' (Sommerstein 1987b).

<sup>157</sup> So *Σ Peace* 781; *Σ Frogs* 86 calls him Xenokleitos, which is less probable, being too like the name of his brother Xenokles. He was the middle one of the three sons of Karkinos mentioned in *Wasps* (1502), the playwright, Xenokles, being the youngest (1510–11) and Xenotimos, who bore his grandfather's name, the eldest.

<sup>158</sup> This man, who is described (together with Socrates) as helping Euripides prepare a play, could be either Euripides' father-in-law (*PA* 10329) or Euripides' actor son (*PA* 10330).

<sup>159</sup> The name of the *komodoumenos* is not preserved in this fragment, but the association of garlands and hunger/thirst points strongly to Konnos (cf. *Knights* 534, Kratinos fr. 349).

<sup>160</sup> See note 134 above, on Kleombrotos.

<sup>161</sup> Nikeratos is included in a catalogue of men who have been, or deserve to be, subjected to some form of physical abuse (*διασπρέφειν*: lines 1, 8, 11) because they feed excessively (unfairly?) well (*ἀ[ρ]ισθητικώτεροι γὰρ εἰσιν ἡμῶν*: lines 13–14); in the tattered lines 16–17 he seems to be spoken of as *διδόντα χοίνικας... ἐκάστω*, and the *χοῖνιξ* is usually in comedy associated with the sale of cereals. Perhaps then Nikeratos is a corn-dealer who (like all of his profession) habitually cheats ordinary people (cf. *Clouds* 640, Lysias 22 passim) but gives corn free to his wealthy friends, no doubt in return for other favours.



Pauson (painter), *Ach.* 854, *Thesm* 959, Eupolis 99.5.  
 Peisias<sup>162</sup> (tavern-keeper), *Birds* 766–7, 1292–3, Ar. fr. 57  
 Peithias (shipowner), Kratinos 171.74<sup>163</sup>.  
 Philokrates (14571, bird-seller), *Birds* 14, 1077.  
 Philostratos (pimp), *Knights* 1069, *Lys.* 957.  
 Sporgilos (barber), *Birds* 300, Platon 144.  
 Thearion (baker), Ar. fr. 177.

*Intellectuals (I)*

Sokrates Sophroniskou Alopekethen (13101), *Clouds* passim, *Birds* 1282, 1555, *Frogs* 1491, Ar. fr. 392, Ameipsias 9, Eupolis 386, 395, Kallias 15, Telekleides 41, 42.

*SECTION E: Idols of the dinner-table (15)*

*Conspicuous consumers (10)*

Alkmeon, Eupolis 192.90.<sup>164</sup>  
 Glauketes (2944), *Peace* 1008, *Thesm.* 1033, Platon 114.  
 Harmodios Aphidnaios, *Ach.* 1093.<sup>165</sup>  
 HIPPYLOS (7672), *Wasps* 1301.<sup>166</sup>  
 Kallias Hipponikou Alopekethen (7826)<sup>167</sup>, *Birds* 284ff., *Frogs* 427ff., Ar. fr. 117, 583,  
 Eupolis 99.12, Eupolis *Kolakes* passim, Kratinos 12, 81.  
 Ktesiphon, *Ach.* 1002.  
 Lykon (father of Autolykos), *Wasps* 1301, *Lys.* 270, Eupolis 61, 232, 295, Kratinos 214, Metagenes 10.  
 Morychos (10421), *Ach.* 887, *Wasps* 506, 1142, *Peace* 1008, Platon 114, Telekleides 12.  
 Philoktemon (?Kephisios, grandfather of 14641), *Wasps* 1250.<sup>168</sup>  
 Poulytion (12154), Pherekrates 64.

*Handsome youths (3)*

Antimachos, *Clouds* 1022.<sup>169</sup>  
 Autolykos Lykonos (2742), Eupolis *Autolykos* passim.  
 Demos Pyrilampous (3573), *Wasps* 98, Eupolis 227.

<sup>162</sup> Assuming (cf. Sommerstein 1987a: 247) that the lame man, nicknamed 'Partridge', referred to in the second and third passages cited, is identical with the Peisias, father of the alleged traitor of *Birds* 766 (see Kleombrotos in Section B above, and note 134), who is apparently nicknamed 'Partridge' in *Birds* 767. <sup>163</sup> Cf. Kassel & Austin ad loc.

