

ARISTOPHANES  
CLOUDS

EDITED WITH  
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY

K. J. DOVER, F.B.A.

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1968

## INTRODUCTION

### I. ARISTOPHANES

THE career of Aristophanes as a writer of comedies lasted forty years. At least forty plays were attributed to him in antiquity,<sup>1</sup> eleven of which survived into the Middle Ages and thus to our own day; we know the titles of the lost plays, and we have nearly a thousand 'fragments' of them, including a few pieces of papyrus, some extensive citations, and many one-word glosses.

The facts of his career are these (lost plays are asterisked):

- 427 *Banqueters*\* (*Δαιταλεῖς*), produced by Kallistratos.<sup>2</sup>
- 426 (City Dionysia) *Babylonians*\*, produced by Kallistratos.
- 425 (Lenaia, first prize) *Acharnians* ('*Ach.*'), produced by Kallistratos.
- 424 (Lenaia, first prize) *Knights* ('*Eq.*'), produced by Ar. himself.
- 423 (City Dionysia, third and last prize) first version<sup>3</sup> of *Clouds* ('*Nu.*').
- 422 (Lenaia, second prize) *Wasps* ('*V.*'), produced by Philonides.

<sup>1</sup> It is never possible to be absolutely precise in stating the number of plays written by an Athenian comic poet, since (a) the same poet sometimes wrote two plays bearing the same title, and the second of the two could be either a completely different play or a revised version of the first; (b) the same play was sometimes known by two different titles; (c) when two poets had written plays with the same title and only one of the two survived its authorship could be disputed.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, Kallistratos was the *διδάσκαλος*, and the relevant entry in the records which were later published as *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2318 would be *Καλλίστρατος ἐδίδαξε*. The written and circulated version of the play, however, would bear the name of the poet, and his name would stand in the records from which such inscriptions as *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2325 were later derived.

<sup>3</sup> The play we have is a partially revised version; see Chapter IX.

- 421 (City Dionysia, second prize) *Peace* ('*Pax*').<sup>1</sup>  
 414 (Lenaia) *Amphiaraos*,\* produced by Philonides.  
 414 (City Dionysia, second prize) *Birds* ('*Av.*'), produced by Kallistratos.  
 411 *Lysistrata* ('*Lys.*'), produced by Kallistratos, and *Thesmophoriazusae* ('*Th.*'). *Th.* is datable in relation to datable plays of Euripides, and by political references; it is probable, but not certain, that *Lys.* was produced at the Lenaia and *Th.* at the City Dionysia.  
 408 *Plutus*,\* not the play of that name which has survived (see below).  
 405 (Lenaia, first prize) *Frogs* ('*Ra.*'), produced by Philonides.  
 392 *Ecclesiazusae* ('*Ec.*'). The date, which depends on a partially corrupt scholion and on historical references in the play, could be a year out.  
 388 (probably first prize<sup>2</sup>) *Plutus* ('*Pl.*'), produced by Ar. himself.<sup>3</sup>  
 After 388: *Aiolosikon*\* and *Kokalos*,\* produced by Ar.'s son Araros.<sup>4</sup>

According to the anonymous *Vita*, Ar. was the son of one Philippos and belonged to the deme Kydathenaion, in the phyle Pandionis. It is clear from what he says in *Nu.* 528 ff. that he was 'too young' to produce a play himself when he wrote *Banqueters*, but we do not know whether this disability was imposed by law, by the attitude of society, or by his own diffidence (cf. n. ad loc.), nor, in

<sup>1</sup> Ar. wrote another play with the same title.

<sup>2</sup> This is an inference from the order in which the competing plays are placed in Hyp. iv *Pl.*

<sup>3</sup> *τελευταίαν διδάξας τὴν κωμῶδιαν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι* (Hyp. iv); but one cannot press *διδάξας* too hard, for *Σ Ach.* 378 says that Ar. *ἐδίδαξε Βαβυλωνίους*, which, strictly, he did not.

<sup>4</sup> Hyp. iv *Pl.* may mean that he wished it to be believed that Araros had actually written these two plays; if so, his intention was not realized, for whenever they are cited by Hellenistic writers they are always cited as his own.

any case, do we know how old he would have had to be to overcome it.<sup>1</sup>

In *Ach.* 652 ff. the words of the chorus show that 'this poet' lived at that time (425) on Aigina; but since *Ach.* was produced by Kallistratos, and it may well have been a convention that the chorus in the parabasis should speak of the *διδάσκαλος* of the play as if he were also the *ποιητής* (whether he was or not), statements to the effect that Ar.'s father was an Aiginetan (reported in *Vit.*) or that after Athens expelled the Aiginetans in 431 (*Th.* ii. 27. 1) Ar. was one of the colonists planted there (cf. Arethas on *Pl. Ap.* 19 c)<sup>2</sup> should be treated with great reserve. It appears from *Σ Ach.* 654 that there was no evidence apart from *Ach.* for any connexion between Ar. and Aigina.<sup>3</sup>

Dikaiopolis, the 'hero' of *Acharnians*, says (377 ff.) that 'because of last year's comedy . . . Kleon dragged me into the Council-chamber . . .', and *Σ* ad loc. (cf. *Vita*) explains this reference by saying that Kleon prosecuted Ar. for 'wronging the city'<sup>4</sup> because *Babylonians* had ridiculed

<sup>1</sup> The belief (which dies hard in works of reference) that Ar. was born in 444 rests on two items of evidence the initial plausibility of which dwindles upon scrutiny: (a) *Σ Ra.* 501 says that Ar. was *μειρακίσκος* when he wrote *Banqueters*; but this is no more than an inference from *Nu.* 528 ff., and cannot be pressed to mean that he was not yet *δοκιμασθεὶς*, i.e. not yet 18. (b) If the Suda's statement (a 3932) *γεγονὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ τὴν ριδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα* is emended to give an intelligible numeral (98', i.e. Ol. 94. 1 = 444/3) and is assumed to have confused the poet's birth with his first competition, an apparently positive datum emerges; but it may well have been reached by taking the fall of Athens, 404/3, as the *ἀκμὴ* of Ar. and (in accordance with a common convention of Hellenistic literary historians) placing birth 40 years before *ἀκμὴ* (Kaibel, *RE*, ii. 971 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Arethas, like *Σ Ach.* 654, speaks of Ar. as a *κληροῦχος* on Aigina; but this would be mistaken, since Aigina was made a colony, not a cleruchy (cf. *ATL*, iii. 284 f.).

<sup>3</sup> C. Bailey, however, points out (*GPL*, 237 f.) that *δικαιοπόλις*, the name of the hero of *Acharnians*, is an epithet of Aigina in *Pi. P.* 8. 22 and occurs nowhere else in extant Greek literature. But, of course, we do not know whether what he calls 'the famous Pindaric epithet' was in fact famous.

<sup>4</sup> Any action could be so regarded, whether explicitly forbidden by

boards of Athenian magistrates 'in the presence of foreigners' (the audience was cosmopolitan at the City Dionysia). Whether in fact it was the *διδάσκαλος* or the poet who was prosecuted, or both, we do not know;<sup>1</sup> at any rate, no harm came to either of them, and two years later Ar. wrote and produced, in *Knights*, a virulent and dramatically successful<sup>2</sup> attack on Kleon. The occasion on which Kleon prosecuted Ar. *ξενίας*, i.e. on a charge of assuming citizen rights though not of citizen parentage (*Σ Ach.* 378, cf. *Vita*), is not identifiable with certainty; it was obviously not successful, and the adage that there is no smoke without fire is not applicable to the Athenian law courts.

Considering how much we know about Ar. as poet and dramatist, it is remarkable how little we know about him as a man—apart from the trivial fact that his hair was sparse (*Pax* 767 ff. c. *Σ*). We do not know whether he was rich or poor, a good soldier or a bad one; we do not know his father's occupation, or in what section of Athenian society the poet moved.<sup>3</sup> If we reflect that he survived two oligarchic revolutions and two democratic restorations, we may conclude that his positive political commitment was not remarkable. For his generation, to be conventional or conservative was to accept the radical democracy which had been created and consolidated by the previous three generations. Radical democracy was 'the establishment',

law or not. Socrates was prosecuted for 'wronging (*sc.* the city)' (*X. M.* i. 1. 1), and so were the generals after Arginusai (*X. HG* i. 7. 9).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dover, *Maia*, n.s. xv (1963), 15.

<sup>2</sup> But not politically influential; having given first prize to *Knights*, the Athenians proceeded to elect Kleon to a generalship (cf. *Nu.* 581 ff. n.).

<sup>3</sup> Plato in the *Symposium* represents him as a guest in Agathon's house on the occasion of Agathon's theatrical victory in 416, but opinions may differ on the biographical relevance of this representation. My own view is that by presenting the story of Agathon's party as a story told by Apollodoros at second hand many years after the event Plato is clearly warning us that he wants us to judge it by its quality and utility (as we would judge a myth), not by its relation to fact.

and revolution could come only from factions which took as their model a real or imagined state of affairs further back than living memory could reach. Despite his venomous ridicule of many individuals who were politically prominent and his keen perception of those human weaknesses which are manifested equally in public and in private conduct, there is nothing in Ar. to suggest that he believed Athens would be a better and wiser community if political and juridical power were restricted to one class.

Ar. does not directly reflect or express the culture and spirit of Periclean Athens, for he did not begin to write until after the death of Perikles. His Athens is the Athens which fell from wealth, power, and confidence to starvation and humiliation and rose again, before his death, to a stability and prosperity in which the least curable weakness was nostalgia. At the same time, it is most important that modern students of Ar. should not credit him with foreknowledge of historical events with which we are familiar. When he wrote *Birds*, for example, there was a perfectly reasonable expectation that Athens would defeat Syracuse and conquer Sicily; and while many Athenians may have doubted whether the Sicilian Expedition would achieve anything of permanent significance, very few indeed can have contemplated the possibility that it would meet with disaster. Again, when he wrote *Frogs*, Athens had the upper hand in the war at sea and the Peloponnesians had opened tentative negotiations for peace, which the Athenians contemptuously rejected; they must have realized that a decisive naval defeat which would end the war in the Peloponnesians' favour was a possibility, but they had no good grounds for fearing that this defeat was imminent. When Ar. wrote *Clouds*, the plague had come, but it had also gone; Attica had been devastated by the Peloponnesian invasions, but these invasions were suspended while the Athenians held as hostages the Spartiate prisoners they had taken on Sphakteria; the Athenians had been defeated on land at Delion, their tributary allies on the northern coast of



the Aegean were in revolt, and the steady diminution of their financial reserves warned them that they could not sustain naval operations on the scale of the first years of the war, but it was unthinkable that the Peloponnesians should successfully assault the Athens-Peiraeus perimeter or win a naval battle or interfere with the movement of an Athenian fleet.

In the arts, Athenian architecture, sculpture, and vase-painting were—in the eyes of most of us, though probably not in Athenian eyes—past their prime in Ar.'s day. Attic tragedy too might be regarded as past its prime, though this view was controversial then and is controversial now. The greater part of the prose literature which was to make the name of Athens immortal in later generations was not yet written.

Ar. is the only poet of the 'Old Comedy' whose work we can assess through the reading of complete plays; therefore we cannot help treating him as the representative of Old Comedy. He represents, however, the last stage of the genre. Comedies had been officially recognized<sup>1</sup> as part of the City Dionysia for sixty years before he wrote his first play; his last two extant plays, *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*, show striking departures in plot and structure from his earlier plays, and *Aiolosikon* and *Kokalos*, which he wrote after *Plutus*, apparently took these changes further, *Kokalos* providing an early example of a type of plot which was to become characteristic of New Comedy (cf. *Vita* and Platon. *De Diff. Com.* 5 ff.).

The writing of plays was, among the Athenians, a craft which tended to be perpetuated in families, and three of the fourth-century comic poets, in addition to Araros, are described as sons of Ar.: Philippos (*Vita*, Arethas), and his name makes this plausible, since sons were often named after their paternal grandfathers; Philetairos (Dikaiarchos

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, 'given a chorus' by the archon; comic performances of dramatic type may have formed part of the *κῶμος* in honour of Dionysos for a very long time before that.

83 [Wehrli]); and Nikostratos (Apollodoros 75). Dikaiarchos and Apollodoros appear to have agreed that Ar. had only three sons altogether; therefore the former denied him Nikostratos, the latter Philetairos.

## II. THE CHARACTER OF THE PLAY

Our conception of the typical Old Comedy is, in part, formed by the resemblances between *Acharnians*, *Peace*, *Birds*, *Lysistrata*, and *Ecclesiazusae*. In each of these plays a bold, pertinacious, resourceful hero (or heroine) effects and exploits a triumph of fantasy over reality; we enter and enjoy, with a 'suspension of disbelief', a realm in which the familiar mechanisms of nature and society operate only when the poet wishes them to do so. *Knights* and *Wasps* conform to this pattern in so far as the hero wins a contest which lies at the heart of the play (Bdelykleon's fight is to keep his father away from the courts); *Knights* also conforms in that the hero accomplishes his purpose without any unpleasant consequences for himself, and *Frogs* in that Dionysos accomplishes, if not quite the purpose with which he began, at any rate a purpose which overrides this. All these plays end with celebration and revelry.

*Clouds* strikes a different note. The 'hero', Strepsiades, is stupid and excitable, never truly resourceful, never in control of the situation, and at the end pitiable.<sup>1</sup> He believes that he has solved his problem, the lawsuits with which his creditors threaten him, by having his son, Pheidippides, educated in rhetoric in the school of Socrates; but one of the lessons which Pheidippides learns is reckless contempt for his father. Strepsiades revenges himself on Socrates by brute force, burning down the school; but he has still to live with his son and his creditors, who are now his implacable enemies because of the insolence and violence with which he has treated them. The Chorus, which in *Knights*, *Peace*, *Lysistrata*, and *Ecclesiazusae* is well disposed to the hero or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Whitman, 120 f., 129.

heroine from first to last, and in *Acharnians*, *Wasps*, and *Birds* is converted from initial hostility in the course of the play, has a strange and equivocal role in *Clouds*. It encourages Strepsiades in the first part of the play, turns by degrees to moralizing, and emerges at the end as a stern agent of divine retribution. Like Knemon in Menander's *Dyskolos* (703 ff.), Strepsiades at the end repents of the moral error without which there would have been no comedy.

On a closer examination the peculiarities of *Clouds* diminish. In *Knights* the Sausage-seller defeats Kleon not by championing virtue against vice but by outdoing Kleon in vulgar and impudent flattery of their master, the People. The patriotic optimism which pervades the closing scene of *Knights* has no rational justification in what has preceded it. It is, no doubt, consonant with the tradition of the genre, but the play is more than a fulfilment in fantasy of Ar.'s wish to hurt Kleon, who had made himself Ar.'s enemy; it is a merciless satire, of a kind which was clearly acceptable to the audience, on the Athenians' attitude to political leadership. In *Wasps* Philokleon, once converted from his fierce and immoderate zeal for that form of public service especially open to his age, is no less immoderate in his pursuit of pleasure. Bdelykleon begins with a lunatic of one kind on his hands, and he ends with a lunatic of a worse kind, not to mention impending prosecutions for ὕβρις. The dancing with which the play ends simply serves to swamp and stifle with noise and excitement any inclination on our part to construct a sequence of events beyond the point to which Ar. has led us.

We are bound to wonder how the original version of *Clouds* ended: whether, in particular, it exploited satire and ambivalence in the direction indicated by *Knights*, and whether the design of *Wasps* was influenced in any way by the judges' adverse verdict on *Clouds*. A partial answer to these questions will be attempted in Chapter IX; for the present, let us note that *Knights* in 424 and *Wasps* in 422

suffice to show that during the period when the first version of *Clouds* was written the type of comedy which ends with unalloyed triumph and leaves no uncomfortable questions in the audience's mind was not the only type in which Ar. was interested.

### III. STREPSIADES AND HIS FAMILY

*Names.* We first learn in 134 that the old man who spoke the first words of the play is Strepsiades, son of Pheidon, of the deme Kikynna; we have already learned (65 ff.) that he wanted to call his son 'Pheidonides', after his own father, but settled for 'Pheidippides' after a dispute with his wife. None of these names is intrinsically humorous—indeed, they are less so than many names which we encounter on Athenian fifth-century casualty-lists. The Theban wrestler whose victory is celebrated by Pindar in *I.* 7 was called 'Strepsiadas', and his uncle bore the same name; the name 'Strepsippidas' occurs at Lebedeia in the third century B.C. (*IG* vii. 3068. 7). 'Pheidon' and 'Pheidippos' are both common names throughout the Greek world at all times. The name 'Pheidippides' was borne by a Theran in the seventh century B.C. (*IG* xii/3. 536) and by an Eretrian in the third (*IG* xii/9. 246B. 18); it is also a variant (the other is 'Philippides') in the manuscripts of Hdt. vi. 105 f. as the name of the Athenian herald sent to Sparta at the time of Marathon (cf. Plu. *Mor.* 862 B, Nepos *Milt.* 3).

Ar.'s choice of name for his 'hero' is determined by the desperate straits to which the old man is reduced by his heavy debts; he 'tosses and turns' (36 στρέφει) at night, he wants to 'twist' impending lawsuits to avoid paying these debts (434 στρεψοδικῆσαι), and he welcomes the opprobrious nickname στρόφις (450).<sup>1</sup>

The passage (62 ff.) in which Strepsiades describes his argument with his wife over the naming of their son is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. Marzullo, *Maia*, vi (1953), 99 ff.; but (cf. 1206 n.) I do not think that all his conclusions are defensible.

characterized by wit and ingenuity, not by absurdity; it is their attitude to the naming, not its outcome, which is meant to amuse us. A glance at Athenian casualty-lists will show that there was nothing unusual about names beginning with 'Ἰππο- or ending in -ἵππος (in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1951. 441 [Athens, IV in.] we even find a slave called 'Xanthippos'), and there was certainly no social cachet attached to -(ι)άδης and -(ε)ίδης. The use of these suffixes increased the number of names available and so made it possible for members of the same family to have similar but not identical names; cf. D. lvii. 20, 41, 67, where a certain Thukritides has a son Thukritos and a nephew Thukritides. Eleven of the sixty archons appointed by lot down to 423 had names ending in -(ε)ίδης.

*Age.* Strepsiades is γέρων (129, 746, 1304), προήκων εἰς βαθὺ τῆς ἡλικίας (513 ff.), πρεσβύτης (263, 358 al.); Pheidippides is νεανίας (8), and addressed by Right and Wrong as ὦ μαιράκιον (990, 1000, 1071). It would be wrong to suppose that these terms admit of precise numerical translation.<sup>1</sup> Neither of the two men is old enough for the father to have handed over to the son the management of the family estate (a normal procedure, to judge from Pl. *Lys.* 209 c).<sup>2</sup> Strepsiades is responsible for Pheidippides' debts (1267 ff.); why he could not restrain Pheidippides from incurring such debts is not entirely clear, but presumably he could not stand up to the contemptuous and exacting demands made by his wife and son in alliance against him. Pheidippides will, of course, inherit the debts when the estate comes to him (39 f.).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Hal. *Din.* 4 says that 'we are accustomed' to call a man γέρων from the age of 70; but since he badly needs a precise datum for the purpose of his chronological argument, we should not be too ready to accept his statement about normal usage as valid even for his own day.

<sup>2</sup> A son could, of course, acquire property of his own during his father's lifetime; that is implied by *Lys.* xix. 29, where the speaker has carried out a χορηγία 'on his own behalf and on his father's behalf'. An epitaph from Naxos (*GVI* i. 1815 [II]) treats 23 as an early age at which to leave one's father's οἶκος and earn one's own living. A father could on occasion hand over the greater part of his property to his sons but retain a portion of it himself (*Lys.* xix. 37).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Lys.* xvii. 2 ff.

Pheidippides speaks (119 f.) as if already a member of 'the cavalry'. It is therefore unlikely that he can be under 18, but he need not be more than 20, and might be only 19. Dexileos, a young cavalryman killed at Corinth in the late summer of 394, was born in 414/13 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 6217); the relief sculpture on his funerary stele shows him as completely beardless.<sup>1</sup>

Strepsiades is to be imagined as past, or nearly past, the age-limit for military service; conceivably in his late fifties, but more probably in his sixties. But people notoriously age at different rates, and so long as we realize that Strepsiades' mental and physical condition is such that he is regarded as an old man by himself and by others, his sum of years is irrelevant.

*Status.* Strepsiades lives 'far off in the country' (138). He is ignorant, stupid, and boorish, a son of the soil and smelling of the soil (43 ff.)—but one of its richer sons.<sup>2</sup> He seems to have had no difficulty in borrowing, from people who knew him,<sup>3</sup> very large sums of money, such as are not readily lent to farm-labourers or poor peasants. A distinguished aristocratic family sought him out (41 f.) as a husband for one its daughters, and since this (to us) surprising marriage is taken for granted by Ar., without explanation or further comment, we should be justified in supposing that it did not surprise Ar.'s audience. In Menander's *Dyskolos* Knemon, a 'real Attic farmer' (604 ff.) owns land worth two talents (327 f.), i.e. about £12,000 in terms of modern purchasing power,<sup>4</sup> and it is only his misanthropy that makes him try

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the young horsemen on the north frieze of the Parthenon. The portrayal of Dexileos (R. Lullies and A. Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture* [London, 1957], pl. 191) gives us an idea of how Pheidippides must have seen himself in day-dreams.

<sup>2</sup> He has some, but not all, of the characteristics of Theophrastus's ἄγροικος (*Char.* 4. 1, 11).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. xxix.

<sup>4</sup> This sentence was written on 19 August 1966, and I leave readers to make such adjustments as may be necessary at any given time. On the question of conventional economic exaggeration in New Comedy cf. Handley on *Dysc.* 832 ff.

to cope with the work himself (163 f., 328 ff.) and live like a poor man (129 f.). Strepsiades, although he knows how to tighten his belt and has a farmer's mistrust of extravagance (421),<sup>1</sup> is to be thought of as owning farm land which would nowadays sell for £60,000.<sup>2</sup> We might perhaps compare him with Fielding's Squire Western, except that he lacks Western's courage and panache,<sup>3</sup> and Periclean Athens has imbued him with higher standards in the arts than were normal among the gentry of eighteenth-century England.

*The Conflict of Generations.* The tension between Strepsiades and Pheidippides is not first created by sophistic education; it has arisen because the young man has been encouraged by his mother and her family to associate with other young men of aristocratic pretensions and extravagant tastes. But however selfish and thoughtless Pheidippides may be, however defiant and sulky when abused or thwarted by his father, he observes in the last resort (865, 1112) the outward convention of filial obedience. This convention is what he discards when he has been through Socrates' school; and at the same time he emerges (1399 ff. ~ 102 ff., 119 f.) from the anti-intellectual pose and inarticulateness characteristic of young men who devote all their energies to currently fashionable competitive sports. He is now fluent, dexterous, ready with equal coolness to use violence or argument to make sure that he gets what he wants. His verbal facility, sang-froid, and intellectual enthusiasm distinguish him very sharply from the emotional desperation nowadays associated with 'teenage rebellion' and hardly less sharply from the sour blend of nihilism and utopianism depicted by Turgenev in *Fathers and Sons*.

The conservatism of Strepsiades' tastes, the artistic innovations of late fifth-century Athens, and the contrast between old-fashioned obedience and modern rebelliousness,

<sup>1</sup> He belongs to the class which D. xxiv. 172 calls, as a compliment, *οἱ γεωργοῦντες καὶ φειδόμενοι*.

<sup>2</sup> Adequate recognition of Strepsiades' social and economic status is to be found in ΣΒΘ 47.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. xxiii.

are all exaggerated by Ar. for the sake of comic effect; this exaggeration will be discussed more fully in Chapter VI and on pp. 251 ff.

#### IV. THE CREDITORS

Strepsiades tells us of two debts, before the catalogue is cut short by the extinction of the lamp: he owes twelve mnai to Pasion,<sup>1</sup> borrowed when he bought a horse of a breed known as *κοππατίας* (21 ff.), and three mnai to Ameinias<sup>2</sup> for a chariot-frame and a pair of wheels (31); the wording does not make it absolutely clear whether Ameinias sold him these items or lent him the money to buy them, but rather suggests the former.

At 1214 one of his creditors appears, accompanied by a witness, to demand his money and to deliver a summons to Strepsiades if it is not paid. He is a fellow demesman of Strepsiades (1219), and plainly not a professional money-lender or banker, for he speaks of the loan as a favour to a friend, which he should have been insensitive enough to refuse (1216). It appears from D. xxxvii. 52, eighty years later, that there was considerable prejudice against those who were regarded as making a *τέχνη* of lending money, and a person who did in fact profit by lending would speak of himself as 'doing a favour to a friend'. The sum owed to the First Creditor is 12 mnai (1224). Not surprisingly, therefore, he is called 'Pasion' in the *dramatis personae* of most manuscripts. Whether Ar. really means us to remember the opening speech of the play and think of the man as Pasion is doubtful; if he does mean us to, he has altered one of the two possible clues by making the creditor speak not of *κοππατίας* but of *ψαρός*, an adjective of colour which tells us nothing about the brand-mark which guaranteed the horse's pedigree.

<sup>1</sup> The name, though uncommon, is not intrinsically humorous; it occurs at Athens in the early fifth century (*IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 552), and 'Paseas' in the third (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 859. 5).

<sup>2</sup> On the correct form of the name cf. 31 n.

The Second Creditor appears at 1259. He is an enthusiast for racing chariots, and has had an accident. He demands from Strepsiades the money which Pheidippides had borrowed from him (1268 ff.); but if he cannot have that much, he will be content with the interest for the time being (1285 f.). The naming of this creditor as 'Amynias' (i.e. Ameinias) first appears in Tzetzes ( $\Sigma^k$ , and so  $K\Theta$  at 1259),<sup>1</sup> and was adopted by Thomas Magister; there is no sign of the identification in the scholia of ancient origin. If Ar. intended us to think of this man as Ameinias, he has hidden the clues altogether, for there is no mention either of the sum borrowed or of the use to which it was put; and, as we have seen, the language used at 31 would be appropriate to a sale rather than a loan.

Strange though it may seem, the ancient interpretation which most affected  $\Sigma^{rve}$  was that only one creditor appeared in the play. The evidence for the existence of this interpretation is:

1. A witness accompanies the creditor at 1214. At 1246, when Strepsiades has rushed indoors for a moment, someone says, 'What do you think he's going to do? Do you think he's going to pay?' The question is not answered, and the next words are spoken by Strepsiades.  $\Sigma^v$  and  $K$  give the whole of 1246 to the witness;  $\Sigma^v$  refers to an interpretation which gave only the second of the two questions to the witness; Thomas Magister followed this to its logical conclusion by substituting *ἀποδώσει μοι δοκεῖ*, 'I think he's going to pay' for *ἀποδώσει σοι δοκεῖ*; 'Do you think he's going to pay?' In  $\Sigma^r$ , however, the whole line is given to the creditor, and the witness remains a silent part, which is what we should expect after his silence during the creditor's tirade (1214-21). Now, in 1298 Strepsiades threatens with violence the person whom we call the Second Creditor. This creditor, seeing the threat approaching, calls out *μαρτύρομαι*, as an Athenian does when assaulted.  $\Sigma^v$  speaks of an

<sup>1</sup> On the part played by Tzetzes in the transmission of the text and scholia cf. p. cxx.

interpretation which assigned the whole of 1298, *ὑπαγε. τί μέλλεις; οὐκ ἐλάσ, ᾧ σαμφόρα*; to 'the witness';  $\Sigma^{rv}$  assigns to him the last four words of the line. So far, this suggests only that some ancient commentator believed that the Second Creditor brought a witness with him. But:

2. In  $\Sigma^{rv}$  1298 ends not with *ᾧ σαμφόρα* (a humorous treatment of the creditor as a horse of a certain breed) but with *ᾧ Πασία*, and if that were right it would mean that we have only one creditor, not two; for if Pasiás appears at all, he must be the man to whom 12 mnai are owed.

3. Tzetzes evidently knew of this interpretation, for although  $\Sigma^k$  on 1259 calls the creditor 'Amynias',  $\Sigma^{kv}$  on 1214 call the creditor who speaks there 'Pasiás or Amynias'.

The idea that there is only one creditor is not, of course, tenable. It would mean that after he has gone off in high dudgeon at 1254 f., declaring 'I'll go away, but let me tell you, I'll take you to court, I'm damned if I don't!', he reappears at 1259 in completely different guise, is treated by Strepsiades as if he were a different person, and makes a different claim ('the money your son borrowed' instead of 'the twelve mnai which you borrowed'). Not only is this interpretation intrinsically odd, but it runs counter to the Aristophanic habit of showing the effects of a change in the situation on different categories of people (cf. *Ach.* 719-1070, *V.* 1292-1449, *Pax* 1052-1310); it reminds us how badly ancient interpreters can serve us in questions concerning the identification of characters<sup>1</sup> and the allocation of parts in Ar.

As we have seen, neither of the two creditors is represented as a money-lender, and the least we can do is to call them *χρήστης α'* and *χρήστης β'*, dropping the non-Attic term *δανειστής* by which they are designated in the medieval MSS.<sup>2</sup> 1155 shows us, for the first and only time in the play,

<sup>1</sup> In *Eq.* 1 ff. the identification of the two slaves of Demos as 'Nikias' and 'Demosthenes' is ancient interpretation, not uninterrupted tradition, and even the interpretation was not unanimous; cf. *Dover, CR N.S.* ix (1959), 198.

<sup>2</sup> Hypothesis III uses *χρήστης* with reference to 1214-1302 and both

that Strepsiades does regard himself as beset by money-lenders (*ἀβολοστᾶται*); and we are free to imagine that they are included in the long list which he is prevented from reading in full during the opening scene.

## V. SOCRATES

Socrates was 70 at the time of his trial in 399,<sup>1</sup> and therefore 45 when Aristophanes conceived and composed *Nu.* I.<sup>2</sup> He was physically hard, and we should certainly not imagine that he had more fat and less muscle than other Athenians;<sup>3</sup> in the autumn of 424 he fought as a hoplite at Delion and took part in the gruelling retreat.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that his hair was greying noticeably;<sup>5</sup> the allegation that he was bald (which can be traced back to Hegesandros of Delphi [II] *ap.* Ath. 507A ff.) may be only an inference from *Nu.* 147 (cf. Σ<sup>RV</sup>) and even if it were better founded than that it would not mean that he was already bald in his forties. His eyes were prominent, his nose upturned, and lips thick—features customarily attributed by the Athenians to satyrs and silenoi.<sup>6</sup>

Since there is no reference to his physiognomy in *Nu.*, it

words in its opening sentence, where I suspect (with 118 in mind) that *δανειστής* is interpolated: *τοὺς χρήστας νικᾶν καὶ μηδενὶ [τῶν δανειστῶν] μηδὲν ἀποδοῦναι*. Cf. the difference between the hypothesis to D. xxxvii, which uses the word *δανειστής*, and the text of the speech itself, where we find *χρήστης* (10) and *οἱ δανειζόντες* (52).

<sup>1</sup> Pl. *Ap.* 17 D; Apollodoros 34; Demetrios of Phaleron fr. 10 [Wehrli]; Favorinus *ap.* Diog. Laert. ii. 39.

<sup>2</sup> It is therefore wrong, in staging the play, to portray Socrates as a white-bearded 'professor', but some editors seem to have visualized him so; Blaydes on 887 refers to Strepsiades and Socrates as 'duo senes'.

<sup>3</sup> He is sometimes visualized (e.g. by Whitman, 142) as fat.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. xli.

<sup>5</sup> Aischin. i. 49 contrasts his own numerous grey hairs, at 45, with Misgolas's lack of them at the same age.

<sup>6</sup> Pl. *Smp.* 215 B, *Th.* 143 E, X. *Smp.* 4. 19, 5. 7. Satyrs are sometimes depicted on vases as having a very high hair-line, and this may be the origin of the idea that Socrates was bald. Cf. also 223 n.

may be that he was ugly only by the high aesthetic standards of the aristocratic company which he keeps in the pages of Plato and Xenophon, and that he would not have seemed particularly ugly to the man in the street. The actor who took the part of Socrates in the play may have worn a portrait-mask. Aelian, in telling the story of how Socrates answered the question whispered among the foreigners in the audience, 'Who is this man Socrates?', by silently standing up (*VH* ii. 13), assumes (but not does know) that a portrait-mask was worn; but the story loses little or none of its point if there was no portrait-mask.<sup>1</sup> If Socrates was really ugly, and his ugliness was of the conventional satyric type, a portrait of him would have been hard to distinguish from a characteristic comic mask designed for a fictitious character.<sup>2</sup>

Socrates in *Nu.* is the head of a school; Chairephon, who seems in 104, 144 ff., 830 f., 1465 to be treated as his equal, is classed in 502 ff. among his students, and has no part in the teaching of Strepsiades or Pheidippides.<sup>3</sup> The students, unlike the boys who journey to and from conventional schools every day (964 f.), live in; the student who shows Strepsiades round speaks of 'us' as 'having nothing for dinner last night' (175), and we are clearly meant to imagine (1131 ff.) that when Strepsiades comes to collect Pheidippides he has not seen him for some time.

Socrates and his students are pale from their indoor life (103, 119 f., 198 f., 1112, 1171), and Chairephon in particular is 'half-dead' (504). They are unkempt and dirty (836 f.), they wear no sandals (103, 362), their premises and furniture

<sup>1</sup> Webster, *Greek Theatre Production* (London, 1956), 60, says that Socrates stood up 'so that the audience could see his likeness to the actor'. It seems to me that Aelian may have thought that Socrates stood up for precisely the opposite reason, to imply 'Do I look like the sort of man who's playing the fool on stage?'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially the Lyme Hall relief (Webster, *op. cit.*, pl. 16); and on the general question of portrait masks cf. Dover in *Κωμφοδοτραγῆματα* (Groningen, 1967), 16 ff.

<sup>3</sup> On Chairephon cf. p. xciv.

are verminous (694 ff., cf. 144 ff.), and since they do nothing which the man in the street (or the field) regards as work (316, 334) it is not surprising that they are poor (175) and rely for a living on stealing other people's clothes (179, 497, 856 ff.). Anyone who enrolls in the school must be prepared (414 ff.) to endure cold and hunger, and to abstain from wine and athletic exercise. The activities of the school are 'mysteries' which must not be divulged (140 ff., 824), and the new student is 'initiated' by a rite (250 ff.).

The work of the school comprises research and teaching. The principal field of research is astronomy and meteorology (171 f., 193 f., 201, 225 ff., cf. 95 ff.), which, of course, involves practical observation and the use of apparatus; natural history (144 ff., 156 ff.), which involves experiments; geology (188 ff.), geometry (177 f., 202 f.) and geography (206 ff.).

Socrates teaches for payment (98, 245 f., 1146 ff.), and he teaches forensic rhetoric, by means of which a man in the wrong can persuade his hearers that he is in the right. That is why Strepsiades seeks out Socrates, and that is what Pheidippides learns.

Metric (638 ff.) and grammar (658 ff.) are propaedeutic; metric, for Socrates, is the analysis and classification of existing verse-forms, but grammar involves also the rationalization of current usage. There is no direct indication that natural science is propaedeutic to oratory.

Socrates has two different ways of teaching. His 'expository' method, answering the student's direct or implied questions and filling the void of ignorance with information, proceeds by analogy and illustration (314 ff., 340 ff., 342 ff., 385 ff.) or clears the ground for exposition by demonstrating that some of the beliefs hitherto held by the student are irreconcilable with other beliefs or assumptions (369 ff., 398 ff.). His 'tutorial' method is, first, to assess by questions the character of the student (478 ff.); secondly, to set him problems (757 ff., 775 ff., cf. 489 f.), exhort him to reduce each problem to its constituent elements (741 f.), and criticize the solutions which he offers.

Socrates holds a mixed collection of physical, cosmological, and meteorological doctrines (95 ff., 227 ff., 376 ff., 404 ff.) and in particular he rejects the gods of cult and myth (247 f., 366 ff.), putting in their place sometimes the operation of physical laws (e.g. 379 f.), at other times his own deities—the Clouds alone (365) or a trio, Chaos, Clouds, and Tongue (423 f.). There is no consistency in the portrayal of Socrates' 'atheism'; we find him invoking Aer and Aither (264 ff.) and swearing by Breath, Chaos, and Aer (626). The Greek tendency to personification of natural phenomena and abstractions ensures that a man who is regarded as rejecting the traditional gods is assumed to worship gods of his own choice, not to reject worship as such.

Wrong (*ὁ κρείττων λόγος*), who embodies the spirit of Socrates' teaching, has evidently put behind him the unworldly discomforts proper to the pursuit of science, and values both the power of oratory, as a weapon to be wielded in one's own interest, and the pleasures available to those who have learned to demolish by destructive argument the precepts of traditional morality. Pheidippides graduates from Socrates' school as a replica of Wrong, with a cool determination to do as he pleases and an equally cool dexterity in invalidating, or at least parrying, the protests of tradition. His taste in poetry is for Euripides, who (we are given to understand) shows a comparable readiness to reject established values.

Such is Ar.'s portrayal of the behaviour, interests, and teaching of Socrates. He uses similar language with reference to Socrates on other occasions: *Av.* 1554 ('unwashed') and *Ra.* 1491 ff. (*λαλεῖν . . . λήρων . . . ἀργόν*). In *Av.* 1564 Chairephon 'the bat' is described as 'coming up from below' at a kind of Socratic *νέκνυα*, as the pale, bloodless souls came to Odysseus at the entrance to the underworld. In fr. 291 (from *Dramata*) Ar. apparently referred to Chairephon as a thief.

If it was Ar.'s purpose to caricature the genus 'intellectual'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since Plato we have been accustomed to distinguish between the



as a whole, the evidence suggests that it is a fair caricature in essentials, with the addition of one or two elements which go a stage beyond caricature and one or two more which relate to the individual Socrates rather than to the genus. It is also a caricature which combines features of distinct species of the genus.

The one philosopher who was immortalized in folk-lore was Thales. Strepsiades exclaims in 180, in admiration for the ingenuity of Socrates, 'Why do we go on admiring old Thales?', and in *Av.* 1009 Peisetairos comments on Meton: 'The man's a Thales!' Now Thales was remembered in connexion with τὰ μετέωρα. *Hdt.* i. 74. 2 tells us that he was believed to have foretold the solar eclipse of 585, and *Pl. Thl.* 174 A relates an anecdote of popular type: that Thales was so engrossed in the sky that he failed to see the well before his feet, and fell down it. This being the popular idea of an intellectual, it is to be expected that caricature of one in Ar.'s time would give a prominent place to astronomy, from which it is naturally difficult to separate cosmology, physics, and geology. This would have happened even if intellectual interests had all turned in a different direction (popular conceptions of the intellectual are usually a generation out of date), and in fact, despite great diversification and enlargement (*v. infr.*), astronomy and related scientific subjects remained prominent. The works of Anaxagoras were known at Athens, even if more by vague repute than from careful study (cf. *Pl. Phd.* 97 B, *Ap.* 26 D, *X. M.* iv. 7. 6, *Isok.* xv. 235); Kratinos (155) ridiculed Hippon for a cosmological doctrine which recurs in *Nu.* 95 ff. (*v. n.*)<sup>1</sup>; several of the doctrines which Ar. puts into the mouth of Socrates can be identified as those of the contemporary philosopher Diogenes of Apollonia (e.g. 227 ff.,

sophist and the philosopher, and therefore lack a word to cover both. The distinction was not made in the language of Ar.'s time, nor was the word σοφιστής so narrowly confined as later; cf. 331 n.

<sup>1</sup> Σ<sup>v</sup> 96 comments that this fact shows that Ar. did not write *Nu.* out of personal hostility to Socrates.

*v. nn.*); Hippias of Elis taught astronomy (*Pl. Hp. Ma.* 285 B, *Prt.* 315 C).

During the second half of the fifth century the men who in an earlier generation might have confined themselves to expounding abstract doctrines in didactic poetry intervened more directly and effectively in society by teaching oratory. Persuasive speaking, in assembly and law courts, was felt to be the key to worldly success, the way to wealth and influence and power. The example of Perikles, who was both uniquely influential at Athens and a uniquely persuasive speaker, stimulated an interest in the technique of political and forensic success; the sophists professed to refine and to impart this technique (*Pl. Phdr.* 266 D ff.). In so doing they made a departure of very great importance from the earlier philosophical tradition. Concentration on persuasion diverted them from what is (scientifically speaking) probable to what can be made to seem probable (*Phdr.* 272 DE). Protagoras taught his pupils to 'praise and blame the same thing', and this necessarily involves 'making wrong appear right' (*Arist. Rhet.* 1402<sup>a</sup>23, Eudoxos 4). The 'Tetralogies' ascribed to Antiphon are a fifth-century exercise in presenting both sides of a case with equal conviction and ingenuity. *Pl. Euthd.* 272 A represents Euthydemus as able to refute any argument 'whether it is false or true'. *Lys.* viii. 11, καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ᾧμην φιλοσοφούντας αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀντιλέγειν τὸν ἐναντίον λόγον, is an interesting reflection of the plain man's view of φιλοσοφία: and *Isok.* xv. 15 faces the accusation ὡς ἐγὼ τοὺς ἥττους λόγους κρείττους δύναμαι ποιεῖν.

Certain branches of study are more relevant to oratory than others, and it is not surprising that the sophists, notably Prodikos and Protagoras, devoted much attention to semantics (*Pl. Cra.* 384 B, *Euthd.* 277 E, *Cra.* 391 C, *Arist. Soph. El.* 173<sup>b</sup>17); Hippias, too, taught phonetics, metre, and music (*Pl. Hp. Ma.* 285 D), the relevance of which to oratory is at best marginal. Astronomy and physics have no relevance; that they were taught by the same men as



oratory was a legacy from the past,<sup>1</sup> and that they were believed to be relevant by teacher and pupil alike must be ascribed partly to the fact that the idea of intellectual specialization had not yet taken recognizable shape, partly to the total intellectual inadequacy of education as it had been hitherto understood.<sup>2</sup> Traditional education imparted techniques, but there was no stage at which it satisfied intellectual curiosity or encouraged independence of thought; the sophists occupied, with an indiscriminate variety of subjects, the void which Greek society had created for them.

Devotion to the technique of persuasion was incompatible with a firm belief in objective values; rational thought about the universe inevitably and immediately brought mythology and popular religious assumptions into discredit. No matter how dutifully an intellectual followed the observances of conventional piety, it was hard for him, when he opened his mouth, to escape or rebut suspicion that he was offending the gods by scepticism, or by a doctrine which dethroned them from their traditional seat at the controls of the universe, and that he was subverting that complex of attitudes, values, and behaviour which the Greeks subsumed under the term *νόμος*. This, of course, is precisely what he was doing, for custom and rational thought are seldom reconcilable. Greek intellectuals had never hesitated to regard most of their fellow men as afflicted with blind stupidity (cf. Herakleitos B1, B5, Hekataios 1a, Xenophanes B14-16, and Empedokles B2, B11)<sup>3</sup> and those of Aristophanes' time were not timid in their criticisms of unthinking tradition. For this they suffered, not only in reputation but in the courts: notably Anaxagoras (Diog. Laert. ii. 12, Plu. *Per.* 32. 2), Socrates himself, and possibly Protagoras—to whom we owe classic formulations of agnosticism (B4) and of relativism (B1)—though the evidence for his prosecution is not good (A12), and the fact that

<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to know the grounds on which Aristotle (fr. 65 = 15 [Ross]) regarded Empedokles as the 'inventor' of rhetoric.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. lviii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Guthrie, i. 410 ff.

Eupolis (146 B) referred to him on the comic stage as ἀλετήριος is more important for our present purpose.<sup>1</sup> Pl. *Lg.* 967 A (cf. Plu. *Nic.* 23. 4 f.) makes the point that what the ordinary Greek found hard to stomach was the idea that celestial phenomena could be explained in terms of scientific laws and not as the separately motivated actions of supernatural personalities.

Sophists did not teach for nothing, and Plato refers often, sometimes in general terms, sometimes with the specification of a sum, to the fees which they charged; Prodikos (*Cra.* 384 B, 'the fifty-drachma lecture-course'; *Ap.* 19 E, *Hp. Ma.* 282 E); Evenos of Paros (*Ap.* 20 B, 'five mnai'); Gorgias (*Ap.* 19 E, *Hp. Ma.* 282 B); Hippias (*Ap.* 19 E, *Hp. Ma.* 282 D); Protagoras (*Cra.* 391 B, *Hp. Ma.* 282 D). In Plato's *Protagoras* the sophists are assembled in the house of Kallias, a man of exceptional wealth, who was reputed to have spent heavily on fees to sophists (*Pl. Cra.* 291 B).<sup>2</sup> It does not seem to have been an invariable rule that pupils should 'live in', for *Pl. Prt.* 318 A implies that a young man under instruction from Protagoras would return home every day, but Plato also represents Protagoras as bringing with him to Athens foreigners 'from all the cities through which he passes' (315 B).

Sophists who earned these fees did not need to save money on haircuts and sandals, and they are not represented by their contemporaries as ascetics. It was in the fourth century that nakedness, vermin, dirt, and an indifference to what they ate and to the appearance of the women with whom they had intercourse became trade marks of certain kinds of philosopher. Antisthenes seems to have led the way (*X. Smp.* 4. 34 ff.), and the 'Pythagorean' was a stock figure of fourth-century comedy.<sup>3</sup> Very little can be said for certain about the real Pythagoras, but it is probable that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 830 n. on Diagoras of Melos.

<sup>2</sup> For a later period, cf. D. xxxv. 42 on Lakritos.

<sup>3</sup> The passages are collected by Diels-Kranz, i. 478 ff. Cf. also the 'Pythagorean' of Theokr. 14. 5 f.

by Ar.'s time Pythagoreans had a reputation for asceticism, and fakirs of various kinds may have been one of those phenomena of which we catch only a fleeting glimpse in fifth-century literature.<sup>1</sup>

It will be apparent from this summary that most of the elements in Ar.'s portrayal of Socrates can be identified either as general characteristics of the sophists or as conspicuous characteristics of some contemporary intellectuals. Two elements peculiar to the play must now be mentioned.

One is the experiment reported in 148 ff. We have very little evidence for experimentation in fifth-century science, but it should not be underrated; note especially Hp. *Aer.* 8 and Empedokles B100.<sup>2</sup> This is a case where it is appropriate to remind ourselves that comic caricature must be caricature of something, and when we recall the scale of artistic experiment which characterized the fifth century it seems prudent to accept the implications of 148 ff., including the fact that Strepsiades says, on hearing that Socrates had asked Chairephon how far a flea jumped, not 'And did Chairephon know?' but 'How then did he measure it?'—not, perhaps, the question which a real Strepsiades would have asked, but revealing in its implication. There was probably much more scientific experiment in the fifth century than a cursory acquaintance with the fragments of the Presocratics might suggest. Against our general impression that there was little interest in particular species of animal (though there was certainly readiness to generalize about the animal kingdom as a whole, especially with reference to reproduction), we must set the fact that Alkmaion is alleged to have believed that goats breathe through their ears (A7), Anaxagoras (A115) and Diogenes (A31) held theories about

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below on experiments, and 41 n.

<sup>2</sup> On the whole question of experiment cf. G. E. R. Lloyd, *PCPS* cxc (1964), 50 ff.; remember also that Meton was a contemporary of Ar., and that at least one famous experiment had been enshrined in legend (the Egyptian king's attempt to discover the original language of mankind) by the time that Hdt. ii. 2 was written.

the respiratory system of fishes, and Demokritos had something to say about the movement of caterpillars (B126) and how a spider spins its web (A150). We must also remember that in 331 ff. Ar. treats doctors (*ιατροτέχναι*) *pari passu* with seers, musicians, and philosophers. In Epikr. 11 Plato and his pupils are represented as studying the classification of vegetables; we do not have to believe that Plato did this, but we must recognize taxonomy as a fourth-century intellectual activity which a comic poet could incorporate in philosophy.

The second element is the extensive treatment of entry to the school as initiation into mysteries. There is nothing in our evidence for the sophists to suggest that they used the language or procedures of mysteries and initiation, and from earlier times the nearest approach to this is the 'secrets' of the Pythagoreans (Arist. fr. 192 = 132 [Ross]; Pythagoras A7);<sup>1</sup> but the analogy between initiation and admission to a course of instruction is an obvious one—Plato's Socrates exploits it humorously in *Euthd.* 277 D and more seriously in *Smp.* 209 E—and the reasonable explanation is that Ar. is not caricaturing here but presenting a metaphor in concrete form, again in accordance with the broad and reckless sweep of 331 ff.

In the portrait of Socrates there are certain distinctive features which recur in the individual Socrates whom we know from Plato and Xenophon.

In Pl. *Smp.* 221 B Alkibiades says, with reference to Socrates' cool bearing on the retreat from Delion, 'I thought, Aristophanes, as you put it, that he went on his way there as he does here, "swaggering and glancing sideways"' (an abbreviation and adaptation of *Nu.* 362).

Plato also represents Alkibiades (*Smp.* 220 B) as describing the astonishment which Socrates evoked at the siege of Potidaia by going barefoot and thinly clad in the coldest weather. Xenophon comments (*M.* i. 2. 1, 3. 5 ff., 6. 2) on his indifference to cold, heat, hunger, and discomfort in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guthrie, i. 175 ff.

general. Philosophical pallor is a contradictory ingredient within Ar.'s portrait;<sup>1</sup> living indoors is not conducive to endurance out of doors, but either can be treated separately as a consequence of alienation from ordinary life. As for philosophical squalor, it seems unlikely that a man whose company was cultivated by Alkibiades and Kritias actually smelt worse than his contemporaries and carried more vermin, but there are indications that washing—as one might expect in a place where the water-supply fell short of what we should regard as adequate and the sanitary conditions far short of what we could even tolerate—was regarded by the Greeks as a luxury rather than a necessity and was associated with great occasions (*Pax* 868, *Pl. Smp.* 174 A).<sup>2</sup> Possibly Socrates was rather dirty, and possibly his dirtiness was treated as a manly and high-minded indifference to discomfort.<sup>3</sup>

Many points of contact between *Nu.* and the extant corpus of Socratic dialogues have been considered, and many have been thought to show that Ar. knew, and expected his audience to recognize, characteristic peculiarities of Socrates' methods and manners. The test case is 137, where the student tells Strepsiades that by knocking at the door so noisily he has 'caused the miscarriage of a discovery' (*φροντιδ' ἐξήμβλωκας ἐξηυρημένην*).<sup>4</sup> The metaphor reminds us of the famous passage in *Theaetetus* where Plato makes Socrates speak of his technique as 'midwife' to the birth of ideas from the minds of others; the term *ἐξαμβλοῦν* is used there (150 E) of those who have left Socrates' company too soon. If this is a genuine point of contact, some remarkable conclusions follow. The first is that Ar. is so well acquainted with Socrates' terminology that he can allude to it in a single word, without any enlargement—without even ending the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the 'Pythagorean' of *Theokr.* 14. 5 f., and Gow ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 837 n.

<sup>3</sup> Σ<sup>IVE</sup> 835 observe that what is there intended to show the Socratics in a ridiculous light could also be taken as reflecting creditably on their manliness.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. W. Schmid, *Philologus*, xcvi (1948), 219 f., and Taylor, 148 ff.

line within the same field of metaphor. The second is that, if this is so, the play should be full of similar allusions; yet, as we read on, we find that the words and phrases which sound like allusions (479 f. *μηχανάς* . . . *προσφέρω*, 489 f. *ὅταν τι προβάλωμαι σοφόν* . . . *εὐθέως ὑφαρπάσει*) are not attested in Plato. In other words, comparison with Plato does not work as a criterion of the authenticity of terminology ascribed to Socrates in *Nu.* The third conclusion is that a Socratic metaphor so important and well known that one word in *Nu.* sufficed to make a humorous allusion was wholly neglected by Plato in his earlier representations of Socrates (including *Ap.*) and exploited, at a comparatively late date, in one dialogue alone.<sup>1</sup> These conclusions so lack plausibility that they tempt us to seek another explanation of *ἐξήμβλωκας*, and the obvious explanation is that since *τίκτειν* and *γεννᾶν* were so freely used in a metaphorical sense the interruption of an intellectual exercise by a shock and a loud noise was appropriately described as 'miscarriage'. Strepsiades, whose life has been spent in close acquaintance with sheep and goats (45, 71 f.), creatures which are sensitive to sudden fright when pregnant, is naturally interested.

Again, that Socrates tells Strepsiades (742) to solve a problem *ὀρθῶς διαιρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν* has no bearing<sup>2</sup> on the *διαίρεσις* which is introduced by Plato in *Phdr.* 266 B, assumes great importance in *Sph.* and *Plt.*, and is part-object of Epikrates' caricature of Plato. To break down a problem into its components is a necessary stage towards its solution, and *διαίρειν* was used before Ar. both of physical division (*Hdt.*) and (*Herakl.* B1) of dividing a topic into items; Plato also uses it (*La.* 197 D) of Prodikos's semantic distinctions. What Xenophon (*M.* iv. 5. 12) calls *διαλέγειν κατὰ γένη* is seen, if we examine the context carefully, to be quite different from Platonic *διαίρεσις*.

Socrates' tutorial method, as portrayed in *Nu.*, could pass

<sup>1</sup> In *Pl. Smp.* the subject, Eros, not the 'midwife' conceit, is the reason for the detailed subsumption of philosophical study under *τόκος ἐν καλῷ*.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. Schmid, 221.

as a bare caricature of the dialectical skill with which, in Plato, he secures the co-operation of others in a quest for metaphysical proofs.<sup>1</sup> Yet it is hard to believe that the sophists taught solely by continuous exposition, and that they never set their pupils problems and exercises or never listened seriously to the answers and suggestions which they received. Any teacher of any subject must on occasion, however inadequately, act as 'midwife', and the enlargement on this metaphor in *Tht.* is likely to mean not that Socrates was the only person to attempt such a technique or to have such an experience, but that, given his belief that awareness of one's own ignorance is the foundation of wisdom (*Ap.* 21 B ff.), he did not claim to contribute to our knowledge of reality *except* as midwife.

$\Sigma^{RVE}$  703 acutely observes that the advice given to Strepsiades to drop a line of inquiry which has led to an impasse and take a fresh starting-point (cf. 743 ff.) is Socratic; so indeed it is, especially in short early dialogues such as *Lysis*; but it is also characteristic of any active intellect, and the sophists would not have taken many fees if they had done nothing but reduce a pupil to a stupefied silence and despair at his own ignorance.

Thus the characteristics of the individual Socrates which are common to Ar., Plato, and Xenophon appear to fall entirely within the limits of the physically obvious.<sup>2</sup> Outside these limits, the disagreements are formidable.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 703 n. R. Philippson, *RM* lxxxii (1932), 30 ff., presses the resemblance very hard.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the arguments by which the list has been extended do not survive a careful reading of the passages cited in support of them. e.g. Gelzer, *MH* xiii (1956), 71, on the *σκήπτους*, 'auf dem man anscheinend bei Sokrates zu Hause saß (Pl. *Prt.* 310 c)'—but Hippokrates sits on Socrates' bed because he has found Socrates there asleep (it is still dark) and has woken him up; Schmid, 211, thinks (with  $\Sigma^v$ ) that *τώφθαλμῶ παραβάλλων* describes the same expression as *ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας* (Pl. *Phd.* 117 B), which it obviously does not; he refers also (213, cf. Taylor, 143, 146) to the *σύνδειπνοι* of *X. M.* iii. 14. 1 ff.—but there is nothing there to suggest that Socrates customarily ate with the same people, and it has no bearing whatever on the life of the students

1. Interests. Plato's Socrates absolutely denies that he has any interest in, or knowledge of, astronomy and geology (*Ap.* 18 B ff.); cf. *X. M.* i. 1. 11 ff., iv. 7. 6. Indeed, he professes ignorance of all technical and specialized subjects; the manner in which he expresses himself on the subject of metre (*R.* 400 B C), referring uncertainly to words which he has heard from Damon, is noteworthy.

2. Religion. The Socrates of Plato and Xenophon is not only a pious man, who participates in the observances of the society in which he lives (*X. M.* i. 1. 2 ff., 2. 64, 3. 1 ff., *Ap.* 24), but displays an unwavering faith in the reality of the gods (*X. M.* i. 1. 19) and the providential government of the universe.

3. Teaching. Nothing could be more alien from the Socrates of Plato and Xenophon than to teach young men how to achieve worldly success by exploitation of the arts to which the world yields. He professes total unfamiliarity with the lawcourts (Pl. *Ap.* 17 D) and the machinery of public life (*ibid.* 32 A B, *Grg.* 473 E), and his hostility to rhetoric is outspoken (*Grg. passim*, cf. *X. M.* i. 2. 31). So far from taking money for teaching (Pl. *Ap.* 19 D ff., *X. M.* i. 2. 60, 6. 3), he likens such a procedure to prostitution (*ibid.* 6. 13).

What is the explanation of this fundamental conflict between Ar. on the one side and Plato and Xenophon on the other? There are three possible explanations.<sup>1</sup>

in the school; on Schmid, 214, cf. 415 n. The remarks of the Xenophontean Socrates on spiders (*M.* i. 3. 12, iii. 11. 6) do not go beyond commonplace observation, and hardly support (*pace* Römer, *SBAW* 1896, 226, n. 1) Ar.'s presentation of Socrates as an entomologist.

<sup>1</sup> I confine within this footnote one of the curiosities of modern scholarship, the theory elaborated by H. Erbse, *Hermes*, lxxxii (1954), 385 ff., that Ar. distinguishes between Socrates and the sophists and absolves Socrates of immoral sophistic teaching. The theory is adequately refuted by (i) simple restatement of the sequence: Strepsiades entrusts the education of Pheidippides to Socrates; Pheidippides, duly educated and received from the hands of Socrates by Strepsiades, assaults his father; Strepsiades, with divine encouragement, destroys Socrates' house ('nur das Lokal', pleads Erbse) and pursues him with

(i) Ar. portrays, through caricature, the truth; Plato and Xenophon are writing fiction, putting their own ideas into the mouth of an interesting and stimulating man of their fathers' generation, a man 'canonized', in the eyes of many reflective and educated Athenians, by a punishment out of all proportion to any offence which he may have given.

Arbitration is made difficult by our apparent shortage of witnesses who are not emotionally committed. Socrates became a subject of controversy within a few years of his death, and the works of Plato and Xenophon were necessarily written from the standpoint of parties to the controversy. In the following generation those who interested themselves in Socrates were either the philosophical heirs of Plato or antagonistic to Plato. The following considerations, however, tell somewhat against the hypothesis that Ar. was right in suggesting that Socrates professed to teach science and oratory and that he exacted fees for doing so.

(a) If Plato and Xenophon are to be regarded as engaged in a conspiracy to conceal the truth, it was a conspiracy of exceptional audacity, trusting to outright denial rather than to suppression; it was also one of exceptional efficiency. There were, after all, other writers of the period who made Socrates the hero of philosophical dialogues. Themistius 34. 5 refers to the *γνήσιος Σωκράτους χορός*, Kebes, Phaidon, Aristippos, and Aischines of Sphettos, who 'remained within the boundaries', *sc.* of inquiry into good and evil in man, household, and city (cf. Euseb. *PE* xv. 62. 7 ff.). Sextus Empiricus *Math.* vii. 190. 1 refers to the Cyrenaics as rejecting enquiry into scientific causation, and so following (i.e. claiming to follow) the lead of Socrates (cf. Apul. *De Deo Socr.* prol. II, p. 2. 11 ff.). Aristotle, who had his emotional

blows, (ii) by the fact that in order to explain away passages which are irreconcilable with this theory it is necessary to pretend that Old Comedy is an art-form very different from what we know it to be; e.g. Erbse, 411, suggests that the Student who takes Strepsiades in has misunderstood the teaching of his master—but what of his generic similarity to the servant of Euripides in *Ach.* and the servant of Agathon in *Th.*?

commitment to Plato under control and had none to Socrates, gives no sign of entertaining the idea that Socrates was a professional sophist.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Allegations which support Ar. either lack credentials or are hedged with careful reservations.

References in other comic poets—viz. Telekleides 39, 40 (Socrates a collaborator with Euripides; cf. Ar. fr. 376), Eupolis 352 (*πτωχός ἀδολέσχης*), Eupolis 361 (Socrates steals an oinochoe at a party), Ameipsias 9 (Socrates shoeless)—simply suggest that the presentation of Socrates in comedy was internally consistent.

Idomeneus (16) certainly revived the allegation that Socrates taught oratory, and Aristoxenos (fr. 59 [Wehrli]) said that he took money, at least by 'collecting small change thrown to him' as to a beggar. Idomeneus, however, who asserted *inter alia* that Perikles murdered Ephialtes (8), seems to have belonged to that historiographical tradition which repeated, as if it were the plain truth, the most reckless jokes of comic poets (14, on Hyperides, smells of comedy) and the allegations of misconduct which politicians brought against their rivals (12, on the intemperance of Demosthenes, is simply a summary of Aischines i. 171 f.). We may suspect that for Idomeneus *Nu.* was itself the most important evidence for the life of Socrates.<sup>2</sup>

Aristoxenos claimed in his *Life of Socrates* that his father Spintharos knew Socrates personally (fr. 54a); he may have been on the track of the truth when he counteracted the Academic idealization of Socrates by speaking of his vehement anger (frr. 54a, 54b, 56—and reference to the effect of this anger on his face and manner suggests genuine reminiscence) and his considerable sexual appetite (the qualification

<sup>1</sup> If he had entertained it, he would have done so in the lost *Sophistes*, and we could expect to hear something about it in the later literature on Socrates. There are a few biographical data on Socrates in citations from other lost works of Aristotle (e.g. fr. 93 = 58 [Ross]), the implications of which are not really faced by Taylor, 61 f., 66 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ephoros 196 on the causes of the Peloponnesian War, and Polybios's criticism (xii. 13. 1 ff.) of Timaios 35b.

ἀδικία δ' οὐ προσῆν [fr. 55, cf. 54ab] absolves Aristoxenos from the charge of reckless polemic; but if Aristoxenos was right about 'collecting small change' the origin of the story may lie in something which Socrates once did or said for a joke.

(c) The testimony of Aristippos is not without value. He seems to have been hostile to Plato (Arist. *Rhet.* 1398<sup>b</sup>29, cf. Demetr. *Eloc.* 288), but this did not entail hostility to Socrates (cf. especially fr. 100 A [Mannebach]). He alleged that Socrates received food and wine from wealthy friends (fr. 7): an allegation which could well be true—how Socrates made a living is one of the mysterious things about him—but its edge is blunted by the addition of the detail that Socrates took only a small portion of what he was given.<sup>1</sup> So far from alleging that Socrates took money, Aristippos implied that he did not (fr. 3 A, 6). If the evidence of Aristippos and Aristoxenos is the best that could be done by men critical of Plato's version of the Socratic tradition, it is so far from weakening Plato's case that by implication it strengthens it.

(d) What is more important than evidence from philosophical sources is that Lysias, in a speech written for a client prosecuted by Aischines of Sphettos, says (fr. I. 2 [Thalheim]): 'I thought that as my opponent had been a pupil (μαθητής) of Socrates and talked so much and so impressively about justice and virtue (περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς πολλοὺς καὶ σεμνοὺς λόγους λέγοντα) he would not have attempted or ventured on conduct characteristic of the worst and most dishonest people.' Lysias, of course, was making a point to serve his client's case; yet the line which he decided to pursue was not 'Aischines was taught by Socrates to cheat and make wrong appear right' but 'I trusted Aischines because he had learned from Socrates', and what is said here about 'justice and virtue' is fully in

<sup>1</sup> The allegation is part of an anecdote about Aristippos; its source might be Aischines of Sphettos (cf. fr. 49 [Dittmar]), but is more probably Phainias of Eresos (cf. fr. 31 [Wehrli]).

harmony with Xenophon's statement (*M.* i. 1. 16) of the subjects of Socrates' discourses.

(ii) Ar. caricatures Socrates as he was in 424/3; Plato and Xenophon portray him as he became in the last twenty years of his life.

All that can be said about this theory is that it is the only recourse of those who believe that because Ar. and Plato are both admirable writers they must also both be just, accurate, and truthful. There is no other evidence for or against the theory. Certainly the intellectual autobiography put into Socrates' mouth in Pl. *Phd.* 96 A ff. is not evidence for it.<sup>1</sup> Socrates there says that when he was young he very much wanted to know the causes (*αἰτίαι*) of things, and speculated on physics and biology. Then (97 B C) 'I heard someone reading from a book which he said was by Anaxagoras, and relating how Mind was . . . the cause of everything.' So Socrates read Anaxagoras; but being disappointed to find that Anaxagoras's explanation was mechanistic and failed to reveal how Mind operated as the ultimate cause, he abandoned this line of inquiry (98 B–99 D). It is plain that this account of a metaphysical curiosity which the scientific speculations of others failed to satisfy is separated by a very wide gulf from Ar.'s portrayal of a Socrates who professes to teach scientific doctrine in mechanistic terms.

Even if *Phd.* 96 A ff. were taken as evidence for Socrates' early interest in science, it would not touch the question of his teaching oratory for money.

(iii) Plato and Xenophon tell the truth; Ar. attaches to Socrates the characteristics which belonged to the sophists in general but did not belong to Socrates.

This is the view taken by Plato in *Ap.* 23 D: 'When they are asked, by what actions or teaching Socrates "corrupts the young", they have nothing to say; they don't know; but so that it may not be apparent that they are at a loss for an answer, they repeat the accusations which are so readily made against all philosophers, "what is up in the sky and

<sup>1</sup> Ctr. Schmid, 215.



what is below the earth" and "not believing in gods" and "making wrong appear right". Plato treats the formal accusation brought against Socrates in 399 as the culmination of a long process of slander to which *Nu.* itself made a significant contribution (18 B ff., 19 C, 26 B ff.).

If we adopt this answer, we must go on to ask: was Ar. acting in ignorance? If not, was he actuated by cynical malice, or by an equally cynical decision to exploit popular prejudice for the purposes of his craft as a comic poet?

Ignorance can almost certainly be eliminated. Admittedly, to suppose—as if Athens were a village and Attica a parish—that all adult male citizens knew one another's business would be naïve, and not only naïve, but contrary to the implications of some passages in Plato and to the fact that the Athenian orator often introduces a name in a way which suggests he does not expect the jury to know the man in question. We should note particularly Pl. *La.* 180 c ff., where Lysimachos knows Socrates as a fellow demesman and πατρικὸς φίλος, but knows so little about him that when he heard from his son about the edifying and stimulating conversation of a certain Socrates he did not identify the two.<sup>1</sup> If *Nu.* had not been written, it would not have been implausible to suggest that Socrates was at most a name to Ar. Yet we cannot say both 'Ar. knew nothing about Socrates' and 'Ar. expected his audience to be familiar with Socrates'. One of these propositions must be discarded, and there are difficulties in the way of discarding the second. On the same occasion as *Nu.*, Ameipsias won second prize with a play called *Konnos*. Ath. 218 c, speaking of Protagoras, says: 'Ameipsias in *Konnos*, produced two years earlier' (sc. than Eupolis's *Flatterers*) 'οὐ καταριθμεῖ αὐτὸν (sc. Πρωταγόραν) ἐν τῷ τῶν φροντιστῶν χορῷ.' Whether Athenaios means 'does not speak of him as being among intellectuals' (cf. Pl. *Prt.* 315 B, on the gathering to listen to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pl. *Euthyphro* 2 B on Meletos, D. xix. 244 on Timarchos, and D. xxxix. 7 ff. on the confusion which might result if two men had the same name, patronymic and demotic.

the sophists in Kallias's house: 'and there were also some Athenians ἐν τῷ χορῷ': and cf. Themistius above) or 'does not include him in the chorus (of the play, which is composed) of philosophers' cannot be decided with absolute certainty, but the former interpretation introduces a most improbable ambiguity into a sentence which is, after all, about a comedy. (Incidentally, I see no good reason to believe that Ameipsias used the word φροντιστής.) Now, Konnos is mentioned by Plato's Socrates (*Euthd.* 272 c, 295 D, *Mnx.* 235 E) as the music teacher from whom he continued, even late in life, to learn. Furthermore, fr. 9 of Ameipsias begins with words addressed directly to Socrates and ends with a remark about him. The assignation of this citation to *Konnos* and the supposition that in that play the chorus represented a gathering of intellectuals, who at some point in the play were named individually, do not seem unduly rash. Add to this that both *Nu.* and Ameipsias 9 refer to Socrates' physical toughness and that *Nu.* 362 was accepted by Plato as an accurate description of Socrates' manner in the streets of Athens, and it follows that Socrates' appearance, manner, and way of life were widely known at Athens in 424/3. If we accept the evidence of Pl. *Smp.* 219 E ff., he must have been talked about after his remarkable behaviour at Poteidaia, as a man of extraordinary toughness. His bearing on the retreat from Delion (*Smp.* 220 E ff., *La.* 181 B) is likely to have spread his reputation further, but not necessarily for his own good; human nature being what it is, our reaction to those who look much braver than we feel in a headlong retreat is not always generous admiration. At Poteidaia 'the soldiers looked askance at Socrates, feeling that he despised them' (*Smp.* 220 B).

Several years later (later, in fact, than the latest stratum that can be detected in the revision of *Nu.*) Ar. refers (*Av.* 1281 f.) to current crazes at Athens: ἐλακωνομάνουον ἅπαντες . . . ἐκόμωον ἐπειῶν ἐρρύπων ἐσωκράτου, σκυτάλι' ἐφόρου. Here cultivation of Socratic asceticism is linked

with superficial laconism, and it would be hard to believe that Ar. used the verb *σωκρατεῖν* without assuming that the majority of his audience would know what he was talking about.

However, Socrates was evidently known to Ar. in 424/3 as a conspicuous individual and as a subject of some striking anecdotes, something more than a name. Must we then convict Ar. of cynicism? Not necessarily; there remains a very important factor which has not been given its due in discussion of this problem.

We study Greek literature and philosophy, and in this study we set ourselves very high standards of accuracy. But in order to understand *Nu.* we must make an imaginative effort to adopt an entirely different position, the position of someone to whom all philosophical and scientific speculation, all disinterested intellectual curiosity, is boring and silly. To such a person distinctions which are of fundamental importance to the intellectual appear insignificant, incomprehensible, and often imperceptible. Nothing is more striking, in all departments of human life, than the extreme subjectivity of differences. For everyone who understands and cares about the difference between Bach and Rachmaninov, the Labour Party and the Communist Party, Oxford and Cambridge, or England and Scotland, there is another to whom the difference is of no interest or consequence. This is nowhere more conspicuous than in popular attitudes to the intellectual. Until very recently—nowadays, the illustrator has to choose between library and laboratory as background—a 'professor' in popular literature was a man from whom one could expect a learned opinion on any subject from the history of Assyria to the anatomy of the newt. Ar., as a successful writer of comedies for a mass audience, did not have to make a great effort to look at the world from a popular standpoint; he must in essentials have adopted that standpoint by nature, for otherwise he would not have been a comic poet. To judge from the extant citations, the comic poets of the fifth century

were unanimous in their adoption of what seems to their modern readers a reactionary and philistine *persona*, and in this respect they resemble modern music-hall comedians rather than modern writers of comedies. The extent to which artistic devotion, imagination, and craftsmanship could be divorced from genuine intellectual curiosity was greater among the Greeks than we expect to find in artists, novelists, or musicians of our own time.<sup>1</sup> I suggest, then, that although the difference between Socrates and the Sophists was known to Ar., in the sense that the data which constituted that difference were available to his organs of perception, he simply did not see it, and if it had been pointed out to him he would not have regarded it as important. He drew one basic distinction, between the normal man and the abnormal man. The normal man works and fights, and takes as much as he can of song, dance, food, drink, sex, sleep, and good company. The abnormal man is essentially parasitic on the normal; he does no real work, he undermines the loyalties on which the city's continued existence depends,<sup>2</sup> and he casts a shadow over the ordinary pleasures of life by the unspoken implication that there may be other, secret pleasures accessible to him alone. Ar. casts his net very wide in separating the abnormal and parasitic from the normal and essential; in *Nu.* 331 ff. seers, medical writers, and lyric poets are included, under the general heading *σοφισταί*, as *ἀργοί*, and the parasitic philosopher, as typified by the comic Socrates, has obvious affinities

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Gomme, *More Essays in Greek History and Literature* (Oxford, 1962), 82 ff., compares Ar. to Bernard Shaw, and although from some points of view they are less alike than Gomme suggests, from another they are more so. Shaw, who clothed many frivolous prejudices in the language of rationality, understood few of the subjects on which he wrote most fluently and vigorously, but what he did understand, better than most other men, was what can be effectively said and done on the stage.

<sup>2</sup> The extent to which the survival of the city-state depended on the physical toughness of its adult male citizens must never be forgotten. It helps to explain not only the attitude of characters in comedy but Plato's whole approach to the construction of an ideal state.

IMP  
PCG

IMP



with other parasitic types in comedy: the seer (*Pax* 1043 ff.), the oracle-monger (*Av.* 959 ff.), and the poet (*Av.* 904 ff.).<sup>1</sup>

If Socrates professed no original scientific doctrines, at least he was prepared to talk about them rationally, even if only to pick holes in the doctrines of others (*X. M.* iv. 7. 7), and Plato represents him as devoting his last hour on earth to the exposition of cosmology and geology (*Phd.* 108 c ff.). We, as historians of literature and philosophy, can see the difference between the writings of Anaxagoras or Diogenes of Apollonia and the myth which in *Phd.* is wholly subservient to a moral end (114 D); but are we to suppose that, if Socrates ever talked as he does in *Phd.*, Ar. saw any difference? Again, if Socrates took no fees for teaching the young men who listened to him, these young men came, on Plato's admission (*Ap.* 23 c), from the class which had most wealth and leisure; do we suppose that Ar. saw any difference between the fees which Kallias paid to Protagoras and the friendship, patronage, and hospitality which Alkibiades made available to Socrates?<sup>2</sup> Or again, if Socrates did not teach his young men to seek worldly success by means of persuasive oratory, this is, after all, what they did seek, and what some of them, notably Alkibiades, achieved. Would Ar. understand that the 'pupils' were doing what the 'master' had discouraged them from doing?<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps the most revealing single passage in the play is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gelzer, *MH* xiii. 76 ff. and Á. E. Roggwiller, *Dichter und Dichtung in der attischen Komödie* (Diss. Zurich, 1926), 19 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In Ameipsias 9 the second speaker says of Socrates οἶτος μέντοι πεινῶν οὕτως οὐπώπου' ἔτλη κολακεύσαι. An impressive testimonial, at first glance; but what kind of comedy was this, if the utterance and point ended there? I suspect that the citation (*Diog. Laert.* ii. 28, in company with the radically altered 'moralizing' version of *Nu.* 412 ff.) has been docked of its tail and thus of its sting.

<sup>3</sup> Alkibiades had already been ridiculed by Ar. in 427 (fr. 198. 6, from *Banqueters*) and 425 (*Ach.* 716). It was common in the first decade of the fourth century to blame Socrates for the misdeeds of Alkibiades (cf. *X. M.* i. 2. 12 ff., *Isok.* xi. 5), and this 'guilt by association' may go back to a time when Alkibiades' behaviour was merely annoying.

358 ff. The Clouds, in saluting Socrates, say 'we would not listen to any other of the μετειαροσοφισταί of the present time except Prodikos, for his artistry and intelligence (σοφίας καὶ γνώμης οὐνεκα), and you, because you swagger in the streets . . .'. The humorous point of these lines is the grotesque anticlimax of σοὶ δέ, κτλ. Prodikos was the most distinguished and respected intellectual of the day, and achieved in his lifetime (as Einstein did, uniquely, in this century) something like the 'proverbial' status of Thales. In *Av.* 688 ff. the birds, giving their own version of cosmogony, say 'Attend to us . . . so that when you've heard our account . . . you will know the truth and not bother about Prodikos any more', as if Prodikos were the authority which one would otherwise follow. In fr. 490 (from *Tagenistai*) some very anti-intellectual character grumble: 'This man's been corrupted by a *book*, or by Prodikos, or by some ἀδολέσχησ or other'! Neither of these two passages expresses hostility on the part of Ar. himself towards Prodikos, and it is not difficult to see why this should be so. Prodikos combined intellectual pursuits (perhaps he had not yet committed himself to the rationalist doctrines attributed to him [B5]) with high artistic achievement, and that too in literary genres which were novel enough to be interesting but not so novel as to offend conservative tastes. *X. M.* ii. 1. 21 ff., calling him Πρόδικος ὁ σοφός, pays him the high compliment of summarizing his allegorical description of Herakles' choice between Virtue and Vice (B1). To Phaidros in *Pl. Smph.* 177 B he is ὁ βέλτιστος Πρόδικος: and if there is irony in the references to him by Plato's Socrates (*Prt.* 315 D, *Tht.* 151 B) it is anything but transparent. The statement of *Suda* π 2365 that he was executed as διαφθείρων τοὺς νέους (~ Σ *Pl. R.* 600 c) is not supported by any early evidence. *Nu.* 358 ff. are intelligible as comedy only if we believe that Ar. shared the popular esteem of Prodikos as an artist, and regarded Socrates, by contrast, as a pretentious parasite who inexplicably fascinated some wealthy young men but had nothing coherent

to say and produced nothing of any artistic merit. Socrates lacked *χάρης*; and he was indifferent to what Ar., in common with most of his audience, regarded as the good things of life. That is why he was chosen as the victim of a comedy which set out to exploit the humorous potentialities of intellectual activity.

One question remains: the nature of the effect at which Ar. was aiming. We can at any rate infer, from the mere fact of his writing the play, that he did not regard the pursuit of philosophy as a necessary ingredient of a civilized society, and his portrayal of the effect of Socrates' teaching on the character of Pheidippides is an invitation to violence, or repressive legislation, against such teachers. The inference that it was his purpose to arouse feeling against the sophists rests on the existence of the convention that the poet is a teacher and comedy a weapon. Unfortunately (for those who like their issues simple) it is improbable that any two people, or even one poet at two different moments, treated the convention equally seriously. Plato took it seriously enough (*Lg.* 934 C-936 A exhibit an interesting sequence of thought: damage by madmen—thoughtless vilification—ridicule—comedy), but Plato and Ar. were not very alike. The abundant anecdotal evidence about the effects of comedy on individuals ridiculed in it is of late date and unimpressive pedigree. We can only observe that the Athenians did not necessarily do what Ar. told them to do (the audience which acclaimed *Knights* proceeded to elect Kleon general, and we must assume that Ar. too had observed, before he wrote *Nu.*, the extent to which a comedy did or did not influence public opinion. A desire to influence opinion and to combat whatever seems wrong or foolish is common to comic poets and other people. But unlike other people, who are free to interpret comedy from any standpoint of their own definition, the comic poet is affected, in the composition of his plays, by many forces peculiar to the temperament characteristic of his own art: willingness to play to the gallery for the sake of that massive gale of laughter

which is the sweet voice of success; instinctive distrust of appraisals which are too cool and refined; a craftsman's pleasure in neatness and novelty; a fundamental irreverence which sees the ludicrous side of everything; a certain insensitivity to cruelty; and an inability, familiar to many satirists and caricaturists, to resist the temptation to exploit the possibilities which are revealed after the execution of the original comic design has begun.

It is tempting to wonder why *Nu.* came third out of three when it was performed, but it is best to say nothing in the absence of the evidence which alone could suggest a rational answer: the other two plays.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, by the standards of the time, they were better plays; Ar. did not think so, but upon this question, as upon others, we are at liberty to refrain from expressing an opinion.

#### VI. RIGHT AND WRONG

*Names.* The two contestants in 889-1114 are designated in the hypotheses, the *dramatis personae*, the scholia, and the sigla against the text *ὁ δίκαιος λόγος* and *ὁ ἄδικος λόγος*: Strepsiades refers to the latter as *τὸν ἄδικον τοῦτον λόγον* (1116), *τὸν ἀδικώτατον λόγον* (657), and *τὸν γοῦν ἄδικον* (885). Yet in the first and third of these passages the description comes after a reference to the two *λόγοι* as *ὁ κρείττων λόγος* and *ὁ ἥττων λόγος* (112 ff., 882 ff.); that is what they are called by Σ<sup>RVE</sup> 889 (ctr. Σ<sup>RV</sup> 1038), and it is what they call themselves: cf. 893 ff. *ἀπολείς σύ; τίς ὤν;—λόγος.—ἥττων γ' ὤν.—ἀλλά σε νικῶ τὸν ἐμοῦ κρείττω φάσκοντ' εἶναι*, 990 *ἐμὲ τὸν κρείττω λόγον αἰροῦ*, and 1038 *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἥττων μὲν λόγος δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐκλήθην*. It is almost superfluous to add that Pheidippides in 1336 f. offers Strepsiades a choice, *τὸν κρείττονα*

<sup>1</sup> We must beware of speaking like Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford, 1953), 100: 'Now and then, of course, things went wrong. The *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles was defeated by the plays of Philocles.' There is no divination which enables us to affirm that it was *wrong* to rate a trilogy of which one play is now extant below a trilogy of which no play is extant.

(*sc.* λόγον) ἢ τὸν ἥττονα: cf. 1444 f., 1451 f. The expression δίκαιος λόγος, though not alien to Greek,<sup>1</sup> does not occur in our play. Who first called these two characters ὁ δίκαιος λόγος and ὁ ἄδικος λόγος—perhaps on the analogy of ὁ σώφρων τε χῶ καταπύγων in *Banqueters* (cf. 529 n.)—I do not know, and I recognize that it was someone of fairly early date, but I cannot persuade myself that it was Aristophanes.

The best translation of the names is 'Right' and 'Wrong', for this combines the appropriate moral, legal, and intellectual overtones. In a lawsuit or dispute one side is 'in the right' and the other 'in the wrong', and we regard the former as having a 'strong' case, the latter a 'weak' case. We say of a psychopath, 'he has no idea of right or wrong', and the adage 'right's right' is a common refuge of those who find the effort of rational concentration on a moral problem too much for them. In a scientific or historical argument we commonly regard one side as 'right' and the other as 'wrong'.

That the two λόγοι should be personified and brought before us as speaking characters is fully in accord with traditional Greek categories of thought and with the technique of comedy. λόγοι are included by Hesiod (*Th.* 226 ff.) in the abstract brood of Eris; the personification of the Laws in *Pl. Cri.* 50 A ff. has its roots in ordinary linguistic usage (ὁ νόμος κελεύει and ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει), and similarly the personification of the λόγοι by Ar. is facilitated by the allegation that the sophist and rhetorician 'make Right Wrong'.<sup>2</sup> Dramatically, Strepsiades' words at 112 ff. prepare us (perhaps more efficiently than we realize at the time) for the eventual dispute between personified Right and Wrong.

*Education.* The contest is focused on education. If we had no other evidence but the play, we should probably believe that an old system of education was yielding to a new system in the 420's and that the differences between the two systems were:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. xviii. 190 φροντίζοντος . . . τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Newiger, 134 ff.

1. Old: encouragement of physical hardiness (965) and physical training (973, 1002, 1005, 1054), with consequent health and strength (1012 ff.). New: neglect of physical condition and exercise (1054), with consequent enfeeblement (987 ff., 1017 ff.); warm baths (991, 1044 ff., 1054) and too much warm clothing (987).

2. Old: traditional music and poetry (964 ff.). New: innovations in music (969 ff.) and the ability to talk and argue (931, 942 ff., 1003, 1018 f., 1053, 1058, 1109 f.).

3. Old: no encouragement to criticize mythology on moral or aesthetic grounds (902 ff.). New: disbelief in, and cynical exploitation of, inherited beliefs (1048 ff., 1080 ff.).

4. Old: encouragement of justice (962) and chastity (962, 979 f., 996 f.), physical modesty (966, 974 ff., 983), sensitive self-respect (992), and respect for parents (994, 998 f.). New: moral nihilism (1020 f., 1039 ff.) and especially sexual indulgence (1061 ff., 1085).

5. Old: insistence that boys should be 'seen and not heard' in the presence of their elders (963, 983), give up their seats (993), allow their elders first pick at a meal (981 f.), and walk in an orderly fashion in the streets (964). New, by implication: disregard of these conventions.

We would also believe:

6. Both the old and the new systems applied equally to boys (*παῖδες* in 963, 974) and adolescents and young men (917 and 928 *μειράκια*, 1053 *νεανίσκοι*, 1059 *νέοι*); and Pheidippides himself is not *παῖς*, as ὦ *μειράκιον* reminds us in 990, 1000, 1071.

These *prima facie* conclusions contain truths, part-truths, some open questions, and at least one error. The other evidence shows:

1. It is true that the education of boys was mainly entrusted to the *κιθαριστής* and the *παιδοτριβῆς* (*Eq.* 987 ff., 1238 f., *Pl. Prt.* 326 A-C). There was a third type of teacher, not mentioned by Right, the *γραμματιστής*, who taught reading and writing (*Prt.* 326 D) and required his pupils also to learn narrative, didactic, and encomiastic poetry (*Prt.* 325 E-326 A, cf. X. *Resp. Lac.* 2. 1). He, however, was normally

concerned only with the youngest boys.<sup>1</sup> If arithmetic was taught at all, it was taught probably at that early stage; but the evidence is slight.<sup>2</sup>

2. (i) No one, so far as we know, ever suggested that sophistic education should or could be substituted for music, poetry, and physical training in boyhood. The sophists taught young men; it is implied by Pl. *Prt.* 318 DE and [*Thg.*] 121 D ~ 122 E that their teaching came after that of the *γραμματιστής*, *κιθαριστής*, and *παιδοτρέφης*, and this is consistent with the age of individuals mentioned in Plato and Xenophon as undergoing sophistic education.

(ii) Education was not compulsory. Had it been so, the state would have had to pay the teacher part of his salary or to subsidize poor parents. Such evidence as we have is against this. The speaker of [*Lys.*] xx. 11 says, contrasting his father's *παιδεία* with that of Phrynichos, 'Phrynichos was poor and looked after flocks in the country, while my father was educated in the city'. X. *Resp. Lac.* 2. 1 speaks of 'those who' (in states other than Sparta) 'claim to educate their sons best' as sending them to learn reading and writing, music, and physical training—in other words, the normal school curriculum—and in *M.* ii. 2. 6 he says 'parents teach their children what they can, but in subjects which they think someone else is more competent to teach they send them to that teacher, *δαπανῶντες*'. Demosthenes' taunt against Aischines (xviii. 265), 'you taught reading and writing, but I went to school' loses its point unless going to school was an index of prosperity. In Hellenistic times we have records of benefactions made by individuals to cities for the provision of universal education, and the implication of these documents is that education had not hitherto been universal.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Beck, 80 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 123 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914), 30 ff., and A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford, 1940), 220 ff.

(iii) The duration of a person's education—how young he starts, and how old he finishes—is regarded by Pl. *Prt.* 326 C as dependent on his father's means. Provided that he was not prevented by poverty or parental opposition, anyone could continue into adult life advanced instruction in music and gymnastics or embark on a technical apprenticeship<sup>1</sup> or on a course of a different (sometimes, perhaps, a more intellectual) kind. But sophists' fees were high, and it is unlikely that more than a minute proportion of Athenian youths received any education at all which compelled them to exercise the intellect.<sup>2</sup> The implication of X. *Resp. Lac.* 3. 1, 'when *παῖδες* become *μευράκια*, their parents in other states' (as opposed to Sparta) 'curtail their education and let them go their own way', is that tertiary education of any kind, even advanced technical training, was rare, and that only a conscientious minority of parents discussed their sons' training in the manner which we see in Pl. *La.* 178–84.

If, therefore, Right were a real person (and capable, as he is not, of rational exposition), he would say:

1. Among the wealthiest and most influential families, there is a tendency to prefer sophistic education to advanced training in the traditional techniques of music and gymnastics.

2. This sets the tone which (a) is superficially imitated by society at large, and (b) has its effect also on boys still undergoing ordinary education, because they look up to distinguished young men as models of behaviour.

<sup>1</sup> We have many contracts of apprenticeship from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, the earliest (III ex.) being *Pap. Heidelberg 226*. The only classical reference to the practice is X. *Eq.* 2. 2 τὸν παῖδα δραν ἐπὶ τέχνην ἐκδῶ, συγγραφάμενον ἃ δεήσει ἐπιστάμενον ἀποδοῦναι οὕτως ἐκδοῦναι, where *παῖς* is unfortunately ambiguous: 'slave' or (as I feel to be slightly more probable) 'son'? Maybe it is over-cautious to demand an example; there must have been free-born apprentice craftsmen, and when Strepsiades sends his son to learn the tricks of forensic oratory from Socrates he is doing what men of lower economic status did when they sent their sons to a master craftsman.

<sup>2</sup> But they could read books; cf. below, p. lxiii, on Pl. *Lys.* 214 B.

If he were more than ordinarily percipient, he might add:

3. The authority of the family and the state is undermined by rootless individuals who stimulate intellectual curiosity and independence of thought in the young and so minister to an appetite which family and state have been unable to satisfy.<sup>1</sup>

The New Education, as represented by Wrong and criticized by Right, differs strikingly from what we have so far seen of Socrates' school. When Strepsiades was enrolled in the school he was warned that he must cheerfully endure cold and hunger and abstain from the pleasures of life (414 ff., cf. 440 ff.)—precisely the opposite of what Wrong encourages. Socrates was interested in scientific speculation and experiment and in linguistic analysis; in the contest of Right and Wrong these matters are not mentioned, and it is only in the light of the earlier part of the play that we can, if we wish, imagine them subsumed under the 'chatter' of the young men. The reason for these discrepancies is that the contest is accommodated by Ar. to the familiar theme of 'New vs. Old', in which the older generation represents itself as tough, upright, and virtuous and represents the younger generation as soft, dishonest, and dissolute. That is why there is so much in common between this debate on education and the debate in *Ra.* on poetry, which has undergone a similar accommodation to conventional themes: note especially the references in *Ra.* to idle chatter (917, 954, 1096, 11071), adultery (1050 f.) and other sexual misdemeanours (1079 ff.), physical softness (1070) with consequent poor performance in festivals (1087 ff.), and indiscipline (1071 f.).<sup>2</sup> The Greeks of any given generation tended to believe that their ancestors were supermen, and in both *Nu.* and *Ra.*

<sup>1</sup> This aspect of sophistic education, and of the *διαβολή* against Socrates, is emphasized by E. A. Havelock, *Phoenix*, Suppl. i (1952), 95 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On the formal resemblance between the contests in *Nu.* and *Ra.*, cf. pp. 209 f. and on the attitude to Euripides in *Nu.*, pp. 252 and 254 f.

emphasis is strongly laid on ancestral virtues, not simply on contemporary change. Right claims that his system of education 'bred the men who fought at Marathon' (986)—men, that is, of whom very few indeed can still have been alive when Ar. wrote *Nu.* (or *Ach.* 179 ff.)—and it is important to remember that Aischylos, who did fight at Marathon, had been dead for fifty years when *Ra.* was written, so that very few of the audience of *Ra.* can have seen the first performance of an Aeschylean tragedy. In *Lys.* 665 f. the chorus of old men talk as if they had taken part in the fighting at Leipsydriion—a hundred years earlier. A certain set of events must have become conventionally associated with the older generation well before Ar.'s time, and he continued to use the convention even as the chronological gap widened continually.<sup>1</sup>

There is a good deal of nonsense in Right's argument. The implication that criticism of mythology is a new phenomenon overlooks the teaching of Xenophanes and Herakleitos in the time of the *Μαραθωνομάχαι*, not to mention Pi. *O.* 1. 25 ff. As for the belief that young men have only just learned to open their mouths, Xenophon hits the target when, at the end of a story of how the young Alkibiades trapped Perikles in an argument, he makes Perikles say (*M.* i. 2. 46) 'We were clever at that kind of argument when we were young!' Xenophon, again (*M.* iii. 5), treats the alleged indiscipline of the Athenians in the late fifth century as a national characteristic, particularly marked in the hoplites and cavalry (5. 19), and does not suggest that it is connected with innovations in science and poetry. Pl. *Lys.* 214 B makes Socrates assume, correctly, that the young Lysis, whose modesty, self-discipline, and physical prowess would have won the approval of Right, has read and taken seriously philosophical and scientific works. From our vantage-point twenty-four centuries later we can identify possible internal causes of the decline of Athenian power; but it is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to connect any of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kassies, 48 ff.

them in any way with the intellectual changes of which Right so strenuously disapproves.<sup>1</sup>

*Homosexuality.* Apart from the inability to meet reasonable argument with anything better than an outburst of bad temper (906 f., 1052 f.), the most striking characteristic of Right is his obsession with boys' genitals (966, 973 ff., 1014).

Greek society, at least from the sixth century and probably from a somewhat earlier date, differed notably from ours in its attitude to homosexuality. The undifferentiated sex-play characteristic of puberty in most cultures was prolonged into adult life, perhaps in consequence of the segregation of girls in those families which could afford to entrust all errands to slaves. It was universally assumed that the coexistence of heterosexual and homosexual desire in the same person was natural and normal. Plato's hostility to homosexuality in *Laws* arises from a philosophical idealization of 'nature' and does not rest on empirical evidence. Sexual desire as discussed in *Smp.* and *Phdr.* is almost exclusively homosexual. In Aristophanic comedy heterosexuality is more prominent, but homosexual practices and attitudes are by no means excluded; Philokleon in *V.* 578 ranks 'looking at the genitals of the youths undergoing their δοκιμασία' as one of a juror's pleasures and privileges. Surprisingly, in a society in which nudity was so common, the sight of the genitals of boys and youths seems to have been a powerful stimulus to their elders.

Just as in many modern cultures a boy who seduces girls is applauded, while the girls whom he seduces are condemned, so it was taken for granted by the Greeks that a young man who pursues a boy deserves sympathy and encouragement, while the boy is expected to resist his lover's advances. Plato puts an excellent exposition of this situation into the mouth of Pausanias in *Smp.* 182 A ff.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. xxi on modern attitudes which implicitly credit Ar. with second sight.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dover, *BICS* xi (1964), 31 ff., for a fuller discussion of the nature, distribution, and interrelation of Greek attitudes to homosexuality.

That Right should condemn a boy who ogles a lover (979 f.) is in accord with Greek convention. What goes beyond convention is his own obsession. His first thought about the boys in the music-school is that they should not press their thighs together, his chief preoccupation when he thinks of them in the wrestling-school is how they place their legs and whether they leave an imprint of their genitals on the sand for their lovers to sigh over, and he becomes lyrical in praising the beauty of incipient pubic hair. The curious word ἀπηνές in 974 (v. n.) betrays his emotion.<sup>1</sup>

There is, I believe, an adequate reason for Ar.'s depiction of Right in this way. Given the evidence of literature from 450 to 300 B.C., it would be hard to sustain the hypothesis that homosexual practices were more widespread and homosexual emotions more intense during the preceding hundred years, but at least there is no denying that their expression and depiction were much less inhibited. It is from the period 550–450 that we find on vase-paintings straightforward portrayal of a virtually unlimited range of sexual behaviour, involving not only satyrs (a suitable subject for gross humour) but also conventionally good-looking men and boys. We find, too, fantasy, bordering sometimes on surrealism, and in both realistic and fantastic pictures the focus of the artist's interest is not the female body but the penis.<sup>2</sup> In later vase-painting subjects of this type are associated with unmistakable features of gross caricature and no longer suggest, as the earlier vases do, homosexual voyeurism. This is not to say that at the time when Plato

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also 978, 989, 996 f. nn. for possible reinforcement of my hypothesis.

<sup>2</sup> Some illustrations are distributed—on no discernible principle, except perhaps that of keeping the browser on his toes—throughout H. Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* (Dresden, 1925–8): a very bad book, in which a conclusion which truly follows from the evidence adduced is a rarity. A history of Greek sexual inhibition (a subject equally rewarding for students of art, language, and society) has yet to be written.

wrote *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* the practices and emotions of the Athenian male were necessarily different from those of his forefathers; but the notion of what could be said openly in a serious context or portrayed in the visual arts had changed considerably in the direction of greater decorum, and in particular Eros in the vase-paintings had become more concerned with legendary heroines than with anonymous adolescents. In conjunction with the visual arts of the early fifth century we must remember also that Pindar saw nothing odd in describing Pelops as taken by Poseidon 'to serve the same purpose' as Ganymede served with Zeus (*O.* 1. 43 ff., cf. 75 f.), and that it was Aischylos who transformed the mutual loyalty of Achilles and Patroklos into an intense physical relationship (fr. 136N = 299M; cf. *Pl. Smp.* 180 A). It must have seemed to Ar. (and tales told by his grandfather's generation may well have strengthened the impression) that the *Μαραθωνομάχαι* combined frugality, endurance, and physical courage with a homosexual zest which in his own day could not find uninhibited expression except in a comic context.

Thus Right, who is ignominiously vanquished in the contest, is caricatured no less than triumphant Wrong;<sup>1</sup> and, in an author with so sharp an eye and so deeply imbued with irreverence, it would be strange if it were otherwise.