<sup>164</sup> Alkmeon had a grand house notable for its *próthupa* (*ibid.*), for which as an index of affluence cf. Kratinos fr. 42. He could be *PA* 649, father of a Kallias mentioned in Andok. 1.47 and great-uncle of Andokides—though this man would probably have been at least 75 years old in 422/1 when Eupolis' *Marikas* was produced. Since the question is asked what good Alkmeon's *próthupa* are [now?] doing him, he may well have recently been prosecuted and convicted.

<sup>165</sup> The context in *Ach.* 1093 implies that Harmodios had a reputation for pursuing liaisons with attractive *ὀρχηστρίδες*, not a cheap activity (see Davidson 1993: 62–3 citing Aischines 1.42).

<sup>166</sup> See Storey 1985, who shows that Philokleon's fellow-diners in *Wasps* 1299ff. are for the most part 'men of superior station, mocked for their style of living and arrogant behaviour' (p. 332). <sup>167</sup> See note 17. <sup>168</sup> Cf. Sommerstein 1983: 230.

<sup>169</sup> I distinguish Antimachos from the alleged passive homosexuals listed in Section F (Aristodemos, Exekastos, etc.) because he, like the sons of Hippokrates (*Clouds* 1001), is mentioned in the agon of *Clouds* as an example for young Pheidippides to take warning by, and therefore is likely to have been fairly near Pheidippides' supposed age.

*Society parasites and jesters (2)*

Lysistratos Cholargeus (9630), *Ach.* 855, *Knights* 1267. *Wasps* 787ff., 1302ff., Ar. fr. 205.

Thouphrastus (7162), *Wasps* 1302ff.

*SECTION F: Miscellaneous (36)**Persons notorious from court cases or citizenship scandals (10)*

Alkibiades Phegousios (601; self-exiled when accused of inspiring false denunciations in Hermai affair),<sup>170</sup> *Adesp.* 233.

Exekestides (doubtful citizenship),<sup>171</sup> *Birds* 11, 764, 152, Phrynichos 21.

Grypos (disfranchised as former male prostitute), *Knights* 877.

Kallaischros (doubtful citizenship?),<sup>172</sup> Pherekrates 46.

Lykeas (9191; bastard),<sup>173</sup> Phrynichos 21.

Orsilochos (adulterer?),<sup>174</sup> *Lys.* 725.

Smikythos (defendant in unknown trial),<sup>175</sup> *Knights* 969.

Spintharos (doubtful citizenship), *Birds* 762.

Teles (coward),<sup>176</sup> Hermippos 47.

X Kalliou Alopekethen ('bastard'),<sup>177</sup> Metagenes 14.

*Fathers and sons (5)*

Automenes (2751; father of Arignotos and Aripkrades), *Wasps* 1275.

Demophon Hippokratous Cholargeus (3701),<sup>178</sup> *Clouds* 1001, Ar. fr. 116, 568, Eupolis 112.

Korydeus (father of Arcestratos),<sup>179</sup> *Adesp.* 827.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Andok. 1.65–66.

<sup>171</sup> See MacDowell 1993: 364–5. He may well have been the defendant in a *xenia* trial in 415/4: he is referred to four times in plays produced at the City Dionysia of 414 and never (so far as we know) before or after that festival.

<sup>172</sup> Kallaischros is spoken of as 'sitting in the Theseion' like a slave taking sanctuary (cf. *Knights* 1312, Ar. fr. 577; see Christensen 1988). Possibly, like Exekestides, he was alleged to be a man of servile birth masquerading as a citizen.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Kassel & Austin on Phrynichos fr. 21.

<sup>174</sup> On the partly contradictory statements of the scholia ad loc. about Orsilochos, and criteria for choosing among them, see Sommerstein 1990: 195.

<sup>175</sup> In my commentary (Sommerstein 1981: 195) I tentatively identified Smikythos with a councillor of 427/6 (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 66) and/or the secretary to the Treasurers of Athena in 424/3 (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 301.2); but, as Lewis 1983: 176 pointed out, both these officials' names actually depend on uncertain restorations in the respective inscriptional texts.