#### VII. THE CHORUS

There were three possibilities open to Ar. for the chorus of a play ridiculing intellectuals, and it is a reasonable guess that he pondered all three: students, i.e. wealthy young men entranced by the teaching of the sophists who battered on them (or, as a variation, the fathers of such young men); abstractions, e.g. *νοήματα*, *φροντίδες*, *μέριμναι*, *λόγοι*; and phenomena of the heavens. The choice between the three

<sup>1</sup> This is recognized by Kassies, 42, and by Whitman, 123, 125,—who, however, finds 'maladroitness' in Ar.'s portrayal of Right's prurience.

was to some extent determined by the role the chorus would have to play. We cannot know what determined Ar.'s final choice, for all three were practicable, but we can see that they were not all equally so. The fact that Socrates is in the end discredited and discomfited did not in itself rule out any of the three, for a chorus can be in the wrong in the first part of a play and converted to a different view in the course of it (cf. *Acharnians* and *Wasps*). But Ar. normally establishes a *rapproch* between chorus and audience in the parabasis; and once the theme of Strepsiadēs and Pheidipides had taken shape, it would have been difficult to fit in before the parabasis a conversion of the chorus from sophistic enthusiasm to more conventional behaviour and attitudes.<sup>1</sup> A chorus of Thoughts may have seemed to Ar. to pose a problem of costume, which might have been soluble to his own satisfaction if the play had been designed for a select audience of other poets; but it was designed for a large audience which loved spectacle and had a limited appreciation of subtleties.<sup>2</sup> There remained τὰ μετέωρα, which had two outstanding advantages. First, the intellectual was by tradition preoccupied with astronomy and meteorology. Secondly, the words *μετέωρος*, *πεποτῆσθαι*, and *ἀνεπτερωῖσθαι* are used metaphorically of insecurity, suspense, and excitement, and are associated with the unknown, the spiritual, all that is divorced from ordinary life. That is why poets who use (as we say ourselves) 'high-flown' language are classified with intellectuals (331 ff.) and are represented as flying through the air (*Pax* 827 ff., *Av.* 1373 ff.);<sup>3</sup> cf. our expressions 'his head is in the clouds' and 'his feet aren't on the ground'. There are three possible

<sup>1</sup> Ameipsias's *Konnos* probably had a chorus of *φροντισταί* (cf. p. 1); but we do not know its plot. A similar question might be posed by two plays of Eupolis, *Ἀστράτευτοι* (but was this the designation of the chorus?) and *Κόλακες* (certainly the chorus; cf. fr. 159). The *Σοφισταί* of Plato Comicus were not 'sophists' in the narrow sense; cf. 360 n.

<sup>2</sup> Pherekrates wrote a play called *Ἀῆροι*; but again, was the play named after its chorus?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Newiger, 57 ff., 63 ff.

pluralities of *μετέωρα*: stars, winds, and clouds. Stars and winds were unsuitable for Ar.'s purpose, for the winds had long been regarded as fierce gods (if Socrates had invoked the winds, it would have reminded the audience of Achilles in *Il.* xxiii. 193 ff.) and the stars include in their number formidable powers which at least signal, and can be regarded as bringing, the seasons which govern the round of human life (the *λαμπροὶ δυνάσται* of *A. Ag.* 6; cf. Fraenkel ad loc. and Hes. *Op.* 587). Clouds were the perfect answer to Ar.'s problem. The Greeks did not worship them as deities, but regarded them simply as part of the mechanism by which Zeus sends rain. Hence they were suitable objects of worship for a man devoted to *καὶνὰ δαιμόνια*; on the other hand, as natural phenomena outside human control, they could be personified and treated as divine agents or ministers of Zeus. Since they look like steam or smoke (*καπνός*: cf. 330) they suggest what is vain, empty, deceptive, and insubstantial, for *καπνός* has this metaphorical sense in *E. Hf.* 954. Since *μετάρσιος* (= *μετέωρος*) occurs as an epithet of *κόμπος* in *E. Andr.* 1220, the clouds, as 'smoke up in the air', are not only a characteristic object of intellectual speculation but also represent in visible form two different metaphorical descriptions of such speculations. Clouds have one other association which is most important for the comic representation of misguided intellectuals. Ixion, believing that he had seduced Hera, *νεφέλα παρελέξατο* (*Pi. P.* 2. 36), a 'cloud' created by Zeus to deceive him as a preliminary to eternal punishment for his evil intentions. In the version of the Helen myth adopted by Euripides (in *Helena*) from Stesichoros, the phantom Helen who went to Troy while the real Helen was transported to Egypt was *νεφέλη* (*E. Hel.* 705 f., 750, 1219) created by divine malice.

An Attic red-figure astragalos painted in the second quarter of the fifth century (London, British Museum E 804; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Great Britain 5, pls. 26-27) depicts ten girls in procession approaching an ugly man or god. The leading three girls have joined hands and

are treading the ground; the remaining seven are floating through space, toes trailing downwards and clothes billowing. The man faces them with arms outstretched in a gesture which suggests that he is beckoning and commanding them.<sup>1</sup> They have been interpreted as 'breezes' (*Ὠκεανίδες αἶθραι* in *Pi. O.* 2. 72 f.),<sup>2</sup> in which case the male figure is inexplicable, or, more plausibly by Curtius, as the robots of Hephaistos (*Il.* xviii. 417 ff.). Whether the gap between these creatures and clouds can be bridged as easily as Curtius thought—by reference to a play written at least thirty years after the painting—is another matter, for I greatly doubt whether the painter and the poet were both drawing, as Curtius assumes, on a common poetic source; but the painting serves to remind us of the ease with which the Greek artist or poet could postulate groups of supernatural female beings.

The entry of the Chorus is utterly different from the rumbustious parodoi of *Acharnians*, *Knights*, and *Wasps*. Just as we hear thunder before the storm is upon us, we hear the Chorus singing before it appears in the theatre, and it drifts into our sight with the slow majesty of clouds which have gathered on the mountains and are spreading over the land. Their opening song is formally much closer to tragedy and choral lyric than to comedy, and this befits their status as deities responding to Socrates' invocation. In the parabasis they conform to the traditions of comedy. After the parabasis, at the stage at which in other comedies the Chorus tends to degenerate into the hero's claue, the Clouds' alienation from Strepsiades becomes apparent. They give the first hint of their change of role at 1113 f., and openly foretell disaster in 1303 ff. In the argument between Strepsiades and Pheidippides they revert to 'holding the ring' in

<sup>1</sup> His stance reminds me, more than anything, of the conductor of an orchestra, but comparison with gestures in other works of art shows that he is beckoning; this was perceived by L. Curtius, *SHAW* 1923. 4, and cf. now G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1965), 23 f.

<sup>2</sup> J. Six, *JHS* xliii (1892/3), 131 f.



the manner expected of a Chorus during an *ἀγών*; but when Strepsiades is worsted they reveal themselves at the end (1454 ff.) as true deities, who have behaved towards Strepsiades as the gods in tragic legend behave, leading him on to disaster to punish him for the *ἀδικία* on which he set his heart. They have no mercy to spare for Socrates, who has treated them as goddesses, for they are representatives and agents of the true divine hierarchy, which he has slighted.

## VIII. PRODUCTION

*Data, Inferences, and Assumptions.*<sup>1</sup> The audience of a Greek play had to imagine that it was dark when the play told them so, even if they were sitting in daylight; we cannot therefore assume, until we have looked at the evidence, that when a play represents *A* knocking at a door and *B* coming out of it there really was a door in the theatre, any more than we could make such an assumption from the tape-recording of a charade.

The only contribution made by the remains of the theatre of Dionysos which can be dated to the fifth century is the position, shape, and dimensions of the foundations of the stone building which ran roughly east to west south of the orchestra. This foundation has a central projection, measuring some 7 by 3 metres, and evenly-spaced slots in the foundation on a frontage of 11 metres each side of the projection.<sup>2</sup> These data suggest a building with a large central door, flanked by a wooden façade. *X. Cyr.* vi. i. 54 refers to 'timbers as thick as those of a *πραγματικῆ σκηνῆ*' (but we must

<sup>1</sup> I disagree, both in the detailed interpretation of particular passages and in fundamental assumptions, with the case made by A. M. Dale, *JHS* lxxvii (1957), 205 ff., for the use of only one door in fifth-century drama. I have given my reasons for this disagreement more fully in *PCPS* 1966. 2 ff., with reference to *Acharnians* and *Ecclesiazusae* as well as *Clouds*, and with a side-glance at *Choephoroi*. On *Peace* cf. H.-J. Newiger, *RM* cviii (1965), 229 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. B. Dinsmoor in *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson* (St. Louis, 1951), i. 322 ff.

remember that in Xenophon's time Athens was not the only place in the Greek world to have a theatre).

Comedy makes a contribution which tragedy cannot, because it permits rupture of dramatic illusion and direct reference to the situation in the theatre. The prologue of Menander, *Dyscolus* (2, 5 f., 23 ff.), is decisive evidence that in that play (316 B.C.) three different buildings were represented in the theatre by three actual doors. For the previous century the evidence is poor,<sup>1</sup> but *Pax* 730 f. is invaluable; there the Chorus says that thieves hang around *τὰς σκηνάς*. Whether the plural means 'the *σκηνή* in any theatre' or the theatre at a given moment contained a complex of buildings called *αἱ σκηναί*, we cannot be sure.<sup>2</sup> Indirect evidence for the use of a building in the course of a play is provided by the occurrence of 'take in', 'bring out', 'go in', and 'come out' in contexts where 'in' and 'out' are not required by, and may even be ill suited to, the imaginary situation which the play represents.<sup>3</sup>

Aristotle (*Po.* 1449<sup>a</sup>18) attributes the invention of *σκηνογραφία* to Sophokles and includes it in the period before 'tragedy realized its proper nature and ceased to change'. Since he attributes *σκηνογραφία* to a poet, not to an artist or architect, Aristotle must be referring to representational treatment of buildings as required for a given play, not to permanent embellishment of the theatre.<sup>4</sup> The plays staged in succession on one day would not necessarily need the same representational background, and whatever was treated representationally must have been as easily and quickly removed as modern theatrical sets. A modern stage can be transformed in a quarter of an hour, and I would not envisage

<sup>1</sup> Heniochos fr. 5 (certainly from a prologue) tells the audience to imagine 'this skene' as a building housing delegates to the Olympic Games.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pl. *Lg.* 817 C, of dramatists, *σκηνάς τε πῆξαντας κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ καλλιφάνους ὑποκριτὰς εἰσαγαγομένους*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 19, 1149 nn., and *Th.* 930, 1007.

<sup>4</sup> Arnott, 93 ff., examines and seems to favour the latter interpretation.

for the interval between plays in the Athenian theatre anything more than the placing and removal of wooden screens, painted to represent a background and containing (if necessary) doors. The time needed for this operation is negligible, and so is the expense. Evidence for the cost of dramatic *χορηγία* in the fifth century is to be found in *Lys.* xxi. 1 ff., where the speaker claims that a tragic *χορηγία* in 411/10 cost him 3,000 drachmai and a comic *χορηγία* in 403/2 1,600 drachmai. Since at that period the sculptors who worked on the Erechtheion earned 1 drachma for a day's work (as we see from the well-preserved accounts of the overseers of the building), and in *Nu.* 863 f. Strepsiades speaks of buying a toy cart for 1 obol, it would be surprising if the cost of movable scenery for a comedy exceeded the cost of dressing one member of the Chorus.

When the scholia derived from ancient commentaries speak of a moment at which a change from an exterior to an interior scene is represented, they use the terms 'roll out' (*ἐκκυκλεῖν*, *ἐκκύκλημα*) or 'push' (e.g. *Σ<sup>B</sup> Th.* 276: τὸ ἱερὸν ἀθεῖται).<sup>1</sup> Tragedy often has to exhibit people who are dead, sick, mad, or otherwise immobilized, and it could make good use of a trolley pushed out through a door. On the two occasions on which a visit to the house of a tragic poet is depicted in comedy (Euripides in *Ach.* and Agathon in *Th.*) the poet is 'rolled out' and 'rolled in' (*Ach.* 408 f., *Th.* 96, 265), and there is an obvious comic point in associating with the poet one of the appurtenances of his art. This does not imply, and should never have been taken to imply, that the revelation of interior scenes in comedy was necessarily or even normally accomplished by the same means. The removing or unfolding of screens would be more effective and more appropriate.

Ever since the theatre moved indoors and assumed its modern shape and preparations for a play could be hidden by the lowering of a stage-curtain, audiences have become less tolerant of any sight which diminishes dramatic illusion.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pollux iv. 127 ff.

We cannot generalize about audiences; we must consider what was theatrically practicable in a given culture at a given period, and what is likely to have been taken for granted. When the Chorus of *Peace* (729 f.) speaks of handing its tackle τοῖς ἀκολούθοις, I see no point in asking whether these slaves are actors representing the slaves of the farmers whom the Chorus represents or slaves put at the disposal of the διδάσκαλος for the purpose of removing from the theatre material which is no longer needed. I do not believe that the audience would even contemplate such a question, still less that they or the poet would find the coming and going of slaves carrying objects annoying, distracting, or laughable. In talking to the master of a Greek household about politics or philosophy, one would not be distracted by the entrances and exits of his slaves going about their normal business.

*In and Out of Doors in Clouds.* When the play begins, two men are in their beds. The first eighteen lines of Strepsiades' soliloquy tell us that it is night. They do not tell us directly whether we are to imagine the two sleepers as being in a room or out of doors, but since the young man is 'wrapped up in five blankets' (10) we are strongly discouraged<sup>1</sup> from imagining them as sleeping out of doors in hot weather. We may wonder why the father is sleeping in the same room as his son and not with his wife. Nothing is said to suggest that he is a widower, and 1443 ff. show that at least at the end of the play Ar. did not think of him as such. So far, then, we have simply a representation of a situation in which a father lies awake worrying while his son sleeps soundly. We presume, in the absence of any indication to the contrary, that they are at home, and this presumption is strengthened when (18 f.) Strepsiades calls to his slave to bring his account-book.

'Bring out' (*ἐκφερε*) is language appropriate to the position of the actors in the theatre, and takes precedence over language which would be appropriate to the situation represented. The two beds are in the open, in front of the

<sup>1</sup> *Pace* Russo, 172 f.

skene. They must have been brought there (probably with their occupants already abed) in full view of the audience before the play began. At some point between 81 and 125 they are taken away by people whom we can imagine, if we wish, as slaves of Strepsiades.

In 91-132 two doors are represented; one is the door of Socrates' school, described and pointed out in 92 ('this door and house'),<sup>1</sup> and the other is the door of Strepsiades' house, which Pheidippides enters with the words ἀλλ' εἴσειμι at 125.<sup>2</sup> It would be confusing to the audience, and therefore theatrically ineffective and undesirable, if both doors were represented by a single door in the skene, for we should think for a moment that Pheidippides is going where he has just refused to go. Then, in 132, Strepsiades knocks at the door of the school.

When he introduces himself to the student who has opened the door he reveals, in addition to his own name, the fact that he lives 'far off in the country' (138). This adds in retrospect to our understanding of the first scene and tells us something that we must bear in mind for the rest of the play: that although Strepsiades' house and the school are both before our eyes they represent two places which in the fictional situation are miles apart, a house in the city and a farm in the country.

At 180 ff. Strepsiades demands that the door be opened and the interior of the school revealed to him. This is done, and we see a group of students in curious postures. In a minute the guide-student tells the others to 'go in' (195) and says to Strepsiades that it is bad for them to stay too long in the open air (198 f.). The students obey, but leave behind them objects and apparatus which the guide-student explains to Strepsiades. At 218 Strepsiades observes Socrates

<sup>1</sup> I do not attach importance, for the purposes of the present argument, to the use of the diminutives θύριον and οἰκίδιον: cf. n. ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> There is no codicological case, and only a feeble linguistic case, for adopting the reading εἴμι and adjusting the rest of the line; cf. n. ad loc.

suspended in a basket on a rope. The guide-student departs (221) and Socrates comes down to earth (239 ff.) in answer to Strepsiades' entreaty.

It is unlikely that Socrates has been in our sight ever since 184; we do not want our attention distracted from the students, or the effect of Socrates' appearance diminished, by his presence for thirty lines without recognition or comment. Since a crane was available to Ar.—it is used in *Peace* and referred to explicitly there (79-179, especially 174 ff.)—Socrates can be swung into view during the moment of slapstick violence at 217 (cf. n. ad loc.).

The words of the text show that the interior of the school is not revealed simply by opening a door, for this would not result in the students' being 'in the open air'; in 195 ff. the language appropriate to the actual situation in the theatre clearly takes precedence over the situation represented. There remain three possibilities:

1. The students move out and take up positions in the open. This is certainly the simplest procedure, favoured by Σ<sup>PP8P19V</sup>et. The guide-student flings the door fully open and steps aside; the other students come out in a variety of crouching or crawling postures, carrying their apparatus, and spread out to form a tableau.

2. The students are revealed by the extrusion of a trolley. If this method is used, the trolley must carry at least four students (a group—i.e. at least a pair—is referred to in 187 and another group in 191), 'astronomy' (201), 'geometry' (202), and a map (206). When the students go in, the objects must be left on the trolley; but we want them out of the way eventually, preferably before Socrates and Strepsiades go into the school at 505 ff. It might be suggested that they are withdrawn when our attention is attracted to Socrates in his basket; but this is not the whole tale. In 254-62 we need further properties: a bed, a garland, and some fine meal. Either these are brought on at 254 by stage-hands or we must allow for their presence on the trolley.

3. Part of the area in front of the skene is concealed by

a light wooden screen, perforated by a door. This is the door at which Strepsiades knocks, and the guide-student pulls it shut behind him when he emerges. When Strepsiades cries 'open the door' so lengthily and dramatically (181 ff.) the guide-student turns towards the screen with a sweeping gesture and stage-hands concealed behind it carry it out of the theatre. When the students are told to 'go in' they enter another door, originally hidden from us by the screen, and that door remains the door of the school for the rest of the play.

Of these three alternatives, I cannot see that there is anything at all to be said for (2). (3) has good comic effect<sup>1</sup> and is more consonant with the words of the text than (1).

No insuperable problem would be created by 803 ff. and 1144 ff. if only one door were available to the dramatist, for the audience would presumably be accustomed to changes of role such as the one door would undergo between 1169 and 1212, but the last scene of the play would not, I think, have taken the form it has if there had been only one door.

Strepsiades refers in 1473 to 'this dinos', and proceeds to address the dinos.<sup>2</sup> In 1478 he addresses Hermes and pretends (1483) to receive advice from Hermes. Since Dinos, in the abstract sense, is the supernatural force which in the view of the Socratics has displaced Zeus (1471), it seems highly probable that an earthenware dinos stands outside the door of the school (so Σ<sup>p</sup>: *πρὸ τῆς διατριβῆς*), corresponding to the conventional herm which stands outside the door of Strepsiades. In 1486 Strepsiades tells his slave to 'come out' with a ladder, and he and his slave go up to the roof of the school in order to demolish it. Socrates and his students are pursued and beaten in 1508 f., Strepsiades crying *δίωκε βάλλε παῖε*. If there is only one door, it serves to represent two houses simultaneously. I do not assert that this is impossible, for nothing is impossible in the early days of

<sup>1</sup> I have seen it done in a 'shoe-string' production of *Clouds* in a building not designed for modern staging.

<sup>2</sup> There is no evading the implications of *τουτοῖ*: cf. n. ad loc.

drama; but if we are to believe that *Clouds* was composed with only one door in mind, we need far stronger grounds for this belief than any which have so far been offered.

*Distribution of Parts.* A few of the characters have no lines to speak: the students who make a brief appearance in 184-99, the witness<sup>1</sup> who accompanies the First Creditor (1214-58), and Strepsiades' slave Xanthias (1485-1510).<sup>2</sup> *κωφὰ πρόσωπα* of this kind are abundant in Aristophanic comedy, and they may be left out of account in discussing the number of actors needed for the production of the play.

There are two scenes which require four actors:

1. Strepsiades and Pheidippides, who have been on stage since 814, are present throughout the contest between Right and Wrong; Pheidippides is addressed (e.g. 1000) and mentioned as present (e.g. 929) at various points during the contest. At the end, Strepsiades speaks (1107) in answer to Wrong,<sup>3</sup> and Pheidippides comments (1112). Socrates, however, absents himself before the contest begins (887), presumably in order that the actor who plays Socrates may also play Right or Wrong.

2. Again in the finale four actors are needed. Strepsiades has been on stage continuously since 1321. When he sets fire to the school someone runs out and cries 'What are you doing?' (1495), another—we must regard this as another person, since the first person's question has been answered all too plainly—cries 'Who is setting fire to our house?' (1497), and finally Socrates appears: 'You, up there on the roof, what are you doing?' (1502). The speaker of 1505 can be the same as the speaker of 1495 or 1497.

There are other scenes in Aristophanic comedy which require four actors, e.g. *Lys.* 1-253 (entries: 1, 7, 69, 81) and 387-466 (entries: 387, 430, 439, 443).<sup>4</sup> It is disputable whether,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1495 n.

<sup>3</sup> Not Socrates, for Socrates is not there; cf. 1105 n.

<sup>4</sup> The speaker of 439 f. refers to Lysistrata as *ταύτη*: the speaker of 443 f. refers similarly to the speaker of 439 f., and so too the speaker of 447 f. to the speaker of 443 f. Lysistrata herself can speak 447 f.; she

in speaking of the genre as a whole, we should say simply that comedy, unlike tragedy, uses four actors, or that, like tragedy, it uses three but may also freely use 'extras' or 'supernumeraries'.<sup>1</sup> Certain considerations suggest that the second of these two formulations begs the question and confuses the issue:

1. A term such as 'extra' or 'supernumerary' is properly used when children appear in plays, as they do both in tragedy and in comedy, under conditions which are quite strictly definable.<sup>2</sup>

2. There is one scene in comedy, *Ach.* 1-203, which involves *five* speakers. The fifth is 'the exception which proves the rule', for his utterance is limited to two lines of mock-Persian (100, 104); in this important respect he differs from the other four, and may quite properly be called an 'extra'.

3. If we allocate the parts in any given comedy to three actors as far as we possibly can, and bring in a fourth only when we cannot help doing so, we naturally conclude (a) that not every play needs four actors, and (b) that even in a play which does need four the total number of lines allocated to the fourth is very small, with the single exception of *Nu.* 889-1104, where the fourth actor's part (Right or Wrong) is important. We may then conclude that *Nu.*, in its state of incomplete revision, was not performable within the existing conventions of the Attic theatre.<sup>3</sup> This argument, however, is vulnerable to criticism of its premisses. If ten out of the eleven extant Aristophanic comedies can be produced without giving more than a small part to

cannot speak 443f., for that intervention takes the Proboulos by surprise.

<sup>1</sup> So Russo, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Russo, 226 f.

<sup>3</sup> Russo, 155 ff. It should be remarked here that to suggest (as seems to be suggested by Newiger, *GGA* ccvii [1965], 44) that there is some impropriety in referring difficulties in *Clouds* to the demonstrable fact of incomplete revision comes dangerously near to treating the study of Greek literature as if it were a game with clear-cut rules. It is not a game; it is concerned with real people and real events, and the only 'rule' is that nothing which is known to be relevant should be left out of account.

a fourth actor, this may be because we ourselves have decided that the fourth actor's part shall be small. But we are under no compulsion to put the heaviest possible load on to three actors; we are free to assume four and distribute the load more equitably. The comparative rarity of scenes in which the simultaneous presence of four actors is demonstrably necessary is not significant, for the composition of four-cornered dialogue is not easy and we should not expect to find it often.

Assuming the availability of four actors, and assuming that with the addition of a choral song between 888 and 889<sup>1</sup> *Nu.* could have been performed in the Attic theatre, the parts may be distributed as follows:

I: Strepsiades: 1-509, 633-803, 814-43, 847-1113, 1131-1213, 1221-45, 1247-1302, 1312-1510.

II: (a) Pheidippides: 1-125, 814-1113, 1165-1213, 1321-1475.

(b) Second Student: 1497-1510.

III: (a) Socrates: 218-509, 627-99, 723-6, 731-90, 866-87, 1145-69, 1502-10.

(b) Wrong: 889-1113.

(c) Second Creditor: 1259-1302.

IV: (a) Slave: 18-59.

(b) Student: 133-221, 1493-1510.

(c) Right: 889-1113.

(d) First Creditor: 1214-58.

If we have regard to the number of spoken lines involved in each part, we may prefer to transfer the part of the Second Creditor to (II) and to think of (III) not as *τριγωνιστής* but as *δευτεργωνιστής*. There is, however, a possibility (I would not put it more strongly) that the allocation of roles was not solely determined by their importance, but by convention; at least Demosthenes (xix. 247) refers to a fourth-century

<sup>1</sup> Cf. n. ad loc. and p. xciii.

convention by which the role of a king or tyrant in tragedy was allocated to the *τριταγωνιστής*.

#### IX. THE TWO VERSIONS OF THE PLAY

The Chorus in the parabasis<sup>1</sup> says (520 ff.): 'I thought this the best of my comedies, but I retreated worsted by vulgar men.' Since a play cannot refer to its own failure in the past tense, the parabasis must belong to a revised version. Confirmation that this is so is found in 545 ff.: 'I don't cheat you by bringing on the same things repeatedly . . . but the other poets . . . keep on pounding Hyperbolos. Eupolis began it with *Marikas*. . .'. Hypothesis II says that *Clouds* was performed at the City Dionysia in 424/3, and was placed third of the three competing plays. Eupolis's *Marikas* was performed 'two years later' ( $\Sigma^p$  552 = Kallim. fr. 454 Pfeiffer), i.e. at the Lenaia in 422/1 (not the City Dionysia, for then Ar. came second with *Peace* and Eupolis first with *Flatterers*). Since Eupolis is described as the first (553) to write a comedy ridiculing Hyperbolos, 'and then Hermippos wrote one . . . and now all the rest of them bash away at Hyperbolos' (557 f.), and since Hermippos did not compete at the City Dionysia in 421 (Hypothesis III *Peace*), Ar. cannot have written these lines before the spring of 420 at the earliest. Hyperbolos was ostracized in 416 (cf. 551 n.), and on the assumption that comic poets spared their ammunition on him after that,<sup>2</sup> the limits for the composition of *Nu.* 518-62 are the spring of 420 and the winter of 417.

In the epirrhema the Chorus refers (575 ff.) to the election of Kleon as strategos, and concludes (590 ff.) 'if you convict Kleon of embezzlement . . . everything will turn out all right'.

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this chapter 'parabasis' is used in the narrow sense, to mean the second section of what is called 'parabasis' in the wider sense.

<sup>2</sup> Plato Comicus (187) referred derogatorily to Hyperbolos after the ostracism; we do not know the name of the play, and there is no reason to believe that the reference exceeded a few lines. Plato's *Hyperbolos* is presumably among 'all the rest' of which Ar. speaks.

Kleon was killed in the summer of 422 (Th. v. 10. 9); therefore *Nu.* 575-94 belong to the original play (Kleon was in fact a strategos in 424/3) and 590 ff. would have been senseless as an utterance in the theatre after the summer of 422.

It follows that *Clouds* as we have it is partially, but not completely, revised. Was this partial revision ever performed? Hypothesis II says that it was, in 423/2, and that it failed again. The date must in any case be rejected, for, as we have seen, 422 is not late enough for the reference to *Marikas* and Hyperbolos. There are moreover strong reasons for rejecting the statement of Hypothesis II altogether and preferring that of Hypothesis I, that Ar. intended to produce a revised version 'but for some reason did not do so after all'. Kallimachos (loc. cit.), finding *Clouds* recorded under 424/3 in the *διδασκαλίαι* (the literary version of the Athenian official records), and observing in the same source the date of *Marikas*, drew the hasty conclusion that the records were wrong in putting *Clouds* before *Marikas*. Eratosthenes (ibid.) criticized Kallimachos: 'He fails to realize, says Eratosthenes, that <Ar.> has said nothing of this kind (sc. about Hyperbolos) in the *Clouds* that was produced, and there is nothing surprising in its being said in the revised version (*ἐν ταῖς ὕστερον διασκευασθείσαις*). It is obvious that the *διδασκαλίαι* record (*φέρουσι*) the play which was produced.' Eratosthenes goes on to draw attention to the reference to Kleon in the epirrhema.

Plainly *Clouds* was named once, and once only, in the records, for otherwise Eratosthenes could not have criticized Kallimachos in those terms; nor indeed would Kallimachos have been puzzled in the first place. In the absence of any grounds for questioning the accuracy and completeness of the records, it follows that the revised *Clouds* was not performed at the City Dionysia or Lenaia. There is evidence that in the mid-fourth century comedies were performed outside Athens at the Rural Dionysia (Aischines i. 157), but even if this were true of the fifth century the epirrhema suffices to suggest that the revised *Clouds* was not performed at all.

Nowhere in Old Comedy do we find anything comparable with a recommendation to 'convict and imprison' a man already dead.

So far we have been able to allocate the epirrhema to the first version and the parabasis to the revised version. If we are to go further, we depend in the first instance on Hypothesis I, which says:

1. τοῦτο ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ προτέρῳ, διεσκέυασται δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους, ὡς ἂν δὴ ἀναδιδάξαι μὲν αὐτὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ προθυμηθέντος, οὐκέτι δὲ δι' ἡμποτε αἰτίαν ποιήσαντος.

'This is the same as the previous one,<sup>1</sup> but it has been revised in details, as it would be if [i.e. "in a manner consistent with the supposition that"] the poet wanted to produce it again but for some reason or other did not after all do so.' ἐπὶ μέρους means not 'to some extent', but 'in details'; it is often opposed to καθόλου, κεφαλαιωδῶς, and the like, e.g. Arist. *EN* 1107<sup>a</sup>30 f., *Σ<sup>BT</sup> Il.* xvi. 180 προειπὼν τὸ κεφάλαιον πάλιν ἐπὶ μέρους ἐξηγείται, *Σ<sup>BD</sup> Pi.* I. 6. 47e νῦν ἄρχεται τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους, ἀκριβῶς τὸ ὅλον προεκθεῖς and Aristid. Quint. iii. 26 (on destiny) τὰ μὲν καθόλου ἄτρεπτά τε εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους εὐμετάβλητα διὰ παντός.

2. καθόλου μὲν οὖν σχεδὸν παρὰ πᾶν μέρος †γεγεννημένη διόρθωσις †· τὰ μὲν γὰρ περιήρηται, τὰ δὲ παραπέλεκται καὶ ἐν τῇ τάξει καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν προσώπων διαλλαγῇ μετεσχημάτισται.

γὰρ om. v.l. περιπέλεκται et παραπέπλασται vv.ll. καὶ αὐτῇ τῶν v.l.

The syntax is difficult and the text suspect. Insertion of <ῆ> before διόρθωσις seems inescapable on any interpretation. To accept γεγεννημένη (sc. ἐστὶ) = γεγένηται would be a desperate expedient; to delete γὰρ, regard περιήρηται, παραπέλεκται, and μετεσχημάτισται as middle, and treat <ῆ> διόρθωσις (with the punctuation removed) as their subject would be possible but does not ring true. The import of the words, however, is comparatively clear. First, καθόλου: if this were the only word of the sentence which survived,

<sup>1</sup> On the significance of this wording cf. p. lxxxvii.

we should probably guess that the sense was 'so far as concerns the play as a whole (the plot has remained unaltered)', but σχεδὸν παρὰ πᾶν μέρος shows that no antithesis between ἐπὶ μέρους and καθόλου can be intended;<sup>1</sup> the antithesis is in fact between the whole play, the revision of which is described in this sentence, and the portions which will be specified in ἀ δὲ κτλ. Thus: 'to take the play as whole, correction, which has occurred in every part (< . . . ?>). Some elements have been removed, while others have been worked in and [lit.] have been given a new form in the arrangement and in the alteration of speaking parts.' πρόσωπον can mean not only 'role' or 'character' with reference to the play as a whole but also 'part' with reference to a given scene; cf. *Σ<sup>VE</sup>* 889 and *Σ S. OC* 237 τὸ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης πρόσωπον ὄλον (sc. 237-53) καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ τὸ τετράστιχον (sc. 254-7) ἀθετοῦνται. The possibility that προσώπων διαλλαγῆ means 'dialogue' cannot be wholly excluded (cf. the English expression 'give and take'), but the Hellenistic usage of διαλλαγῆ and διαλλάσσειν does not tend in its favour. The Hypothesis implies at least that scenes containing dialogue were altered, and may imply that characters found in one version are not to be found at all in the other.<sup>2</sup>

3. ἀ δὲ ὄλοσχερῆ τῆς διασκευῆς τοιαῦτα ὄντα τετύχηκεν. αὐτίκα (A) ἢ παράβασις τοῦ χοροῦ ἤμειπται, (B) καὶ ὅπου ὁ δίκαιος λόγος πρὸς τὸν ἄδικον λαλεῖ, (C) καὶ τελευταῖον ὅπου καλεῖται ἢ διατριβῆ Σωκράτους.

<sup>1</sup> Van Leeuwen argued that καθόλου μὲν οὖν κτλ. was composed by a late and irresponsible grammarian to contradict ('*immo nulla fere fabulae pars non est mutata*') the statement of an earlier one (τοῦτο . . . ποιήσαντος). But van Leeuwen's interpretation of ἐπὶ μέρους as 'ex parte' (so too H. Emonds, *Zweite Auflage im Altertum* [Leipzig, 1941], 281 f.) is wrong, and there are no grounds for treating μὲν οὖν here as adversative; cf. Aristid. Quint. ii. 9 ('The development of the soul is determined by all its experience and by all types of precept). καθόλου μὲν οὖν there are two kinds of moral education; one is corrective . . . the other constructive . . .'. As we shall see, the language of Hypothesis III has much in common with that of Aristides Quintilianus.

<sup>2</sup> E. Howald, *Sokrates*, x (1922), 34 f., suggests that a demarch appeared as well as the creditors.

The first sentence admits of alternative interpretations: (i) 'And some elements [lit.], have got the revision in their entirety', i.e. 'have been composed in their entirety for the new version', and then (a) 'being as follows', or (b) 'in the form which they [sc. now] have'. (ii) 'And those elements which [lit.] [sc. are] of the revision in their entirety', i.e. 'belong in their entirety to the revision', 'are actually as follows.' The second interpretation is permeated by syntactic awkwardness: the necessity of understanding *ἔστι* in the relative clause, the forward reference of *τοιαῦτα*, and the elaborate periphrasis *ὄντα τετύχηκεν = ἔστιν*. In the first interpretation, *ἃ δέ = τὰ δέ* presents no difficulty (cf. Philochoros fr. 66, LSJ s.v. *ὄς* A 4, KG ii. 228), and for *τῆς διασκευῆς . . . τετύχηκεν* cf. Aristid. Quint. i. 8 *ποικίλων κατ' εἶδος ὀνομασιῶν τετυχήκει*, i. 9 *παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἐν μουσικῇ τετύχηκε παραδοχῆς* (sc. *τὸ ἐναρμόνιον*). *αὐτίκα* need not strictly mean 'for example'; cf. id. ii. 8: 'sometimes the body has a really extraordinary mixture of male and female. Indeed (*αὐτίκα*), if they [sc. souls] do not actually get a body of that kind by nature, they themselves alter it.' Thus the last sentence of the Hypothesis tells us that the parabasis, the contest of Right and Wrong, and the burning of Socrates' school, belong in their entirety to the revised version. In the case of the parabasis we have already seen that *ἡμειπται* is the appropriate word; it is not that the earlier parabasis has been 'revised' or 'corrected' but that an entirely different parabasis has been substituted for what was there before.<sup>1</sup> We are now told by the Hypothesis that the same is true of the argument between Right and Wrong and the burning of Socrates' school.

To the evidence of the Hypothesis we must add that of two scholia:

4. Σ<sup>π</sup> 520: 'it [sc. the parabasis] is not the same *nor in the same metre* as in the First *Clouds*.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Σ<sup>π</sup> II. xiv. 108 *τὸ πνεῦμα ἡμειπται*, i.e. 'a smooth breathing has been substituted for a rough breathing'; ibid. v. 178 *οὐκ ἀμείβει τὸν τόνον*.

5. Σ<sup>ν</sup> 543: 'It may be himself that he is criticizing, since at the end of the play he has represented Socrates' school [*τὴν διατριβὴν Σωκράτους*, cf. 3 (c), above] being burned and some of the philosophers crying *ἰὸν ἰού*. He has not given us this scene (*τοῦτο οὐ πεποίηκε*) in the first *Clouds*.'

The extent to which we can rely on this evidence must depend on our answer to another question: did a text of the first version survive into the Hellenistic period? If it were demonstrable that no such text had survived, we should have to account for the statements which we have just read by saying: (3) (A) is obvious from the historical considerations which troubled Kallimachos, and (4) is an illegitimate but understandable, perhaps unconscious, extension of it. (1) and (2) are irresponsible guesswork. (3) (B) is based on the inference that since Ar. was proud (528 ff.) of the success of the argument between the 'moral and immoral' characters in *Banqueters* he tried to recommend the revised version to the audience by composing a similar argument for it. (3) (c) and (5) are based on an inference of similar type but opposite tendency, that he vulgarized the revised version by introducing torches and yelling into the finale. This inference would be questionable in its premiss, since 543 more probably refers to hybridic revelry (cf. Men. *Dysc.* 60) than to righteous violence, but that is another matter.

Fortunately these explanations are all unnecessary. The evidence for the survival of the first version into Hellenistic times is overwhelming; therefore the authors of Hypothesis I and of the scholia cited could have known what they were talking about; and there are many good reasons for believing that they did.

The most compelling single item of evidence is Σ<sup>νβ</sup> 1115:<sup>1</sup>

*παράβασις. ἐν τῇ παραβάσει οὐ κωμωδεῖται ὁ χορός. τόπος κώλων ε' ὡς ἐλλειπόντων, ὁ εἰκὸς ἦν συμβῆναι. περὶ ἃ εἴρηται*

<sup>1</sup> Published by D. Holwerda, *Mnemosyne*, 1958, 38 ff. On the distribution of ancient scholia in fourteenth-century manuscripts, cf. p. cxiv.



καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρώταις Νεφέλαις. αἱ μετὰ τὸν τόπον ἐν ἐκθέσει ῥήσεις τοῦ χοροῦ, παραβατικώτεραι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κριτάς.

τόπος et τόπον Holwerda: τὸ π<sup>(ov)</sup> et τὸ π<sup>(ov)</sup> cod. -τερα Holwerda: -τερα cod.

'Parabasis. In the parabasis the Chorus is not treated as a comic character. Space of five cola, which should be treated as missing. It is not surprising that this should have happened; the question has been discussed [sc. in my commentary] on the first *Clouds*. The speeches [*sic*] outset after the space belong to the Chorus, and are addressed to the judges, definitely in the manner of a parabasis.' These are the words of a man who has composed some kind of commentary on *Nu.* I; cf. *Σ Av.* 750 (on the different men who were called Phrynichos) *περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς Βατράχοις εἰρήκαμεν* (a reference to *Σ Ra.* 1299), and *Σ Ra.* 1248, 'It is wrong to write a circumflex accent on ταῦτ', ὡς ἐν τῷ Πλούτῳ<sup>1</sup> εἴρηται'. In the case of *ΣVb<sub>3</sub>* the commentator is identifiable as Heliodoros, who composed a metrical analysis of Ar.'s plays.<sup>2</sup> The identification is indicated by the term ἐν ἐκθέσει, for ἐκθεσις and εἴσθεσις are characteristic of the ancient<sup>3</sup> metrical scholia on Ar. (e.g. *Σ<sup>Rv</sup> Nu.* 1131, *Σ<sup>v</sup> 1170*, *Σ<sup>b</sup> 1303*, *Σ<sup>b</sup> 1321*); by the adjective παραβατικός, which occurs also<sup>4</sup> in the metrical scholion on *Ach.* 971; and above all by τόπος in the sense 'space where we expect to find verses but do not', for τόπος is used similarly in *Σ V.* 1282 with a specific ascription to Heliodoros. Heliodoros therefore observed that between 1114 and 1115 there were five lyric kola in his text of the first version but nothing in his text of the revised version.

If *ΣVb<sub>3</sub>* had remained undiscovered, the other pointers to the survival of the first version would still, in my view, support one another; now they no longer have to do so, but

<sup>1</sup> This scholion is the work of Triklinios, and he is referring to his 'excursus' on *Pl.* 143.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. cxi.

<sup>3</sup> For justification of 'ancient' cf. p. cxiv.

<sup>4</sup> *παραβατικά* codd., which is unlikely; no one uses *παραβαίνων* or *παρέμβασις* of the chorus's address to the audience.

can instead be accepted and understood in the light of that survival.

1. The perfect tenses, *εἴρηκεν* in Eratosthenes *ap. Σ<sup>v</sup> 552* and *πεποίηκεν* in *Σ<sup>v</sup> 543*, can be taken at their face value; it is no longer necessary to interpret *οὐδὲν εἴρηκεν* as 'did not say' or 'cannot have said'.

2. A hypothesis which precedes the text of a play in a copy of Roman or early medieval date was not originally composed to accompany the text but as an item in a collection of hypotheses. Such collections are now represented among the papyri for Euripides and Menander.<sup>1</sup> The form of *POxy* 1235, a fragment of a collection of hypotheses to the plays of Menander, may be illustrated by vv. 103-14:

"Ιμβριοι, ὦν ἀρχή·  
 " δι' ὅσου χρόνου σε, Δημέα  
 βέλτιστ' ἐγώ." ταύτην (sc. τὴν κωμωδίαν) [ἔγρα-  
 φεν ἐπὶ Νεικοκλέο[υς . . .  
 τὴν καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ  
 ἔδωκεν εἰς ἐργασίαν [εἰς τὰ  
 Διονύσια, οὐκ ἐγένετο δ[ὲ] διὰ  
 Λαχάρην τὸν τύραννο[ν] ἔπει-  
 τα ὑπεκρίνατο Κάλ[λιπ-  
 πος Ἀθηναῖος.

If we apply a similar formula to Hypothesis I of *Clouds*, which begins with the words *τοῦτο* (sc. τὸ δρᾶμα) *ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ προτέρῳ*, it follows that the hypothesis originally stood in a collection in which (in accordance with the alphabetical order normal in ancient lists of plays) it was immediately preceded by the hypothesis of the first version.<sup>2</sup>

3. In the whole field of Hellenistic and scholastic literature from which the comic 'fragments' are culled there are many erroneous or doubtful attributions of words, phrases,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. A. Coles and J. W. B. Barns, *CQ* n.s. xv (1965), 55 ff., and W. S. Barrett, *ibid.*, 58 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *POxy.* 2537, hypotheses of the speeches of Lysias; on verso 28-30 we find a case *παρακαταθήκης*, followed (31-32) by ]. *παρα[κατα]θήκης* [ . . . ] *προτέρ[ω γέ]ραπται λόγῳ*.

or lines to extant Aristophanic plays. In many cases the attribution can be called 'erroneous' only in so far as the word quoted does indeed occur in the play to which it is attributed, but not in the form or in the phrase quoted. Leaving those examples out of account, and considering solely the words, phrases, or lines attributed to extant plays but not to be found in any form in our texts of those plays, we observe an interesting numerical distribution. The play which has the largest number (21) of apparently erroneous attributions is *Thesmophoriazusae*. This is very easily explained, because two different plays of Ar., both bearing this name, existed in antiquity, the extant play being the earlier, and there are examples of words or lines explicitly attributed to the second. We may therefore assume that everything attributed to '*Thesmophoriazusae*' but not to be found in the extant play comes from the second play. Next comes *Clouds*, with 10 erroneous attributions. Third comes *Plutus*, with 7. Here again there is a simple explanation. There existed two different plays called '*Plutus*', ours being the second, and there are explicit attributions to the first. Therefore it is easy to assign to the first *Plutus* all citations which are ascribed simply to '*Plutus*' but are not in our play. Then comes *Peace*, with 6. Again, there were two plays, and some part of the content of the one which we do not have was known to Krates.<sup>1</sup> Now we come to *Birds* with 3, *Lysistrata* with 2, *Acharnians*, *Knights*, *Wasps*, and *Ecclesiazusae* with 1 each, and *Frogs* with none. It is interesting to see what company *Clouds* is keeping. It belongs with those three titles which did belong to two plays apiece. If all the apparently erroneous attributions to *Clouds* are in fact simple errors, why are there so many more of them than for *Acharnians*, *Knights*, *Wasps*, *Birds*, and *Frogs*? Furthermore, in the great majority of erroneous attributions, one can see the cause of the error. A word or a line is attributed to the poet, without specifying the work; then its content suggests to somebody what play it should belong to, and he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Peace*, ed. M. Platnauer (Oxford, 1964), xxvii ff.

adds the name of the play—unfortunately, sometimes too hastily. Out of the ten apparently erroneous attributions to *Clouds*, six could be accounted for in this way, but one of them is of special interest. Photios attributes to *Clouds* the line: πρὸς τὴν Πάρνηθ' ὀργισθεῖσαι φροῦσαι κατὰ τὴν Λυκάβηττον, 'in anger, they are gone towards Parnes by way of Lykabettos'. It is only too easy to see how such a line *could* be attributed to *Clouds* in error; but if it does not come from the first version, we are entitled to ask a question of a kind which we can only rarely ask about a comic fragment: whence *does* it come, and if these feminine beings who go off towards Parnes by way of Lykabettos are not clouds, what are they?<sup>1</sup> There are moreover four attributions to *Clouds* which cannot be explained away as errors of association: οὐ μετὸν αὐτῶ, ζυμήσασθαι, κόλασμα, and mention of Phormion.

4. In the case of a title such as '*Thesmophoriazusae*', which belonged to two different plays, both of which survived for a long time, we have, in addition to the citations attributed simply to *Th.*, a few specifically attributed to '*Th. α*' and a few specifically to '*Th. β*'. This is also true of *Clouds*. The saying δις παῖδες οἱ γέροντες, which occurs in *Nu.* 1417, is cited by Σ Pl. *Ac.* 367 B<sup>2</sup> as from *Νεφέλαι α*', and *Nu.* 1196–1200 are cited by Athenaios 171 C as from *πρότερα Νεφέλαι*. Now, it is easy enough to see how the specification 'first' or 'second' comes to be omitted accidentally; it is not so easy to see how it can be erroneously added. If Athenaios found the dialogue on ἐνη καὶ νέα cited simply from '*Clouds*' and did not find it in the revised version, he might very well assume that it must be from the first version and therefore add *πρότερα*; but in fact the passage is in our play, and so the only imaginable reason for erroneous attribution to the first version disappears. There remains

<sup>1</sup> Possibly women from a deme in the Parnes foothills, as Miss Dunbar points out to me; but I have lived too long with the idea that they are clouds to be an impartial judge.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Stallbaum's 1850 Tauchnitz edition, but not in W. C. Greene, *Scholion Platonica* (Haverford, 1938).

the explanation that although the saying *δὲ παῖδες οἱ γέροντες* and the dialogue about *ἔνη καὶ νέα* happen to be in our play they were also in the first version, were drawn from that by the source of Σ Pl. and by Athenaios, and were naturally and correctly attributed to the source from which they were drawn. It can, of course, be objected that *πρότεραι* in Athenaios may be a corruption of *δευτέραι*, and precisely such a corruption (in reverse) has occurred in a citation of the second *Thesmophoriazusae* by Hephaestion (p. 41. 11); but if there was only one *Clouds* from which passages could be cited, why should Athenaios trouble to specify at all? There are in fact two other passages in which Athenaios quotes our play and refers the quotation explicitly to *δευτέραι Νεφέλαι* (299 B, 345 F); why do this, unless quotation of the first version was a practical possibility?

5. Σ<sup>ve</sup> 889, on the entry of Right and Wrong, says: 'the Logoi are shown in the theatre (*ὑπόκεινται ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς*) in wicker cages, fighting like birds' (i.e. like cocks).<sup>1</sup> In E this statement is embodied in a Heliodoran metrical scholion beginning *διπλῆ· κορωνίς*: in V it is not a part of the continuously numbered scholia which occupy the margins, but one of a very small number which are written close up to the text and bear either no symbol or a non-serial symbol. The statement has no foundation in the text itself; nothing that is said by the Logoi or by anyone else suggests that they are dressed or brought on as fighting-cocks—indeed, Σ<sup>rv</sup> 1033 comments on their *human* form, which is an entirely reasonable inference from the text (cf. 1103 *δέξασθέ μου θοῦμάτιον*). Now, the scholia on Greek drama afford no parallel for a comment on action or dress which is neither derived from the words of the text itself nor related (as Σ E. Or. 57 is, quite explicitly) to Hellenistic stage production.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The phraseology, *δίκην ὀρνίθων*, is legitimate Hellenistic Greek; cf. LSJ s.v. i. 2 and add Ath. 307 F and Lyd. *Ost.*, p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> It is questionable whether the statement of the Hypothesis on A. Ag. that Agamemnon at 783 entered in one vehicle, Kassandra and 'the spoils of Troy' in another, is based on Hellenistic stage production

Unless we are to believe, contrary to such evidence as we have,<sup>1</sup> that the plays of Ar. were performed in Hellenistic times, we must consider the possibility that Σ<sup>ve</sup> 889, though untrue of our play, was true of the first version. If it is asked how a comment on that version found its way into a manuscript of our play, one answer may be that this element in the original production was mentioned somewhere in the lost Socratic literature of the fourth century, just as Socrates' suspension in a basket is mentioned in Pl. *Ap.* Another answer is that we do not know exactly how a comment on one version of a play finds its way into a commentary on a different version, but we do know that another unnumbered scholion in V has done something very similar. In 412 ff. the Chorus promises Strepsiades: 'You who desire the High Wisdom from us (*παρ' ἡμῶν*), how fortunate you will be . . ., if you have a good memory (*εἰ μνήμων εἶ*) . . . and do not grow weary (*καὶ μὴ κάμνεις*) . . . and abstain from wine and gymnasia and all the rest of that nonsense.' Diog. Laert. ii. 28 cites (as from Ar., but without naming the play) a different version, in which the words are not a promise to Strepsiades but a compliment to Socrates: 'You who desire the High Wisdom rightly (*δικαίως*), how fortunate you will be . . ., for you have a good memory (*εἰ γὰρ μνήμων*) . . . and do not grow weary (*κοῦτε τι κάμνεις*) . . . and abstain from wine and gluttony (*κάδηφαγίας*) and all the rest of that nonsense.' Σ<sup>v</sup> 416 says: τὸ 'μή' ἀντὶ τῆς 'οὐ'. This has no bearing whatever on the text *εἰ μνήμων εἶ κτλ.*; it can refer only to a text which began *εἰ γὰρ μνήμων* and continued as a statement, but with *μή* instead of *οὐ*. I do not suggest

(cf. Fraenkel's edition, ii. 370). If it is not, it is still a very natural way (however illegitimate) of envisaging the scene, and in that respect it is fundamentally different from the 'fighting-cock' scholion.

<sup>1</sup> Note that by *παλαιά* (sc. *κωμῳδία*) the dramatic records of the second century mean not, in the technical sense, an 'Old' comedy, but a comedy of Menander or one of his contemporaries: *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2323. 129 f., 163 f., 206 f., 232 f. Gross indecency of action and language and close relation to the circumstances in which they were composed made Ar.'s plays unacceptable to Hellenistic audiences.

that Diog. Laert. is quoting the first version—the passage as he gives it has simply been taken from our play and altered by someone whose moral earnestness exceeded his feeling for poetry, sense of humour, and historical scruples—but the fact remains that the unnumbered scholion in V offers as a comment on our text what is meaningful only in relation to the passage removed from its context and altered.<sup>1</sup>

There are two further reasons for taking the 'fighting-cock' scholion seriously.<sup>2</sup> One is the statement of Hypothesis I that the contest of Right and Wrong belongs 'in its entirety' to the revised version. The other is that between Strepsiades' last words (887 f.), 'remember now, make him able to argue against all the claims of justice', and the opening words of Right to Wrong (889), 'This way, show yourself to the audience', we expect to find an utterance by the Chorus, and do not get it. The scholia comment on this fact, and χοροῦ is added before Δίκαιος Λόγος. Socrates has just said (887) 'I shall not be here', and since there is no dramatic motive for his absence<sup>3</sup> we may legitimately suspect, and shall easily find, a motive of another kind: the actor who plays the part of Socrates is needed to take the part of one of the Logoi.<sup>4</sup> But since 888 and the second half of 887 are addressed to Socrates, and the next line is addressed by Right to Wrong, it would be difficult to allow

<sup>1</sup> The mechanism which I assume is this: εἰ γὰρ μνήμων, drawn from a recollection of the doctored extract, was put as a variant on εἰ μνήμων εἰ into an ancient text (call it *p*), and at the next stage of transmission (*q*) displaced εἰ μνήμων εἰ. τὸ μὴ ἀντι τῆς οὐ was written as a comment on *q* or a descendant (*r*) of *q*. The copyist of V or of V' exemplar took in this comment from *q* or *r*.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. Dale, *JHS* lxxvii (1957), 210: 'a startling piece of information, unlikely to have been invented'; Russo, 171, observes that it is incompatible with 1103 δέξασθέ μου θοιμάτιον, but does not consider the possibility of referring it to the first version.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot take seriously the suggestion of Erbse, *Hermes* lxxxii (1954), 398, that Socrates means not 'I shall be physically absent' but 'I shall abstain from influencing the outcome'; cf. p. xlv and n. ad loc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the contrived exit at *Th.* 457 f.

the actor more than ten seconds for his change of costume. Possibly feats of this kind can be performed if they have to be, but there is no other moment in Greek drama at which a change as quick as that is necessary or even probable. The difficulty is removed if we postulate a choral utterance at this point in the first version. Evidently its content was unsuitable for the revised version; it was therefore removed and, the revision being incomplete, nothing was substituted.<sup>1</sup> I suggest that in the first version the contestants were brought on as fighting-cocks, and that the words of the Chorus referred so clearly to this presentation that they could not be retained once Ar. had envisaged a different presentation; or, alternatively, that although the contestants were never staged as fighting-cocks, the Chorus in the first version used metaphors from cock-fighting in referring to the coming contest, and the scholion is an adventurous and incorrect, but pardonable, inference from these metaphors.

The end of the play poses a more elusive problem. Hypothesis I neither excludes nor fortifies the possibility that the first version ended with some act of violence against Socrates and his school. Among alternative endings which might be suggested, none carries great conviction,<sup>2</sup> but there is one which postulates an understandable relation between *Knights*, *Clouds*, and *Wasps*. If the first version ended with the triumph of Pheidippides over his wretched father, it presented without irony or disguise the bleak reality which in *Knights* is overlaid by the conventional comic ending; but it presented something which the judges could not stomach,

<sup>1</sup> Ancient commentators were, of course, extremely familiar with χοροῦ as an indication of a choral interlude, the text of the song being omitted, in comedies of the fourth century and later. Wilamowitz, *SPAW* 1921, 738, seems to accept the phenomenon at *Nu.* 888 f. as part of Ar.'s original intention, but no inference about fifth-century practice in general can safely be drawn from an incompletely revised play.

<sup>2</sup> Except, perhaps, the attractive suggestion of Howald, loc. cit. 38 f., that Ar. used the well-known motif of the pupil who, having been taught dishonesty, refuses to pay the master who has taught him it, so that the climax of the play was the refusal of Strepsiades to pay Socrates.

Ar. reverted in *Wasps* to convention in its crudest form, and in revising *Clouds* he gave priority to the construction of a new ending which provided the customary noise and movement and satisfied, on a superficial level, the audience's ideas of right and wrong.<sup>1</sup>

So far we have considered only the external evidence for the differences between the first and revised versions. Internal evidence is constituted by moments in the play at which we feel, even if we put out of our minds all external grounds for suspecting incomplete revision, that by Ar.'s dramaturgical standards something is amiss. Full allowance must naturally be made for the fact that Ar. does not spoil a joke or a humorous motif by anticipation, nor does he prolong or repeat a joke once its theatrical effect has been achieved; this much 'inconsistency' is characteristic of his technique, and its exploitation is one of the conspicuous virtues of Old Comedy.<sup>2</sup> When this allowance has been made, there remain two problems.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Attempts to allocate to the first or second version various motifs which we find in our text, almost an obsession among Aristophanic scholars in the nineteenth century (cf. B. Heidhues, *Ueber die Wolken des Aristophanes* [Cologne, 1897], 14 ff., and especially 23 ff. on the 'bugs-motif' and 'penis-motif') are fortunately out of favour. Gelzer, however, notes (15 n. 1) that whereas Strepsiades is 'initiated' into the school as into mysteries nothing is said of initiation when Pheidippides is admitted, and he seems to regard this omission of what has been a 'Hauptmotiv' as a consequence of revision. But obviously Ar. would not want to go through the same joke twice; for him, that was a far more important consideration than logical consistency, and who would wish it otherwise?

<sup>3</sup> Gelzer argues (138 ff.) from the structure of the scene in which Socrates enlightens Strepsiades on meteorology and theology, with interventions by the Chorus (314-477), that this scene is the rearranged remnant of the principal *ἀγών* of the first version, and (13 ff.) that the contests of Right and Wrong and of Strepsiades and Pheidippides (two contests which, as he correctly observes, are intimately inter-related) were not in that version. This argument seems to rest on an exaggeration of the formal inflexibility of early Aristophanic comedy (cf. Newiger, *GA* ccvii [1965], 39 f.).

1. If the beginning of the play were lost, we should probably infer from 794 ff. ('If you have a son, send *him* to school'—'Why, yes, I have a son') that Pheidippides had taken no part in the play up to that point. In fact, Strepsiades has tried and failed (80 ff.) to make him go to the school; now he is about to succeed (814 ff.) in accomplishing what was not achieved earlier by a similar mixture of anger and entreaty. This is more than mere inconsistency, for it seems to make a fresh start on a path which has been abandoned long before.<sup>1</sup> Yet, though we may not like this, we must content ourselves with observing that Hypothesis I does not suggest any radical change in the opening scene of the play. We should perhaps treat 794 ff. as a warning against drawing large inferences from unsatisfactory dramaturgy, and bear this warning in mind in considering:

2. Chairephon and Socrates are named together in the opening scene (104) as if they are joint proprietors of the school (one thinks of Euthydemus and Dionysodoros in Pl. *Euthd.*), in such a way as to suggest that we shall see both of them on the stage. In 501 ff. Chairephon is 'demoted' to the status of a student. The intermediate references (144 ff., 156 ff.) are reconcilable with either status, but if we read the play from the beginning without knowledge of what is to come, we naturally interpret 144 ff. and 156 ff. in conformity with 104. At the end of the play, 1465 (τὸν Χαιρεφῶντα τὸν μαρὸν καὶ Σωκράτη) suggests very strongly that Chairephon has taken a leading part in the action; indeed, it subordinates Socrates to him. Yet Chairephon does not appear in the play at all;<sup>2</sup> did he, perhaps, appear in the first version? Again, this is not a question of mere comic inconsistency, for neither in 104 nor in 1465 does the prominence given to Chairephon serve by itself any discernible humorous or dramatic purpose; rather, this prominence takes for granted the existence elsewhere in the play of a scene or scenes which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Howald, loc. cit. 35 f.

<sup>2</sup> On the (medieval?) identification of the speaker of 1505 as Chairephon cf. n. ad. loc.

do not in fact exist elsewhere. There are two serious possibilities.

(i) What became in the revised version a contest between Right and Wrong was in the first version a contest (with a somewhat different orientation) between the unworldly philosopher Chairephon and the conventional young man Pheidippides.<sup>1</sup> This hypothesis necessarily affects our interpretation of the 'fighting-cock' scholion. It rules out the idea that the contestants were actually dressed as fighting-cocks and brought before us in cages; for (a) Chairephon's physique had its own comic possibilities (501 ff.), and it would be unlike Ar. to decline the exploitation of these possibilities in favour of a presentation alien to the real individual caricatured, and (b) it is not easy to devise any plausible dramatic opportunity or motivation for the transformation of Pheidippides into a fighting-cock. The hypothesis does not, however, exclude the alternative interpretation of the scholion: that a choral song before the contest used metaphors drawn from cock-fighting (a sport favoured by young men of Pheidippides' type) and that the scholion is an inference from the language.

(ii) Strepisades was admitted to the school in the first version by Chairephon, not, as in the revised version, by an anonymous student.<sup>2</sup> If so, what was gained, dramatically or humorously, by the change? We can imagine something which Ar. may have intended to gain: he may have envisaged, as part of his design for the revision, the promotion of Chairephon from student to colleague and the presentation of a pair of philosophers in place of Socrates alone. If so, he discarded this intention after revising the first and last parts of the play (but not 501 ff.) to conform with it, leaving us with an anonymous student in 133 ff., references which suggest at the start that we shall see Chairephon, and at the

<sup>1</sup> Russo, 161 ff., 167 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Heidhues's suggestion (op. cit. 21) that the student actually is Chairephon, speaking of himself in the third person, is one of the aberrations which occur in the study of any comedy.

end that we have seen him, and no Chairephon at all in between.

There is no reason why we should hesitate in principle to postulate one or more changes of intention during the process of revision.<sup>1</sup> There is, moreover, one fact which, if the references to Chairephon require explanation (as I am inclined to think they do), tends in favour of hypothesis (ii) rather than (i). Arethas's scholion on Pl. *Ap.* 20 E gives seven comic references to Chairephon. As only one of the seven is from a play which survived into the Middle Ages, the source of the scholion must be of respectable antiquity, and it is fairly obvious that it must be traced to someone's *Κωμωδοῦμενοι*.<sup>2</sup> Yet it makes no mention of any actual appearance of Chairephon in a play; and if Chairephon did appear in the first version, this omission is surprising. I therefore suggest that Ar. intended to bring Chairephon into the revision, that 104 and 1465 belong to that early stage of revision, and that this intention was abandoned.

Two aspects of the whole problem of the two versions deserve special mention. The first concerns Hellenistic scholarship. Kallimachos did not read the parabasis carefully enough (and even a hasty reading would have sufficed) to realize that he was dealing with a revised play; he did not hesitate, in preference to reconsidering his original interpretation, to assume an error in the records; and he did not know, did not even suspect, the existence of a work which existed all the time and was available to later scholars. The first fact is best explained by the assumption that when he

<sup>1</sup> Russo's theory (155 ff.) that the contest of Right and Wrong, taken with what immediately precedes and follows it, shows Ar. to have changed his plans during the process of revision, does not seem to me necessary, since I disagree (cf. p. lxxxiii) with some of his premisses, but I see nothing methodologically unsound or implausible in it.

<sup>2</sup> On this genre of scholarly work cf. J. Steinhausen, *Κωμωδοῦμενοι* (Diss. Bonn, 1910); *POxy.* 2192. 28, referring to 'Υψηκράτους τῶν κωμωδομένων 5' ζ', is an item of evidence which has come to light since Steinhausen wrote.



drew his inference about the records he was not working direct from the text of the play but from a note which he had made, without any chronological problem in mind, on some previous occasion; the note, for example, that *Marikas* was mentioned in *Clouds*. The second fact is explicable on the grounds that he was speaking of the *διδασκαλίαι* in book form, not of the official records which the book purported to reproduce, and he meant to say that the book had not reproduced the records correctly. The third fact is adequately explained by a parallel: Krates was able to refer to a text (the other *Peace*) of which Eratosthenes spoke in such a way as to suggest that it no longer existed (Hypothesis III on *Peace*).

The other aspect of the problem is of greater moment. Unless we have recourse to melodrama ('stolen from Ar.'s study') or a possibly anachronistic exercise of the imagination ('found among Ar.'s papers after his death'),<sup>1</sup> we must recognize that Ar. allowed an unperformable<sup>2</sup> and incompletely revised version of his play—perhaps, as we have seen, a version containing signs that the plan of revision was changed at least once—to go out of his hands and into circulation as a written text. This text was not a reminder of something seen on the stage, but was intended for readers. It is therefore an indication that at least from the penultimate decade of the fifth century a comic poet might not be exclusively concerned with theatrical effect but might also take into account future readers, including, perhaps, readers who were not acquainted with his work in the theatre.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Howald, loc. cit., 24 speaks of 'Nachlassausgabe'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. xcii f.

<sup>3</sup> Ath. 270 c mentions two comedies, Metagenes' *Thuriopersai* and Nikophon's *Sirens*, which, he says, were never performed.

## X. THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT

A. *Ancient Texts*

Five fragments of ancient copies of the play survive.<sup>1</sup> They are:

*Π*<sub>1</sub> = *PSI* (*Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini*), vol. x, no. 1171. III A.D.; one leaf of a parchment codex. Contains lines 577–635 in a good state of preservation.

*Π*<sub>2</sub> = *POxy* (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*), vol. xi, no. 1371. V A.D.; one leaf of a papyrus codex. Contains a few letters of lines 2–5 and 10–11 and the first part of each line in 38–48; there are some marginal scholia. Cf. G. Zuntz, *Byzantion*, xiii (1938), 677 ff.

*Π*<sub>3</sub> = *BKT* (*Berliner Klassikertexte*), vol. v, part 2, nos. 225–6. V A.D.; two leaves of a parchment codex. Contains parts of lines 177–80, 207–9, 235–7, 265–7, 936–42, and, in a better preserved state, 959–73.

*Π*<sub>4</sub> = *BKT*, V/2, no. 219. V or VI A.D.; one leaf of a parchment codex. Contains scraps of lines 946–7 and 955–9, and a more substantial part of each line in 960–88 and 1007–15.

*Π*<sub>5</sub> = Strasbourg papyrus inv. no. 621, first published by R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes*, xxxv (1900), 602 ff.; for corrections see W. J. W. Koster and D. Holwerda, *Mnemosyne*, 1962, 267 ff. V, VI, or VII A.D.; one leaf of a parchment codex. Contains the ends of lines 1372–85, a scrap of 1391, and the beginnings of 1407–28.

Accents, breathings, and indications of elision are abundant in *Π*<sub>2</sub> and *Π*<sub>5</sub>, sparse in *Π*<sub>3</sub>, and absent from *Π*<sub>1</sub> and

<sup>1</sup> So far as the transmission of pagan Greek poetry is concerned, the period 650–850 A.D. is a clear division between the ancient and the medieval worlds. The term 'papyri' is not always an appropriate description of fragmentary ancient copies, especially in the case of *Clouds*, where all five ancient copies are portions of codices, not rolls, and all but one are made of parchment.





3. In both:

- (i) When a verse is obviously divisible into smaller units, a space equivalent to one long is left between units.
- (ii) Neither the point between a prepositive and the following word nor the point between a postpositive and the preceding word is treated as word-end, but if the prepositive is disyllabic this question must sometimes be left open.

(iii)	<i>an</i>	=	∪∪	∪∪
	<i>ba</i>	=	∪--	
	<i>ch</i>	=	--∪∪	
	<i>cr</i>	=	--∪-	
	<i>da</i>	=	--∪∪	
	<i>ia</i>	=	x-∪-	
	<i>ion</i>	=	∪∪--	
	<i>ilh</i>	=	--∪-∪--	
	<i>lek</i>	=	--∪-x-∪-	
	<i>tr</i>	=	--∪-x	

Substitution of ∪ for final - or final x does not disqualify a unit for description in accordance with this code; nor does the substitution of ∪∪ for - or initial x necessarily disqualify it.

## COMMENTARY

## (A) 1-125. STREPSIADES AT HOME

(i) 1-78. *Strepsiaades recounts his troubles*

There is a door in the centre of the skene. Two frames of wood and canvas are brought in, fitted together, and placed against the left-hand end of the skene; the frame which faces us has a door in it; a third frame is placed horizontally from the top of this façade to the top of the skene, to represent a roof, and is tied or nailed in place. Then a wooden screen, in which there is a small closed door, is carried in and placed obliquely in front of the wood-and-canvas house, concealing from us the façade of the house. The men who have carried the screen in remain behind it, and we do not see them.

From the other side of the theatre two beds are carried in and placed in front of the skene, somewhat to the right of the central door. In each bed there is a person covered with blankets. The men who have carried the beds in go away. The play begins.

The fact that there are two people lying in their beds suggests that it is night. One of the two remains motionless. The other tosses and turns with increasing violence, and finally sits upright with a gesture of despair. We see from his mask that he is an old man.

He is going to deliver a soliloquy, in which the situation and its antecedents will be expounded to us. At no point, however, are we explicitly addressed as an audience; the speaker begins by verbalizing the emotions which he feels, and the transition from emotional reaction to pure narrative is effected subtly, with a renewed outburst of emotion at 41 ff. The participation of the slave (18 ff., 56 ff.) and the dreams and temporary awakening of the other sleeper (25 ff.) interrupt and enliven what would otherwise be an abnormally prolonged soliloquy. The other man's presence, even when he is asleep, also makes it possible for some of the information which we need to be given as words addressed to him, not to us.

*Acharnians* similarly begins with a soliloquy, but that is shorter and less detailed. In *Eq.* 40 ff., *V.* 54 ff., *Pax* 50 ff., and *Av.* 30 ff. Ar. adopts a different technique, making one character step out of the play to tell us the situation after our interest and curiosity have been aroused by lively dialogue and action.

We infer from the old man's words in 5 ff. that he is the head of a household, and from 8 that the other sleeper is his son; this is

confirmed at 14. We learn the son's name at 67, but not the old man's until 134.

1 ff. tell us that the dramatic time is shortly before first light, and 5 ff. that the place of the action is the old man's own house. If we think of the two men as sleeping in the same room, we may wonder why the father is not sleeping with his wife, and the son in a separate room. The temperature in the theatre at the Dionysia does not make us think at once of people sleeping out of doors to keep cool, and line 10 shows that we are not to imagine the weather as hot. There is, in fact, no point in speculating what spatial relation between father's bed and son's bed in the dramatic situation is represented by the relation of the two beds in the theatre.

We do not know until 134 ff. whether we are to think of the house as being in the city or in the country.

- 1 **ἰού . . . 3 γενήσεται**: The opening words are characteristic. *Knights* too opens with a cry of distress, *Thesmophoriazousae* and *Plutus* with distressed invocations, and *Acharnians* with an emphatic statement of distress. **τὸ χρῆμα**: Cf. *Ra.* 1278 (self-parody?) *ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῶν κόπων ὄσον*. The singular *χρῆμα* is extremely restricted in Attic; most often, *τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ/τῆς/τῶν* . . . occurs in exclamations which express a reaction to size or numbers (e.g. *Ach.* 150), goodness (*Av.* 826), or badness (*V.* 933). On its tragic usage cf. P. T. Stevens, *CQ* N.S. xxxi (1937), 190 f. **τῶν νυκτῶν**: Since the plural *νύκτες* is used with reference to an unspecified number of nights (e.g. *V.* 218) but occasionally with reference to one night only (e.g. *Pl. Prt.* 310 c *ἐπειτά μοι λίαν πόρρω ἔδοξε τῶν νυκτῶν εἶναι* and *X. An.* vii. 8. 12 *ἀφίκοντο περὶ μέσας νύκτας*), it is probable that we should take the exclamation of distress as referring to this night, not as implying that the old man has habitually lain awake at night. **ἀπέραντον**: Metre does not tell us whether Ar. would have called an 'interminable' night *ἀπέραντον* (RAE<sup>pc</sup>KMNNP<sub>12</sub>UVb3Vp<sub>1</sub><sup>pc</sup>Vs<sub>1</sub>W<sub>0</sub>Z<sub>0</sub>Φ, but rejected explicitly by Σ<sup>RV</sup>E) or *ἀπέρατον* (VE<sup>ac</sup>Md<sub>1</sub>Np<sub>1</sub>Vp<sub>1</sub><sup>ac</sup>), but etymology does; cf. *Ra.* 403 *πολλὴν ὁδὸν περαίνεις. ἀήρ is ἀπέραντ'* in all MSS. at 939, and the MSS. of Plato offer us *ἀπέραντος*, not *ἀπέρατος*, in many passages, notably *Plt.* 302 A *χρόνον ἀπέραντον*.
- 5 **οἱ δ' οἰκέται**: His mood changes from the disgruntlement of insomnia to anger against his slaves. The statement of Σ<sup>RV</sup>E<sup>θ</sup> that *οἰκέται* here means not the slaves but all the members of the household, bond and free alike (cf. *Hdt.* viii. 106. 2), is disproved by what follows. In *Lys.* vii. 16 *οἰκέται* and *θεράποντες* are synonyms; cf. *D.* xxiv. 166 ~ 167. **ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν**: Cf. 108 and *Pax* 907 f., 'See how eagerly the prytanis took her over! ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν (*sc.* *παρεδέξω*) if you had to bring her before the Council for nothing!'; *KG*, i. 243 f.
- 6 **ἀπόλοιο . . . 7 οἰκέτας**: During the Peloponnesian War, with Megara

and Boiotia both hostile and a Peloponnesian army ravaging Attica at times, ill-treated slaves had far better opportunities to desert than in peace-time. (It was alleged by the Athenians before the war that Megara had harboured runaway slaves, in violation of normal international practice [*Th.* i. 139. 2]). The two slaves in the first scene of *Knights* timorously contemplate desertion (21 ff.) as a way of escape from their intolerable fellow slave, and in *Pax* 451 it is assumed that 'a slave ready to desert' is one of the beneficiaries of war. No doubt the 'servant problem' was a regular talking-point among Attic householders, but it was a real enough problem, as later events showed; by the time that the Peloponnesian force established at Dekeleia in 413 had been active for some months Athens was the poorer by 10,000 slaves, through capture and desertion together (*Th.* vii. 27. 5). **δρ'**: 'For now'; cf. 34, 717, *Ach.* 401. **κολάσ' ἔξῃσι**: The elision of the aorist infinitive ending *-σαι* in 523 and 550 suggests that we should regard it as elided here, not ε- as prodelided (as in *Ach.* 1079 *μὴ ἔξειναι*); but *V.* 501, the sole example which is metrically unambiguous, a trochaic tetrameter beginning with *ὅτι κελητίσαι κέλευον*, points to prodelision as an alternative possibility. Cf. 42.

- 8 **οὐδ'**: The point is: '<I am awake> but *he* is *not*'. Cf. [*Lys.*] xx. 7 f. 'They accuse equally those who made a proposal in the Council and those who did not. οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲ γνώμην οὐδεμίαν εἶπε': Denniston, 198. **χρηστός**: This heavy sarcasm, rare in comedy (but cf. 61, 647), is common in oratory; cf. *D.* xviii. 130 *οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι* and xxiii. 169 *ὁ χρηστός οὗτος Χαρίδημος*.
- 9 **πέρδεται**: The assumptions of Old Comedy (cf. 734 n.) make 'fart' almost a synonym for 'sleep' (*Ach.* 256, *Eq.* 115), but farting is also associated with lively insouciance, e.g. *Pax* 335, *V.* 1305 *ἐσκίρτα, ἑπέορδει, κατεγέλα* (~ *Nu.* 1078 *σκίρτα, γέλα, κτλ.*). This passage, like *Ec.* 464, combines both ideas to suggest sleeping without a care in the world. One further consideration is that Old Comedy exploits to the utmost the humorous potentialities of the bowels (e.g. 157 ff., 169 ff., 293 ff., 373, 386 ff., 1384 ff.); cf. *Ec.* 78.
- 11 **ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ**: 'Well, all right, then. . .'. Cf. *V.* 1008, *Th.* 216, and Barrett on *E. Hp.* 507 f.; seeing that his son isn't going to lose any sleep, the old man acquiesces grudgingly.
- He wraps himself up and lies still for a moment (Σ<sup>RV</sup>E<sup>θ</sup>). Then he begins to toss again, with increasing exaggeration, until he flings back the blankets and sits up. He may perhaps swing his legs over the side of the bed, as if giving up all further hope of sleep. As vase-paintings show, Greeks commonly sat on beds with their legs horizontal, either propped up on cushions and one elbow or raising one knee and grasping it; but the old man will soon (18 ff.) read his account-book, for which he will need both hands.

- 12 δακνόμενος:** Coupled with 'I can't sleep' this suggests vermin, but 13 shows that the biting (as often, e.g. *Ach.* 1) is metaphorical.
- 13 φάτνης:** δαπάνης tells us that he is worried by debt; φάτνης tells us what kind of debt; and 14 shows that his son's passion for horses is the trouble.
- 14 κόμην:** Long hair was characteristic of (a) unworldly men, careless of their appearance (cf. 836 and perhaps 332), and (b) fastidious, well-to-do young men. It was therefore characteristic of those who served as cavalry, for only the rich could afford to maintain horses. The chorus of cavalrymen in *Eg.* 580 says μὴ φθονεῖθ' ἡμῖν κομῶσι. Anyone who wore long hair but was not otherwise unkempt or dirty could be regarded as 'giving himself airs'; cf. 348, 545, 1100 and *V.* 1317 ἐπὶ τῷ κομῆς καὶ κομῆς εἶναι προσποιεῖ;
- 15 ξυνωρικεύεται:** *συνωρίς* is a racing-chariot drawn not by four horses but by two (cf. *Paus.* v. 8. 10; *Σ<sup>RE</sup>* adds that it is 'now' called δῖφρος). *συνωρικεύεσθαι* implies \**συνωρικός*, 'having to do with' (hence 'skilled at' or 'knowledgeable in') 'racing with pairs'; for the formation cf. *Ἀττικός*, *Δωρικός* ~ *Ἄτθις*, *Δωρίς*, and for the meaning cf. 27 *ἵππικῆν* (sc. *τέχνην*) and *Lys.* 677 *ἵππικώτατος*. Verbs in *-εύεσθαι* commonly denote ways of life or behaviour, e.g. 970 *βαμολοχεύσαι*, *Eup.* 67 *πορνεύεσθαι*, *Antiphon* fr. 65 (Thalheim) *δημοτεύεσθαι*. The closest parallel to *ξυνωρικεύεται* in Classical Attic (there are many in later Greek) is *Eg.* 270 *ἐκκοβαλικεύεται* (κάκ-? καὶ κ-?) ~ \**κοβαλικός* ~ *κόβαλος*: cf. *Neil ad loc.* and Ernst Fraenkel, *Griechische Denominativa* (Göttingen, 1906), 179.
- 17 ὀρῶν . . . 18 χωροῦσιν:** The interest on loans was reckoned by the month, as we are told explicitly in 756; cf. *D.* xxxvii. 4 f., where 150 drachmai a month are the interest on a loan of 150 mnaí, and *IG* xii (7). 67. 5 and 68. 6—both from Arkesine—where the same rate is laid down. Creditors, therefore, although especially pressing at the end of the year (e.g. *D.* l. 61), would also want to collect the money owed to them at the end of each month. The Attic months were alternately of 29 and 30 days and (unlike our months) were normally in step with the moon (cf. 615 ff. n.); hence the old man speaks of the moon where we would say 'it's the last part of the month'. As well as *εἰκάς* (*D.* xix. 59), the plural *εἰκάδες* can mean 'the 20th', as in the dating formula *μετ' εἰκάδας*, which first appears in 334/3 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 335. 6), and cf. *And.* i. 21 *ταῖς δ' εἰκάσι, μυστηρίοις τούτοις . . . ἐνδείκνυσσί με*, but I do not think that the meaning 'the twenties' can be excluded here. *χωρεῖν* is often 'move on', 'move forward' (cf. 906 f.); in this case 'mount up'.
- 18 ἄπτε:** He calls to a slave, who comes out of the skene while 19 f. are being spoken. On the aspect of the imperative, note that *ἄψον* would have scanned as well, and in *Ra.* 1338 *ἄπτετε* would have scanned as well as *ἄψατε*.

- 19 κάκφερε:** He uses the word appropriate not to bringing something from one room to another within a real house but to bringing it out of the skene into sight of the audience. Cf. fr. 348 *ἐκδότω δέ τις καὶ ψηφολογεῖον ὠδὲ καὶ δῖφρω δύο*, *Pl. Com.* 194, and p. lxxi. With *φέρειν* and its compounds the imperfective and aorist aspects are indifferent alternatives; cf. *Ach.* 1109 *τὸ λοφεῖον ἐξένεγκε* ~ 1123 *τοὺς κριβανίτας ἔκφερε*, and *Ach.* 805 *ἐνεγκάτω τις ἐνδοθεν τῶν ἰσθάδιων* ~ *Lys.* 199 *φερέτω κύλικά τις ἐνδοθεν*. **γραμματεῖον:** We cannot be sure of the form and material of this, but it was probably a number of wooden tablets with waxed surfaces (cf. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, ed. 3 [Heidelberg, 1962], 29 f., with special reference to *E. IT* 727 ff.); a more durable object than a sheet or roll of papyrus, and more economical in that it could be used afresh if all the debts were ever paid off. *Ar.* fr. 157 (explained by *Poll.* x. 59) says 'they ate the wax from their *γραμματεῖα*'.
- He takes the book from the slave, who stands behind him holding the lamp (*Σ<sup>2</sup>* says that the slave reads aloud to him, but no MS. assigns 18 or 31 to the slave, and this method of production does not quite suit *φέρ' ἴδω, τί ὀφείλω*); The play is being acted in daylight; is the lamp really alight? If so, it must go out between 31 and 56, and neither earlier nor later; but that should not be beyond the wit of a producer.
- 20 καὶ λογίσσμαι τοὺς τόκους:** It would be tedious if he did, and he is not allowed to go that far; cf. 56 n.
- 21 Πασίq:** Cf. p. xxix.
- 22 τοῦ:** The classification of this genitive is elust c; possibly 'as a part of what process?' (cf. *τοῦ* and *τοῦ μή* with the infinitive, 'as a part of', i.e. 'as a step towards', 'in order to') or 'as belonging to what?' (*KG*, i. 372 ff.), but it is more probably determined by the semantic affinities of *ὀφείλειν* with (in one direction) 'buy' and 'sell' (*ibid.* 377 ff.) and (in the other direction) 'be prosecuted' (*ibid.* 380 ff.). The semantics of the genitive are not yet fully explored; cf. 1223, 1310a, and *IG* v (2). 16. 6 (Tegea, III) *ἀνακαρῶσαι αὐτὸς ἀνδραγαθίαν* (= Attic *ἀνδραγαθίας ἔνεκα*).
- 23.** He remembers the answer and gives it. *Σ<sup>Ma1</sup>* explains that *συνῆκα* is to be understood; in *EKMNNP1Vb3Vp1Vs1Wp<sup>2</sup>Z* *συνῆκα* is incorporated into the text—in K with a line to itself. **κοππατίαν:** There existed a breed of horses which it was customary to brand, as a guarantee of pedigree, with the letter Ϙ (*κοππα*) and another branded with M (not *mu*, but *san*, the Corinthian s); cf. 123, 1298, fr. 41, *Eup.* 318, and L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford, 1961), 33 f. This branding evidently remained customary down to the time when *Σ<sup>RVE</sup>* was composed: *αὶ δὲ χαράξεις αὐταὶ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν σφίζονται ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵπποις*. The brands H (or possibly M) and C respectively appear on the hindquarters of two

- horses on early Attic vases: J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), pl. 24 (Boston, red-figure cup 95. 29) and 31 (Louvre, black-figure hydria F 294). As for the price, in [Lys.] viii. 10 a horse seems to have been deposited as security for a loan of 12 mnai, but the situation is obscure; Is. v. 43 implies that a horse worth only 3 mnai was of poor quality.
- 24 ἐξεκόπην:** Ar.'s puns are seldom sophisticated, and the pun on -κοπ- is one of his feeblest. **πρότερον:** i.e. 'I would sooner [= rather] have lost my eye [= one of my eyes]'.  
**25.** The young man cries out in his sleep; he is dreaming that he is in a race and that one of his competitors is 'cutting in'.  
**26 τουτί:** So R alone (om. MNpVst), and it is probably right; cf. *Pax* 64 τουτ' ἐστὶ τουτί (RVΓ: δῆτα P) τὸ κακὸν αὐθ' οὐγὼ λέγον.  
**27 ὄνειροπολεῖ:** So he has already told us (16); cf. *Pax* 58 ff., where the slave has just said that Trygaios keeps on crying out ὦ Ζεῦ, τί ποτε βουλεύει ποεῖν; and we hear Trygaios's voice: ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δρασεύεις ποθ' ἡμῶν τὸν λεῶν; Here, however, we can make something dramatically more effective out of the repetition, as if the old man were saying, 'He does dream, you see . . .' or 'I told you he dreams . . .'.  
**28 ἐλαῖ:** A rider ἐλαύνει, and so does the driver of a chariot; but the rider's horse ἐλαύνεται (X. *Eq.* i. 4), and we should expect the passive to be used of the chariot too; hence Hermann's ἐλαῖς (cf. Σ<sup>R</sup>). But in 1298 ἐλαῖς is spoken as if to a horse, and here it is easier to take the chariots as the subject of the verb, representing the men in them, than to assume an unidentified 'he' as the (single) driver of a succession of chariots. Cf. Hdt. v. 113. 1, 'after the treachery of the Kurians the war-chariots of the Salaminians also at once did the same as the Kurians'; Th. ii. 91. 2, 'a single ship of Leukas, a long way ahead of the rest, pursued the one remaining Athenian ship'.  
**πολεμιστήρια:** The use of chariots in warfare was a thing of the remote past, but 'war-chariots' were used for racing; cf. 69 n. and *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2311. 58 (IV in.), a list of prizes offered for events at the Panathenaia.  
**29 ἐμὲ μὲν:** With a personal or demonstrative pronoun μὲν often means 'at any rate', and no antithesis is made explicit. Cf. 654 n., 1050, 1188, and Denniston, 380 ff. (but 'μὲν solitarium' is a question-begging term). τὸν πατέρ' ἐλαύνεις: The rhythm  $\bar{\sim} | \bar{\sim} \bar{\sim}$  is unusual, but cf. 817, and elision ameliorates it (cf. 70 n.).  
**30 ἀτὰρ τί χρέος ἔβα με:** The forms χρέος and ἔβα, instead of χρέως and ἔβη, as well as the syntax of με, show that these words are a quotation from serious lyric, and Σ<sup>z</sup> cites τί χρέος ἔβα δῶμα from Euripides (fr. 1011), but without naming the play. Needless to say, the meaning 'debt' is imported by Ar. and does not belong to the tragic original; in tragedy τί χρέος is little more than τί, e.g. *HF* 530 τί καινὸν ἦλθε τοῖσδε δάμασιν χρέος;

- 31 Ἀμεινίᾳ:** So V, and so too V<sup>1</sup> at 686; in all other MSS. (and in V elsewhere) the name is Ἀμυνίας (cf. V. 74, 1267; and Σ<sup>veθ</sup> produces the odd theory that Ar. really intended to ridicule the Ameinias who became archon of 423/2, but distorted the name to conform with a law which forbade the ridicule of magistrates. However, 'Amy-nias', common enough in Hellenistic times in Boiotia (e.g. *IG* vii. 504, 2232, etc.) and recorded also from Hellenistic Thessaly (*IG* ix (2). 259. 4), does not appear at Athens until the second century B.C. (*Hesperia*, ix [1940], 118, no. 24. 52 [170/169]), whereas both 'Ameinias' and 'Ameiniades' are common at Athens in V and IV (*PA* 662-88). In *Eq.* 570 ἀλλ' ὁ θυμὸς εὐθὺς ἦν Ἀμυνίας there is no reference to a man's name; -ίας is a productive suffix in Classical times, as well as later, and more than one of the semantic fields with which it is associated (e.g. wines and winds) makes it appropriate as an epithet of θυμὸς (cf. Chantraine, 93 ff.). The almost universal corruption of the Attic name 'Die(i)trephe's' to 'Ditrephe's' or 'Diotrephe's' (cf. *Dover, CQ* n.s. iv [1954], 81) is a parallel for the corruption of 'Ameinias'.  
**32.** The young man, still dreaming, gives an order to his groom. The situation to which the order is appropriate is precisely that of Ischomachos in X. *Oec.* ii. 18, 'I go for a ride, imitating as closely as possible the kind of riding which is unavoidable in war . . . and when this is done, ὁ παῖς ἐξαλίσας τὸν ἵππον οὐκάδε ἀπάγει.'  
**34 ὄτε . . . 35 φασιν:** 'For now' (ὄτε [ὄτι E<sup>pc</sup>MdriU<sup>1</sup>Φ<sup>1</sup>] = ἦδη γάρ: cf. 7 n.) 'I have lost lawsuits (brought by some of my creditors) and other (creditors) say that they will have securities taken for (the) interest (which I owe).' **ἐνεχυράσασθαι:** The future, implied by Σ<sup>veθ</sup> ἐνέχυρα . . . λήψεσθαι φασιν, is necessary; φάναι offers no parallel for ἐνεχυράσασθαι φασιν, 'they talk about having securities taken (as a threat or possibility)', and there is no point in 'they say that they have had securities taken'. If a man failed to pay a debt (of any kind) to which he had been judged liable by a law court, securities could be taken from him to the value of his debt (e.g. D. xxiv. 197, xlvii. 37); cf. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1635. 25 f. (373), where a monetary value is given by the Athenian administrators of the Delian sanctuary to sales ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχυρῶν τῶν ἀφληκτότων τὰς δίκας. But the old man's distinction between 'I have lost lawsuits' and 'others' shows that he is referring now to creditors who lent him money on condition that they could take securities τόκου (cf. 22, 1223), i.e. as a substitute for the interest due. A similar attitude to the difference between capital and interest is shown in 1285 f., and when the deme Aixone in 345/4 leased some land to individuals it claimed the right of ἐνεχυρασία in any year in which the full rent was not paid, but not the right to revoke the lease (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2492. 7 ff.). Of course it was open to a creditor to lend without any such contractual agreement (e.g. D. xlix. 2); it

was equally open to him to lend only *ἐπ' ἐνεχῶρω* (e.g. D. xxxvii. 4, lvi. 3). Some inscriptions of Arkesine specifically give certain creditors the right to take securities 'as if the debtors had lost a case in a lawsuit' (*IG* xii (7). 67. 57 ff., 69. 23 ff.).

**35 ἐρεόν . . . 36 ὄλην:** The young man wakes up for a moment and expostulates. *ἐρεόν* conveys a note both of bewilderment ('What on earth . . .?') and indignation ('Really, father!'). Cf. 93, 120, 1502.

**37 τις δήμαρχος:** Decision between this (VAKMḢp1Vb3Vstθ) and *δήμαρχός τις* (cett.) is hardly possible, either on codicological or on linguistic grounds. The only parallel passage in Ar. in which the alternative positions come close to being metrically, linguistically, and stylistically indifferent, *Pl.* 203 f. *ἀλλά με τοιχωρύχος τις διέβαλε* (*Av.* 255, *Pax* 1150, and *Th.* 920 f. are not examples of indifference) favours R; but in *Pherekr.* 171 we have *ὑπέλυσε δήμαρχός τις!* Even on dramatic grounds the choice is hard. *δάκνει μέ τις*—pause—*δήμαρχος* has the humour of the unexpected, because 'I'm being bitten by a bug' would be a common answer to 'Why are you tossing and turning?', but this delivery is unsuitable, for the rest of the line, *ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων*, is appropriate to bugs, not demarchs. I know of no other example of a joke *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* in the form A-B-A. On the whole I favour the more archaic word-order, in which the postpositives gravitate to a place after the leading word of the clause (cf. *Dover*, 14 ff.). It is worth noticing that 1489 *ἔως ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐμβάλῃς τὴν οἰκίαν*, normal Classical Greek, is glossed in E *ἔως ἂν ἐμβάλῃς αὐτοῖς*. Each deme appointed a demarch annually as its chief officer; he had the custody of the official list of members of the deme (*D.* xliv. 37, 1-6, lvii. 60). We know that he was responsible for exacting the rents on land leased by the deme to individuals (*D.* lvii. 63) and for making inventories of the property of condemned men (doc. *ap.* [Plu.] *Mor.* 834 A), and it is a fair inference from this passage that he had the authority to enforce the surrender of securities by a debtor to a private creditor. Harpokration (s.v.) says 'that the demarchs took securities is shown by Ar.' (fr. 484) 'in the *Σκηναὶ καταλαμβάνουσαι*'—but we do not know how plainly it was shown.

**38 καταδαρθεῖν:** *Σν<sup>ve</sup>θ* says *Ἀπτικοὶ δὲ παροξύνουσι, καταδάρθειν*, but since the imperfective *καταδαρθάνειν* was in use in Ar.'s time (e.g. *Pl. Phd.* 71D) it is most improbable that historically inappropriate models such as *αὐξάνειν/αὔξειν*, *ἰζάνειν/ἰζειν*, had prevailed over the appropriate model *ἀμαρτάνειν/ἀμαρτεῖν*. The young man goes back to sleep.

**39 χρέα:** *χρέα* < *χρέα*: cf. 443.

**40 τρέψεται:** That this, not *στρέψεται* (VVp1<sup>ac</sup>: *στρέψαι* R<sup>ac</sup>: *στρέφεται* Vb<sup>a</sup>), is correct is shown by *Ach.* 833 *εἰς κεφαλὴν τράπου' ἔμοι*. Sons inherit their fathers' debts.

**41 εἶθ' ὄφελ':** Tragic colouring; cf. *S. El.* 1021, *E. Md.* 1. *προμνήστρι*: Mixing of the sexes before marriage was limited in Greece, and the marriageable daughters of prosperous families (where slaves did the shopping; cf. [e.g.] *Lys.* i. 16) would not often be seen or talked to (except surreptitiously) by the unmarried men of other households (cf. *Lys.* iii. 6). In such a society old women have an important part to play as matchmakers, describing to a bachelor the attractions of a girl whom he cannot himself see, and it is surprising that we hear so little about their activity. *Pl. Th.* 149D ff. and *X. Mem.* ii. 6. 36 comment on it in a way which takes it for granted as a social phenomenon.

**42 γῆμ' ἐπήρε:** Cf. 7 n. Decision between the aorist *ἐπήρε* and the imperfect *ἐπήρε* (RM) is made difficult not only by the uncertainty always inherent in the transmission of *η* but by the frequency with which iota is wrongly added to the aorist of *ἐπαίρειν* in MSS. even when the ending is unambiguously aorist, e.g. *Pl. Hp. Mi.* 373 A *ἐπήρας* F: *ἐπήρας* T: *ἀπήρας* W. But if we look only at the passages in which the active aorist is metrically distinguishable from the imperfect, we see that the aorist prevails, and the passive aorist is much commoner than the passive imperfect. Cf. also 1457.

**46 Μεγακλέους τοῦ Μεγακλέους:** A real Megakles son of Megakles was one of the treasurers of Athena in 428/7 (*IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 237. 56 al.), but it is most unlikely that Ar. means us to think of his fictitious hero as married to the niece of an actual person. The whole point is that 'Megakles' is in itself a grandiloquent name (Athenian names beginning with *Μεγα-* are not common) and in particular is a name borne in earlier days by several members of the wealthy and distinguished Alkmeonidai (cf. *Pi. P.* 7, *Lys.* xiv. 39, *Arist. Ath.* π. 22. 5). It was comparatively rare for a father to give his own name to his son (cf. 65 n.), but a few did—Alkibiades among them. On Strepsiades' marriage cf. p. xxvii.

**47 ἐξ ἄστεως:** The phrase functions as an adjective, 'a city <girl>', just as a demotic may be indifferently an adjective or an *ἐκ*-phrase. On *-εως* cf. R at *Pax* 1185 and *Ec.* 300 and *Meisterhans*, 138.

**48 σεμνήν:** In 315, 364, 570 the relation of *σεμνός* to *σέβειν* is prominent, and the word is commonly used of gods; the derogatory sense, 'arrogant', 'pretentious', is implied in 363 *σεμνοπροσωπεῖς* (cf. *Barrett* on *E. Hp.* 99). But applied to a woman the meaning is almost 'classy', and implies one kind of sex-appeal; cf. *Ec.* 617, where *αἱ σεμναὶ* are contrasted with *αἱ φαυλότεραι καὶ συμότεραι*, and *X. Mem.* i. 2. 24, 'Alkibiades was so handsome that he was pursued by many *σεμναὶ* women'. *ἐγκοικοσυρωμένην:* *Koisyra* (cf. 800) figured in folklore as a *grande dame*, and we do not know her origin; cf. the expression *τὰπὶ Χαριξένης* in *Kratin.* 146. In *Ach.* 614 *ὁ Κοισύρας* designates an aristocratic type, not an identifiable individual. Ancient commentators





to ἐστ': cf. 214 n.). It is therefore unnecessary to consider the most obvious emendation, δὴ νταῖθ' (Reisig; cf. D. xxiv. 37 κἀνταῖθα = 'even if this is done'). As for the word order, we should expect ἐνταῖθεν δὴ (cf. Denniston, 224 f., 228; δὴ τότε in *Eq.* 199 and *Av.* 985 involves parody of oracular hexameters), but we may compare Pl. *R.* 565 D ὡς ἄρα ὁ γευσάμενος ἀνθρωπίνου σπλάγχχνου . . ., ἀνάγκη δὴ τοῦτω λύκω γενέσθαι (Denniston, 226; on *V.* 665, cf. *ibid.* 211).

**63 ἢ μὲν . . . 67 Φειδιππίδην:** The aspect of the verbs is important: 'she was for adding' (imperfect) '“hippos” to the name, <naming him> . . ., while I was for giving him the name' (imperfect) 'Pheidonides . . .'; then, lit., 'we tried to get the question decided', i.e. 'we argued', but eventually 'we named him' (aorist) 'Pheidippides'. Cf. 152, 582 ff., 629. The syntactical relation of 64 to 63 is not easily defined, but presents no problem of intelligibility. ἵππον: A quoted word is sometimes declined in conformity with the syntactical structure of the containing sentence, e.g. *Av.* 58 οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός σε χρῆν ἐποποιῖ καλεῖν, 'Oughtn't you to have called out "ἐποποιῖ" instead of "παῖ"?' Ξάνθιππον κτλ.: Xanthippos was the name of Perikles' father and of one of his sons, and also the name of the archon of 479/8; otherwise it was rare, and thus has much the same associations as 'Megakles' (but cf. 1070 n.). 'Chairippos', on the other hand, is common ('Chair-' is more likely than 'Char-' at the time of this play; cf. *PA* 15237-50, 15463-8), and so is 'Kallipides' (*PA* 8049-53). τοῦ πάππου: Cf. Pl. *La.* 179 A παππῶν . . . ὄνομ' ἔχει, τοῦμοῦ πατρός. Grandfather's name was actually 'Pheidon', as we learn at 134. The practice of naming a man after his father's father was extremely common, as many known genealogies testify, and cf. D. xxix. 27. Φειδιππίδην: Cf. p. xxv.