<sup>176</sup> Teles is the only *komodoumenos* of our period who is satirized for cowardice and, so far as we know, for nothing else; it is therefore likely that in contrast with, say, Peisandros or Kleonymos, he owed his status as a public figure precisely to his alleged cowardice, i.e. to having been prosecuted for this legal crime (or a related one such as evasion of military service) in the first year or two of the Peloponnesian War (Hermippos fr. 47 dates from 430 or 429: it was written during Perikles' lifetime but after Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros*, which was written after the outbreak of war and therefore produced no earlier than Lenaia 430).

<sup>177</sup> For the scandal surrounding this child's birth see Andok. 1.124–9; he was, however, accepted as legitimate by his father's *genos*, the Kerykes (ib. 127).

<sup>178</sup> Demophon and his brothers Perikles and Telesippos are always mentioned as a group ('the sons of Hippokratēs'); we know their names from *Σ' Clouds* 1001. Their (alleged) feeble-mindedness would hardly have attracted public attention to them had they not been the sons of so notable a father.

<sup>179</sup> See note 114.

Perikles Hippokratous Cholareus (11810), *Clouds* 1001, Ar. fr. 116, 568, Eupolis 112.

Telesippos Hippokratous Cholareus (13541), *Clouds* 1001, Ar. fr. 116, 568, Eupolis 112.

*Others* (21)<sup>180</sup>

Aristodemos ('pathic'), Ar. fr. 242, Kratinos 160.

Asopodoros (?Tharleidou) (2671; small stature), *Birds* 17 (?),<sup>181</sup> Eupolis 255, Telekleides 50.

Bathippos (?beardless),<sup>182</sup> Kratinos 11.

Damasias (3111, spindle-shanked), Eupolis 107.

Derketes Phylasios (father of 3245),<sup>183</sup> *Ach.* 1018ff.

Didymias (small stature), Eupolis 306.

Euphemios, *Wasps* 599.

Exekestos ('pathic'), Eupolis 259.74, *Adesp.* 337.

Hippokleides (?hairy-faced),<sup>184</sup> Ar. fr. 721.

Kepis (8282; lame), *Adesp.* 367.

Kleisthenes (8525; beardless and 'effeminate'), *Ach.* 118, *Knights* 1374, *Clouds* 355, *Wasps* 1187, *Birds* 831, *Lys.* 621, 1092, *Thesm.* 235, 574ff., 763, 929, *Frogs* 48ff., 422ff., Kratinos 208, Pherekrates 143.

Lysistratos Makareos Amphitropethen (9611; 'pathic'),<sup>185</sup> *Lys.* 1105.

Opountios (one-eyed), *Birds* 153, 1294; Eupolis 282; Kallias 4.

Pantakles ('imbecile'), *Frogs* 1036, Eupolis 318.

Peisandros (11769; squinted), Eupolis 195, Platon 108.

Philemon,<sup>186</sup> *Birds* 763.

Proxenides (12257; 'boaster'), *Wasps* 325, 1126, Telekleides 19.

Pyrrhandros (?Anaphlystios),<sup>187</sup> *Knights* 901.

Straton (12964; beardless and 'effeminate'), *Ach.* 122, *Knights* 1374, Ar. fr. 422.

Thoumantis (thin), *Knights* 1268, Hermippos 36.

X Timokratous ('footpad'),<sup>188</sup> *Ach.* 1166ff., *Birds* 712, 1491, Eupolis 179.

<sup>180</sup> In this subsection the apparent reason for a man's notoriety is given in parentheses, where it is known or reasonably inferable from what is said by the comic dramatists, their commentators or those who quote them; if the reason is such as would be based on reputation rather than on publicly observable fact, it is placed within quotation marks.

<sup>181</sup> The 'Jackdaw son of Tharleidou' of *Birds* 17-18 was identified by Symmachos (quoted in *Σ ad loc.*) with the Asopodoros of the other two passages cited, apparently on the ground that in one of them (Telekleides fr. 50) Asopodoros was called, or compared to, a jackdaw.

<sup>182</sup> He is apparently described as one of 'those who are smooth at the wrong time <of life>' (τῶν ἀωρολείων).

<sup>183</sup> We do not know what had brought Derketes to public notice (for one suggestion see MacDowell 1983: 159-60).

<sup>184</sup> His name, like that of the bushy-bearded Phormisios (Ar. *Frogs* 965-6 and *Eccl.* 97 with scholia), was used to denote the female genitalia (Hesychios s835).

<sup>185</sup> To be distinguished from Lysistratos Cholareus (*PA* 9630); see Sommerstein 1983: 206, 1990: 211.