**69 πόλις:** Not riding from country to city in a chariot, but taking part in the Panathenaic procession to the Akropolis (πόλις normally, without the article, in Classical Attic); cf. the chariots on the north frieze of the Parthenon (P. E. Corbett, *The Sculpture of the Parthenon* [Harmondsworth, 1959], plates 16 f.).

**70 Μεγακλῆς:** Cf. 46. On the form, cf. 213, 859 Περικλέης, *Pax* 695 Σοφοκλέης (and on the accent, *Hdn.* i. 65. 14 f.); contrast 'Ηρακλῆς and *Eq.* 884 Θεμιστοκλῆς. Attic inscriptions show both -κλῆς and -κλῆς: in *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 82 (421/0) the same man is ΠΡΟΚΛΕΕΣ in line 1 but ΠΡΟΚΛΕΣ in line 5. Cf. Sachtsal, 16 f. ξυστίδ': On  $\alpha\omega$  |  $\omega\alpha$  cf. 62 n. According to  $\Sigma^{\text{RVE}}$  ξυστίς is a saffron-dyed himation 'worn by charioteers, to this day, and ( $\Sigma^{\text{VE}}$ ) kings in tragedy use it too'. Cf. *Lys.* 1189 ff., where it appears among women's garments, with στράματα ποικίλα and gold ornaments, and Pl. *R.* 420 E, 'clothing the farmers in ξυστίδες, putting golden crowns on their heads, and telling them to till the land only as the fancy takes them'. The ξυστίς is

often represented in art, as (e.g.) on the north frieze of the Parthenon (cf. 69 n.).

**71 φελλέως:** The same phrase occurs in *Ach.* 273, in an incident imagined as typical of country life. The occurrence of the word in fourth-century mine-leases, e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1582. 52 ff. μέταλλον . . . φ γε(ίτων) βορρ(ἄθεν) Καλλίου φελλεύς, shows that it denotes a type of land. Harp. s.v., referring to Is. viii, says φελλέα· τὰ πετρώδη καὶ αἰγίβοτα χωρία φελλέας ἐκάλου· Κρατίδος Ὠραῖς (fr. 271), Αἰριστοφάνης Νεφέλαις, and Reiske's emendation of Is. viii. 42 κατέχει τὸν ἀγρόν, φελλέα δὲ ἐκείνων δέδωκεν (where the sole primary MS. has φελλεᾶδε χωρία ἅτα κτλ.) is virtually inescapable. Whether φελλεύς was ever a proper name, 'a rocky district of Attica' (LSJ, following  $\Sigma^{\text{RV}}$ ) is very doubtful, but there is some evidence that the genitive Φελλέως (i.e. '<land> belonging to Phelleus'—whatever kind of supernatural creature he was) could be used as an indeclinable noun: in a document of the deme Teithras, *MDAI(A)* xlix (1924), 4. 112 f. we read |μεμί[σ]θωτα[ε φ][ε][λ]λέως T[ε][ί]θραντ[ε] |μ[ε]σ[θ]ώτης Ἀντίας κτλ., in Pl. *Critias* III C the Parisinus (A) has τὰ φελλέως (φελλέας F) νῦν ὀνομασθέντα πεδία πλήρη γῆς πείρας ἐκέκτητο (sc. ἡ Ἀττική). *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2492. I (345/4) κα(τὰ) τάδε ἐμίσθωσαν Αἰξωνεῖς τὴν Φελλεῖδα (< Φελληῖδα?) Ἀυτοκλεῖ is intriguing when we recall *Nηρέυς* ~ *Νηρηῖς*, etc.

**73 ἐπέθετο:**  $\omega$  |  $\alpha$  has no true parallel (White, § 120 [iv]), though  $\omega$  |  $\alpha$  occurs in *Ach.* 107 χρυσίον ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, *Av.* 1226, and  $\omega$  |  $\alpha$  in *Av.* 1022 ἐπίσκοπος ἦκω. But we should not emend; cf. *V.* 117 ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπέθετο, 278 οὐκ ἂν ἐπέθετ' 746 οὐκ ἐπέθετο (cf. Verdenius, *Mnemosyne*, 1953, 178)—in fact, οὐκ ἐπέθετο is not found in *Ar.*

**74 ἵππερον:** Meant to remind us of ἵκτερος, 'jaundice', which plainly cannot have been a 'technical term' (for if it was, what did laymen call jaundice?), though it happens now to be found only in the medical writers; cf. ὕδρος, 'dropsy' (Taillardat, § 442), and 243, 1276 nn. It does not follow that Strepsiadēs uses medical technicalities for humorous effect, as suggested by H. W. Miller, *TAPA* lxxvi (1945), 77 (cf. *AJP* lxxvi [1945], 401), but rather that medical writers had not developed a complete terminology of their own. κατέχεεν: Not 'he infected my property' (ἀναπιμπλάναι and καταπιμπλάναι are used of infection), but the word has physiological associations; cf. *V.* 7 'sleep καταχέεται over my eyes', and especially *V.* 713, of paralysing numbness.

**75 ὁδοῦ:** 'A way out', 'a means <of dealing with the situation>'; cf. Pl. 505 f. οὐκ οὐκ εἶναι φημι . . . ὁδὸν ἦντιν' ἰὼν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγάθ' ἂν μείζω πορίσειεν.

**76 ἀτραπὸν:** Commonly something smaller than ὁδός: this may be part of the point of *Av.* 21 f. οὐ γὰρ ἐστ' ἐνταῦθά τις ὁδός.—οὐδὲ μὰ Δί' ἐνταῦθά γ' ἀτραπὸς οὐδαμοῦ (though 'not here either' overlies it).

**77 ἦν . . . τουτονί:** 'And if I persuade him of this . . .'; cf. Th. ii. 21. I



χρήμασι πεισθῆναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν and similarly (KG, i. 311) *Ach.* 652 ἡμᾶς . . . τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλοῦνται. ἀναπειθῆναι is used especially of persuading someone contrary to his inclinations (e.g. 868) or his existing standards (e.g. 1019) or opinions (e.g. 96, 1340).

(ii) 79–125. *Strepsiades tries to persuade Pheidippides*

79 πῶς . . . πῶς: Cf. the old man's agonized attempt to answer a question in 787 ff., and Philokleon's despairing cry in *V.* 166 πῶς ἂν σ' ἀποκτεῖναιμι; πῶς; ἐπεγείραιμι: ἀνεγείραιμι (VE<sup>ac</sup>VB<sub>3</sub>) is possible, since both ἐπεγείρειν and ἀν- are used of waking someone from sleep (*Av.* 83 ἐπ-, 208 f. ἀν-).

80 Φειδιππίδιον: For the wheedling diminutive cf. 132, 221 f., *Ach.* 404; cf. also p. lxxiv.

The old man gets off his bed, puts on his slippers (we do not know at what point he has put on his himation; possibly he was sleeping in it) and approaches his son's bed. τί, ὦ πάτερ: Pheidippides wakes and sits up.

81 κύσον . . . δεξιάν: In *Ra.* 754 f., when Xanthias recognizes a kindred spirit in Pluton's slave, he says ἐμβαλέ μοι τὴν δεξιάν καὶ δὸς κύσαι καὶ τὸς κύσον, καὶ μοι φράσον κτλ.: and in *Ra.* 788 f. we are told that when the ghost of Aischylos arrived in Hades the ghost of Sophokles ἔκυσσε μὲν Αἰσχύλον . . . κἀνέβαλε τὴν δεξιάν. But the clasping of the right hand is not only an expression of affection, greeting, or farewell; it is also a pledge of good faith (cf. Nestor's appeal in *Il.* ii. 341, Medeia's reproaches against Jason's treachery [*E. Md.* 21 f., cited here by Σ<sup>v</sup>], and above all *S. Tr.* 1181 ff.). Strepsiades wants from his son a solemn assurance of affection (82) which will induce obedience (86 f.).

82 ἰδοῦ: Pheidippides gets out of bed and does what has been asked of him, saying ἰδοῦ (cf. 635) as he does so. He puts on his himation and sandals. φιλεῖς: φιλεῖν is used of a relationship which can exist between any two people, irrespective of age or sex, including people who also desire each other sexually (e.g. *X. Smp.* 9. 6); it is the strongest word available in Greek for the love of parents and children (e.g. *E. Alc.* 302), and shades off through 'be fond of' and 'like' to a minimal emotional content in 'be wont to'.

83 τουτονί: οὗτος (like 'this' in modern colloquial English) can be used with reference to people or things not visible to the speaker or hearer; cf. 296, 971, 1369, and *Pl. Grg.* 470 D Ἀρχέλαον δῆπου τοῦτον τὸν Περδικίου δρᾶς ἄρχοντα Μακεδονίας; The stronger demonstrative οὗτοςί may well have been used in this way in Ar.'s time, but it is hard to prove; 1427 τὰ βοτὰ ταυτί is not metrically guaranteed, and *Lys.* 1168 παράδοθ' ἡμῖν τουτονὶ πρῶτιστα τὸν Ἐχινούοντα is complicated by *double entendre* (cf. Wilamowitz ad loc.). Later, there is no doubt:

e.g. *D.* xxiii. 211 Αἰγυγῆτας τουτουσί . . . 212 Μεγαρέας τουτουσί. Σ<sup>v</sup> remarks that οὗτος is often used superfluously in oaths, e.g. μὰ τοῦτον τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, but suggests that Pheidippides' oath is different in that he actually has a statue of Poseidon indoors (ἐνδοῦ), to which he is referring, though we cannot see it. This scholion is the product of a theory about statues in the theatre, but the theory may not be well grounded. Apart from the special case of Apollo ἄγυεύς (cf. *V.* 875, *Th.* 748 and Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1081), there are passages of tragedy which appear to require the presence of various statues in the theatre. Later (1478 ff.) we shall see that a herm stands beside Strepsiades' door, and there are strong grounds for believing that a *dinos* stood beside Socrates' door (1472 ff. and p. lxxvi); why should there not be a statue of Poseidon also beside Strepsiades' door? (On the whole question of statues cf. Arnott, 65 ff.; but he overrates the importance of *Σ Pax* 726, where the interpretation of 'the goddess' as Athena is patently an expedient to escape from an imagined theatrical difficulty.) ἵππιον: Poseidon Hippios is the god naturally invoked by the horsy Pheidippides; so too the chorus of cavalrymen in *Eq.* 551 begins the ode of the parabasis with an invocation ἵππι' ἀναξ Ἰόσειδον. Poseidon Hippios was one of the gods whose treasures were at this period kept on the Akropolis (*IG* 1<sup>2</sup>. 310. 142).

84 μή μοι γε κτλ.: *Sc.* εἴπης or λέγε. Cf. 433 n. and *V.* 1179 μή μοι γε μύθους.

85 αἴτιος: He does not mean that Poseidon bears him malice, but that the god's sphere of interest is the cause of his troubles.

87 τί . . . πίθωμαι: Cf. *V.* 760 f.—where too the MSS. have the unmetrical *πείθωμαι*, and *πίθωμαι* is an emendation.

88 ἔκτρεψον: According to Σ<sup>rv</sup> ἐκστρέφειν is used of turning clothes inside out, to make them last longer. This suits ἐκστρέψας in 554 very well, but it will not do here, for what is wanted of Pheidippides is a change or reversal of direction. ἔκτρεψον (EUVSIΦ), which is in any case well suited to *τρόπους*, gives this sense; cf. 813, and Holzinger on *Pl.* 721, and *Plb.* vi. 4. 9 ταύτης (*sc.* ἀριστοκρατίας) εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐκτραπέσις.

91 δεῦρο: The two men move further over towards the screen which is across the left-hand side of the skene (cf. p. lxxv). At some point between now and 125 the beds are removed from the theatre (cf. p. lxxiv).

92 θύριον: Strepsiades points towards the door in the screen, but it is not the special nature of this door which accounts for the diminutive. In *Th.* 26 Euripides points to Agathon's door with the words δρᾶς τὸ θύριον τοῦτο, and that is probably the permanent central door of the skene, through which Agathon will shortly be 'rolled out' of the theatrical trolley. The diminutive, here and in *Th.*, is persuasive

(cf. 80); the speaker is going to ask for a favour. So too Dikaiopolis, begging from Euripides in *Ach.* 404 ff., uses diminutives throughout (415, 439, 453, 459, 463), and this colours even some of the words not directly addressed to Euripides (e.g. 444 *ρήματιος*, 447 *ρήματιων*). On the whole question of the colouring imparted by diminutives cf. L. Amundsen, *SO* xl (1965), 1 ff. *τοικίδιον*: τῶ- (R<sup>1</sup>) and most MSS.: τῶ- V: τὸ οἰ- KP19) is supported by *Th.* 426 *ώκότης* and E. *Cy.* 560 *φῶς*, but not by the contraction *οοι* > *οι* in the optative of verbs (cf. KB, i. 220) or in the plural of nouns and adjectives in -οος. Possibly Attic was not consistent.

94 *ψυχῶν*: Souls are insubstantial and, as we shall see (198 f., 593 f.), the philosophers are not 'real men' but pale and feeble. This is the point of *Au.* 1553 ff., where Socrates *ψυχαγωγέει* and Chairephon appears 'from below' when Peisandros comes, like Odysseus, to the edge of the underworld *δεόμενος ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν*. Cf. p. xxxiii. Σ<sup>E</sup> makes the lame suggestion that the Socratics were called *ψυχῶν* because Socrates believed in the immortality of the soul—as if no one else did. *σοφῶν*: *σοφία* in Ar., and in the fifth century generally, most commonly denoted an active, creative skill or artistry, for which knowledge, practice, and native wit are all required. Hence *σοφός* means 'accomplished', 'discriminating' (535), 'highly educated' (*V.* 1196), 'brilliant', 'inventive', 'ingenious' (e.g. *Eg.* 885, where the construction of the Peiraieus walls is a *σοφὸν ἐξέυρημα* of Themistokles); it is often applied to poets, e.g. *Pax* 700 (Kratinos) and, above all, *Ra.* 1518 f. (Aischylos and Sophokles). It seldom means 'wise' in the sense implied by the English 'you acted wisely', but it comes close to that when used of men skilled in dealing with people and situations (e.g. 1057 and *Au.* 375). Nowhere in this play does it have a sense intended by the speaker to be derogatory; cf. 331, 520, 522, 772, 895, 1370, 1377. *φροντιστήριον*: *φροντίς* and *φροντίζεω* were already common words. *φροντιστής* (266, cf. 101 n.) and *φροντιστήριον* first appear in this play; they owe something to *δικαστής* and *δικαστήριον*, but something also to nouns in -της denoting specialized craftsmen (cf. 1397 n.). On the possible use of *φροντιστής* in Ameipsias's *Konnos*, cf. p. 1; its use by Xenophon in works of which the 'dramatic date' falls within Socrates' lifetime is not important.

95 *ἐνταῦθ' ἐνοικοῦσ'*: The note of Σ<sup>RV</sup> on *θάκος* implies a variant *ἐνταῦθα θακοῦσ'*, and Kratin. 239. 1 uses the verb.

96 *ἀναπέθουσιν*: '⟨On the subject of⟩ the sky ⟨try to⟩ persuade ⟨us, against established opinion⟩, by argument. . . .' On the order, cf. 145 and 1115; on *ἀναπέθειν*, cf. 77 n.; and on *λέγοντες*, cf. 954. *πνιγέως*: The idea that 'the air as a whole is, in its shape, more like a *πνιγέως* than anything' is attributed to Meton in *Au.* 1000 f. *πνιγέως* ('choker') is a roughly hemispherical cover used in baking bread; it is heated by being placed over a heap of burning charcoal, and the

charcoal is then replaced by dough and heaped round the outside of the cover (B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* lxxxii [1962], 128). According to Σ<sup>V</sup> the comparison of the sky to a *πνιγέως* was made by Hippon, who had been (before this play) ridiculed for it by Kratinos 155 (*Πανόπται*: cf. p. xxxvi), and perhaps we need look no further than Kratinos for Ar.'s source. Diogenes, however (A12), thought of the stars as *διαπνοαὶ τοῦ κόσμου*, i.e. as perforations of some kind in a solid covering, and Hippon, contemptuously dismissed by Aristotle (*De An.* 405<sup>b</sup>1 and *Met.* 984<sup>a</sup>3), is linked with Diogenes on a point of embryological doctrine (Hippon A12); on the relation between Diogenes and this play cf. 229, 264 nn. and p. xxxvi (also Guthrie, ii. 354 ff.).

97 *ἀνθρακες*: I adopt Meineke's interpretation of *AN-*, 'and we are the charcoal (sc. which is normally in a *πνιγέως*)'. Cf. 492, 558, 1372 nn.

98 *ἀργύριον*: Cf. 876, 1146 f. nn. and p. xxxiv.

99 *νικᾶν*: Used of winning a lawsuit or an argument or 'carrying the day' in a deliberative body; cf. 115, 432 n., *Ach.* 626.

101 *μεριμνοφροντισταί*: On *φροντιστής* cf. 94 n. *μέριμνα* (cf. 420, 952) is characteristic of serious poetry and a favourite word of Empedokles in the sense 'philosophical thought' (B2. 2, B11. 1, B110. 7). E. *Md.* 1225 f. puts into the mouth of a messenger a gratuitous attack on *τοὺς σοφοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι καὶ μεριμνητὰς λόγων*, but it is not clear what type of intellectual he has in mind. The word is not common in prose; Xenophon uses it unselfconsciously (e.g. *Oec.* 20. 25), but Pl. *R.* 607 c *οἱ λεπτῶς μεριμνῶντες* has a sarcastic ring and may be a quotation. *καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί*: Applied in Ar. to persons (except in *Ra.* 1236), this virtually = *χρηστός*, a general word of commendation; sometimes 'excellent' (in the plural, rather like 'good men and true'), in *V.* 1256 'decent' or 'nice'. In *Eg.* 185 and *Ra.* 728 it is the opposite of *πονηρός*. It implies 'of noble birth' or 'wealthy' to the extent to which the speaker looks for nobility or wealth in those whom he commends, and no doubt many rich and noble men regarded only their own peers as *καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί*, but that is not the same as saying that the term objectively denotes a social category; cf. A. W. Gomme, *CQ* n.s. iii (1953), 65 ff.

102 *αἰβοί* . . . 103 *λέγεις*: *αἰβοί* expresses disgust (e.g. 820), even nausea (906). For γε cf. 1462 (Denniston, 128). Punctuate after *οἶδα* (cf. 213): 'I know ⟨them⟩! You mean those. . . .' The repeated article conveys scorn, as in *S. El.* 300; it can express other emotions too, including fear (e.g. *Pax* 241 *ὁ δεινός, ὁ ταλαύριμος, ὁ κατὰ τοῖν σκέλων*). Cf. Fraenkel, *Glotta*, xli (1963), 285 f. *ἀλαζόνας*: Arist. *EN* 1127<sup>a</sup> 20 ff., <sup>b</sup>17 ff., defines *ἀλαζόνων* as a man who claims a respect which he does not deserve, and this accords well (better, in fact, than Theophr. *Char.* 23, where *ἀλαζονεία* is practically confined to boasting about wealth) with the passages of Ar. in which the word is used (e.g.

- 449, *Ach.* 109, 135). **ὠχρινώνας**: The intellectual is characteristically pale, because of his indoor life (cf. 120, 1112), but a 'normal' man is expected to be sunburnt, either, if poor, through long hours of work on the farm (cf. *Pl. R.* 556D) or, if rich, through outdoor sports (cf. 120 and *E. Ba.* 457 ff.). Cf. p. xli. **ἀνυποδῆτους**: Cf. 363 and p. xxxiii.
- 104 Χαιρεφῶν**: In *Pl. Ap.* 20 E Socrates calls him ἐμὸς ἑταῖρος ἐκ νέου: on his 'hidden' role in the play cf. p. xciv.
- 105 νήπιον**: Almost 'don't talk like a baby!' νήπιος is not used elsewhere in comic dialogue (*Pax* 1063 is deliberately pretentious), but cf. 868.
- 106 εἴ τι κήδει**: A form of appeal used also in *Ach.* 1028 and *Pl. Grg.* 462 A. **ἀλφίτων**: 'Meal', coarse-ground and usually of barley, the staple cereal of the time and the material of which μᾶζαι were made, here symbolizes (as in 648) 'livelihood', like 'daily bread'. Cf. L. A. Moritz, *CQ* xliii (1949), 113 ff., and *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1958), 149 ff.
- 107 σχασάμενος**: Cf. *Pl. Com.* 32 τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀγάσασθε ('relax', 'let go').
- 108 οὐκ ἄν**: Cf. 5 n. **εἰ δόισις γε**: We need 'Even if you gave me . . .', and εἰ . . . γε in fact gives this sense in *Ach.* 966 οὐκ ἄν μὰ Δι' (sc. μεταδοίην αὐτῷ τῶν κυχλῶν) εἰ δόισι γέ μοι τὴν ἀσπίδα, *V.* 298 (Denniston, 126).
- 109 Θασιανούς**: 'Pheasants', as in *Mnesimachos* 9, 3 φασιανὸς ἀποτελιμένος ('plucked') καλῶς. Some ancient commentators thought that Pheidippides is referring to a breed of horse (*Σ<sup>RV</sup>*), but the evidence cited by *Ath.* 387 for the meaning 'pheasants' is overwhelming, and *Aristarchos* (*ap. Σ<sup>R</sup>*) rejected the horse theory. (In *Au.* 67 f. φασιανικός is used as an adjective qualifying an imaginary bird-species Ἐπικεχοδῶς, not as itself the name of a species.) The pheasants to which Pheidippides refers may have been bred more for show than for consumption, like the peacocks kept by a certain Demos and greatly admired about this date (*Antiphon* fr. 57 [Thalheim]). **Λεωγόρας**: Mentioned also in *V.* 1269 and more plainly, for his luxury, in *Pl. Com.* 106. A member of a wealthy and aristocratic family, connected by marriage with Perikles, and father of the orator *Andokides* (cf. *MacDowell's* edition of *Andokides* i, pp. 1 f., 206 f.).
- 110 ὃ φίλτατ' ἀνθρώπων ἐμοί**: ἀνθρώπων ἐμοί is so commonly added to superlatives (e.g. *Pax* 736 f. ὅστις ἄριστος κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κλεινότατος γεγένηται cf. *D.* xix. 50) that the expression is not as powerfully emotive as we might at first think, but the addition of ἐμοί gives it a hint of paratragedy; cf. *S. El.* 1126 ὃ φίλτατου μνημεῖον ἀνθρώπων ἐμοί.
- 112 ἄμφω . . . 118 οὐδενί**: On the personification of the λόγοι cf. p. lviii. **ὅστις ἐστί**: 'No matter what it is', i.e. 'on any subject' or 'in any given case'; cf. *Ach.* 1050 καλῶς γε ποιῶν, ὅστις ἦν, 'I don't know who he

- was, but it was nice of him', *V.* 1406. This makes rather better sense than to suppose that the old rogue is expressing scorn of 'the right' (cf. *E. Ba.* 220 f. τὸν νεωστὶ δαίμονα Διδύμου, ὅστις ἐστί) or that he is so unaccustomed to being in the right (cf. *Σ<sup>RV</sup>*) that its nature is mysterious to him (cf. 1370). **τάδικώτερα**: The comparative is often used of one of a pair of opposites even when the other is not specified; cf. *νεώτερος* (515, 1370) and *πρεσβύτερος* (959, 993); *KG*, ii. 305 f.
- 120 διακεκναισμένος**: Cf. 103 n.
- 122 ζύγιος**: In a racing-team of four horses (cf. 1407 n.) the two in the middle are ζύγιοι, the two on the outside *σειραφόροι* (1300); *E. IA* 221 ff. makes this plain. **σαμφόρας**: Cf. 23 n., 1298.
- 124 ὁ θεῖος Μεγακλῆς**: Cf. 46, 70 nn.
- 125 ἀνιππον**: The syntactical relation of (i) *περιόφεται μ' ἀνιππον* to (ii) *Ach.* 55 *περιόψεσθέ με*; (cf. *Hyp. Eux.* 38 *μὴ περιδίητε αὐτόν*) and (iii) *Lys.* 1019 f. *οὐ σε περιόφομαι γυνυδὸν ὄνθ' οὕτως* is analogous to the relation of (i) *V.* 190 *εἰ μὴ μ' ἔασεθ' ἥσυχον* to (ii) *Eg.* 336 *οὐκ αὐ μ' ἔασεις*; and (iii) *Pax* 649 *ἔα τὸν ἀνδρ' ἐκείνον οὐπὲρ ἐστ' εἶναι κάτω*. *Cobet* interpolated <ὄντ'> after *ἀνιππον*, adopting *εἰμι*, in place of *εἴσομι*, from *O7*, a MS. of no value. Cf. p. lxxiv. **εἴσομι**: Pheidippides goes into the door of *Strepsiadēs'* house.

## (B) 126-262. STREPSIADES MEETS SOCRATES

(i) 126-83. *Strepsiadēs and the student*

By now thoroughly worked up (121 ff.), *Strepsiadēs* takes the bold decision to go and learn from *Socrates*, and marches towards the door of the school. Half-way there he is overwhelmed with misgivings about his own inadequacy (129 f.). Then he summons up his courage again and knocks on the door (131 f.).

- 126 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μέντοι**: The point of οὐδ' is 'I'll take a strong line, too!' μέντοι, as often with pronouns, corresponds to what in English would be vehement emphasis on the pronoun; cf. 329, 340, 787, 1361, *Pax* 1290 (σύ). **παισῶν γε κείσομαι**: The ubiquity of wrestling as a sport would have made this a more vivid metaphor to the Greeks than (e.g.) 'I won't lie down under it!' is to us. It suggests 'I've been thrown, but I'll jump up again'. Cf. 551.
- 127 εὐξάμενος τοῖσιν θεοῖς**: 'I will utter a prayer and then . . .' is an example of what *J. L. Austin* called 'performative utterance' (*Philosophical Papers* [Oxford, 1961], 220 ff.); the word εὐξάμενος constitutes the prayer. Cf. *Pl. R.* 432 c *ἔπου, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, εὐξάμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ*. — *ποιήσω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μόνον, ἧ δ' ὅς, ἡγοῦ*. *Ctr. V.* 388 ff., *Pax* 432 ff., and *Pl. Phdr.* 279 BC, where the prayer is actually uttered. *Hyp. Lyc.* fr. 3 is a compromise: τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς εὐξάμενος βοηθήσασθαι

μοι καὶ σῶσαι . . . ὑμᾶς δέ . . . παραιτησάμενος κτλ. διδάξομαι: Simply 'I will be taught'; cf. E. *Andr.* 739 διδάξω καὶ διδάξομαι λόγους. διδασθῆσομαι does not exist in Attic.

129 **κάπιλήσιμων:** Socrates' pupils need a good memory (414, 483)—Pl. *R.* 486D, not surprisingly, requires this of the φιλόσοφος—and, as we shall see, forgetfulness is one of Strepsiades' besetting weaknesses: 629 ff., 785 ff., 854 f.

130 **σκινδαλάμους:** Probably 'slivers' (Σ<sup>RVE</sup>, who refers to κάλαμος in his definition); cf. English 'hair-splitting', Taillardat § 515 and *Ra.* 819 σκινδαλάμων παραξόνια, where the expression as a whole poses many problems (see Radermacher ad loc. and J. M. Killeen, *RM* ci [1958], 377 f.). In Pl. *Hp. Ma.* 304A Hippias describes an argument of Socrates as κνήσματα . . . καὶ περιμήματα τῶν λόγων . . . κατὰ βραχὺ διηρημένον; but the point there, as the reference back (ὅπερ ἄρτι ἔλεγον) to 301B shows, is the triviality of the argument, not its subtlety or difficulty. The form σκ- is recognized as an alternative (τινὲς δὲ διὰ τοῦ χ) by Hsch. σ 1008 and is called Attic by Moiris 210. 6, but is not found in the MSS. of Ar. -λυμ- is also recognized by Hsch. and is presented by many MSS. here (where it does not scan) and in *Ra.* 819; it is probably a late consequence of assimilation to σκαλμός, ψαλμός, etc., there being no obvious etymology to counteract the assimilation (for σχίλειν, etc. do not help with the end of the word). The accentuation -μός is prescribed by Hdn. i. 171. 6 f., but -δά- by Σ<sup>V</sup> here and on *Ra.*; Σ<sup>RVE</sup> combines both doctrines by prescribing nom. sing. -μός but -δά- and -λά- in oblique cases, and R at *Ra.* 819 has -άμων.

131 **τί ταῦτ' ἔχων στραγγεύομαι:** 'Why do I keep on hanging back like this?' ταῦτ' is used as in *Ach.* 385 τί ταῦτα στρέφει; 'What is all this evasion?' ἔχων = 'keeping on' almost always follows the finite verb (e.g. 509) but the insertion of ταῦτα between τί and the verb affects the order; cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 236E τί δῆτα ἔχων στρέφει; (*Ar. Th.* 473, often cited in this connexion, is ambiguous).

132 **παῖ, παιδίον:** Strepsiades knocks on the door. One does not expect the master or mistress of a Greek household to open the door; hence the cry assumes that a slave is within earshot. The diminutive (cf. 80) is a *captatio benevolentiae*—not invariable (cf. 1145, *Ach.* 394), and reversed in *Ra.* 37 παιδίον παῖ, ἡμί, παῖ.

133. The man who opens the door to Strepsiades and later tells him about the school and shows him round it shares the philosophical enthusiasms of the school and is obviously an 'initiate' (140 ff.). In these respects he resembles the slave of Agathon in *Th.* 37 ff., who talks his master's poetic language, and the slave of Euripides in *Ach.* 396 ff. But he is nowhere called a slave; his opening words are coarsely abusive (133; contrast the slave-doorkeepers in *Ach.* 395 τίς οὐτος; and *Av.* 60 τίνας οὐτοί;), he behaves with authority (195 ff.,

221) and is treated by Strepsiades with deference (138, 200; on 217, v. n.). It is therefore pretty certain that the ancient commentators were right in regarding him as a student of philosophy (Σ<sup>RV</sup> 184, 219, cf. hyp. III; Σ<sup>V</sup> 140, while referring to him as 'the door-keeper', *θυρωρός*, shows that he regards him also as an unfair caricature of a philosopher. The school seems to have no slaves—in 1145 Socrates himself comes in response to παῖ, ἡμί, παῖ παῖ—and this suits philosophical poverty; but it also suits the particular humorous development which Ar. has in mind, just as it suits him dramatically to make Herakles answer his own door in *Ra.* 38. βάλλ': This, not βάλ' (VMVb3), is guaranteed metrically in the same expression in *Th.* 1079 (anapaestic rhythm).

134: The fullest answer that an Athenian can give to the question 'Who are you?': name, father's name, and demotic. We have been given an indication already (65) of the father's name, though not an exact one; we now learn our hero's name for the first time. In other plays we may have to wait just as long (*Ec.* 124) or longer (*Pax* 190, *Ach.* 406); in *Av.* the names of Peisetairos and Euelpides are first given in 644 f., and if we had cared at all what their names were we should have thought ever since 139 that Peisetairos's name was 'Stilbonides'. It would seem that Ar. does not mean us to care; the engaging old man in *Th.* is never named at all ('Mnesilochos' is a commentator's idea, ignored in the papyrus fragments of the play [*PSI* 1194]). In ordinary life it seems that either the patronymic or the demotic could be specified, according to which, in any given case, rendered identification easier; cf. Pl. *Lys.* 203A, 'I met Hippothales the son of Hieronymos and Ktesippos of the deme Paiania'. Specification of both is formal and often (though by no means always) observable in state documents. On Strepsiades' name cf. p. xxv. The location of the deme Kikynda is not known; but Strepsiades lives 'far off in the country' (138, cf. 210 n.). The deme belonged to the phyle Akamantis; to judge from the infrequency of its occurrence in documentary inscriptions it was not large.

136 **ἀπεριμερίμωτος:** Cf. 101 n. **λελάκτικας:** Whether Strepsiades has really kicked at the door—and whether Athenians (urban or rustic) commonly did so—is hard to say. Probably the humour of the passage lies in the opposite direction; Strepsiades knocked timidly, and is now cowering before the hyperbolically expressed anger of the strange-looking person who has flung the door open. Cf. Karion's attempted bullying of Hermes in *Pl.* 1101, 'Was it you knocking at the door οὐτωσὶ σφόδρα?' (as above, 135).

137 **ἐξήμβλωκας:** On the possible significance of this metaphor cf. p. xlii.

138 **τῶν ἀγρῶν:** 'A long way off in the country'; cf. *πόρρω c. gen.* The line is a parody of Euripides (fr. 884), according to Σ<sup>V</sup>.

**140 οὐ θέμις:** That is to say (in ordinary Classical usage, more restricted than archaic usage), contrary to the rules of a cult, rules regarded as originally prescribed, or at least sanctioned, by a god. The expressions οὐ θέμις and οὐ θεμιτόν are particularly used of divulging secrets to those who have not gone through rites of initiation (cf. 143) or do not belong to a given sex, family, or nationality. Cf. 295 and *Th.* 1150 f. ἀνδράσιν οὐ θέμις εἰσορᾶν ὄργια σεμνὰ θεοῖν.

**141 οὐτοσί:** 'Here I am, and I've come . . .'; cf. 324 (where αὐταί corresponds to the English adverb 'there') and *Eg.* 1098 ἐμαντόν ἐπι-τρέπω σοι τουτονί.

**143 μυστήρια:** The analogy between initiation into mysteries and instruction in difficult subjects is exploited more fully in 254 ff. (especially 257 τελουμένους). The Platonic Socrates also exploits it, light-heartedly, in *Thi.* 155 E ('Look round carefully to make sure none of the uninitiated can overhear! They're the people who don't believe in the existence of anything they can't grasp in their fists . . .') and *Euthd.* 277 E (a humorous reassurance to Kleinias that Euthydemus and Dionysodoros are subjecting him to the preliminary rites of sophistic initiation), more seriously in *Symp.* 209 E-210 A (Diotima to Socrates, on the transition to τὰ τέλεα καὶ ἐποπτικά in her exposition of Eros).

The student comes forward, closing the door behind him; cf. 184 n. and p. lxxvi.

**144 ἀνήρετ' . . . 145 πόδας:** The construction ἀνήρετο . . . ψύλλαν ὀπίσους κτλ. = ἀνήρετο . . . ὀπίσους ψύλλα κτλ. is normal (cf. 95 f., 1115 f.); but this instance is unusual in that the controlling verb has two accusatives, *Χαιρεφῶντα* and *ψύλλαν*, of different reference. *ψύλλαν:* On fifth-century zoology cf. p. xl.

**146 δακοῦσα . . . 147 ἀφήλατο:** Σ<sup>Rv</sup> alleges that Chairephon had massive eyebrows and Socrates a bald head. On the latter statement cf. p. xxxii; for the former, we have no evidence. Reference to portrait-masks is irrelevant, as Tzetzes observed, because Chairephon does not appear in the play. Σ<sup>P10</sup> makes the point that the comic philosopher, unkempt and dirty, was visualized as having a mass of hair all over his head and face; cf. 836. τὴν Σωκράτους: τοῦ Σωκράτους (all but RE) is possible, for it can be argued that we are not interested in the implicit question 'which head?' but only in who was at the other end of the jump.

**148 πῶς δῆτα διεμέτρησε:** On experiment and measurement cf. p. xl. Since δῆτα is unassailable—an inferential particle is needed for the question which the student's story has provoked (cf. 1051, 1196, 1456)—we must choose between *διεμέτρησε* and *τοῦτ' ἐμέτρησε* (VP19: Mδ1<sup>ac</sup>Vb3Vp1X have conflated both). Ar. uses *μετρέειν* (*Av.* 1004, 1130) and *ἀναμετρέειν* (152 [cf. n.], 203) of measuring distances, but as *διαμετρέειν* is used of the division of a whole into parts (e.g. D. xix.

120 ἀγῶνας καινοῦς . . . καὶ τούτους ἀμαρτύρους πρὸς διαμετρημένην ἡμέραν αἰρεῖς διώκων, the meaning of which is explained by Arist. *Μθ. π.* 67. 3, and Men. *Dysc.* 737 f. τοῦ κτήματος . . . ἐπιδίδου . . . διαμετρήσας ἡμῶν) it is appropriately used of measurement to discover how many flea-feet there are in one flea-jump. In *Il.* iii. 315 Hektor and Odysseus are to be imagined as measuring by *pacing* the distance (χώρον . . . διεμέτρου) between Paris and Menelaos. τοῦτο ('how did he carry out this measurement?') is no more needed than a specification of the object is needed in 1227, 1373, etc. **δεξιότατα:** δεξιότης is a quality of which Ar. boasts in the exercise of his own art (548; *Plu. Mor.* 854 c professes to find none in him) and he flatters his audience by calling them δεξιοί (521, 527); it is nowhere intended by the speaker to have any derogatory overtones (cf. 418, 428).

**149 εἶτα:** εἶτα commonly requires an English connective in translation, 'and then' (ctr. 66), and sentences of the type 'participle (1) . . . εἶτα . . . participle (2) . . . main verb' are common in Ar.; cf. 172, 178. (On κᾶτα see 409 n.)

**150 τῶ πόδε:** We regard insects, including fleas, as having six legs. Ar. may have regarded a flea as having two legs (the long back legs) and four arms. He does not seem to have thought this about beetles, for the dung-beetle in *Pax* 35 moves τὴν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ τῶ χεῖρε. It is unlikely, however, that Ar. knew or cared enough about zoology to distinguish between insects, which are all six-legged, and (e.g.) eight-legged arthropods such as spiders; being accustomed to use ποὺς (like σκέλος) more often in the dual than the plural, he gave priority to ordinary usage. J. Brophy and E. Partridge, *The Long Trail* (London, 1965), 39—the book should be studied by all those interested in *Acharnians* and *Peace*—record a soldiers' song in which a girl falls 'arse over ballocks'.

**151 ψυχείση:** It was the amount of wax adhering to the flea's feet that needed to cool, not the flea itself, still less the wax as a whole (from which it would then have been hard to extract the flea), but the run of the rest of the line inhibits any reader or hearer (unless he is also a commentator) from raising any objection to the text, and it is prudent for the commentator to be guided by what he hears in his mind's ear as he imagines himself sitting in the theatre. We have *ψυγείση* in a; with *ψυχείση* (Ct3) cf. Hsch. α 6122 ἀπειψύχη ἀπεινευματίσθη. Αἰσχόλος Κερκυνί σατυρικῶ (fr. 104N = 151M) and Moiris 214. 7 ψυχῆναι Ἀττικοί, ψυγῆναι Ἑλληνες. Attic inscriptions show neither form, Hellenistic inscriptions and early papyri both. Analogy would uniformly favour χ > γ in the aorist passive, never the reverse; and cf. the Koine ἐκρύβην ~ S. *Aj.* 1145 κρυφείσ. Περσικαί: Worn by women (*Ec.* 319, *Lys.* 229 f.); men wore *Λακωνικαί* (*Th.* 142, *Ec.* 74, 269). We do not know how they differed from each other or



from other types of footwear. The feminine plural noun underlying both terms is *ἐμβάδες* (cf. 719, 858); in *Ec.* 342 ff. we read: 'She's gone off with my himation . . . and my *ἐμβάδες*; I can't find them anywhere'—'And I too couldn't find my *Λακωνικά*'.

**152 ὑποπόσας:** The word for taking footwear off a human; *Th.* 1183 τῷ πόδε πρότεινον, ἔν' ὑποπόσω. **ἀνεμέτρει:** Cf. 148, 203 nn. The point of the imperfect may be that the laborious process was still going on when Strepsiadēs caused it to 'miscarry' (R. Hirzel, *Hermes* xi [1876], 121 f.); but this is a heavy weight to put on an imperfect when the joke about miscarriage is over and done with (cf. 18, 19 nn.). **χωρίον:** Mathematicians, from Plato (e.g. *Meno* 82 B) onwards, meant by this an area or two-dimensional figure (cf. C. Mugler, *Dictionnaire historique de la terminologie géométrique des Grecs* [Paris, 1958], s.v.). Ar. here means (LSJ is wrong) a linear distance; the word is therefore more likely a colloquial term for 'space <between> . . .' than (as Taylor, 156, imagines) a technical term. Cf. *Il.* iii. 315, cited in 148 n.

**153 ὁ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ:** Cf. *Av.* 223 ὁ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ φθέγγματος τοῦρνηθίου. **τῆς λεπτότητος:** The earliest datable instance of *λεπτός* in the sense 'subtle', '<intellectually> refined' is *E. Md.* 529 (cf. *Hp.* 923 *λεπτοῦργεῖς*, and the parody of Euripides in *Ach.* 445). It is naturally a recurrent word in this play (cf. 230 ff., 320, 359). and is freely used by Ar. thereafter, e.g. *Av.* 318 *λεπτῶ λογιστά*. Cf. Denniston, *CQ* xxi (1927), 119.

**154 τί δῆρ' ἄν . . . εἰ:** (*Sc.* if you are so impressed by the experiment with the flea) 'What would <you say> if . . .', implying 'How much more impressed you would be!' Cf. *Ach.* 1011 *τί δῆρ', ἐπειδὴν κτλ.*, implying 'How much more you will envy me!' and *Lys.* 399. 769 (*v. n.*) and *Th.* 773 *τί δ' ἄν, εἰ κτλ.*, 'Well now, suppose . . .', have a different point.

**156 Σφήτιος:** Sphettos was a large deme, belonging to the phyle Akamantis; its location is uncertain (cf. Wrede, *RE* s.v.). We have no other evidence for the deme of Chairephon and cannot be sure that he is not given a false demotic here for the sake of a weak pun on *σφήξ*, 'wasp', to suit the entomological context. A fictitious character can be allocated a demotic for the sake of a pun, e.g. *Lys.* 852 *Παιονίδης Κινησίας*: and a real character may be given a false nationality (830 'Socrates the Melian', *v. n.*) or a false patronymic, e.g. *Ach.* 1131 'Lamachos, son of Gorgasos'—a reference to the Gorgon's head on his shield (574 al.), though he was actually son of Xenophanes (*Th.* vi. 8. 2). But whether Chairephon came from Sphettos or not, the addition of the demotic strikes an odd note when he has already been mentioned twice; elsewhere, we learn a man's demotic at the same time as we first learn his name (e.g. 134, *Ach.* 406, *Pax* 190, *Av.* 645, *Lys.* 852, *Th.* 898; cf. *Eq.* 42). The

answer to this problem may lie in the formation, at an early date, of a certain type of orally transmitted anecdote about the wisdom, wit, or prescience of famous men: 'When so-and-so asked him . . ., he replied. . . .' The Socrates of the pseudo-Platonic *Theages* tells stories of this kind about himself: 128 D ff., 'You know Charmides, who was so good-looking, the son of Glaukon; he once consulted me . . . and I warned him . . .'; 129 A ff., 'or, if you like, ask the brother of Kleitomachos, Timarchos . . .'; 130 A ff. Much of *X. M.* iii consists of anecdotes of this type, short or long, e.g. 4. 1, 'Seeing Nikomachides coming away from the elections one day, he asked him . . .'; 8. 4, 'On another occasion, when Aristippos asked him . . .'; 10. 6, 'He once went into the house of Kleiton the sculptor, and in conversation with him said . . .'. Many of Xenophon's anecdotes (note especially 13. 1 ff.) do not name the interlocutor, but begin (e.g.) 'Once, when someone was angry . . .', 'When someone else said . . .'. This is certainly an old form (cf. Xenophanes' humorous poem [fr. 6 Diehl\*] about Pythagoras), and a form which increasingly prevailed in collections of anecdotes and apophthegmata from early Hellenistic times (e.g. *PHibeh* 182 [280–50], Socratic anecdotes; in 19 ff. we have a clear example of Socrates answering a question put to him); Diogenes Laertius offers us a great concentration of such anecdotes. When the virtues of a wise man were being advertised during his own lifetime and in the society to which he belonged, it was more natural to give the story added point by specifying, as precisely as possible, the person who could testify to the truth of the story. I suggest that in adding ὁ Σφήτιος to the name of Chairephon Ar. is parodying a contemporary form of oral anecdote and making the student, as it were, 'say his piece' in praise of his teacher; in production, we should make the student take a deep breath, look over Strepsiadēs' head, and speak as if he were addressing a larger audience.

**157 ὁπότερα . . . 158 τοῦρροπύγιον:** Cf. 1279 ff. *πότερα νομίζεις . . . τὸν Δία | θεῖν . . . ἢ τὸν ἥλιον | ἔλκειν κτλ.* We might have expected that ὁπότερος/-α/-ον . . . ἢ . . . would be common in indirect questions, but it is not; the nearest parallel is *Hdt.* v. 119. 2 *ἐβουλεύοντο . . . ὁκότερα ἢ (ἢ del. Cobet) παραδόντες . . . ἢ ἐκλεπόντες . . . ἀμεινον πρήξουσι*. We do not know whether anyone seriously believed that a gnat's hum was produced through its anus (Arist. *HA* 535<sup>b</sup>3 ff. did not), but the idea suits the comic preoccupation with excretion (cf. 9 n.). *Demetr. Com.* 3 seems to have taken up a similar idea in saying that doves *πνυγῆ λαλοῦσαι*.

**161 διὰ λεπτοῦ:** All MSS. except RVP19 have *διαλέπτου*, but this adjective is not attested elsewhere. (Note that omission of accents on prepositions is common in R.)

**163 κοῖλον . . . 164 πνεύματος:** We know little about the study of

sound in the fifth century (Archytas, who was interested in it [B1], was a generation younger than Ar.), but Alkmaion had already (on his date cf. KR, 232 f.) explained hearing as made possible by the entry of air through a comparatively narrow passage into a cavity (*κενός, κοίλος*) within the ear (A5, A6).

**165 σάλπιγξ:** The Greek trumpet, unlike ours, had a chamber at the end of the tube, the maximum diameter of this chamber being slightly larger than that of the exit from it. Cf. Σ<sup>RV</sup> and Wegner, 224 f. and pl. 26.

**166 διεντερεύματος:** Archippos 25. 3 uses *έντερεύειν* of a fishmonger gutting fish. It is possible that by *δι-* Ar. means to suggest the many words which imply perspicacity or thoroughness, e.g. *διειδέναι* (168), *διανοείσθαι, διασκοπεῖν, διερευνᾶν*, etc. Cf. 'the guts of the problem'.

**167 ἡ ῥαδίως . . . 168 ἐμπίδος:** What would be sarcasm in the mouth of a more sophisticated character is naïve enthusiasm on the part of Strepsiadēs, as he shows by his own inconsequential arguments in 1247 ff., 1283 ff. **φεύγων ἄν ἀποφύγοι:** Cf. *Ach.* 177 *φεύγοντ' ἐκφυγεῖν*, 'escape by flight'; Strepsiadēs uses *φεύγειν* in its legal sense, 'being a defendant', and both the aorist aspect (cf. 63, 65, 67, 580 ~ 587) and the prefix *ἀπο-* combine to give *ἀποφυγεῖν* the sense 'succeed in getting off'. Cf. *V.* 579 *κᾶν . . . εἰσέλθῃ φεύγων, οὐκ ἀποφεύγει κτλ.*

**169 πρῶην:** All but R have *πρώην*, but Hdn. i. 490. 5 ff., ii. 574. 26, insists that the *iota* is correct in Attic; and why not, even if incorrect in other dialects (note *πρωαν* in *P Ant* at Theocr. 14. 5)? **δέ γε:** In the dialogue of Ar. and Plato *δέ γε* 'often picks up the thread after a remark interpellated by another speaker' (Denniston, 154); cf. 175.

**170 ἀσκαλαβώτου:** The creature called *ἀσκαλαβώτης* here and (several times) in Arist. *HA* is no doubt the same as that which is called *ἀσκάλαβος* in Nic. *Ther.* 484 and portrayed (with the helpful label *ΑΣΚΑΛΑΒΟΣ*) on a Corinthian vase (*MDAI[A]* iv [1897], pl. 18). The same creature is called *γαλεώτης* in 173 f. Dialectal difference in the naming of species is common enough, but that the same speaker in one and the same context should use two different names for the same species is hardly credible; O. Keller's statement (*Die antike Tierwelt* [Leipzig, 1909-13], ii. 278), that "'Galeotes" was the Attic word for the Askalabotes' is senseless. The obvious conclusion is that one name is more specific than the other, and we would expect the one which comes first to be the less specific; a story beginning 'He was bitten by a snake' and containing the statement 'there was a cobra in his bed' sounds more plausible than it does if we interchange 'snake' and 'cobra'. Aristotle in fact uses *ἀσκαλαβώτης* in a very general sense; in *HA* 538<sup>a</sup>27 'snakes and spiders and *ἀσκαλαβῶται* and frogs' are examples of the whole world of

cold-blooded creatures other than fishes. In *HA* 599<sup>a</sup>31, however, *ἀσκαλαβῶται* and *σαῦραι* ('lizards') are named separately; this fact, in conjunction with the picture on the Corinthian vase, indicates that *ἀσκαλαβώτης* means 'gecko', and since more than one species of gecko is found in Greece *γαλεώτης* can be the name of a species. (Hsch. γ 108 *γαλλῶται ἀσκαλαβῶται. Λάκωνες* does not conflict with this interpretation.)

**171 ὀδοῦς:** The plural is natural, since the moon does not follow the same track every night (cf. also 584).

**172 περιφοράς:** This is the earliest surviving example of *περιφορά* in an astronomical context, but it would be surprising if it were not already an established term. When Kritias (B25. 31) says that what frightens men (e.g. lightning) and what brings them a livelihood (e.g. rain on the crops) both come *ἐκ τῆς ὑπερθε περιφορᾶς* he means 'from the sky which revolves above us'; similarly X. *M.* iv. 7. 5 distinguishes heavenly bodies which 'are not in the same *περιφορά*', viz. planets and comets and meteors, from those by which one tells the time, marks the seasons, and navigates. Hence the *περιφοραί* of the moon are the ways in which it is apparently carried round, according to an ascertainable but complicated scheme, by the revolving sky; its *οδοί* are its own paths from horizon to horizon, which it follows within the limits of those *περιφοραί*. **εἶτ':** Cf. 149 n.

**173 ὀροφῆς:** 'Ceiling' in *V.* 1215, where the scene imagined is indoors; but Socrates must go outside to look at the moon, and in Th. iv. 48. 2 *ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος καὶ διελόντες τὴν ὀροφὴν ἔβαλλον τῷ κεράμῳ* the *ὀροφή* seems to be that side of the covering of the house which is exposed to the sky. (The articles *ὀροφή* and *ὀροφος* in LSJ need reorganization; in particular, *ὀροφος* in *Lys.* 229 f. is 'ceiling', looked at from inside the house, not 'roof' looked at from outside). **νόκτωρ:** Almost '—and it was night, of course—'; a reminder that Socrates could not see what was coming to him. **γαλεώτης:** Cf. 170 n.

**174 ἦσθην:** Strepsiadēs has guffawed, and now says why; cf. 1240 and *Pax* 1066 *αἰβοῖβοῖ*. — *τί γελᾷς*; — *ἦσθην* 'χαροποῖαι πῆθίκοις'. The aorist often puts into words a movement or noise already made, e.g. *Av.* 540 (*ἐδάκρυσά*), 1743 (*ἐχάρην*).

**175 δέ γ':** The student ignores Strepsiadēs' reaction and goes on to another anecdote in praise of Socrates' intelligence. Cf. 169 n.

**176 εἶέν:** Here 'well, well!', expressing surprised interest and leading on to a question; cf. *Eq.* 1077. **τάλφιτ':** Cf. 106 n. **ἐπαλαμήσατο:** The word sounds poetic, and in *Ach.* 659 it occurs in a close adaptation of E. fr. 918, but the context in *Pax* 94 is less obviously paratragic, and the point of putting a high-sounding word into Strepsiadēs' mouth at this moment is not clear, unless its juxtaposition



with the down-to-earth *πρὸς τὰ λφίτα* is judged humorous enough. Given *V.* 644 f. *παντοίας πλέκειν . . . παλάμας*, Hdt. viii. 19. 1 ('he thought he had a *παλάμη* by means of which he expected . . .') and *X. Cyr.* iv. 3. 17 (*ταῖς χερσὶ τὸ δέον παλαμᾶσθαι*): we may suspect that *παλάμη* and *παλαμᾶσθαι* were not strikingly poetic in Ar.'s time, but part of a common Ionic-Attic vocabulary which was increasingly shed—in accordance with the normal processes of linguistic change—in the fourth century. Other examples are *διαβάλλειν* = 'cross' and = 'deceive' (cf. LSJ, but their interpretation of *Pl. Phdr.* 255 A is disputable).

**177 τέφραν:** Socrates starts as a cook does with *ἄλφίτα* (*Σ<sup>RV</sup>*); but it is ash that he sprinkles, for instead of dinner the students are to have a geometry lesson. Socrates uses for this purpose a spit which in happier circumstances would be used for roasting meat. The ancients often drew their diagrams not on papyrus (unless they were composing a treatise for circulation) but on wax (as Demetrius's simple confusion [*Eloc.* 152 f.] of this passage with 149 shows) or in the dust or sand on the ground, or, as here, on a table. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* v. 64 *a pulvere et radio*, *ND* ii. 48 *eruditum illum puluerem*.

**178 εἶτα:** Cf. 149 n. **διαβήτην:** A pair of compasses ('like the letter A', as *Σ<sup>RV</sup>* says), used by Meton in *Av.* 1003 and mentioned among carpenters' tools in *Pl. Phlb.* 56 B. For the syntax cf. *Kratin.* 234 *ἐξ ἀσαμίνθου κύλικος λείβων*.

**179 ἐκ τῆς παλαιστρας κτλ.:** Demetrius (loc. cit.) quotes this passage as an 'unexpected' joke, 'which has no connexion with what has gone before': not a surprising judgement. At least it is tolerably clear that the purpose of stealing the himation is to sell it and buy food (*Arist. Pol.* 1267<sup>a</sup>4 f. takes it for granted that cold and hunger drive men to *λωποδυντεῖν*). The point may be simply that Socrates' high-minded diversion of the students' interest from their empty bellies to the abstractions of geometry did not last long, and he had recourse to the crudest remedy. The stealing of clothes and property from baths, wrestling-schools, and gymnasia was a well-known category of crime, severely punished (*D.* xxiv. 114); Socrates later in the play makes Strepsiades part with his clothes (497 ff., 856 ff., 1498), and the idea of Socrates as a surreptitious thief of vessels at a party appears in *Eup.* 361. *Σ<sup>RV</sup>* suggests that the purpose of bending the spit was to make a tool with which one could more easily filch clothes, as one could with a hook on the end of a long stick; but this would need a spit of prodigious length, and compasses are an unhandy shape for the purpose. The real problem, however, lies in the definite articles: 'the wrestling-school' (there were many at Athens) and 'the himation'; we could rid ourselves of the latter article by emendation (Demetrius actually has *ἡμάτιον*, but this is poor evidence for his text of Ar. in view of his major

lapse of memory, cf. 177 n.), but not of the former. The Platonic Socrates frequented wrestling-schools (e.g. *Chrm.* 153 A, and cf. *Σ<sup>v</sup>* 188), but they belong to a way of life alien to that of the Aristophanic Socrates (cf. 417, 1054), and we are not to imagine that the students have a wrestling-school on the premises. Possibly 'he stole his himation from the wrestling-school' was a colloquial expression meaning 'he's not to be trusted' or 'he hasn't a penny to his name', and the joke lies in the incorporation of such an expression (cf. Taillardat, § 404) in an actual narrative. Another possibility is a malicious story already told against Socrates and known to Ar. Or again, the student may be referring to a *fourberie* (of which he is rather proud) as if his hearer must know of the incident already; cf. the definite article in similar reminiscences in *V.* 236 ff., 1201 f., 354 f., 449 f. (the last two explicitly introduced with 'you remember when . . .').

**180 Θαλής:** Cf. p. xxxvi; and on Thales in Roman comedy cf. Fraenkel, *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* (Florence, 1961), 205.

**181 ἄνοιγ':** Strepsiades' mood of naïve enthusiasm (his reaction to the story just related is different from that of Demetrius) is raised to fever-pitch; cf. 167 f. n.

**183 μαθητιῶ:** The form of the word is meant to remind us (but this ceased to be true of the extension of *-ητιῶν* in the fourth century) of urgent physical needs; cf. 1387 *χεζητιῶν*, *V.* 807 *οὐρητιῶσης*, *Lys.* 715 *βωηητιῶμεν*. This reinforces the tone of Strepsiades' demand.

(ii) **184-99.** *Strepsiades encounters the other students*

The student wheels round with an expansive gesture towards the screen which has hitherto concealed the left-hand third of the skene. This screen is now moved away and out of the theatre, along the left *eisodos*, by the men who have been concealed behind it. Its removal reveals to us (i) a door into the skene itself (195 ff. n., 505 ff., 1493 ff.), beside which stands, instead of the customary herm and other statues (cf. 83, 1478 nn.), a cup on a column (1473 f. n.), (ii) at least two groups of students, each group containing at least two members (187, 191), (iii) three large pieces of apparatus (200, 201, 206), and (iv) a bed, on which there is a chaplet and a receptacle containing flour (254, 255 f., 261 f.). We do not yet see Socrates suspended in the air (218 n.).

**184 ὦ Ἡράκλεις:** A normal reaction (sometimes without *ὦ*, sometimes with *ὦναξ* instead) to a sudden, extraordinary, or frightening sight; cf. *Ach.* 284, *Av.* 93. **θηρία:** Not quite as hostile as it sounds; cf. 1286. Rather 'what on earth are these creatures?' than 'what kind of animals are these?'

**185 τῷ σοι δοκοῦσιν εἰκέναι:** The question is an artificial 'feed' (cf. 501 f. n.), but less artificial to a Greek than to us, because of the use

of *εἰκόνας* in popular humour (cf. 559 n.) and the curious formality of their expression; note especially *V.* 1308 ff. *Ἀν.* 804 ff. *δοκοῦσαν εἰκένας*, the text of *V.* is metrically perfect and morphologically possible in so far as *E.* fr. 167. 1 has *πατράσι παιδᾶς εἰκένας*. Elsewhere in *Ar.* it is supported only by *Ec.* 1161 *προσεικένας* (at the end of a trochaic tetrameter); *ctr.* *V.* 1141 f. *δοκέι γέ μοι | εἰοικένας . . . σάγματι* and fr. 646 *οἶμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν κόλλοπι | εἰοικένας*. It may be that *Ar.* wrote *δοκοῦσ' εἰοικένας* (*Np1*); *δοκοῦσαν εἰοικένας* (cett.) gives the metrically abnormal (and here [*ctr.* 238, 458] so easily avoidable)  $\tilde{\alpha} \sim | \tilde{\alpha}$  (White, §§ 121 f.).

**186 τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς:** The Spartans captured on Sphacteria, off Pylos, in the summer of 425 (*Th.* iv. 37) were kept at Athens until the spring of 421 (*v.* 24. 2). Spartans did not often surrender, and the prisoners remained as lasting a boost to the morale of Athens as a blow to that of Sparta (*iv.* 40, *v.* 15. 1); presumably they were pale and emaciated after two years of captivity. *Λακωνικοί* (Thucydides and other historians say *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*, and so do all inscribed documents) is normal in comedy (e.g. *Pax* 212); cf. *Ach.* 324  $\tilde{\alpha}$  *Ἀχαρνικέ*, 830 *θάρρει Μεγαρικέ. τῆς Λακωνικῆς* (*Vs1W9Θ1*, and conflated with *τοῖς -οῖς* in *A*) would be oddly pedantic in comic dialogue, especially with reference to a famous recent event; the corruption was caused by (i) identity of pronunciation of *η* and *οι* in late Greek (cf. *λεβήτιον* > *λεβοτίον*) in the papyrus text of *Men. Dysc.* 473 f., and (ii) the familiarity of expressions such as *ἐς Μεθώνην τῆς Λακωνικῆς* (*Th.* ii. 25. 1) in historians and commentators.

**187 ἐς τὴν γῆν:** Not bending right down, like the students of 191 f., but in an attitude of deep thought (*Σ<sup>κε</sup>*), an attitude associated by Greek artists with grief but familiar to us in Rodin's 'Thinker'.

**188 βολβοῦς:** *Pl. R.* 372 c reckons *βολβοί* and *λάχανα* as the staple cooked vegetables of an agrarian community; like many Greek vegetables, they were gathered, not cultivated.

**189 τοῦτό γ' ἔτι:** Neither *τοῦτό γε* (*RKNp1Vb3Vp1<sup>ac</sup>X*) nor *τοῦτ' ἔτι* (cett.) scans, for *φρ* is inadmissible in comic dialogue. Reisig's conjecture *τοῦτό γ' ἔτι* is one simple solution; cf. *V.* 922 *μή νυν ἀφήτέ γ' αὐτόν*, *Pl.* 766 *μή νυν μέλλ' ἔτι*. Another possibility is Porson's *τουτογί*: cf. *Eq.* 721. The statement, often repeated by editors, that *Δ* has *τουτογί* is incorrect.

**191 γάρ:** *γάρ* perhaps verbalizes a start of surprise, as in *S. OC* 222, when Oedipus reveals to the chorus who he is and they cry in horror *οὐ γὰρ ὄδ' εἶ*; But neither this nor any other single explanation fits all the questions in Greek dialogue which are introduced by *γάρ* and do not admit of the translation 'for' or 'because'; cf. 200, 351, and Denniston, 82 ff. **ἐγκεκευότες:** They must have their heads almost on the ground, to provide a sufficient contrast with 187 and give point to the joke of 193.

**192 δ':** Cf. *Pl. Cra.* 398 c *ὁ δὲ δὴ "ἥρως" τί ἂν εἶη; — τοῦτο δ' οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐνοήσαι*, *Hom. Il.* iii. 229 and Denniston, 171 f. *γ'* (*VAP<sup>pc</sup>EP<sup>c</sup>MMd1P19UVs1Φ*) is an obvious banalization of this rare idiom. **ἔρεβοδιφῶσιν:** *For* *διφᾶν* cf. *Kratin.* 2 *οἶον σοφιστῶν ἀμύητος ἀνεδιφῆσατε* and *Av.* 1424 *πραγματοδίφης*. In *Hes. Th.* 116 ff. *Tartaros* is one of the primary beings (with Chaos, Earth, and Eros) and one of the extremities of the cosmos (681 f.); but Erebos, a child of Chaos (123), seems less remote (e.g. 669). Similarly in *Hom. Il.* xvi. 327, *h. Cer.* 334 ff., etc., Erebos is simply the dark realm of Hades and the dead. The distinction is not observed in the comic cosmogony of *Av.* 691 ff., and in *S. OC* 1389 f. *τὸ Ταρτάρου στυγνόν . . . ἔρεβος* spelling with a capital E would be unjustified. *Hesiod* might have found 'they are scrutinizing Erebos under Tartaros' strange; *Ar.*'s audience would not.

**193 τί . . . βλέπει:** 'Because their heads are down' would be the simple answer, as *Σ<sup>v</sup>* observes; but the line is a 'feed'. *πρωκτός* is 'anus' (cf. 165, 1300 n.), not 'buttocks', and the superficial resemblance between anus and eye makes *βλέπει* more vivid.

**195-9 ἀλλ' εἴσιθ' . . . χρόνον:** The fact that the action is taking place in the theatre in the open air is recognized and utilized in the dramatic situation, regardless of the shortness of the time since we had to imagine that *Strepsiadēs* was being allowed *into* the school. **ὕμιν:** Implied by *Σ<sup>κ</sup>* (*μη . . . εὔρη ὑμᾶς*), and obviously right (*ἡμῖν a*); the student guide is not afraid of being caught outside by *Socrates* (221), and he tells *Strepsiadēs* that it is wrong for 'them' (198 f.), not 'us', to stay outside. Confusion between *ἡμεῖς* and *ὅμοις* is universal in medieval texts, and the substitution of one for the other is hardly emendation; it is a question of deciding, from the context, which of two letters pronounced [i] one should write. Cf. 247, 366, 688. **ἐπιτύχη:** Cf. 535. *περιτύχη* (*EM*) is unlikely; *περιτυγχάνειν* is common enough in prose, and often very close in meaning to *ἐπιτυγχάνειν*, but does not occur in comedy. We do not yet see *Socrates* suspended in the air; cf. 218 n. **μήπω . . . ἐμὸν:** In real life *Strepsiadēs* would want to put his problem to *Socrates* himself (cf. 182), but the lines are a 'feed'. **ἴνα | αὐτοῖσι:** A trimeter sometimes ends with the prepositive *ἴνα* (e.g. *Eq.* 8), and often begins (e.g. 750) with the post-positive anaphoric *αὐτ-*. The immediate pause is surprising, because we would expect only the minimal pause between the lines and therefore an avoidance of hiatus; but there it is.

(iii) 200-21. *Strepsiadēs* is shown the equipment of the school

**200.** *strepsiadēs* now begins to look at the objects and apparatus lying about. **γάρ:** It is open to us to say that *γάρ* explains why he has exclaimed *πρὸς τῶν θεῶν*; but cf. 191 n.

- 201 ἀστρονομία:** The text leaves the nature of these objects to our imagination, and in imagining what Ar. would have presented to his audience as 'astronomy' we must guard against anachronism. Σ<sup>v</sup> plausibly suggests *διαγράμματα καὶ πίνακες*; Σ<sup>z</sup>, less plausibly (despite the statement of Diog. Laert. ii. 2 that Anaximandros *σφαίραν κατεσκεύασε*), says *σφαίραν δείκνυσι*; and Σ<sup>e</sup> combines *σφαίρα* and *πίνακες*. In view of what the Greeks did know and could measure in Ar.'s time (cf. p. xl) instruments for accurate sighting and alignment, coupled with accurate time-measurement, must have existed. Astronomy was among the subjects taught by Hippias of Elis (Pl. *Prt.* 315 c, 318 E, *Hp. Ma.* 285 CD) and had long been one of the main subjects of scientific speculation; the Socrates of Plato (*R.* 528 E ff.) and Xenophon (*M.* iv. 7. 4 ff.) is unsympathetic towards empirical astronomical observation. Cf. p. xlv.
- 202 γεωμετρία:** Rulers, set-squares, and compasses (cf. 117 f. and *Av.* 1001 ff.), and possibly also sighting instruments.
- 203 ἀναμετρείσθαι:** ἀναμετρήσθαι (NZ) might be right (cf. 152 and *Av.* 1020), but the middle is metrically guaranteed in fr. 617 ἀναμετρήσασθαι and *E. El.* 52 κάνοσον ἀναμετρούμενος τὸ σάφρον: cf. 1507 n. It is doubtful whether Ar. believed, or intended his audience to believe, that the interest of the sophists in geometry (cf. Pl. *Prt.* 318 D) was wholly due to the practical purpose which the etymology of the word indicates. Strepsiades has asked 'What is the *use* of it?' and gets a fair answer, which is also the answer needed to introduce the joke about cleruchies. The Platonic (*R.* 526 DE, cf. *Meno* 82 B ff.) and Xenophontean (*M.* iv. 7. 2 f.) Socrates do not speak with one voice on the intellectual value of geometry. κληρουχικήν: When Athens defeated the revolt of Mytilene in 427 she confiscated Mytilenean land and allocated it (κληῖρος, 'allotment') to a large number of Athenian citizens (Th. iii. 50. 2); this was not a novelty, for she had taken a similar measure against Chalkis at the end of the sixth century (Hdt. v. 77. 2). On the general question of cleruchies in the fifth century cf. *ATL*, iii. 284 ff.
- 204 ἀστεῖον λέγεις:** The form of words suggests 'your utterance is ἀστεῖον' rather than (as the sense requires) 'you are speaking of something which is ἀστεῖον', but the distinction cannot be pressed; cf. *Lys.* 529, 'You <set> us <right>?' δεινὸν γε λέγεις κτλ. ἀστεῖος is to ἀστικός rather as 'urbane' is to 'urban', but of much wider application than 'urbane'; commonly 'attractive', 'agreeable', 'inviting', 'charming', e.g. Pl. *Phdr.* 227 CD 'If only he'd argue that a boy ought to surrender . . . to ordinary people like me!' ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἀστεῖοι καὶ δημωφελεῖς (cf. Strepsiades' next words) εἰεν οἱ λόγοι. (The sense 'witty', *pace* LSJ, is totally absent here; there is nothing 'witty' about οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τὴν σύμπασαν). Cf. 1064.
- 205 σόφισμα:** Essentially, an exercise of σοφία (cf. 94 n.), as in *Pl.* 160 f.

- 'It is on your account'—addressing Wealth—'that all τέχνηαι and σοφίσματα have been invented in the human race.' But a derogatory sense was gaining ground in Ar.'s time: cf. *Av.* 431, where it is coupled with terms of abuse. δημοτικόν: Strepsiades thinks that 'geometry' is some (magical?) device for distributing all the land in the world gratis to Athenian citizens like himself; cf. *Ec.* 631, where a proposal which will give the ugly equal rights with the handsome is called δημοτική.
- 206 περίοδος:** Hdt. v. 49 relates how Aristagoras of Miletos displayed at Sparta in 499 'a bronze plaque on which a περίοδος of the whole earth had been inscribed, with all the sea and the rivers', and in iv. 36. 2 he criticizes περίοδους γράφαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη. The earliest Greek map may have been constructed by Anaximandros (A6; KR, 103 f.); certainly the idea of a map of the world was not a complete novelty to Ar.'s audience, though historians still thought in terms not of maps but of views from ground level, and (I would infer from X. *Hipparch.* 4. 6 ff., 5. 1) no one had yet made a useful map, such as would enable the traveller to see (e.g.) where he would find fresh water or an impassable cliff.
- 208 δικαστής:** The joke against the Athenians' insistence on trying cases, both domestic and imperial (Th. i. 77. 1, [Xen.] *Ath.* i. 16), by large juries is a standby of Ar.; cf. *Pax* 505, *Av.* 41, 109, and the whole plot of *Wasps*. In general, ridicule of Athenian weaknesses, and even the coarsest vilification of the audience, are characteristic of Old Comedy. Cf. 494 ff. (an indirect hit at litigiousness), 587 ff. (Athenian δυσβουλία), 520 (litigiousness), 1096 ff. (the prevalence of εὐρυνρωκτία), 1172 ff. (roguery).
- 209 ὡς:** Cf. *Ach.* 335 ὡς ἀποκτενῶ, 'I swear, I'll kill him!'; the immediately preceding (333) ὡς ἀπολόμμεσθα is a different kind of exclamation, but *Lys.* 499 ὡς σωθήσῃ, κἂν μὴ βοῦλῃ, coming after ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς σώσομεν (498), seems to mean 'You *will* be saved (sc. by us) . . .'.  
**210 καὶ ποῦ:** καὶ with an interrogative indicates surprise, often coloured with indignation; cf. 717, *V.* 665 and Denniston, 309 ff. Κικυννής: Cf. 134 n. Since membership of a deme was hereditary through one's father, we might have expected men bearing the demotic Κικυννεῖς to be distributed throughout Attica by Ar.'s time; but even eighty years later a speaker can tell a jury that the majority of members of the deme Halimus live in the deme itself (D. lviii. 10). In 1322 Strepsiades cries for immediate help to 'neighbours, relations, and demesmen'.  
**212 παρατέταται:** Euboeia is much longer than it is wide, and in such a case τείνειν means 'lay' or 'put' (not 'stretch' in the sense 'make longer'); it also lies παρά the coast of Attica and Boiotia. The term occurs in the geographical information given by Hdt. (e.g. ii. 8. 1),

and there is no reason to see here any hint of the technical sense of *παραινεῖν* which is found in Pl. *Meno* 87A but not elsewhere in Greek mathematics (cf. Mugler, op. cit. [152 n.], s.v.; Taylor's explanation, 156, n. 2, is fanciful).

**213 παρέρθη:** The English idiom 'laid out' closely corresponds; cf. fr. 506. 1, 'No more sardines—*παραιτάμαι γὰρ* stuffing myself with oily food', Pl. *Smip.* 207 B, 'the parent animals themselves *παραινεύόμενα* with hunger in order to feed their offspring', etc. **ἡμῶν . . . καὶ Περικλέους:** The cities of Euboeia revolted from Athens in 446 and were reduced by an Athenian force of which Perikles was the (or a) commander (Th. i. 114). When Strepsiades says 'us' he means not simply 'Athens', but his own generation; as he is now an old man, we are to imagine him as having fought in the Euboian campaign. For the expression 'by us and Perikles' cf. Th. v. 3. 4, 'Kleon and the Athenians erected trophies . . . and enslaved the women and children of Torone', D. xx. 78 'not one of your enemies ever erected a trophy won by a victory over you and him [*sc.* Chabrias], but you have erected many by victory over them, under his generalship'. (For different ways of alluding to the action taken by generals in command of armies cf. D. xxiii. 196 ~ 198, and Dover, *JHS* lxxx [1960], 75 ff.)

**214 ποῦ ἴστί:** *ποῦ ἴσθ' (A)* is not necessarily right, despite the abnormality of  $\cup \mid \cup \Delta$ ; cf. 1192 and *V.* 1369 . . . *κλέψαντα*. — *πῶαν ἀλητηρίδα*; there is change of speaker in all three cases.

**215–16 ὡς . . . πᾶν:** Rather as he thought of geometrical instruments as a means of turning all the world's land into land which could be apportioned to Athenian citizens, Strepsiades thinks of a map as a magical means of bringing places nearer together or further apart, and he naturally wants Sparta removed as far away as possible. **μεταφρονιζετε:** This is implied by *Σ<sup>R</sup> μεταβουλεύεσθε* and supported by *μέγα φρ-* in S (cf. *πᾶν μέγα C* [not *Δ*, as stated in Blaydes]). It gives a positive joke (the coining of a word) and is far preferable to the repetition of *πᾶν*, for which it is hard to see any stylistic or theatrical reason.

**217 νῆ Δί':** In the MSS., part of the student's utterance; but with *οὐχ οὐδὲν τε* we would want *μά*, not *νῆ*, and if we emended to *μά* further emendation would be needed to make the line scan. In view of *V.* 1506 *νῆ Δί' ὠψώνηκε ἄρα* and *Lys.* 933 *νῆ Δί' ἀπολοίμην ἄρα* there is no doubt that Cobet was right to assign *νῆ Δί'* to Strepsiades. **οἰμώξεσθ' ἄρα:** Cf. *Th.* 248 *οἰμώξετ' ἄρ' εἴ τις κτλ.*, 'Anyone who . . . will regret it!' Strepsiades' rapid swing from servility to petulant violence is in character; cf. 57 f., 121 ff. and p. xxiii.

**218 φέρε . . . ἀνήρ:** While the audience's attention is held by the noise and movement of 217, the theatrical crane swings Socrates out above the heads of Strepsiades and the student; he is in a basket (cf. 226 n.)

hooked on to the end of a rope, and is gazing up at the sky. *Σ<sup>RV</sup> καὶ τοῦτον [sc. Στρεψιάδην] εἰσελθόντα καὶ θεασάμενον αὐτὸν κτλ.* seems to suggest that Socrates has been visible to us all the time (*Σ<sup>R</sup> 187, εὔρε περὶ τὸν Σωκράτη κάτω νεύοντας*, is easily emended [Rutherford] to <τοὺς> *περὶ*, i.e. 'the Socratics'), but this is theatrically questionable; the appearance of the students at 184 was enough to go on with, and 195 makes better sense if Socrates is not visible then. **γάρ:** cf. 191 n. **κρεμάθρας:** Defined by Arist. *Rh.* 1412<sup>a</sup>14 ff. as differing from an anchor only in so far as the hook on the end of the rope is above us and not below us.

**219 αὐτός:** 'The master'. *αὐτὸς ἔφα* was a formula used to introduce sayings attributed to Pythagoras (Diog. Laert. viii. 46, cf. 44 = *App. Anth.* v. 34), but *αὐτός* is more familiar in domestic contexts, e.g. *Men. Sam.* 41 ff. *ἔνδον ἐστὶν αὐτός* and *αὐτὴ καλεῖ, τίθη, σε*, Theokr. 24. 50. Ar. fr. 268 *ἀνοιγέτω τις δάματ' αὐτὸς ἔρχεται* may also be an example, but the context is not known, and the person denoted may have been named in the previous line or so. On the Latin *ipse* cf. Fordyce on Catullus 3. 6 f. **ὦ Σωκράτης:** The MSS. have *ὦ Σώκρατες*. If this is right, then either (i) Strepsiades calls out to Socrates, Socrates takes no notice, and Strepsiades hopes that the student can attract his attention more effectively, or (ii) Strepsiades, awestruck, invokes Socrates as one would a god, without necessarily expecting an answer 'Yes, Strepsiades?'; cf. 293 *καὶ σέβομαι γ', ὦ πολυτίμητοι*, and in *Ach.* 575 *ὦ Λάμαχ' ἦρωσ, τῶν λόφων καὶ τῶν λόχων* Dikaiopolis is not so much addressing Lamachos (contrast 578) as uttering a reverent exclamation at the sudden appearance of an almost supernatural being. The student's words 'call him yourself' (221) would rather favour interpretation (ii). Van Leeuwen, however, suggested that Ar. wrote *ὦ Σωκράτης*;—on which *ὦ Σωκράτης* would be an improvement; cf. Pl. *Prt.* 309 D *ὦ (sic edd.) τί λέγεις; Πρωταγόρας ἐπιδηδήμηκεν*; (Socrates' friend, on hearing that Protagoras is in Athens), *Phdr.* 227 C *ὦ (sic edd.) γενναῖος* (Socrates, on hearing Phaidros's summary of Lysias's argument). Cf. also *Men. Epitrt.* 720 f. *τίς ἐσθ' ὁ κόπτων τὴν θύραν*; *ὦ (= 'Ah, I see it is . . .') Σμικρίνης . . . ἦκων*. — *ἔγωγε κτλ.* Attempts to distinguish in such cases between *ὦ* and *ὦ* are not fruitful; cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 22. **221.** The student goes into the door of the school.

(iv) **222–62.** *Socrates accepts Strepsiades as a pupil*

**223 Σωκρατίδιον:** Cf. 80 n. **ὦ φήμερε:** *ἐφήμερος*, 'creature of a day' is highly poetic (*Av.* 687 *ἐφημέριοι* is in epic parody; in *GVI* i. 1515. 2 [Sikinos, II] *ἐν ἀμείριος* = 'on earth'), and pretentious as a mode of address. Socrates is looking down on Strepsiades as a god might look down from Olympus on a mortal; Semon. 1. 3 contrasts Zeus

with ἐφήμεροι. According to Σν 'the silenus' (i.e. Marsyas) addresses the musician Olympos in Pindar (fr. 157) as ὦ τάλας ἐφάμερε and Σ sees here an indirect allusion (which seems to me far-fetched) to Socrates' facial resemblance to a silenus (cf. p. xxxii). The prosody ὦ φή- is, however, colloquial—cf. 655 ὦ οἴζυρέ, *Ra* 382 ὦ Ἐρμῆδιον—and somewhat counteracts the pretentiousness.

**224 πρῶτον μὲν:** πρῶτον and πρῶτα are frequently used as if the speaker had a further point in mind, even when there is no clear indication of what that point might be; sometimes 'first of all' or 'to start with' are permissible translations (e.g. 368, 649, 1044) but in other cases that would be heavy-handed (e.g. 247, 1172).

**225 ἀεροβατῶ:** The word is no doubt coined for the occasion by Ar.; it is, in fact, the earliest attested verb in -βατεῖν. Given ναυβάτης and the poetic ἵπποβάτης and ὄρεσιβάτης, it is meant to suggest 'the air is the medium in which I move'; hence Pl. *Ap.* 19c speaks of Socrates in this play as περιφερόμενον, φάσκοντά τε ἀεροβατεῖν κτλ. περιφρονῶ: Socrates means 'think about', as 741 περιφρόνει τὰ πράγματα shows; but Ar. gives him the word for the sake of the joke in 226.

**226 ἄπὸ ταρροῦ:** The ancient interpretation was that ταρρός here means a bar such as hens perch on; so Poll. x. 156 πέτερον δέ, οὐ τὰς ἐνοικιδίας ὄρνιθας ἐγκαθεύδων συμβέβηκεν, Ἀριστοφάνης λέγει (fr. 839), ὡσπερ καὶ κρεμάστραν [*sic*; cf. 869 n.] ἐν ταῖς Νεφέλαις, and Σ<sup>R</sup> says: 'ταρρός is a perch on which hens roost'. (Photios s.v. πέτερον is irrelevant [cf. Bethe on Poll. loc. cit.], and there is no justification whatever for Ranke's emendation of ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ ταρροῦ το εἶτ' ἀπὸ πετεύρου). If Σ<sup>R</sup> is right, Socrates is sitting or standing on a horizontal bar or plank, steadying himself by holding on to ropes which go from each end of the bar to a hook suspended from the crane. Yet ταρρός normally means 'rack' (*Od.* ix. 219, Theokr. II. 37), 'mat', 'row of oars', later 'wing', 'eyelashes'—almost anything, that is, which is composed of units parallel and close together; and Σ<sup>R</sup> says ἐξ οἰσῶς πλέγματα. In Th. ii. 76. 1 ἐν ταρσοῖς καλάμου πηλὸν ἐν(ε)λλοντες uncertainty about the meaning of the verb makes it hard to visualize the ταρσοί, but at any rate they are not rods or bars or perches. It seems most likely that Socrates is sitting comfortably in a sling formed by attaching a rope from each corner of a four-cornered mat to the hook on the end of a rope. To that extent we can speak of him as sitting in a 'basket'; but that does not mean that a Greek would have called a modern shopping-basket ταρρός. τοὺς θεοὺς: The sun is, of course, a god to Strepsiades. ὑπερφρονεῖς: περιφρονεῖς (V) spoils the joke, and in any case φῆρ is prosodically impossible (cf. 189 n.). Strepsiades treats Socrates as physically above the divine beings who are the object of his study, and this is one reason for ὑπερ-; but also, περιφρονεῖν has something of the flavour

of περιορᾶν, 'regard as unimportant' (cf. Th. i. 25. 4, of Corcyra's attitude to Corinth), and ὑπερφρονεῖν is always (intr.) 'be proud' or (tr.) 'despise', as in 1400 τῶν νόμων . . . ὑπερφρονεῖν. The English 'look down on' is a suitable translation here. [Van Daele's note conflicts with Coulon's text.]

**227 εἶπερ:** 'If that's what you're doing.' 'If you must', suggested by Triklinios (and adopted by LSJ), is not quite appropriate; perhaps he had in mind *Ra.* 76 f. εἶτ' οὐχὶ Σοφοκλέα . . . | μέλλεις ἀναγαγεῖν, εἶπερ ἐκεῖθεν δεῖ σ' ἄγειν; Cf. Pl. *Euthd.* 296 B οὐκ οὐκ ἡμᾶς γ', εἶφη, ἀλλ' εἶπερ, σέ, "Well", he said, "it won't (mislead) us; if <it misleads anyone>, <it will mislead> you"; *Prm.* 150A. The nearest parallel in comedy is *Ra.* 38 f. ὡς κενταυρικῶς | ἐνήλαθ', ὅστις (sc. ἦν).

**228 μετέωρα:** Fundamental to Ar.'s portrait of Socrates (cf. 333, 360, 1284 and p. xxxiv), and the point on which he is directly challenged by Pl. *Ap.* 19 BC, 26 DE.

**229 νόημα:** Usually 'a thought' or 'idea', but used by the philosophical poets in an abstract sense; cf. Xenophanes fr. 19. 2 (Diehl<sup>8</sup>), where δέμας and νόημα are contrasted, and Empedokles B105. 3, 'the blood around the human heart is νόημα'.

**230 λεπτήν . . . 233 φροντίδος:** A. fr. 229N = 378f.M uses ἱκμάς of the liquid content which distinguishes the living body from the 'withered' (cf. A. *Ch.* 296) ghost, and Socrates' words transfer this concept to the plane of mental activity (cf. Taillardat, § 446), but the underlying 'doctrine' is different. Diogenes of Apollonia (B5) believed not only that air, λεπτομερέστατον of all substances, is a god endowed with life and intelligence (cf. Socrates' prayer, 264), but also that the soul, which is λεπτότατον in every living creature, is air (A20), differing in density, humidity, and temperature from species to species and from individual to individual; cf. KR, 442 f. and Guthrie, ii. 369, 373 ff. Perception is the movement of air within the body by air without (A 19 § 44). Thinking is the activity of 'clean, dry air' and is impaired by moisture (ἱκμάς). Animals are inferior to men in thought (διάνοια) because 'they breathe air from the earth'; the inferiority of birds has to be explained by the density of their flesh, which does not allow permeation by the admittedly 'clean' air which they breathe. Cf. Hp. *Morb. Sacr.* 16 f. (where, however, excessive dryness as well as excessive moisture is regarded as harmful to the intellectual and emotional operation of a man); cf. also the principle of 'perception of like by like' in Parmenides (A46) and Empedokles (B109). Cf. Guthrie, i. 209 and ii. 228 ff. It is amusing to find Diogenes' doctrine flourishing more than two millennia later; Lord Halifax in his *Advice to a Daughter* (1704) said: 'Religion is exalted Reason, refin'd and sifted from the grosser parts of it: It dwelleth in the Upper Regions of the Mind, where there are fewest Clouds or Mists to darken or offend it.' οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ': Given *Ra.* 58, 'Don't



make fun of me, brother; οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' I'm in a bad way', it is hard to draw sharp distinctions between οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά, καὶ γάρ and γάρ τοι: cf. Denniston, 31. Punctuation after both ἤδρον and γάρ, offered here by most MSS., suggesting '. . . I would never have discovered it. No, indeed I wouldn't, but the earth . . .' is incompatible with the other examples of the idiom. ἔλκει: Alexander of Aphrodisias *Quaest.* ii. 23 attributes to Diogenes (A33), as part of an explanation of magnetism, the theory that bronze and iron ingest and secrete moisture (ικμάς), and that this is proved by their rusting when smeared with vinegar: τοῦτο γὰρ πάσχειν διὰ τὸ ἔλκειν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν ἱκμάδα τὸ ὄξος.

Magnetic pyrites, 'drier and earthier' than iron, draws (ἔλκει) iron towards itself in order to ingest the surplus moisture of iron. Cf. Seneca *NQ* iv. 2. 28 ff. on Diogenes' general theory that moisture 'finds its own level'. Ar. plainly has some idea of Diogenes' theories (cf. KR, 440 ff.); how far his audience had, is another question and not, on present evidence, answerable, for the comic effect is adequate if they merely recognize the *kind* of terms in which intellectuals talk. If Ar. had been a doxographer summarizing Diogenes and not a comic poet ridiculing him, he would have said the opposite of what he says in 232 f., for loss of moisture from soul to earth would increase the efficiency of thought, not impair it.

**234 πάσχει:** It may be mere coincidence that πάσχει δὲ ταῦτα occurs in a physiological exposition in *Hp. Aff.* 1; possibly it was an established scientific formula. **κάρδαμα:** We have no other evidence for the use of this illustration by Diogenes, but this passage is itself evidence not to be taken lightly. Cf. 148 n.; and Diogenes said something about plants (*A19* § 44) in connexion with cognition. **κάρδαμα** are classed among *φίλυδρα* by Theophr. *HP* vii. 1. 8.

**235-6 τί φῆς . . . κάρδαμα:** The total misunderstanding of a scientific argument by an ignorant man is an obvious form of humour. So in *Th.* 19, when Euripides has expounded how 'Aither in the beginning . . . devised the eye in imitation of the sun's orb, and bored the ears as a funnel for hearing', his old relative says 'Because of the funnel, then, aren't I to hear or see?'—and there, as here, the joke is dropped once it has been made.

**238 ἵνα με διδάξης:** This is unobjectionable metrically (cf. 792, beginning ἀπὸ γὰρ ὀλοῦμαι, and *Eg.* 1336, beginning ὅσα με δέδρακας [White, §§ 103-6]). It is hard to draw a semantic distinction between διδάσκειν and ἐκδιδάσκειν (cf. Antiphon v. 14 ἡ ἔμπειρία . . . ἐκδιδάσκει ~ vi. 2 ἡ ἔμπειρία . . . διδάσκει and *Pl. Pri.* 328 E ῥάδιως ἐπεκδιδάξει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα ἐξεδίδαξεν ~ *Smr.* 201D ἡ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρωτικὰ ἐδίδαξεν), and ἵνα μ' ἐκδιδάξης (VAEKMP19Vb3Vp1) might be right. In *Ra.* 1026 f. ἐπιθυμῶν ἐξεδίδαξα νικάν, ἐξ- is Bentley's conjecture, 'a' having simply ἐδίδαξα, but the error there was facilitated by διδάξας Πέρσας earlier in the line. οὐνεκ':

- οὐ | οὐνεκ is nowhere unassailable (cf. 185 n. and White §§ 121 f.), and in view of the frequency of divergence between ἔνεκα, εἴνεκα, and οὐνεκα in MSS. and the difficulty of seeing what is conveyed by ὥνπερ οὐνεκ' which is not conveyed by ὥνπερ ἔνεκ' it may perhaps be irrationally conservative not to print ἔνεκ' (*Vv4*) here. Cf. *Ra.* 108 f. ἀλλ' ὥνπερ ἔνεκα . . . ἦλλον. The evidence on ἔνεκα, etc. is discussed by Coulon, *Quaestiones Criticae in Aristophanis Fabulas* (Strasbourg, 1907), 26 ff., and Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen, 1954), i. 592 f.; unfortunately the kind of epigraphic evidence we really need is deficient.

**241 ἄγομαι, φέρομαι:** One ἄγει the cattle and slaves of an enemy (and him too, for enslavement, if one can catch him), and φέρει his portable goods. But ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν is used as a set phrase, as in [*Lys.*] xx. 28 (410) ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεως ἔφερον καὶ ἦγον ὑμᾶς. Asyndeton with assonance is not unknown in Greek legal and ritual formulae (e.g. *DGE* 415. 3 f. [*Olympia*, VI], 62. 151 [*Herakleia*, IV]) but is much less characteristic of Greek than of Latin, whereas multiple asyndeton, with or without assonance, is abundant in comic dialogue (e.g. 44, 48, 50 ff.); cf. 1076 n., *Ra.* 157 ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν, *Men. Dysc.* 83 βώλοισι λίθοις ~ 120 f. βώλοισι λίθοις ταῖς ἀχράσων κτλ. ἐνεχυράζομαι: Having

described the legally justified threats of his creditors at first in highly rhetorical terms (cf. Hecuba's despairing cry, *E. Tro.* 1310 ἀγόμειθα φερόμειθα), Strepsiades now descends to sober fact; cf. 35 n. **243 νόσος:** Cf. 74 n. Strepsiades speaks like a patient describing his symptoms to a doctor. ἐπέτριψεν: ἐτριψεν (RVMD1, Np1, Θ<sub>2</sub><sup>90</sup>) can be supported by prose parallels, but τριβεῖν in comedy does not have the metaphorical sense of exhausting or ruining a person, whereas ἐπιτριβεῖν often does; cf. 438 τὸν γάμον ὅς μ' ἐπέτριψεν, *Men. Epitri.* 732, 737 f. (contrasted with σῶξιν), fr. 565. 3 (contrasted with ὠφελεῖν).

**δεινὴ φαγεῖν:** X. *An.* vii. 3. 23 describes a man of voracious appetite as φαγεῖν δεινός. Horses eat a lot (cf. *Isok.* vi. 55 ζεύγη . . . ἵππων ἀδηφαγούντων . . . τρέφοντας), and Pheidippides' self-indulgence has eaten up Strepsiades' livelihood; but the terminology is doubly appropriate, since diseases too 'consume' or 'devour' the sufferer. Philoktetes in *S. Ph.* 313 speaks of himself as βόσκων τὴν ἀδηφάγον νόσον, and a cancer was called φαγεδαῖνα.

**245 ἀποδίδοντα:** i.e. which enables the person who uses it to escape repaying his debts. We do not need to think here of the personification of the λόγοι, for Greek can use verbs in a 'causative' sense much more freely than English; cf. 770, 782 and Dover, *JHS* lxxx (1960), 73 f.

**247 ποίους:** Without the article, a scornful exclamation, not a question (contrast 1233); cf. 367. **πρῶτον:** Cf. 224 n.

**248 νόμισμ':** In Classical prose always 'currency', 'coinage'; but though not a synonym of νόμος, its affinity is obvious, and we could

translate 'Gods aren't current coin with us'. τῷ γὰρ ὀμνυτε: 'Why, what do you use for oaths?', not 'what do you swear by?'; note τοὺς θεοῦς in 246, and cf. 1232.

249 [ῥ] σιδαρῆσιον: The inhabitants of Byzantion, unlike other Greek states in the fifth century, used an iron coinage, and Attic writers refer to it by its local (Doric) name, σιδᾶρῆσι; cf. Plato Com. 96 ἐν Βυζαντίῳ | ὄπου σιδαρῆσιον <σ> νομισμασιν | χρῶνται. ῥ (Mdr: ῥ Npr: ῥ cett.) gives the line one syllable too many. In Vv4<sup>ac</sup> X (followed by Triklinios) it appears at the end of 248, necessitating the elision ὀμνυτ'; but Ar. does not elsewhere end a line with a prepositive interrogative immediately after a pause, and Piccolomini's deletion of the word is preferable. It was probably interpolated through mistaken scansion of σιδαρῆσιον as -δᾶ- (Φ actually marks the alpha as short), just as all MSS. in Pl. 1170 have ἴν' εὐθέως διακοικός εἶναι μοι δοκῆς through mistaken interpretation of δια- as διᾶ-, and in Ach. 928 ἵνα μὴ κατὰ γῆ φερόμενος (P Berol.) the last word is corrupted to φοροῦμενος in the medieval MSS. σίδηρος > Mod. Gk. [-sīderos], contrary to the general rule η > [i]; since ἀρ/ερ are alternatives in many Byzantine words (cf. S. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der Byzantinischen Chroniken* [Göttingen, 1913], 11 ff.), it is not unlikely that a Byzantine form [-sīdaros] existed (this would account for σιδαρῆσι in iambic trimeters in A. Pr. 502 and E. Hp. 76). Another possibility (suggested to me by Dr. A. S. Henry) is that ῥ began life as η written over -δα-. Deletion of ῥ leaves us with two successive questions, of which the second is not introduced by any interrogative word; for this cf. 481, Ach. 612 f., Av. 1203 (all of which have τῖ in the first of the two questions), and Av. 1212 f.

251 εἴπερ ἐστὶ γει: 'If, that is, it is really possible.' Cf. 322 εἴ πως ἐστὶν, 'I want to see them now with my own eyes.' It would be inappropriate for Strepsiades at this moment to express doubts about the existence or validity of the supernatural world which Socrates promises to reveal to him. On the accentuation of ἐστὶ cf. Barrett's ed. of E. Hp., pp. 425 f.

254 κάθιζε: The 'initiation' of Strepsiades (cf. 140 n. and A. Dieterich, *RM* xlviij [1893], 275 ff.) now begins. The process includes (1) enthronement (254 f.), (2) coronation with a chaplet (255 ff.), and (3) baptism (260 ff.). For (1) and (3) parallels in initiation rites are known, notably Demosthenes' description (xviii. 259) of the assistance given by Aischines to his mother, who (Demosthenes alleges) initiated people into a cult from which, no doubt, they believed themselves to derive some advantage: 'purifying the initiates and wiping them off' (ἀπομάτρων: cf. Harpokration s.v.) 'with the (sc. prescribed) clay and bran and raising them up (ἀνιστάς) from their purification' (evidently they had been sitting or lying down) 'and telling them to say . . .'. Enthronement was part of the initiation

rites of the Corybantic cult, as Pl. *Euthd.* 277 D shows, referring to dancing round the initiate *στᾶν τὴν θρόνονων ποιῶσιν*; cf. D. Chr. xii. 33, where τῷ καλουμένῳ θρονοισμῷ refers to initiations in general. The chaplet is an element not attested in our evidence for initiations, but (see below) Ar. has a good comic reason for introducing it. The sprinkling (or plastering) of the initiate with various substances is, of course, a different matter from the general practice of purifying persons and premises by sprinkling or pouring water; it is the latter, not initiation rites, which Justin Martyr *Apol.* i. 62. 1 compares with Christian baptism. σκίμποδα: This was one of the objects revealed by the 'opening' of the school; cf. 184 n. How a σκίμπος differed from other kinds of bed we do not know (cf. G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* [London, 1966], 52 f.), but everything (including the squalid discomfort of the school) combines to suggest that it was not luxurious. Plato's Socrates slept on one at home (*Prt.* 310 c), and Xenophon's men lay on them for dinner when entertained by Korylas in Paphlagonia, drinking from cups made of horn (*An.* vi. 1. 4). Since Plato and Dion (loc. cit.) both refer to dancing round the seated initiate, it is possible that Socrates now prances absurdly round Strepsiades.

255 τουρονί: Socrates now picks up from the bed a chaplet, which (for comic effect) we should imagine made of the ugliest and untidiest wild plants.