<sup>186</sup> Philemon was apparently nicknamed Φρυγίλος, but since we cannot identify this bird we cannot determine the implications of the nickname.

<sup>187</sup> Possibly the grandfather of the Pyrrhandros of Anaphlystos (*PA* 12496) who was instrumental in the formation of the Second Athenian League and the Theban alliance in 378/7 (cf. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 41.20, 43.76-7, 44.7; Aischines 3.139). We do not know what made our man vulnerable to comic satire.

<sup>188</sup> Always referred to by the nickname 'Orestes'; he has sometimes been thought to be a fictitious or generic personage, but *Σ Birds* 1487 knows his father's name. Possibly he derived his nickname and reputation from some youthful escapade (cf. Sommerstein 1987a: 243).

*LOST COMEDIES ASSUMED TO HAVE BEEN PRODUCED BETWEEN  
432/1 AND 405/4*<sup>189</sup>

AMEIPSIAS	Dionysalexandros	Satyroi
Konnos	Horai	Tragōidoi
ARISTONYMOS	Kleoboulina <sup>193</sup>	PLATON
Helios Rhigon	Nemesis	Heortai
ARISTOPHANES <sup>190</sup>	Panoptai	Hyperbolos
Anagyros	Ploutoi	Kleophon
Babylonioi	Pylaia <sup>194</sup>	Lakones
Daitales	Pytime	Nikai
Dramata or Kentauros	Seriphioi	Peisandros
Dramata or Niobos	Thrattai	Perialges
Georgoi	LEUKON	Skeuai <sup>195</sup>
Geras	Phrateres	POLYZELOS
Gerytades	LYSIPPOS	Demotyndareos
Heroes	Bakchai	SANNYRION
Holkades	METAGENES	Danae
Horai	Homeros	Gelos
Nephelai I	Philothytes	STRATTIS
Nesoi	PHEREKRATES	Anthroporestes
Skenas Katalambanousai	Agrioi	Kallippides
Thesmorphoriazousai II	Cheiron	Kinesias <sup>196</sup>
Triphales	Doulodidaskalos	Potamioi
EUPOLIS	Ipnos	Psychastai
<i>All plays</i>	Petale	TELEKLEIDES
HERMIPPOS	PHILONIDES	Amphiktyones
Artopolides	Kothornoi	Apseudeis
Kerkopes	PHILYLLIOS	Hesiodoi
Moirai	Plyntriai	Sterroi
Phormophoroi	PHRYNICHOS	THEOPOMPOS
KALLIAS	Epialtes	Kapelides
Atalantai	Komastai	Paides
Pedetai	Kronos	Stratitotides <sup>197</sup>
KRATINOS <sup>191</sup>	Monotropos	Teisamenos <sup>198</sup>
Archilochoi	Mousai	
Boukoloi <sup>192</sup>	Poastriai	

<sup>189</sup> This list comprises only comedies from which there survives at least one reference to an Athenian male *komodoumenos*.

<sup>190</sup> I assume *Telemesses* to date from 402–400, since Aristyllos (fr. 551) is mentioned in both Aristophanes' surviving fourth-century plays (*Eccl.* 647, *Wealth* 314) but in no comedy known to date from before 404.

<sup>191</sup> Where no note is given, my dates for Kratinos' plays follow Kassel & Austin.

<sup>192</sup> The mention of Gnesippos son of Kleomachos (fr. 17) links this play with *Horai*.

<sup>193</sup> Approximately datable by the mention of Akestor (fr. 92) who remains a *komodoumenos* almost till the end of the century.

<sup>194</sup> Approximately datable by the reference to the 'son of Peisias' (fr. 185; cf. Register II, Section B s.v. Kleombrotos).

<sup>195</sup> All the tragic dramatists known to have been mentioned in this play are fifth-century figures known from at least as far back as the 420s, and complaints about the reduction in comic poets' fees (fr. 141) link the play with *Frogs* – for in *Σ Frogs* 367 μέμνηται δὲ τούτων καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Σκευαῖς καὶ Σαννυρίων ἐν Δανάη the demonstrative is much more likely to be neuter (= the dispute over poets' fees) than masculine (= Archinos and Agyrhios), since the latter assumption would require us to suppose that both Platon and Sannyrion made explicit mention of both these politicians.

<sup>196</sup> See note 52.

<sup>197</sup> See note 113.

<sup>198</sup> See note 68.

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