256 ἐπὶ τί στέφανον: Chaplets were worn on so many festive and ceremonial occasions that in real life there would be no grounds for apprehensiveness if one were told 'Put on this chaplet'—especially when a process plainly leading to one's own initiation had begun. But Ar. consistently makes Strepsiades apprehensive (as in 129 f., 506 ff.) and wishes also to achieve comic incongruity by making him resemble certain characters in legend who were offered as human sacrifices. Vase-paintings do not show animal victims wearing chaplets, but they sometimes (e.g. P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Allertümer* [Munich, 1920] pl. iii, fig. 11) show an ox with a length of fabric tied to each horn; these lengths were presumably included under the general term *στέμματα* (*DGE* 251. A31, 38 [Cos, IV/III] do not make clear what the priest does with the stemma which is available at the killing of the animal). Lacking horns, but possessing a head of the right shape to take a circular adornment, a human being destined for sacrifice would wear a chaplet; so in E. *IA* 1567 Kalchas, on the point of sacrificing Iphigenia, *κράτᾳ τ' ἔσπεψεν κόρης*, and when Pl. *R.* 398 A, speaking humorously of treating a poet as if were a semi-divine apparition, says *ἐρίῳ στέφαντες*, I take it that he means 'putting a chaplet of wool round his head', not 'hanging a length of wool over his ears'. (Makaria's *στεμματούτε* [*sc. με*] in E. *Hclld.* 528 leaves the nature and extent of the garlanding



open, and Hdt. ii. 197. 2 *θύεται* . . . *στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεῖς*—he is speaking of a human victim—implies more than a chaplet, but does not exclude it.) The distinction between different kinds of *στέφην* disappears in Luc. *Sacr.* 12 *οἱ θύοντες* . . . *στεφανώσαντες τὸ ζῶον*. οἶμοι: Blaydes' οἶμ' ὦ (cf. οἶμοι ὦ P19) might be right, but cf. KḠ, i. 48 f. on the vocative without ὦ.

257 ὥσπερ με . . . θύσετε; The postpositive με, object of θύσετε, gravitates to a position after the leading word in the clause, as in V. 363 f. ὥσπερ με γαλήν . . . τηροῦσιν (cf. Dover, 14). This was something as strange to later Greek ears as it is to ours, to judge from the omission of με in MdiKNp1P19 (Np1<sup>ε1</sup> adds δέ over ὥσπερ, and Np1<sup>ε</sup> has με over μή). τὸν Ἀθάμανθ': We gather from Σ<sup>vε</sup> that Sophokles, in one of his two plays called *Athamas*, represented Athamas as standing at the altar of Zeus, wearing a chaplet, about to be offered as a sacrificial victim—a predicament from which he was rescued by Herakles. Σ<sup>vε1</sup> adds that Athamas was *δίκας εἰσπραττόμενος ὑπὲρ Φρίξου*, and Σ<sup>mn1</sup> clarifies this: he had promised to sacrifice Phrixos and Helle to the gods, but they had escaped, and εἰαυτὸν ἐμελλε θύσειν. From this evidence it seems that Apollodoros i. 9. 2 gives us (at least up to a point) the Sophoclean version of the Athamas myth. Phrixos and Helle (cf. Hdt. vii. 58. 2, 197. 1) were the children of Athamas, ruler of Boiotia, and of the goddess Nephele. Athamas also (*αὐθις*) married (or seduced?) the mortal Ino. Ino by a trick contrived to ensure that the crops did not grow, and when Athamas sent to Delphi to seek a remedy Ino corrupted the envoys, and they reported that Phrixos must be sacrificed to Zeus. Nephele, however, rescued Phrixos and Helle by means of the golden ram. Apollodoros does not help us to see how Athamas himself came to the altar, but Hdt. vii. 197. 3, although he locates these events at Halos in Thessaly, gives what he calls 'the local story', and makes Athamas's grandson (not Herakles) his rescuer, perhaps provides the essential clue in saying that the people intended to sacrifice Athamas as a *καθαρμός*, an expiatory sacrifice, at the behest of an oracle. Possibly Nephele turned against her husband the weapon which Ino had used against their children. The statement of Σ Pi. P. 4. 288a that Sophokles represented Nephele as the *stepmother* of Phrixos is probably a simple error. However, as Herodotos shows, widely varying versions of the story existed. In another complex of myths Ino's children came to grief too (Apollod. iii. 4. 3. 4 f.), and it is impossible to tell exactly what Hesiod means (fr. 69) in saying that 'Zeus took Athamas's wits away'; but it is not at all hard to see how Sophokles could make more than one play out of Athamas (Σ<sup>vε</sup> on this point is supported by words in Hsch. attributed to *Ἀθάμας α'* and *Ἀθάμας β'*.) The fact that the mother of Phrixos and Helle was named Nephele may have given Ar. the idea for the joke; whether or not he expected

his audience to notice that depends on how fresh either tragedy was in their memory, and we do not know their dates. Σ<sup>ε</sup> gives only the interpretation of an ancient commentator imperfectly acquainted with the relevant legends: 'as an ignorant rustic, Strepsiadēs says "Athamas" when he mean "Phrixos"'.  
 260 τρίμμα: This (~ *τρίβειν*, cf. 447 and 869 n.) implies 'practised'. κρόταλον: 'Castanet' (cf. Σ<sup>ε</sup>, 'a split reed which makes a noise when shaken in the hand'; Wegner, 212 ff. and pl. 28) is an obvious slang term for a fluent talker; cf. 448 ff. and E. *Cy.* 104, where Silenos speaks of Odysseus as κρόταλον and is reproved for discourtesy, S. fr. 827N = 913P *πάνσοφον κρόττημα* (Odysseus), E. *Rh.* 498 f. *αἰμυλώτατον κρόττημ'* *Ὀδυσσεύς*. παιτάλη: 'Fine flour' (cf. Moritz [106 n. above], 162) has the same point as *λεπτός*: cf. 444 ff., *Av.* 430 f. *πυκνότατον κίναδος, σόφισμα, κύρμα, τρίμμα, παιτάλημ'* ὄλον and Aeschin. ii 40, 'I had no idea until then *ὅτι* . . . *ποτ'* ἦν ὁ κέρκωψ ἢ τὸ καλούμενον παιτάλημα and words like that, but I've learnt now' (*sc.* after experiencing the perfidious blandishments of Demosthenes on the embassy).

261 ἀτρεμεῖ: ἀτρεμί RV: ἀτρεμας β. Probably -ί should be changed to -εί (Hermann), as we find it in the MS. of Athenaios (383 D), citing Alexis 124. 12, and in Hdt. ii. 464. 21 f., where *πανδημεῖ, ἀτρεμεῖ, ἡρεμεῖ* are listed together. Fifth-century Attic inscriptions have *ἀουλεῖ* (*IG* 1<sup>2</sup>. 58. 14, 133. 9), whereas elsewhere we find *ἀουλί* (*SIG* 187. 16 [Knidos, IV] and 110. 10 [Rhodes, V ex.]). In *Ra.* 315 R<sup>ac</sup> has *ἡρεμί*, R<sup>pc</sup> AU *ἡρεμεῖ*. Socrates is now sprinkling Strepsiades with material from a receptacle on the bed (cf. 184 n.), and the old man is fidgeting. Σ<sup>ε</sup> says that Socrates is rubbing and knocking together two stones (*πῶρινοι*: probably 'friable' rather than 'brittle', in view of the contrast between *σκληρά* and *πῶρινα* quarries in *DGE* 709. 12 [Ephesos, III in.]), 'just as in performing a sacrifice they sprinkle the victim with grain'. The ancient commentator, however, was not envisaging the performance of the scene in a manner consonant with the poverty of the school; he interpreted *παιτάλη* in the light of the Homeric *παιπαλόεις*, 'rocky', and Kallim. *Dian.* 194 *παίπαλά τε κρημνοῦς τε*.

### (C) 263–509. STREPSIADES MEETS THE CLOUDS

This section of the play combines (i) the *πάροδος*, the entry of the Chorus, which in this play is unique in character (cf. p. lxix), and (ii) an argument in which Socrates gives Strepsiades elementary instruction in Sophistic doctrines and beats down his objections. This second element corresponds to that part of *Wasps* (546 ff., especially 648 ff.) in which Bdelykleon beats down the defences of Philokleon, and to *Birds* 460 ff., where Peisetairos wins over the birds; it differs, however, in

that although Socrates has to meet opposition from Strepsiades on the intellectual level he does not have to bring about any change of disposition, and the Chorus is well disposed from the start. Hence, despite its formal resemblances to an *ἀγών* (cf. Gelzer, 138 ff.), its mood is different; Socrates' efforts to convince Strepsiades on questions of doctrine are balanced by Strepsiades' own efforts to demonstrate his acceptability as a student; the true *ἀγωνία* is Strepsiades'.

(i) 263–74. *Socrates' invocation*

Socrates looks up at the sky, raises his arms, and intones a prayer in a voice of exaggerated solemnity. The invocation contains many of the features of actual prayer: (i) The call for silence (263). (ii) The list of deities, in the form A B  $\tau\epsilon$  (264 f.); cf. 563 ff., 595 ff. The fact that three gods are named is not as significant here as in certain other circumstances; cf. 1234 n. (iii) The request to the gods to 'appear' (266) and 'come' (269); cf. *Th.* 1136 f. (especially 1143, 1146, 1148 f., 1155 ff.), *A. Pe.* 657 ff. (iv) The list, in the form *εἶτε . . . εἶτε . . .*, of the places where the god might be at the moment of prayer; cf. *A. Eu.* 292 ff., *Theokr.* 1. 123 ff. (v) The request that the god shall 'accept the sacrifice' (274, *v. n.*) and 'rejoice in the rites'. On the formulae of prayer in cult cf. A. Dieterich, *RM* xlvi (1893) 283 ff. Their use in comedy is discussed in detail by H. Kleinknecht, *Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1937); pp. 19 ff. are particularly relevant to Socrates' invocation.

**263 εὐφημεῖν:** *εὐφημεῖτε* was the call for silence uttered before a public prayer or ceremony (cf. *Pax* 434). In comic verse, it may be represented by *εὐφημεῖν χρή*, cf. *Eq.* 1316 (just before the entry of the rejuvenated Demos), *Pax* 1316 (the beginning of the wedding procession), *Ra.* 354; *Pax* 96 parodies the idea. Socrates' use of the formula with reference to an audience of one ('the old man') has rather the effect of standing back and addressing a couple of friends loudly as 'ladies and gentlemen!' **ἐπακούειν:** When A prays to B or calls upon him, B, if well disposed, *ὑπακούει*: cf. 274 *ὑπακούσατε* (*ἐπ-* UV $\Sigma$ 1 $\Theta$  $\Phi$ ), 360 (where the Chorus is speaking of itself), *V.* 273 *τί ποτ' οὐ . . . φαίνεται ἄρ' ἡμῖν . . . οὐδ' ὑπακούει*; *Athenion* 1. 41 f. If C is within earshot, C *ἐπακούει*: cf. *Th.* 627 f. *οὐδ' ἀπόστηθί μου ἵνα μὴ ὑπακούης ἄν ἀνὴρ*, *Hdt.* ii. 70. 2, *Th.* ii. 36. 4. Textual variation is common, as here (cf. *Av.* 205 *ἐπ- RΓ*: *ὑπ-* A: om. VMU), and *ἐπ-* sometimes occurs where we should expect *ὑπ-* (e.g. *A. Ch.* 725, *E. Hp.* 1284; cf. Kleinknecht, 22), though not vice-versa.

**264 ὦ δέσποτ' . . . 265 βροντησικέραυνοι:** Here Socrates' gods are Aer, Aither, and Clouds (cf. 253); in 365 they are the Clouds alone, and in 423 f. Void, Clouds, and Tongue; in 627 he swears by Breath, Void, and Aer. On *ἀήρ* cf. 230 n. *αἰθήρ* is treated as a god in 570

(*v. n.*). In archaic poetry *αἰθήρ* is what lies above and beyond the medium in which we live, between this medium and the sky; knowing better than the Greeks what 'sky' is, we have no word for *αἰθήρ*. The distinction between *ἀήρ* and *αἰθήρ* is not always made consistently either by philosophers or by poets; *Pl. Phd.* 111 AB makes one, but so he does in *Smp.* 202 D ff. between *θεός* and *δαίμων*, a distinction of which most poetry takes no notice. **μετέωρον:** The belief that the earth maintained a position of equilibrium in the centre of the universe was as old as Anaximandros (A26), and Anaximenes (A20) was the first to make *ἀήρ* the medium which supports it (cf. *Pl. Phd.* 99 B). Diogenes' doctrine that the earth is round and *ἠρεισμένη ἐν τῷ μέσῳ* (A1; cf. *Hp. Flat.* 3 and *Pl. loc. cit.* δ δέ . . . *βάθρον [sc. τῆ γῆ] τὸν ἀέρα ὑπερείδει*) belongs to this tradition. Cf. KR, 134 f., 153 and Guthrie, ii. 310.

**267 τοῦτί:** Strepsiades pulls his himation up over his head.

**268 τὸ δέ . . . ἔχοντα:** An exclamation of indignation at his own impudence; cf. 819. Given that *κυνῆ* is common in Ar. (and often metrically guaranteed), *μηδὲ* ('not even') *κυνῆν* (EMd<sub>1</sub>UV $\Sigma$ 1W9<sup>ac</sup> $\Phi$ ) is preferable to Salmasius's conjecture *μὴ κυνέην*. (On microfilm it appeared to me that *μηδὲ* in E was E<sup>pc</sup>, not surprising in view of the close relation between E<sup>pc</sup> and UW9 $\Phi$ ; but inspection of E itself showed that *μηδὲ* is original.)

**269 πολυτίμητοι:** One of the commonest epithets in invocations (e.g. *Pax* 978, 1016) and exclamations (*Ach.* 807, *Eq.* 1390, *V.* 1001). **ἐπίδειξιν:** i.e. to display yourselves to Strepsiades; the terminology belongs to rhetoric (e.g. 935, *Eq.* 832, *Av.* 483), not religion.

**270 Ὀλύμπου:** The first four of the five places specified go round from the north anti-clockwise; from the fourth, Lake Maiotis, to the fifth, Mt. Mimas, we go back from north-east to east. It is doubtful whether the sequence represents the order in which Ar. normally thought of the points of the compass. Olympos is named first because that is where one would expect gods to be, and the mountain is apt to be covered by clouds; the 'gardens of Ocean' come second, because they are at the ends of the earth, like the Ethiopians (*Il.* i. 423 f., *Od.* i. 22 ff.), the Hyperboreans (*Ba.* 3. 58 ff.) and the Isles of the Blessed (*Hes. Op.* 167 ff., *Pi. O.* 2. 70 ff.), all favoured by the gods; and the Nile third, because of current interest in theories about rain and the Nile flood (272 n.).

**271 πατρός:** In 569 f. Aither is the Clouds' father; but Okeanos, child of Earth and Sky (*Hes. Th.* 133), was father of all rivers (*ibid.* 337, 367 f.) and of 'three thousand daughters' (*ibid.* 364 ff.), and he has good a title to *πατήρ* as Zeus. **κήποις:** The gardens of the Hesperides, fruit-trees 'beyond Ocean' (*Hes. Th.* 215 f.; cf. 'at the ends of the earth', *ibid.* 518). Herodotos thought of Ocean not as a river encircling the earth (*ii.* 21, *iv.* 36. 2), but as a sea lying west from the

Mediterranean (iv. 8. 2). The location of the supernatural gardens in the west was clearly established by Ar.'s time (E. *Hp.* 742 ff., Pherekydes 16). **ἴστατε**: When *χορός* is its object, *ἰσάναι* = 'bring into being'; cf. D. xxi. 51 τοὺς χορούς . . . καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τῷ θεῷ ποιεῖτε ~ *ibid.* χοροὺς ἰσάναι (in both, the state, as deciding on the content of festivals, is the subject), Hdt. iii. 48. 2 (the state of Samos), and S. *El.* 280 (Klytaimestra, by virtue of her authority). In *Av.* 217 ff. Apollo θεῶν ἴσθησι χορούς by playing his lyre. We are meant to think of the clouds as taking the initiative in the singing and dancing in which both they and the nymphs participate.

**272 Νείλου προχοαῖς**: From early times a stock expression for the Nile Delta, Lower Egypt (Solon 6, A. *Su.* 1024 f.; cf. *GVI* i. 904. 1, 1080. 1 al.). Diogenes (A18), as a contribution to speculation about the summer flooding of the Nile, argued that the sun drew up water vapour from land and sea and that the Nile was augmented by subterranean water which rushed into it to compensate for the process of desiccation (Sen. *NQ* iv. 2. 28 ff. seems to have understood the argument better than *S* A.R. iv. 269). Cf. 1279 ff. H. Hommel, *RM* xciv (1951), 315 ff., accordingly translates 'for the Nile Delta', not 'in . . .'. Since the dative is not accompanied by a preposition, Hommel denies that it can have a locative sense, and so far as ordinary comic language goes this is a sound point; but the language here is elevated, and that makes all the difference (cf. *KG*, i. 441 ff.). It is true that neither Diogenes nor Ar. can have thought that Egypt was the scene of operation of clouds (cf. 1130 n.). Yet I question whether Ar. would have been at once so accurate and so allusive; and surely the audience, with the exception of some individual who happened to have a precise recollection of Diogenes' argument, would have taken the dative in a locative sense. No solution is wholly satisfactory, but it is easier to believe that Ar. regarded the clouds as (somehow, invisibly) drawing their moisture during the winter from the 'surplus' produced by the Nile in summer. **χρυσάις**: Naturally golden, since the clouds are divine; cf. Hes. *Th.* 784, where Zeus sends Iris to bring water of Styx ἐν χρυσῇ προχόῳ. **πρόχοισιν**: We would expect *προχοῖσιν* < *προχόοισιν*, and in E. *Ion* 435 LP have *πρόχουσιν*: but cf. *χειμαρρος* (*χειμάρροος* and *χειμάρρους* are not metrically guaranteed after epic and A. fr. 281N = 492M), and the numerous nouns in -όχος (~έχειν) may have exerted a powerful influence.

**273 Μαίωτιν**: The Sea of Azov; cf. Hdt. iv. 57, 86. 4 al. ('Maietis' in Hdt., 'Maiotis' in A. *Pr.* 418, 731, E. *HF* 409 and thereafter.) **ἦ**: There is no true caesura, since *ἦ* is prepositive, but cf. 372 (prepositive), 387 (postpositive), and especially 987 n. **Μίμαντος**: Mimas, a mountain on the peninsula of Erythrai (Str. 645, cf. 613) is 'windy' in *Od.* iii. 172, 'rocky' in *h.Ap.* 39. 'Snowy' is something of an exaggeration.

**274 θυσίαν**: There is none; but there normally would be on the occasion for so elaborate a prayer (cf. *Pax* 974 ff. ὦ σεμνοτάτῃ βασιλεῖα θεά . . . δέξαι θυσίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν), and the formula has taken charge. **χαρείσαι**: Another important element in prayer; cf. *Th.* 977 ff. Ἐρμῆν . . . ἄντομαι . . . ἐπιγελᾶσαι προθύμως ταῖς ἡμετέροιαι χαρέντα χορείαις and *Av.* 1743, where Peisetairos is playing god: ἐχάρην ὕμνοις, ἐχάρην ὠδαῖς.

(ii) **275-90. Strophe**

The Chorus sings both the strophe and the antistrophe while still approaching the orchestra, and does not enter the orchestra until 326. We may wonder whether its singing was fully audible to the audience, and, if not, whether this contributed at all to the failure of the original play.

In addition to normal metrical respension, strophe and antistrophe respond in vocabulary and in sound. Note especially the placing of ἀρθῶμεν in 276 and ἔλθωμεν in 299; these two words are the kernel of the Chorus's response to Socrates' prayers ἀρθῆτε (266) and ἔλθετε (269). The other obvious elements of linguistic respension are 277 εὐάγητον ~ 300 εὐάνδρον γὰν, 283 κελadhήματα ~ 306 καὶ ἀγάλματα and 286 μαρμαρέαισιν αὐγαῖς ~ 310 παντοδαπαῖσιν ὄραις. This phenomenon is common in tragedy, especially in lamentation (e.g. *S. Ant.* 839-52 ~ 857-71, *A. Su.* 112-15 ~ 123-26, *Pe.* 568-75 ~ 576-83; cf. R. Hölzle, *Zum Aufbau der lyrischen Partien des Aischylos* [Diss. Freiburg i. Br., 1934]) but also in *A. Ch.* 935-41 ~ 946-52, a song of triumph.

(1) 275 ~ 98

- - - - -

(2) 276 f. ~ 99 f.

- - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - |

(3) 278-86 ~ 301-9

- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -

(4) 287 ~ 310

- - - - - | - - -

(5) 288-90 ~ 311-13

- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -



accusative plural (cf. Lys. xxiv. 13 τῶν αὐτῶν . . . ἀφαιρήσασθε τὸ διδόμενον); but the plural might suggest, inappropriately, that every cloud was permanently different in appearance from every other.

(iii) 291–7. *Reactions to the Strophe*

**292 βρυκκησαμένης:** Σ<sup>R</sup> suggests that a theatrical machine, βροντεῖον (Poll. iv. 130) was used at 290 to imitate thunder, and obviously both Socrates' words and Strepsiadēs' reply would be inappropriate if the Chorus had sung faintly and sweetly; but the music, by *crescendo* and *diminuendo* on low notes, could give the desired impression, and after what has been sung in 288 we do not want to suggest to the audience an imminent downpour. **θεοσέπτου:** I wish (with Wilamowitz [*SPAW* 1921, 741]) that Ar. had written θεοσέπτου (or -τά), an internal accusative characterizing the roar of the thunder; but emendation cannot be supported by adequate stylistic evidence.

**293 καὶ σέβομαι γ':** Picking up -αερ-: 'I do revere it'. Pl. *Phd.* 74 D is similar: . . . ἢ ἐνδεῖ τι . . . ; — καὶ πολὺ γε ἐνδεῖ (Denniston, 157 ff., is not quite adequate on this usage). **πολυτίμητοι:** Cf. 269 n., 328.

**293 βούλομαι . . . 295 χεσείω:** Cf. 9 n. **τετραμαῖνος:** Only R<sup>a</sup>V have α in the second syllable. Cf. Archil. 35. 5 (Lasserre) μὴ τετραμήνης μηδέν (*POxy* 2310 [II A.D.]), and the v.l. τέτραμος in Hp. *Morb.* i. 24 is supported by Erotian τ 24. Possibly I am foisting an Ionism on Ar.; but the analogy of τρέμειν and the fact that the copyists could not have been influenced by epic (for τετραμαῖνειν does not occur in Homer) make the corruption -τραμ- > -τρεμ- much more likely than the reverse. Cf. E. Nachmanson, *Eranos*, xvii (1917), 97 ff., and Schwyzler, i. 647 f.

**296 οὐ μὴ σκώψει μηδὲ πῴσεις:** All MSS. have σκώψης and all but R πο(ι)ήσης. Adoption of εἰ for η in the second and third persons singular is interpretation rather than emendation, since the two were pronounced alike by the time of Ar.'s death (cf. Meisterhans, 36 ff.), and they are constantly confused in the medieval MSS. Similarly, uncertainty between -ει and -εις in the second person singular of the future is a recurrent phenomenon (cf. 490, 594, 811, 1005, 1436 nn., KB, ii. 245), caused by the coexistence of synonymous active and middle futures in antiquity and by changes from one category to the other in the course of time (cf. *Ach.* 842 πημανεῖται ~ E. *IA* 525 πημανεῖ, E. 666 ὑβριεῖται ~ D. xxi. 221 ὑβριεῖν). Where the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive are metrically distinguishable, we find that οὐ μὴ with the future is used in negative commands (e.g. *Ach.* 116 οὐ μὴ πρόσει τούτοις: cf. Goodwin, §§ 297 f.). In *Ach.* 854 σκώψεται is metrically guaranteed as future of σκώπτειν. If we read οὐ μὴ σκώψει μηδὲ πῴσεις we have a parallel in *Ra.* 298 f. οὐ μὴ καλεῖς μ' . . . μηδὲ κατερεῖς τούνομα. (The objections of A. Y.

Campbell, *CR* lvii [1943], 58 ff., and his emendation εἰ, μὴ σκώψης μηδὲ πῴσης—cf. *V.* 1379 εἰ εἰ, τί μέλλεις δρᾶν; E. *Hel.* 445 εἰ, μὴ προσεῖλει χεῖρα—take no account of the behaviour of MSS. in respect of -ει(s)/-η(s), and he mis-states the facts about the MSS.) **τρυγοδαίμονες:** Obviously 'comedians', a humorous distortion of τραγ-, as in *Ach.* 499 τρυγωδῖαν ποῶν and fr. 149. 9 τρυγωδῶν, blended with the disparaging κακοδαίμων: cf. *Com. Adesp.* 1053 κρονοδαίμων. οὔτοι: Cf. 83 n.

**297 κινεῖται:** 'Is on the move.' **σμήνος:** An eccentric term for a company of deities; Kratin. 2 σοφιστῶν σμήνος is presumably derogatory. **αἰδοῖς:** Pretentious, in anapaestic dialogue; but cf. Kratin. 305 καὶ Πολυμήστει' αἰδεῖ μουσικὴν τε μανθάνει.

(iv) 298–313. *Antistrophe*

In the strophe the Chorus sang 'Let us visit the earth'; now they sing 'Let us visit Attica'.

**299 λιπαράν:** Like *ισστέφανος*, a stock epithet of Athens, as remarked in *Ach.* 637 ff. *Eq.* 1329 εἰ ταὶ λιπαραὶ καὶ *ισστέφανοι* καὶ ἀριζήλωτοι Ἀθῆναι is borrowed from Pindar (fr. 76); cf. Ar. fr. 110. 2. Σ<sup>R</sup> suggests that the epithet was specially appropriate to a land famous for its olive-oil, but Pindar uses λιπαρός of many other places (cf. *S. Pi.* P. 2 in.), including (fr. 82) Egypt.

**300 εὐανδρον . . . 301 πολυήρατον:** With these *laudes Atticae* cf. S. *OC* 668–719, E. *Md.* 824–45. 'Land of Kekrops' is a stock term; cf. Ar. fr. 110 (from *Farmers*) εἰ πόλι φιλῆ Κέκροπος, Pl. 773, E. *Hf.* 34.

**302 σέβας . . . 304 ἀναδείκνυται:** They give pride of place to the Eleusinian Mysteries, because possession of this cult gave Athens an international standing in religion comparable with that of Delphi and Olympia. Cf. *IG* 1<sup>2</sup>. 76. 21 ff. (c. 420), where regulations are made as for a panhellenic sanctuary. Σ<sup>Rv</sup> notes also the connexion between rain and the growth of crops, and suggests that Demeter and Iacchos are the deities of whom the Clouds would think first.

**305 οὐρανόις:** Σ<sup>Rv</sup> points out an antithesis between θεοὶ οὐράνιοι and Demeter and Persephone, θεαὶ χθόνιοι (cf. Hdt. vi. 134. 1 f.), whose province has been described in 302–4. There is antithesis between ὕπατοι and χθόνιοι in A. *Su.* 24 f.

**310 παντοδαπαῖσιν ὄραις:** Whereas ἐν is normal with ὄρα, it is exceptional with ὄραις: ctr. 1008 ἦρος ἐν ὄρα with E. *Cy.* 508 ἦρος ὄραις, and cf. *An.* 696 περιτελλομέναις ὄραις, *Th.* 948 ἱεραῖς ὄραις, S. fr. 533N = 592P πάσαις . . . ὄραις. The 'exception which proves the rule' is Pl. *Lg.* 797D μεταβολὴν . . . εὐρήσομεν ἐν πάσαις ὄραις, ἐν πνεύμασι, ἐν διαίταις σωμάτων κτλ. A recurrent element in praise of Attica is its piety, as manifested in the number and magnificence of its sacrifices, processions, and festivals. Cf. S. *OC* 1006 f. εἴ τις γῆ



θεοὺς ἐπίσταται τιμαῖς σεβίζειν, ἦδε τοῦθ' ὑπερφέρει, Th. ii. 38. 1 ('sacrifices all the year round'), [X.] Ath. 3. 2 ('more festivals than any other Greek state'), *ibid.* 3. 8 ('twice as many . . .'), Isok. iv. 43-46. *πρόσοδοι* (cf. *Pax* 396) virtually = *πομπαί*, 'processions'; cf. D. xviii. 86 *θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους* ~ 216 *θυσίαι καὶ πομπαί τοῖς θεοῖς*.

311 ἦρι . . . 313 αὐλῶν: The city Dionysia naturally earns special mention. It was celebrated on 8-13 Elaphebolion (Deubner, 138 ff.), and Th. iv. 20. 1, referring to a treaty due to come into force on 25 Elaphebolion, says *τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅμα ἦρι, ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθύς τῶν ἄστικῶν*. *ἐρεθίσματα*: 'Provocations' seems odd to us, but all artistic events at the Dionysia were competitive (cf. Pl. *Lg.* 834 E *ἄμυλλαι χορῶν*); it was alien to the Greeks to pretend that one is not elated by victory and humiliated by defeat, and competitors were not expected to show a sporting generosity to each other. Cf. Ar. on the subject of his rivals (524 f., 551 ff.), and the use of *ἔρις* to denote emulation (Hes. *Op.* 17 ff., Th. vi. 31. 4). *βαρύβρομος*: Cf. E. *Hel.* 1350 f. *δέξαστό τ' ἐς χέρας βαρύβρομον αὐλόν*.

(v) 314-411. *Socrates explains the Clouds to Strepsiades*

315 *σεμνόν*: The relation of the word to *σεβ-* is prominent here; cf. 48 n. *ἠρῶναι*: In the fifth century *ἦρω* was above all one of the great figures of the Trojan and Theban wars (Hes. *Op.* 159 f., cf. 172), and was worshipped with prayer and sacrifices; there are exceptional cases, such as the worship of the founder of a colony even during his lifetime (Th. v. 11. 1), which led to a debasement of the term *ἦρω* in Hellenistic times. *ἠρῶναι* were such as Helen and Penelope.

316 *ἀργούς*: Ar. makes Socrates speak out of character from the standpoint of the Attic farmer, to whom work is necessarily physical; cf. 332.

317 *γνώμην*: Here abstract: 'intelligence', 'judgement'. *διάλεξιν*: Ar. is coining words here, with a predilection for the formative *-σις*, on which cf. E. W. Handley, *Eranos*, li (1953), 129 ff.

318 *τερατεῖαν*: Cf. Isok. xii. 1 *τῶν λόγων οὐ τοὺς μυθώδεις οὐδὲ τοὺς τερατείας καὶ ψευδολογίας μεστούς*. Ar. would probably have classed much of Herodotus as *τερατεία*, the relation or exposition of the marvellous and unusual, and would not have drawn a firm distinction between fairy-tales and speculation on natural phenomena. *περιλεξίν*: Cf. 317 n. and Hermipp. 92 *περιλέγειν*. *κροῦσιν καὶ κατάληψιν*: Both 317 f. and Strepsiades' response show that these words refer to techniques of argument. The passage must be taken in conjunction with *Eg.* 1377 ff., where affected young men are portrayed as discussing Phaiax's oratorical gifts and coining words in

*-ικός* (cf. C. W. Peppler, *AJP* xxxi [1910], 428 ff.): *καὶ γνωμοτυπικός καὶ σαφῆς καὶ κρουστικός καταληπτικός τ' ἄριστα τοῦ θορυβητικοῦ*. *κροῦειν* is 'strike' (an audience with a telling point, or an opponent with an argument which discomfits him). In Pl. *Th.* 154 E and *Prt.* 336 C *κροῦειν* and *ἐκκροῦειν* are used metaphorically of verbal argument, in the former case with an elaborate build-up of the metaphor. *καταλαμβάνειν* is 'check' (an unfavourable reaction from the audience or an argument in which an opponent trusts); in the sense 'grasp', 'comprehend' the word is not Classical. E. K. Borthwick, *CQ* n.s. ix (1959), 23 ff., shows (cl. S κ 620) that both terms are used of the playing of musical instruments, and their application to rhetorical criticism must have been secondary.

320 *λεπτολογεῖν*: Cf. 153 n. *καπνοῦ*: Appropriate because of its resemblance to clouds (cf. 330), but already established as a derogatory term; cf. Eup. 51 and E. *Hr.* 954 *πολλῶν γραμμάτων . . . καπνοῦς*. The prosody *καπνοῦ* is remarkable in comic dialogue (note *καπνόν* 330) but cf. *V.* 151 *δοσις πατρὸς νῦν (νυνί Paris. gr. 2715) Καπνίου κεκλησομαι, V.* 678 *ὕγρῶ, Av.* 579 *ἀγρῶν* and 591 *κεχλῶν* (these three in anapaestic tetrameters), and Sachtal, 13. *στενολεσχεῖν*: Modelled on *ἀδολεσχεῖν* (cf. 1480 n.). *στενός* here is rather like *λεπτός* (cf. 153 n.), 'finicky'; in Pl. *Grg.* 497 C Kallikles says to Socrates contemptuously: *ἑρώτα δὴ σὺ τὰ σμικρὰ τε καὶ στενὰ ταῦτα*.

321 *νύξασ'*: Cf. 318 n. on *κροῦσιν*.

323 *Πάρνηθ'*: Anyone who stands in the theatre in the sanctuary of Dionysos at Athens and looks towards Parnes will find that the Akropolis looms over him and blocks the view. But we should not infer from this that the play was composed for performance in some other theatre; the action represented occurs at some unspecified place in Attica, and almost anywhere except under the shadow of the Akropolis one can point to clouds gathering over Parnes. Probably Ar. intended the actor to compromise with theatrical conditions by pointing, not too precisely, past the east or west end of the Akropolis.

324 *ἡσυχῆ*: *ἡσυχος* (AM\*UW9Φ) gives the wrong sense, and *ἡσύχως* (cett.) does not scan; Triklinios's *ἡσυχᾶ* (and *ταύτας*) meets these objections but is not Attic. For Elmsley's *ἡσυχῆ* (*sic*: -*χη* Kock; cf. LSJ s.v.) cf. *Pl.* 692, 735 (though neither is metrically guaranteed), and for the correction - - - in anapaestic tetrameters cf. 327.

325 *κοίλων . . . δασέων*: The clouds are imagined as blotting out Parnes from the tops downwards, filling the re-entrants and covering the wooded slopes. *αὐται*: Cf. 141 n. *πλάγαι*: 'Approaching from the side' takes account of the actual position of the Chorus in the theatre, made even more explicit in 326.

326 *εἴσοδον*: Now the Chorus is entering the orchestra, via what we (but not Ar.; cf. *Av.* 296, fr. 388) call the *parodos* (a word first attested in connexion with theatrical buildings in *IG* xii (9). 207. 55



[Eretria, III in.]. Strepsiadēs' exaggerated short-sightedness is possibly introduced by Ar. as a lead into this humorous rupture of dramatic illusion, but there is no such 'lead' in *Av.* 296. For  $\omega\omega\omega$  —  $\omega$  cf. *V.* 35:  $\eta\eta\eta\omega$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\omicron\theta\epsilon\upsilon$  (—  $\omega$  —  $\omega$ ) and 397 (White, §308).  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ : So R alone.  $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omega}$  (VE<sup>ac</sup>KMMdīNpīPī9Vb3VpīZ<sup>st</sup>ΘX<sup>ac</sup>) does not scan, and  $\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\acute{\omega}$  (cett.), prosodically undesirable (cf. 320 n.), is an obvious ancient or medieval emendation.  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$  refers to Strepsiadēs' stance and peering gesture (none of the examples cited by LSJ s.v.  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$  is really relevant).

328 πολυτίμητοι: Cf. 219, 293 nn.

329 ἦδεις: Ar. may well have written  $\eta\delta\eta\sigma\theta$ .  $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  is never metrically guaranteed (*Th.* 554, *S. Tr.* 988) except in *S. Ant.* 447, and there we have independent reasons for emendation; either  $\eta\delta\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$  or  $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$  is metrically necessary in *Ec.* 551, *E. Cy.* 108, and *El.* 926, and *Hdn.* ii. 517. 1 ff. specifies  $\eta\delta\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$  from Eupolis (416). I am unwilling, however, in default of abundant evidence such as that cited in 296 n., to relegate to the apparatus what is after all prima facie evidence for the early date of some morphological changes in Attic. Cf. 530 n.

330 καπνόν: So VE<sup>s</sup>S.  $\sigma\kappa\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$  (cett.) does not scan;  $\sigma\kappa\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is guaranteed in *A. Ag.* 967.

331 σοφιστής: As observed by Ath. 632 c, and briefly by Σ<sup>v</sup> here,  $\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  in Ar.'s time could still be used as a synonym of  $\sigma\epsilon\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , 'skilled in an art'; cf. 547. *Pi. I.* 5. 28, *A. fr.* 314N = 621M and *Kratin.* 2 apply the word to the great poets and musicians, past and present; Herodotos applies it to seers (ii. 49. 1), Solon (i. 29. 1), and Pythagoras (iv. 95. 2). The title of Plato Comicus's play *Sophists* seems (140 and 147 A [Edmonds]) to have referred to a wide range of accomplishments. The practitioner of an art is normally also a teacher of apprentices, and in *E. Hp.* 921 that implication of  $\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  is necessary (cf. *E. fr.* 905). Our passage may be the earliest example (*Eup.* 353 is not datable) of the sense 'teacher of undesirable or superfluous accomplishments'. But Plato and Xenophon represent the word as used by and of teachers of rhetoric such as Protagoras in the 430s.

332 Θουριομάνται: The Athenian foundation of Thurioi (between 446 and 443) was no doubt an occasion for much divination and prophecy, like the dispatch of the Sicilian Expedition in 415 (*Th.* viii. 1. 1). So too a pedlar of oracles is one of the nuisances with which Peisetairos has to deal at the founding of Nephelokokkygia in *Av.* 959–91.  $\iota\alpha\tau\rho\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma$ : Whether Ar. intends a Shavian condemnation of doctors as a whole or only of the writers of medical theory (Σ<sup>v</sup> refers to *Hp. Aer.*) is uncertain. The analogy of  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\varsigma$ , 'craftsman', suggests the former, but  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\eta$  is so wide a word that distinctions should not be pressed too hard. *GVI* i. 766 (Tithorea, I) implicitly compares an eminent doctor to Homer. Medical theory of the time

certainly took account of astronomy and meteorology (cf. *Hp. Aer. passim* and *Pl. Smp.* 188 AB), and the boundary between medicine and philosophy might often be uncertain (cf. J. Longrigg, *HSCP* lxxvii [1963], 147 ff.).

$\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\delta\omicron\nu\chi\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ :  $-\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron-$  (cf. 316 n.) and  $-\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\varsigma$  (cf. 14 n.) are plain enough.  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\varsigma$  is 'seal' (commonly set in a ring), and  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon\chi$  can mean the gem 'onyx'. This was used in signet-rings, as we see from *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1338. 86 (cf. i<sup>2</sup>. 282. 128), and if that is the meaning here  $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\delta\omicron\nu\chi\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota$  are well-to-do, fashionable idlers who wear valuable rings. But they are keeping odd company, and we should consider the commoner meaning of  $\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon\chi$ , 'fingernail'; the reference is then to unkempt creatures, like the Socratics, whose only 'seal' is the marks they can make on wax with their nails. Ar., I think, intends a pun, and Socrates can make the point clear by a gesture with his forefinger.

333 κυκλίων τε χορών: In fr. 149 (from *Gerytades*) Kinesias the dithyrambic poet (*Av.* 1372–1409, *Pl. Grg.* 501 E) represents  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$   $\chi\omicron\rho\omicron\iota$ , distinguished from tragedy and comedy.  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\tau\alpha\varsigma$ : On  $\kappa\alpha\mu\pi\acute{\eta}$  cf. 969, 971 nn.; Timotheos (802) disparagingly refers to a rival as  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\tau\alpha\nu$ .  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ : Trygaios on his return from Olympus tells his slave that he saw 'two or three souls of διθυραμβοδιδάσκαλοι' up in the sky (*Pax* 829), and Kinesias in *Av.* 1372 ff. sings all the time of flying through the air. His opening utterance  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$   $\delta\acute{\eta}$   $\kappa\tau\lambda.$  is attributed by Σ<sup>v</sup> to Anakreon (378); but it looks as if the metaphor of flying (not unknown to earlier poets with reference to the fame conferred by poetry [*Theognis* 237 ff., *Pi. P.* 8. 33 f., *N.* 7. 22 f.]) was overdone by the fifth-century dithyrambic poets with reference to the practice of their own art.

334 βόσκουσι: Picking up  $\beta\acute{\omicron}\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$  from 331; cf. *Th.* 498  $\omicron\upsilon\delta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\rho\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$   $\pi\omega$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  . . . 501  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$   $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\rho\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$   $\pi\omega$ .  $\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ : Here, and in what follows, the  $\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  of 332 are ignored.

335 ταῦτ' ἄρ' . . . 338 Νεφέλων: Strepsiadēs cites 'dithyrambic' expressions, only one of which (335  $\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\iota\gamma\lambda\alpha\nu$ ) is attributed by Σ<sup>RVB</sup> to a known poem, Philoxenos of Kythera 830. According to *Marm. Par.* A69 Philoxenos was born in 435/4 (cf. *S* φ 393, where he is alleged to have been captured as a boy by the Athenians in 424), and if this is true he cannot have composed dithyrambs by the time of the revision of *Clouds*, let alone by 423. Ar.'s unambiguous mention of him (fr. 641) is from an unknown play. There was a Philoxenos of Leukas who composed a cookery-book in verse, some of which (hexameters) is quoted by *Pl. Com.* 173 (from *Phaon*, 393/2 B.C.). *Ath.* 146 F (cf. 685 D, 642 F, 476 E) is inclined to identify this work with the *Banquet* of Philoxenos of Kythera, and if the identification were true there would be an extra point in 338 f.; but to gain this point it would be necessary to reject the chronological evidence. Either Σ<sup>RVB</sup> or *Marm. Par.* is wrong.  $\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\iota\gamma\lambda\alpha\nu$ :  $\alpha\iota\gamma\lambda\eta$  meant (*inter*

*alia* 'bracelet' (Paus. Att. α 41 [Erbse], Hsch. α 30, citing S. fr. 537<sup>N</sup> = 594P); *στρεπτός* = 'plaited', 'twisted', or, as a noun, 'collar or bracelet of twisted metal'. *στρεπταίγλα δάϊος ὄρμα* is a possible description of the zigzag lightning which flashes between storm-cloud and earth. For the form of the adjective, implying masc. \**στρεπταίγλας* cf. *Eq.* 1181 ἡ Γοργολόφα ~ *Ach.* 567 γοργολόφα φανείς, Pi. O. 3. 26 Λατοῖς ἵπποσά θυγάτηρ ~ P. 2. 65 ἵπποσάϊσαν ἄνδρесси and Chantraine, 28 (wrong reference to *Eq.* and misprint in index). Bentley's conjecture *στραπταίγλαν*, cl. *h.Orph.* 19. 1 f. Ζεῦ . . . ἀτράπτων . . . αἶγλην, is, I think, on the wrong track.

**336 Τυφῶ:** The hundred-headed Typhos (Typhoeus, conflated at an early date with Typhaon) was buried beneath the earth (*Il.* ii. 782 ff., Hes. *Th.* 820 ff., A. *Pr.* 353 f.), but Hes. *Th.* 869 thinks of him as generating the storm-winds, and *τυφῶς* is certainly a violent wind in A. *Su.* 659 f., *Ag.* 656, S. *Ant.* 418.

**337 γαμψούς τ':** The connective, offered only by P9 (cj. Bentley), is needed (as in 336 and 338), unless *γαμψοὺς κτλ.* is in apposition, a metaphorical description of the same phenomenon (clouds or storms) as *ἀερίαι διέρας*.  $\Sigma^{RVE}$  cheerfully accepts the apposition; I cannot.

**338 ἀντ' αὐτῶν . . . 339 κίχηλᾶν:** The reference may be, as  $\Sigma^{RVE}$  suggests, to the entertainment given by the choregos to the dithyrambic chorus (cf. *Ach.* 1155 f. on choregos and comic chorus); no doubt the poet would be invited, in return for what Ar. must have regarded as creative effort hardly comparable with that of a dramatist. But it is also a stock joke, dating from the days when Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides were invited to the courts of tyrants and wealthy families, to treat lyric poets as parasites. This is implied by *Av.* 904-57, where the poet who has composed *μέλη . . . κύκλια . . . κατὰ τὰ Σιμωνίδου* (917 ff.) in honour of Nephelokokkygia comes in the hope that Peisetairos will understand *Πινδάρειον ἔπος* (939) and reward him; cf. *Pax* 697 ff. Hellenistic poets too sought patronage, as we see from Theokr. 16, a poem addressed to Hieron II and possessing certain formal affinities with the songs of children begging for gifts on festive occasions (cf. R. Merkelbach, *RM* xcv [1952], 312 ff.). Strepsiades caricatures the language of lyric poetry by overdoing -*ᾶν*. *καταπίνειν* is often used of swallowing food; cf. Pl. *Euthyphro* 6 A (Kronos) τοὺς υἱεῖς κατέπινον. Thrushes were a standard delicacy; cf. Telekl. i. 12, Pherekr. 130. 10.

**340 μέντοι:** Cf. 126 n.

**342 ἐκεῖναί γ':** *sc.* the clouds with which he is familiar.

**343 δ' οὖν:** 'Anyway', implying 'although I don't know, I can tell you what they look like', is better sense (*pace* Denniston, 450) than *γοῦν* (VMd<sub>r</sub>UVb<sub>3</sub>Vs<sub>r</sub>W<sub>9</sub>), which would be appropriate if Strepsiades had offered a positive opinion and were now adducing partial evidence for

it. Cf. *Eq.* 423 καὶ ταῦτα δρῶν ἐλάνθανόν γ'· εἰ δ' οὖν ἴδοι τις αὐτῶν κτλ. and Denniston, 461 f.

**344 ῥίνας:** The joke is mysterious;  $\Sigma^{RVE}$  suggests that the Chorus wore masks with grotesque noses— but why? Initial  $\beta$  in comedy 'makes position', and δέ (E<sup>1</sup>MNp<sub>r</sub>iP<sub>19</sub>Vb<sub>3</sub>), not γάρ (Vp<sub>r</sub>i) or δέ γε (cett.) is right; cf. 416 (where μήτ' οὖν ῥιγῶν [ANVs<sub>r</sub>W<sub>9</sub>Φ<sub>1</sub>] is a mistaken correction of μήτε ῥιγῶν), 440, 638, 647.

**345 ἀπόκριναί νυν:** Socrates, in true tutorial style, leads Strepsiades towards the answer.

**347 παρδάλει:** One would not have thought that the Greeks were familiar with leopards, but a large spotted feline appears in school scenes on Attic red-figure hydriai, London E 171 and E 172 (Beck, plates 6-7). They were, of course (like centaurs) familiar motifs in sculpture. *παρδάλει* (VMd<sub>r</sub>) may be right (cf. R<sub>1</sub> and S at *Lys.* 1015, and fr. 478 *ap.* Poll. vii. 202); the form to be adopted in epic was disputed by the time of Aristarchos (*Σ Il.* xiii. 103, xvii. 20, xxi. 573; cf. Cobet, *Mnemosyne* 1873, 42 f.), and attempts were made to draw dialectal and semantic distinctions (cf. Ael. Dion. π 18 [Erbse]).

**348 ὅτι: ὅσα** (VMd<sub>r</sub><sub>1</sub>Vs<sub>r</sub><sup>PC</sup>) is unnecessary; cf. E. *Ion* 232 f. πάντα θεᾶσθ' ὅτι καὶ θέμις ὄμμασι. With βούλεσθαι, ὅτι *c. ind.* occurs where we might have expected ὅτι *ἂν c. subjv.*; cf. 439. κομητήν: Cf. 14 n.  $\Sigma^{E(1)}$  states that an individual named Kleitos is under attack here; this information presumably comes from a compiler of *κωμικοδούμνοι* who found Kleitos ridiculed in some other play both for long hair and for the habits of the ἄγριοι in 349.

**349 ἄγριων:** The statement of  $\Sigma^{RVE}$  that men exceptionally addicted to pederasty were called ἄγριοι is supported by Aischin. i. 52 (on the habits of Timarchos): 'these ἄγριοι . . . in whose houses he has been welcomed'. λασίων: Whether or not a hairy body was popularly believed to be a sign of the pederast, or merely characteristic (so  $\Sigma^R$ ) of 'the son of Xenophantos', we do not know. τὸν Ξενοφάντου: One Hieronymos, according to  $\Sigma^{RE}$ , and a man of that name is ridiculed in *Ach.* 388 ff. as having σκοτοδασυπικνότηριχά τω' Ἰίδος κνην, probably a mass of hair overshadowing his face.

**350 μανίαν:** 'Craze' rather than 'perversion'; cf. p. lxv. κενταύροις: Centaurs were notoriously hybridic and indiscriminately indulgent to their heterosexual and homosexual appetites.  $\Sigma$  Aischin. i. 52 cites 'centaurs' as one of many slang terms for over-enthusiastic pederasts.

**351 Σίμωνα:** Cf. 399; mentioned also by Eup. 218 (from *Cities*) ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκλήμασι ( $\Sigma^{RE}$ ). The statement of  $\Sigma^{VE}$  that he was σοφιστής is probably a guess.

**353 ταῦτ' ἄρα ταῦτα Κλεώνυμον:** For - $\cup\cup$  - $\cup\cup$  in anapaestic tetrameters cf. 400, *Eq.* 1327, *V.* 389, *Pax* 732 (White, § 308). - $\cup\cup$  (e.g. *Ra.* 1055) and - $\cup\cup$  (e.g. *Eq.* 805) occur, but - $\cup\cup$  is unique,

- unless Elmsley's emendation of *Ec.* 629 is right: *ταῖσι γυναιξὶ πρὶν* (&v) *τοῖς αἰσχροῖς . . . χαρίσωνται*. The hapless Kleonymos was alleged to have 'thrown away his shield', *sc.* in order to run away from a battle and save his skin, and he was never allowed to forget it: cf. *Eq.* 1372, *V.* 19, 822, *Pax* 446, 673 ff., 1295 ff., *Av.* 290, 1473 ff. To call a man *ῥύψασπις* was actionable slander (*Lys.* x. 1 ff.), but Kleonymos perhaps found it imprudent, impracticable, or undignified (cf. *Lys.* x. 2) to prosecute Ar.
- 354 *εἰλαφοί*: Proverbially timid; cf. *Il.* ii. 225.
- 355 *Κλεισθένη*: The stock effeminate of Old Comedy: *Av.* 829 ff., *Lys.* 1092, *Th.* 235, 574 ff., *Ra.* 57, 426 ff. It appears from *Ach.* 117 ff., *Eq.* 1373 f. and *Th.* 575 that (no doubt through an endocrine disorder) he found it hard to grow a beard.
- 356 *εἴπερ τινὶ κάλλῳ*: A formula of entreaty, a development of the common *εἴ ποτε / καὶ νῦν*; cf. *D.* xxxii. 3 *δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν . . . εἴπερ ἄλλῳ τινὶ πόποτε πράγματι τὸν νοῦν προσέσχετε, καὶ τούτῳ προσέχειν*.
- 358 *παλαιγενής* and *παλαιόγονος* (*Pl. Com.* 90); in *Pi. O.* 13. 50 we find the complementary hybrid *παλαίγονος*.
- 359 *λεπτοτάτων*: Cf. 153 n. *λήρων*: Ar. associates *λήρος* with Socrates also in *Ra.* 1497; cf. p. xxxv. *ιερεῦ*: Not used here quite as in *A. Ag.* 735 f., where the young lion who wreaks havoc in a household is *ιερεὺς τις ἄσας*, for there *Ἄτη* is the divine power whose will the priest executes; the point is rather that whereas a normal priest administers ritual, sacrifice, and prayer Socrates worships his false gods by devoting himself to 'subtle nonsense'.
- 361 *Προδίκῳ . . . σοὶ δέ*: On this extremely important passage cf. p. lv.
- 362 *βρενθῦει . . . παραβάλλεις*: Cf. p. xli.
- 363 *κάνυπόδητος*: Cf. 103 n. and p. xxxix.
- 364 *σεμνόν*: Cf. 48 n. *τερπνόν* (VMd1UVb3VsrW9Φ), appropriate to food (*Ach.* 881), music (*Ec.* 889), and sex (*Lys.* 553), is ill assorted with *ιερόν* and *τερατώδες*: the voice of the clouds scared Strepsiades in 293 ff. and is *σεμνός* in 315.
- 365 *μόναι*: Socrates goes back on this in 424.
- 366 *ὑμῖν*: So Ψ; if *ἡμῖν* (cett.) were right, Strepsiades would already be identifying himself with the school, which seems wrong at this stage. On *ἡμ-/ὑμ-* cf. 195 n.
- 367 *ποῖος*: Cf. 247 n. *οὐδ' ἐστὶ Ζεὺς*: Possibly *οὐδέ* here = *οὐ γάρ* (Verdenius, *Mnemosyne* 1954, 68), but better sense is given by 'Zeus doesn't even exist' (cf. 902), *sc.* 'much less act'.
- 368 *ἀπόφηναι*: Everywhere else in Ar. the active *ἀποφαίνεω* is used, but it is often impossible to emend actives to middles, or vice versa, with any assurance; cf. 296 n., 489, 770, 783. In Plato one *ἀποφαίνεται* one's opinion (*δόξα, γνώμη*); but cf. *Pl. Lys.* 222 B *ἀποβαλεῖν τὸν*

- πρόσθεν λόγον* ~ 222 D *οὐς τὸ πρῶτον λόγους ἀπεβαλόμεθα. πρῶτον*: Cf. 224 n.
- 369 *αὐταὶ δήπου*: There seems to be no true parallel to this apparently impatient *δήπου*, 'They do, of course!', but *δήπου*, often diffident, can be used when the speaker is actually confident (Denniston, 267 f.), and Socrates may be using a bland tutorial ploy: 'Well, there's no alternative, is there?'
- 371 *χρῆν*: *sc.* if you were right in thinking that it is Zeus who rains. *αιθρίας ὕειν αὐτόν*: *αιθρίας οὐσης* (VE<sup>s</sup>Md1Vb3S), which would necessitate deletion of *αὐτόν*, is not required, despite Philoch. 67 *οὐσης αιθρίας*: cf. *Av.* 1089 *χειμῶνος* ~ *Eq.* 883 *χειμῶνος ὄντος*, and there is a positive advantage to Socrates' argument in retaining *αὐτόν*. The argument is of scientific type, but very crude, for it leaves open the hypothesis that clouds are simply the instrument of Zeus; but it perhaps exploits an ingrained feeling that Zeus is the sky and that clouds intervene between us and the sky. For *αιθρίας* cf. Kratin. 53. 2 *ἐξ αιθρίας* (anapaestic).
- 372 *τῷ νυὶ λόγῳ*: On the metre cf. 273, where *ἦ* precedes the 'caesura' of an anapaestic tetrameter. Strepsiades means 'what you were saying a moment ago' (cf. 825, *S. El.* 769) rather than 'the argument you are in the middle of expounding'. *προσέφυσας*: It is hard to resist citing *A. Su.* 276 *καὶ ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ (ἀληθεῖ Burges) πάντα προσφύσω λόγῳ*, but interpretation of that line is not straightforward. In *Pl. Lg.* 728 B *προσπεφυκέναι* is used metaphorically of 'attaching oneself' to bad company; possibly the word was used of grafting by Attic farmers.
- 373 *διὰ κοσκίνου οὐρεῖν*: Whether this was a traditional joke told to Attic children, or an improvisation of Ar., we do not know.
- 374 *τετραμαίνειν*: Cf. 294 n.
- 376 *ἐμπλησθῶσ' . . . 378 παταγοῦσιν*: Speculation on the cause of thunder and lightning goes back at least to Anaximandros (A23; cf. Guthrie, i. 106, 139). Herakleitos (A14) attributed thunder to the interaction of winds and clouds; Anaxagoras came nearest to what Socrates is now propounding, that thunder is a 'collision of clouds' (A1. 9; cf. Guthrie, ii. 311 f.). *κατακριμνόμεναι*: -κριμ- (V) is probably to be preferred to -κρημ-: cf. *E. El.* 1218 and vv. ll. at *h. Herm.* 39 and *Pi. P.* 4. 25. We find *συγκρινωσιν* in *Ec.* 841 (cf. *κιρνέσται* in *SIG* 57. 10 [Miletos, V]), and *κρίμνημι* is to *κρεμάννημι* as *κίρνημι* and *σκίδνημι* are to *κεράννημι* and *σκεδάννημι* (cf. Schwyzer, i. 695 and F. Specht, *ZVS* lix [1931], 97 f.). *ἀνάγκη*: Prominent as a cosmological principle in fifth-century philosophy: Parmenides (B8. 30, B10. 6, A32), Empedokles (A32, A45, B115. 1), Leukippos (A1), and Demokritos (A83, *κατ' ἀνάγκην καὶ ὑπὸ δίνης*). They did not all mean the same thing by it; it could (and can) be regarded either as a set of rules laid down by the gods or as a chain of cause

and effect implicit in the material world. Socrates is represented (cf. 405) as inclined to the latter interpretation. Strepsiades unwittingly asks the right question.

**380 δίνος:** Empedokles believed that the sky rotates at high speed round the earth (A67), and he used the word *δίνη* (B35. 1), but the connexions in which he used it are far from clear (cf. KR, 333, 346 ff.). It was Anaxagoras who made the rotation of the universe the first act of Mind, from which the diverse elements in the universe came into being (KR, 372 ff.), but he used *περιχωρεῖν* and *περιχώρησις* (B9, B12, B13). Diogenes may have adopted the theory of primeval and continuing rotation, and there are slight indications that he did (A1 ~ C3), but we do not know what he called it. Rotation was fundamental to the atomists (Leukippos A1, Demokritos A1, § 45), and Demokritos used the word *δίνος* (B167), as did Antiphon (B25). Ar.'s audience would have been familiar with *δίνη*, 'rotation', 'whirling', but *δίνος* to them meant a certain type of vessel; that humorous possibility, however, is reserved until 1472 ff., and here a different one is exploited in Strepsiades' reply.

**381 ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ὄν:** Lit., 'this fact (τουτί) had escaped my notice, <I mean> Zeus <had escaped my notice> not existing'. The use of substantival subjects throughout, without recourse to infinitives or subject-clauses, makes the following *ἄλλ'* intractable in literal translation, though natural enough in proper translation: '... <I mean,> that Zeus does not exist, but Dinos rules. . .'. **Δίνος:** The word suggests to Strepsiades that someone connected with Zeus (*Δι-*) has overthrown Zeus as ruler just as Zeus overthrew Kronos; cf. 1471. *-ίνος* occurs in well-known proper names, e.g. *Φιλίνος*, and it is possible that Sophron (124) used *παλλακίνος* in the sense 'son of a concubine'; cf. Chantraine, 203 ff.

**382 οὐδέν πω:** Socrates has in fact offered an adequate explanation, but Strepsiades wants the evidence (385), and Ar. is leading up to a lengthy joke about excretion; cf. 295.

**385 ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ:** The attempt to group phenomena as alike in mechanism and differing only in scale is a reasonably scientific and philosophical procedure (cf. Eryximachos and Diotima in Pl. *Smp.*, especially 186 AB ~ 188 AB and 207 A ff.).

**386 Παναθηναίος:** A great public festival (the 'small' Panathenaia was held annually, the 'great' Panathenaia every four years) included the sacrificing of many animals, and was therefore an occasion for over-eating of meat and soup. Each colony and ally of Athens was required to provide a cow for sacrifice at the Great Panathenaia; cf. *ATL*, iii. 148.

**387 κλόνος:** Used in epic and lyric of the turmoil of battle, and never in Classical prose, but it reappears in late Hellenistic literature in the sense '<physical> agitation', and it may have been a recognized

medical term (ctr. 74 n.); we get a glimpse of the scale of medical terminology in Ar.'s day from the reference in Th. ii. 49. 3 to 'all the evacuations of bile which have been named by the doctors'. **ἐξαιφνης αὐτήν:** Since *αὐτήν* is a postpositive, there is no true caesura (cf. 273 n.), but with the order *αὐτήν ἐξαιφνης* (VANUVb3V51W9ZΦS) there is none of any kind.

**388 δεινὰ ποιεῖ:** 'Grumbles', 'is angry'; cf. 583.

**390 παππάξ . . . 391 παπαπαππάξ:** The ending *-άξ* is surprisingly un-onomatopoeic, but the same objection applies to *ιατταταυῖξ* as a cry of woe in *Eq.* 1, and frogs say *κοακ κοακ*, not (as in *Ra.* 209 ff.) *κοάξ κοάξ*. We seem to be dealing here with a very early example of conventional spelling, which otherwise is not demonstrable in Attic until a much later date (cf. A. S. Henry, *CQ* N.S. xiv [1964], 240 ff.). Possibly Strepsiades puts his tongue between his lips and blows rhythmically, a sound for which no alphabet makes adequate provision. **ἐπάγει:** 'Steps up' the pace; cf. *Eq.* 24 f. *ἀτρέμα πρῶτων λέγε . . . κῆρ' ἐπάγων πυκνόν*.

**392 τυννουτοῦ:** Cf. *Ra.* 139 *τυννουτῶν*.

**394 ταῦτ' ἄρα . . . ὁμοίω:** Everywhere else in Ar. initial *ταῦτ' ἄρα* signals a change of speaker (319, 335, *Ach.* 90, *Pax* 414, *Th.* 168 and [preceded by an exclamation] 649), and in 353 above, though the sense does not compel us to posit a change, it makes sense and all the MSS. except *R*<sub>1</sub> exhibit it. Here VM alone give this crude etymology to Strepsiades, but E implicitly joins them by omitting *Στ.* in 395. It is as surprising that Strepsiades should etymologize as it is right that Socrates should do so, for etymology was an interest of the sophists. There is a possible defence of *ταῦτ' ἄρα* in continuous speech; in *Av.* 486 *διὰ ταῦτ' ἄρα* exactly = *ταῦτ' ἄρα*, and in *Th.* 166 *διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρα* is a continuation of one speaker. *βροντή* and *πορδή* are not much alike; U tries to make them more so by writing *βορτή* for *βροντή*, and this may not be entirely fanciful. Metathesis of *ρ* is a recurrent phenomenon in Greek (Buck, 45, 64; Schwyzler, i. 267); in Attic *φαρ-* in various parts of *φράττειν* is normal, and it is arguable that we should write *δαρχμῶν* in *Pax* 1201 (cf. Platnauer ad loc., and cf. 752 n., below). *βροντή* may thus have been commonly pronounced *βορ(ν)τή*.

**396 ζῶντας περιφλέυει:** Either 'singes them alive' (and, perhaps, kills them), whereas one normally sings only the carcase of an animal, or (*Σε*) 'singes them <and leaves them> alive'. The latter gives a better antithesis to *καταφρύγει*. On the form *-φλευ-* (rather than *-φλυ-*) cf. *Hdt.* v. 77. 3 (all MSS.) and *IG* iv (1)<sup>a</sup>. 126. 24 f. (II A.D.) *φλόξ . . . ἐπέφλευσε τὴν χεῖρα*.

**397 ἐπιόρκους:** In societies which use writing sparingly (cf. 776 n.) and have few techniques for establishing guilt or innocence, the oath is of supreme importance, and perjury a specially heinous crime, visited

with divine vengeance (cf. Hes. *Op.* 282 ff.); the thunder-bolt is Zeus's weapon against all who offend him (e.g. A. *Th.* 444 f., *Ag.* 469 f.). Strepsiadēs makes himself vulnerable to counter-argument by saying *φανερῶς*.

**398 Κρονίων:** The festival *Κρόνια* was celebrated on 12 Hekatombaion (D. xxiv. 26); on the details, cf. Deubner, 152 ff. Since Kronos reigned before Zeus, his name was used colloquially to mean 'old-fashioned'; cf. 1070 and Nikophon 22, 'Now he's regarded as the great-grandfather of Kronos and Tithonos.' *ῥζων:* Cf. 50 n. *βεκεσελήνη:* Hdt. ii. 2 gives one version of a famous story: Psammetichos, king of Egypt, wishing to discover the aboriginal language of mankind, isolated two infants from all contact with human speech, and the first word they uttered, at the sight of the man who brought them food, was *βέκος* (the MSS. of Hdt. are divided between one kappa and two, and waver on the accentuation), the Phrygian for 'bread'. Herodotos refers to other versions (2. 5), and another is in fact found in Σ<sup>2</sup> (perhaps ultimately from Manetho via Alexander Polyhistor); there the king is Sesonchosis (Σ<sup>NP1</sup> adds the variant 'Amasis'), the experimental procedure different, and the result *βέκ*, Paphlagonian for 'bread'. Either *βεκεσε-* alludes to some version of this story, or we do not know to what it alludes. As for *-σελήνη*, it can be related to the epithet *προσελήνη*, used of the Arkadians *οἱ καὶ πρόσθε σεληναῖης ὑδέονται ζώειν* (A. R. iv. 263 f.; cf. Σ ad loc.) by Hippias 7. Aristotle fr. 591 gives a more rational explanation of the epithet.

**399 δῆτ':** So VE<sup>pc</sup>. The wide separation of this connective postpositive from the beginning of its clause, and its position immediately after a subordinate clause, are unique. It if were any other postpositive we should be justified in rejecting it in favour of the repeated *πῶς* offered by ANUVb3VsrW9θ<sub>1</sub>Φ (*πῶς δῆτ'*, unmetrically, E<sup>ac</sup>θ<sub>2</sub> cett.). This is a common phenomenon in a lengthy question; cf. *τί* in 351, and there is a late instance in A.D. *Adv.* 161. 15 f. *καὶ πῶς, εἰ . . . , πῶς . . .*: Comic self-questioning, as in 79 and Kratin. 187. 1 f. *πῶς τις αὐτόν, πῶς τις ἄν . . . παύσειε κτλ.*, has a different flavour, and, I think, has *Ec.* 1065 f. *ποῖ σὺ ποῖ χωρεῖς*; But the use of *δῆτα* may possibly be influenced by the epic mobile adverb *δή*, often in initial position; cf. 62 n., *δήπου* in D. xxi. 98 *ἀλλὰ μισεῖν ὀφείλετ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δήπου τοὺς τοιοῦτους*, and the enjambment of S. *Aj.* 985 f. *οὐχ ὅσον τάχος | δῆτ' αὐτόν ἄξειε δεῦρο*; Σίμων': Cf. 351 n.

**400 Κλεόνυμνον:** Cf. 353 n. *Θέωρον:* Presumably the man represented unflatteringly in *Ach.* 134 ff. as an ambassador to the Odrysian king; cf. *Eq.* 608, V. 42 ff., 418 f. (parasite and flatterer).

**401 τὸν αὐτοῦ γε νεών:** The reference is not necessarily to any particular one of the many temples of Zeus or to any particularly disastrous occasion (C. Picard, *REG* li [1938], 60 ff., sees an allusion

to the subject of the anecdote in Paus. v. 11. 9). *Σούνιον:* The temple of Athena stands on the promontory. *Ἀθηνέων:* The fact that RVEMMdiNpiP19Vb3θ<sup>2</sup>X have *Ἀθηναίων*, the rest *Ἀθηνῶν*, suggested to Porson that Ar. is quoting *Od.* iii. 278 in the original dialect. Cf. Hermipp. 63. 17 *καὶ ἴφια μῆλα*, with epic observance of digamma in one phrase in a passage of comic hexameters. Cf. 614, 989 nn.

**402 τί μαθών:** MSS. here, as often elsewhere, are divided between *μαθών* and *παθών*, but both expressions are intelligible: 'What was the idea of . . .?' or 'What put it into his head to . . .?', and 'What made him . . .?' *οὐ γὰρ δὴ δρῶς γ':* 'For certainly . . . not . . .'. *γ'* (om. RAE<sup>ac</sup>KMNNpiP19Vb3VpiZθX) is probable; cf. *Ec.* 157 *οὐ γὰρ δὴ πειν γ' ἤτησά σε* and (metrically guaranteed) S. *OC* 110 *οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γ' ἀρχαῖον δέμας*: Denniston, 243 f.

**403 οὐκ οἶδ':** An Athenian determined to defend traditional belief might argue: (1) Punishment can be delayed, and a perjurer's son or descendant may be struck by lightning. (2) An innocent man struck is paying the penalty for an ancestor's perjury. Cf. Solon 1. 25 ff. But we do not know how traditionalists explained the striking of temples. Perhaps they believed that Zeus showed his displeasure at human wickedness by hurling thunderbolts at random, rather as in *Il.* xvi. 384 ff. he rains on everyone when angered by injustice. *τί γὰρ ἔστιν δῆθ':* 'Well, then, what . . .?'; *γὰρ* is used when one possible answer to a question has been eliminated; cf. Denniston, 81 f.

**404 εἰς ταύτας . . . 407 κατακῶν:** Anaximandros (A23) and Anaximenes (A17) regarded thunder and lightning alike as caused by the bursting of wind out of dense cloud, the lightning being the sudden contrast with the blackness of the cloud (cf. KR, 138 f., 158). Leukippos seems to have followed this explanation (A25). Anaxagoras, however, introduced friction as a cause of lightning, explaining it as *ἐκτρυμὸς νεφῶν* (A1. 9); similarly Demokritos, as *σύγκρουσις νεφῶν* (A93). Diogenes' explanation is obscure (A16); we do not find anywhere precisely the explanation given here by Socrates. A society which has to produce light and warmth the hard way might be expected to understand more readily than ours how heat and flame can be a product of rapid friction. *ὑπ' ἀνάγκης:* Cf. 377 n.

**408 Διασιόσιον:** A festival of great importance to the Athenians (Th. i. 126. 6), held on 23 Anthesterion; cf. 864 and Deubner, 155 ff. Festivals of this kind were evidently an occasion for parties for relations and friends (cf. Pherekr. 153. 1) in addition to what was provided by the state. Cf. 386 n.

**409 ὀπτῶν:** So R alone; for the linking of a participial clause to a finite clause by *κῆτα* cf. *Eq.* 391 f. *τοιοῦτος ὦν . . . κῆτ' ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, and κᾶπειτα* in 624, below.



(vi) 412–56. *The Clouds* accept *Strepsiades*

The Chorus's address to Strepsiades was taken out of context by the source of Diog. Laert. ii. 27 and converted into a complimentary address to Socrates by (i) substituting *δικαίως* for *παρ' ἡμῶν* in 412, thus cutting the cord that ties the passage to the play; (ii) converting *εἰ μνήμων* *εἰ* into *εἰ γὰρ μνήμων* in 414, and *μή* and *μήτε* into *οὐ* and *οὔτε* throughout 415 f.; (iii) substituting *ἀδηφαγίας* for *γυμνασίων* in 417; (iv) stopping at the end of 417. The doctored passage (a good example of what Bertrand Russell called 'one of those reckless lies in which respectable people are wont to indulge in the interests of virtue') must have affected some copies of the play, for Σ<sup>v</sup> 415 (one of the scholia which are not in numerical sequence; cf. p. xc) says τὸ "μή" ἀντὶ τῆς "οὐ", and this would make sense only if we had *εἰ γὰρ μνήμων* in 414.

413 **καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι**: 'And the (other) Greeks' (cf. Verdenius, *Mnemosyne* 1954, 38). In effect, 'the rest of the world'; cf. Lys. xxi. 10 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀριστος = 'the best anywhere', xxv. 30.

414 **μνήμων**: Cf. 129 n.

415 **μήθ' ἐστὼς μήτε βαδίζων**: The point is 'whatever you are doing'. Cf. *Od.* xvii. 157 f. *ὡς ἢ τοι Ὀδυσσεὺς ἤδη ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ ἡμενος ἢ ἔρπον* ('an absurd expression' according to Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* [Oxford, 1953], 86—but evidently not absurd to the alleged interpolator) and *A. Eu.* 292 ff. (Orestes' call to Athena) *εἶτε χάρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικῆς . . . τῆσιν ὀρθὸν ἢ καταρφεῖ πόδα*.

416 **μήτε . . . μήτ'**: Blaydes's emendation *μηδέ . . . μηδ'* is very tempting, to achieve co-ordination with *μή* in 415 and isolate *μήθ'* ἐστὼς *μήτε βαδίζων*, but τ' in 417 makes us think twice (in *Ach.* 657 f. the evidence of the MSS. conflicts with S).

417 **ἀνοήτων**: Probably to be taken, as *μῶρος* often is, as a euphemistic allusion to sexual pleasure; cf. *X. M.* ii. 1. 1 *λαγνεία*, i. 2. 1 *ἀφροδίαια*, in descriptions of Socrates' ἐγκράτεια.

418 **δεξιόν**: Cf. 148 n.

419 **βουλευῶν**: Normally the active = 'be a member of the Council', the middle = 'deliberate'; but in poetry the active is commonly synonymous with the middle (e.g. *Av.* 637), and so too whenever two or more of the processes 'deliberate', 'judge', 'speak', and 'act' are mentioned (e.g. *Th.* vi. 39. 1).

420 **εἵνεκα**: *ἔνεκεν α*; but cf. Meisterhans, 216 f. Bergk emended to *εἵνεκα*: possibly one should go the whole hog with Elmsley and print *οὔνεκα*, but I do not think that the evidence on this matter is yet sufficient; cf. 238 n.

422 **παρέχοιμ' ἄν**: sc. *ἐμᾶντόν*: cf. *Pl. Th.* 191 A *παρέξομεν* (sc. *ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς*) *ὡς ναυτιῶντες πατεῖν τε καὶ χρῆσθαι ὅτι ἄν βούληται*.

423 **ἄλλο τι δῆτ' οὐ νομίζεις**: In Plato we often find a question, of a kind which we would colour by 'surely', beginning with *ἄλλο τι ἢ* or

(more commonly) *ἄλλο τι*: and the latter is often followed by *οὐν*, e.g. *R.* 337 C *ἄλλο τι οὐν καὶ οὐ οὕτω ποιήσεις*; But *δῆτ' οὐν* (VAE<sup>ac</sup> M<sup>ac</sup>Mdr<sup>pc</sup>Npr<sup>1</sup>UVb<sub>3</sub>Vpr<sup>1</sup>Vsr<sup>1</sup>W<sub>9</sub> [δῆτ' οὐν τ' οὐ K]) is unparalleled except as a v.l. in *E. Md.* 1290 *τί δῆτ' οὐν γένοιτ' ἂν ἐτι δευῖν*; where *PHarris* 38 has *οὐ*, not *οὐν*, offering slightly better sense.

424 **Χάος**: Chaos is the primeval being in early cosmogonies (*Hes. Th.* 116, cf. *Ar. Av.* 691 ff., and *KR.* 20 ff.) but also 'space', 'the void', as in *Av.* 1217 f. (of Iris) *διαπέτει διὰ . . . τοῦ χάους*. **Γλῶτταν**: As a deity, *Γλῶττα* merits a capital, according to our printing conventions. In *Ra.* 892 'Euripides' prays to *γλώσσης στρόφιγξ* as one of his deities. **τρία ταυτί**: The point is, 'only three, and no more'; cf. *Th.* vi. 73. 1, where, after discarding their college of fifteen generals because of the disadvantages of *πολυαρχία*, the Syracusans elect 'Hermokrates and Herakleides and Sikanos, τούτους τρεῖς'. On a different point in the number three cf. 1234 f. n.

425 **γ'**: Only RVE<sub>2</sub>X have this (σ' Vpr<sup>ac</sup>). *οὐδέ . . . γε* is simply the negative of *καὶ . . . γε*: cf. *V.* 917 *οὐδὲν μετέδωκεν οὐδὲ τῷ κοινῷ γ' ἐμοί* and Denniston, 156.

426 **λιβανωτόν**: For the burning of incense cf. *V.* 96, *Ra.* 888.

428 **θαυμάζων**: Showing respect, not simply feeling it; cf. 1147 n., *E. El.* 84 (Orestes to Pylades) *μόνος δ' Ὀρέστην τόνδ' ἐθαύμαζες φίλων*, and Denniston ad loc.

429 **πάνυ μικρόν . . . 430 ἄριστον**: The joke seems naïve, but the effect of surprise can be exploited if the actor utters 429 in a wheedling tone and suddenly flames into excitement in 430. **ἐκατόν σταδίοισιν**: As we say 'by a hundred miles'; cf. *Ra.* 91 *πλεῖν ἢ σταδίω λαλιώτερα*.

431 **τούτο**: An abnormal variation on *ἔστα ταῦτα* (*Fraenkel*, 77 ff.); cf. the problems posed by 437 and 662.

432 **γνώμας . . . νικήσει**: *δῆμος* here = 'Assembly', as normally in legal and political language (e.g. *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*). When a man makes or supports a proposal in the Assembly he gives his *γνώμη* (cf. *Th.* vi. 14 *γνώμας προτίθει ἀθθῖς Ἀθηναίους*, 'Invite the Assembly to express its views on the issue again'), and *γνώμην νικᾶν* = 'propose a motion which is then carried'. Cf. 99 n. and *V.* 594 *κάν τῷ δήμῳ γνώμην οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἐνίκησεν, ἐάν μὴ κτλ.*

433 **μή μοι γέ λέγειν**: Either (i) 'Don't (talk) to me about speaking on important proposals', or (ii) 'Please don't talk about proposals'. In (i) the imperative is understood, as in 84 (*v. n.*) and in (ii) the infinitive *λέγειν* has an imperatival sense, as it certainly has in 850, *V.* 385 f. 'If anything happens to me, *θεῖναι με* close under the barrier', and *Th.* 157 'When you compose a satyr-play, *καλεῖν ἐμέ*'. Cf. 1352 n., *KG.* ii. 20 ff., Schwyzer, ii. 380. (i) is more probable, because of the formulaic nature of *μή μοι γέ* and because the undeniable examples of the imperatival infinitive in *Ar.* are all positive (cf. *W. Dittmar, Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Aristophanes und*



*Menander* [Leipzig, 1933], 92—where, however, *V.* 531 is misinterpreted).

- 434** *στρεψοδικήσαι*: Probably not chosen or coined solely to fit Strepsiades' name; it recurs in *Av.* 1468 *στρεψοδικοπανουργία*.
- 435** *μείρεις*: Somewhat grandiloquent language.
- 436** *παράδος θαρρῶν*: So  $AE^a K^a MN \rho i V b_3 V \rho i \Theta X$ ; and *V.* 387 f. *καθίεισαντων θαρρῶν* and *Pax* 159 *ἰεισαντων θαρρῶν* tell very slightly in favour of this order against *θαρρῶν παράδος* (cett.). But assurance would be misplaced; cf. *Av.* 461 f. *λέγει θαρρήσας ~ 1512 θαρρήσας λέγει*. *προπόλοισιν*: 'Ministers' of a deity, e.g. *Pl.* 670 f. The plural suggests that we are meant to think not only of Socrates but also of Chairephon and of such other students as are in a position to instruct a newcomer.
- 437** *δράσω ταῦθ'*: Usage overwhelmingly favours *ταῦθ'* (RV) against *τοῦθ'* (β); cf. 431 n. *Eq.* 495 *ταῦτα δρώ*, *Pax* 428 *ταῦτα δράσομεν*, *Av.* 864 *δράσω τὰδ'* and *Lys.* 1030 *ἀλλὰ δράσω ταῦτα* are all responses to imperatives (cf. Fraenkel, 80 ff.), and the habitual *ταῦτα* (or *ταῦτ'* ὡ δέσποτα) of slaves is relevant. Yet in Timokles 12. 2 (*ap.* Ath. 224 A) we read *δράσω τοῦτό σοι*: and, of course, neither *ταῦτα* nor *τοῦτο* can ever be ruled out metrically in favour of the other.
- 439** *νῦν οὖν . . . 442* *δείρειν*: Strepsiades' extravagant self-surrender is echoed humorously by Socrates and Ktesippos in *Pl.* *Euthd.* 285 c, where they profess their willingness to be boiled or flayed by Dionysodoros if only he will make good men of them. [*χρήσθων*]: If this word is retained, then (i) 439–56 contain one *ωω* – too many or too few, (ii) unless we can plausibly interpolate a word scanning *ωω* – before *ἔτι*, the coincidence of word-end and metron-end, normal in anapaestic sequences of this type, is largely eliminated, and (iii) there is asyndeton between . . . *βούλονται* and *τοῦτι κτλ.* Cobet's deletion of *χρήσθων* is thus necessary, and the sense is not impaired: 'Now, then, I hand over my person to them (to treat) absolutely as they like'. *ἔτι βούλονται*: Cf. 348 n. *τύπτειν κτλ.*: The subject of the verbs does not stay the same throughout; it is as if one said 'For beatings, for hunger', etc. *ἀχμείν*: The word is used of dry (because unanointed) skin; cf. 920 and Denniston on *E. El.* 239. *ῥιγῶν*: An 'Ionic' form of the infinitive, according to *Σ<sup>R</sup> Ach.* 1146, but he does not suggest that Ar. did not write it; *RF* have it there, and so do *VI'* at *V.* 446 (-*ov R*) and all MSS. at *Av.* 935. Its presence in the text of Ar. is most easily explicable if it was the prevalent Attic form at the time when *Ω* was introduced into the Attic alphabet and differentiation between the two long *o*-vowels became possible in spelling. *ἄσκῶν δείρειν*: Cf. Solon 23. 5 ff. (not speaking for himself), 'I wouldn't mind, . . . if I could be tyrant of Athens for just one day, being flayed afterwards (and my skin used) as a wine-skin'. This character was 'selling his body' as Faust 'sold his soul';

- Strepsiades, on the other hand, will endure suffering now in the hope of reward later. The form *δείρειν* (Scaliger) is metrically guaranteed by *Av.* 365 *ἔλκε, τίλλε, παῖε, δείρει*: ctr. *V.* 485 *δέρεσθαι καὶ δείρειν*.
- 443** *εἶπερ κτλ.*: 'If I am going to escape (as I wish) . . . ' or ' . . . (as seems possible) . . . ' ; cf. 1035 *εἶπερ . . . ὑπερβαλεῖ*, 'If you are going to surpass (as you hope) . . . ' , *Pax* 265 *εἶπερ . . . ἤξει*, 'If he is going to come back (as, I fear, he plainly is) . . . '
- 444** *τοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις*: 'The world', 'other people'; cf. *Pax* 98 *τοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποισι φράσον σιγᾶν*, 'Tell everyone to be quiet'.
- 445** *θρασύς . . . 451* *ματιολοιχός*: This is a catalogue of abusive terms used against a man who is a tricky opponent in lawsuits, as is plain from 452. Some of these terms are frequent in Attic literature (not always—e.g. *ἔτης*—with a pejorative sense), and they may all have been current in Ar.'s time, but the evidence does not tell us whether (e.g.) *εὐγλωττος* was really used a term of abuse. Some, e.g. *εὐρησιεπής* and *ματιολοιχός*, sound more like comic inventions. We can see why (e.g.) *γλοιός* and *κέντρων* should be abusive; it is not so easy to see why (e.g.) *τρύμη* and *μάσθλης* should be. Antiph. 195, in which a parasite describes his versatility in a series of terse metaphors, has something in common with this passage. *συγκολλητής*: *συγκολλᾶν* suggests the turning of skill to malicious ends; cf. *V.* 1041. *περίτριμμα*: The point is 'worn smooth by practice'; cf. *D.* xviii. 217 (on Aischines) *σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς* and *AB* 59. 32 *περίτριμμα πραγμάτων* (= *Com. Adesp.* 889). *κύρβης*: The law code of Athens in the early sixth century was in part inscribed on *κύρβεις* (possibly components of a wall; cf. S. Dow, *Proc. Massachusetts Hist. Soc.* lxxi [1953–7], 33 ff.), and the point of calling a man *κύρβης* would be (*Σ<sup>RV</sup>*) that (unlike peaceable citizens, who avoided litigation) he knew the details of the law too well. *κρόταλον*: Cf. 260 n. *τρύμη*: *Σ<sup>RV</sup>* says (we do not know his evidence) *ὄν ἡμεῖς τρύπανόν φαμεν . . . εὐτονος ὡς τρύπανον*, i.e. 'drill' or 'bore'. Taillardat (§ 414) relates it to *Ec.* 337 *ἐκτετριπήκεν λαθοῦσά μ' ἐνδοθεν* and *Ael. Dion.* ε 28 (Erbse) *εἰστρυφήσαι δὲ τὸ παρεισελεῖν*: the essential idea is that of a person whose comings and goings one cannot stop. *μάσθλης*: Cf. *Eq.* 269 (the knights replying to Kleon's claim that he has been their friend) *ὡς δ' ἀλαζών, ὡς δὲ μάσθλης: εἶδες οἱ' ὑπέρχεται ὡσπερὶ γέροντας ἡμᾶς κτλ.* *εἴρων*: 'Deceitful' in pretending to be innocent when one is up to mischief (cf. *V.* 174, *Av.* 1211). *εἰρωνεία* approximates to 'making excuses', 'pleading inability'; to Aristotle (*EN* 1108<sup>a</sup>19 ff.) it lies on one side of truth, as *ἀλαζονεία* does on the other, but in 1127<sup>b</sup>22 ff. he recognizes its attractive side, and specifically mentions the *εἰρωνεία* of Socrates, whom Plato represents as using affectation of intellectual inadequacy as a dialectic tool. *ἀλαζών*: Cf. 102 n. *κέντρων*: Coupled with *μαστιγίας* in *S. fr.* 306N = 329P. *ἀργαλέος*: This word, common in epic and elegiac poetry, seems to

have acquired a colloquial flavour in Attic; its absence from the lyrics of tragedy is striking, and it is uncommon in fourth-century prose, but Ar. uses it both in lyrics (e.g. *Eq.* 978, *V.* 1279) and in dialogue (e.g. *Lys.* 764, *Pl.* 1). **ματιολοιχός**: *Σ<sup>RV</sup>* alleges **μάτιον** τὸ ἐλάχιστον εἰώθασι λέγειν, and it may be one of many colloquial words of which we catch only a glimpse (cf. *Eup.* 3 **μαθόντι μηδὲ τάγυρι μουσικῆς**), but *Σ<sup>RV</sup>* betrays uncertainty by mentioning alternative theories, one of which connects the word (impossibly) with **μάταιος** and the other with the measure which is called (in Roman Egypt!) **μάτιον**. Bentley's emendation **ματτυλοιχός** (cf. **ματτιο- O<sub>7</sub>**) would mean 'greedy parasite' (cf. *Antiph.* 64 **κνισολοιχός** and *Taillardat*, § 325); if this were right, it would follow not only that the Thesalian dish **ματτήη**, adopted at Athens in the late fourth century and often mentioned in comedy thereafter (*Ath.* 662 F ff.), was in fact familiar in the fifth, but also that this passage was already corrupt at the time when the monograph on which *Athenaios* (loc. cit.) drew was composed.

**452 ἀπαντῶντες**: In *D.* xxxvi. 45 and liv. 37 the meaning is 'even people whom one does not know'.

**453 δρώντων**: *sc.* Socrates and his associates; cf. 436 n.

**455 ἔκ μου**: *πρός με* is common enough, though not always metrically guaranteed, but *μου* is guaranteed in *V.* 1358 **ταῦτ' οὖν περί μου δέδοικε μή διαφθαρῶ**.

**456 φροντισταῖς**: All those in the school, including themselves.

(vii) **457-75. Lyric dialogue**

For lyric dialogue between chorus and actor cf. *Ach.* 929-39 ~ 941-51, *Eq.* 1111-50, *V.* 291-302 ~ 303-15. Passages in the choral utterances are in lyric metres, the actor's in the metres of spoken dialogue, are also common.

In the MSS. the interlocutor of *Strepsiades* in this scene is Socrates. But *Σ<sup>VI</sup>* 467 (displaced by *Dübner* to 476) says **νῦν ὁ Σωκράτης λέγει μάλλον δὲ ὁ χορός**: εἴωθε γὰρ μετὰ τὸ φῆσαι ἐπάγειν δίστιχα, ὡς ἂν ἤδη τὸ "ἀλλ' ἐγχείρει". This scholion combines (i) a judgement by one ancient commentator, implying that 457-62 and 463-5 were not sung by Socrates, and (ii) a correction of this (cf. *Σ<sup>RGM</sup>* *Av.* 435) by a second ancient commentator, who pointed out that 476 f. are characteristic of a chorus which has just concluded a lyric utterance. This second observation is preserved also by *Σ<sup>vs1</sup>* 476: **στίχοι ἀναπαιστικοὶ τετράμετροι καταληκτικοί, [οὗ] δὲ χορός φησὶν εἰώθασι γὰρ μετὰ τὸ φῆσαι ἐπάγειν** (in *Triklinios's* analysis of 457 ff. the wording of this is adapted to his own acceptance of Socrates as interlocutor). Bentley made the observation independently, and it is supported by 959 f., 1034 f., 1351 f., 1397 f. These **κατακελευσμοί** are normally in the same metre as the dialogue

which follows them, but there are exceptions: *Pax* 357 ff., *Av.* 637 f., *Th.* 726 f. Cf. *Gelzer*, 80 ff.

The sense of 457 and 463 suits the Chorus, not Socrates (*v. nn.*). The attribution to Socrates may have started from misinterpretation of 459 and 460 f. (*v. nn.*).

(1) 457 f.	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
(2) 459-61	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
(3) 462	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
(4) 463	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
(5) 464 f.	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
(6) 466 f.	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
(7) 468 f.	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
(8) 470 f.	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
(9) 472 f.	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
(10) 474 f.	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -

The whole passage is dactylo-epitrite, as in *Eq.* 1264-73 ~ 1290-9 and *Pax* 775-81 ~ 796-802. (1) *E*-*E* (2) *eDd<sub>2</sub>d<sub>2</sub>*; cf. *E. Rh.* 530 f. ~ 549 f. - - - - - and *Alc.* 591 f. ~ 600 f. - - - - -, both in a dactylo-epitrite context. (3) Ithyphallic (*or ba*). This verse occurs also as clausula to a dactylo-epitrite sequence in *Eq.* 1273 ~ 1299, *Pax* 777 ~ 798, *E. Md.* 420 f. ~ 430 f. (cf. *Dale*, 170 f.), but not in *Pindar* or *Bacchylides*. (4) *ue*-*D* (5) *-D*-*e* (6) *D*-*D*: cf. *Pi. O.* 8. 16 *Ζηή γενεθλίω· ὅς σέ μὲν Νεμέα πρόφατον κτλ.* (7) *-D* × *e*- (alternatively: [6] *D* × *e* and [7] *d<sub>1</sub>*-*D* × *e*-). (8) *D*-*D*-: cf. *Pi. O.* 8. 19. On the text, *v. n.* (9) *D*-*e*- (10) *D*-*D*.

**457 λῆμα**: A typical comment by a chorus on the speech or action of a character; cf. *Ach.* 836, 971, *V.* 1450 f., *Pax* 856 ff. and (using **λῆμα**) 1350 below, *Th.* 459 **ἔτερον αὖ τι λῆμα τοῦτο κομψότερον κτλ.**, *Ra.* 899 **λῆμα δ' οὐκ ἀτολμον ἀμφοῖν**. We may be reminded also of *Pi. P.* 8. 43 ff. (*Amphiaraios* in his vision of the *Ἐπιγονοί*) **ὦδ' εἶπε μαρναμένων "φῦα τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπέπει ἐκ πατέρων παῖσι λῆμα"** and *E. Rh.* 243 f. (the Chorus on *Dolon*) **ἐπεὶ . . . ἔτλα μόνος . . . ἄγαμαι λήματος**.

**459 ἴσθι**: The switch from comment on *Strepsiades* to direct address is more abrupt, and less clearly motivated, than in *Ach.* 1037 ff. and *Pax* 856 ff., but characteristic, like the dactylo-epitrites, of encomiastic poetry. Cf. especially *Pi. O.* 11. 11 **ἴσθι νῦν, Ἀρχεστράτου παῖ, O.** 6. 8 **ἴστω γάρ . . . Σωστράτου νιός . . . 12 Ἀγγησία, τιν' δ' αἶνος ἐτόιμος, N.** 2. 3 **ὦδ' ἀνήρ . . . 14 ὦ Τιμόδημε, σέ δ' ἀλκὰ κτλ.**, *Ba.* 6. 1 **Λάχων . . . λάχε . . . 10 σέ δέ νῦν κτλ.** The change to and fro between second and third persons in *Av.* 1720-54 is also relevant.

**460 f. παρ' ἐμοῦ**: For the Chorus's use of the first person singular cf. 463, 957 **τοῖς ἐμοῖς φίλοις** and *Pax* 776 **μετ' ἐμοῦ**. Though Socrates and his associates (cf. 436) will be the instructors, the Clouds are the

source of wisdom (cf. 412 *παρ' ἡμῶν*), it is they who decide that Strepsiades shall be instructed (cf. 431, 435), and Strepsiades' excited anapaests are addressed to them, not to Socrates, as is clear from 439 f. and 453 ff.

461 οὐρανόμεναι: The concept is Homeric: *Il.* viii. 192 κλέος οὐρανὸν ἕκει.

463 τί πείσομαι: Hopeful, not apprehensive; cf. *εἰ πάσχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον*: The expression has associations with treaties, contracts, and leases (cf. our 'in perpetuity') and is not as poetic as we might have thought; cf. *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 108. 42 (410/409), ii<sup>2</sup>. 2496. 11 f. *μετ' ἐμοῦ*: Strepsiades is not going to live with Socrates—it is his door, not the door of the school, which will be thronged by clients (467 ff.)—but he will live 'with' the Clouds because he will worship them and they will protect and inspire him in return. Cf. Ariphron's hymn to Health (*PMG* 813): Ὑγίεια βροτοῖσι πρεσβίστα μακάρων, μετὰ σέο ναίοιμι τὸ λειπόμενον βιοτᾶς, σὺ δέ μοι πρόφρων ξυνεῖης.

464 ἀνθρώπων: Cf. 110 n.

466 ἀρά γε . . . ἄρ': The combination of particles is unparalleled, but they are wholly intelligible separately; for ἀρά γε cf. *V.* 1336, and for ἀρα in a question demanding a promise cf. *E. IA* 1360 παῖς ἄρ' οὐκέτι σφαγήσεται;

470 βουλομένου . . . 475 μετὰ σοῦ: We have a choice between treating πράγματα . . . τάλάντων (i) as object of ἀνακοινοῦσθαι . . . ἐλθεῖν or (ii) as object of συμβουλευσομένου, ἄξια being appositional. The difficulties of (i) are: (a) ἀνακοινοῦσθαι is normally intransitive in Attic (e.g. *Pl. Lys.* 206 B); but cf. *Hdt.* iv. 48. 3 ἀνακοινοῦται τῷ Ἰστρω τὸ ὕδωρ. (b) If ἀνακοινοῦσθαι is transitive it must, as it were, 'jump over' εἰς λόγον ἐλθεῖν: but this is possible; cf. *D.* xxi. 208 ἐξαίτησεν καὶ ληπαρήσεν παρ' ὕμων αὐτόν, and it is pertinent to compare *D.* iv. 45 τεθνήσκει τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους and *GVI* i. 922. 8 (Kerkyra, III) χαῖρ' εἰπὼν . . . παῖδ' ἀγαθόν. Cf. also 612 n. In (ii) there is no difficulty in making ἄξια appositional; cf. *X. An.* i. 4. 8 τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας . . . φρουρούμενα, *Isok.* iv. 97 τοὺς μὲν θορύβους . . . καὶ τὰς κραυγὰς καὶ τὰς παρακελεύσεις, ἃ κοινὰ ἐστί κτλ. and *KG*, i. 78. The real difficulty is that συμβουλευέσθαι is also normally intransitive—that is to say, it can govern a neuter adjective or pronoun, but not a substantive. Neither interpretation is free from linguistic abnormality, but (i) seems to me to divide the sentence in a way that gives better balance. εἰς λόγον: Not quite as common as εἰς λόγους, but cf. *Lg.* 806, and as it is presupposed by the metrical analysis in *Sv* 457 it was evidently in Heliodoros's text. πράγματα: The word has the overtone 'troubles', as commonly in πράγματα παρέχειν, etc. (e.g. 1216). κἀντιγραφάς: ἀντιγραφὴ is not simply 'counter-indictment', i.e. an indictment brought against someone who has indicted oneself, but 'charge (or counter-charge, or counter-affirmation) in

a contested case'. *Pl. Ap.* 27 C uses it of the charge brought against Socrates, and cf. *Harp.* s.v. πολλῶν τάλάντων: Cf. *Lys.* xxx. 20 ἱερὰ ἄθνητα τριῶν τάλάντων γεγένηται. ἄξια σῆ φρενί: In 1074 τί σοι ζῆν ἄξιον is (lit.) 'in what way is it worth while (profitable, satisfactory) for you to live?' and in *Ach.* 8 ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι = 'it is a good thing for the Greek world' (not '. . . in the eyes of . . .'); cf. *Pl. Lys.* 203 B. 'Worth while for your intelligence', which is not the same as 'worthy of your intelligence', implies both that it is the intellect which is concerned in these consultations and that they will be lucrative for Strepsiades. μετὰ σοῦ: The construction is a cross between the normal συμβουλευέσθαι τι and *Pl. R.* 400 B μετὰ Δάμωνος βουλευσομεθα. In general, compound verbs in *συν-* take a dative, which in later Greek is replaced by μετὰ *c. gen.* There are, however, some early examples of the later usage, e.g. *Lys.* 1221 μετὰ σοῦ ξυνταλαιπωρήσομεν and *Pl. R.* 464 A μετὰ τούτου . . . συνακολουθεῖν: cf. *J. Iltz, De vi et usu praepositionum . . . apud Aristophanem* (Diss. Halle, 1890), 29 ff. 'To consult your intelligence with you', treating Strepsiades' φρήν as an entity distinguishable from him, is theoretically possible, but I doubt whether Ar. could expect his audience to take the words in this sense.

(viii) 476 f. κατακελευσμός.

Anapaestic tetrameters; cf. p. 158.

476 προδιδάσκειν: Not entirely the appropriate word for the questions which Socrates is going to put, but it would be rash to suggest that προδιδάσκειν could convey the sense ποιεῖν πρὶν διδάσκειν. Like προμαθεῖν in 966, προδιδάσκειν simply = 'teach', because teaching precedes the practice of what is taught; cf. *Alexis* 110. 24 ff. τὰς σκευασίας . . . ἔτοιμός εἰμι . . . προῖκα προδιδάσκειν, ἂν θέλη τις μανθάνειν, *D.* xxiv. 218.

(ix) 478–509. Socrates 'interviews' Strepsiades

481 τιχομαχεῖν: μηχανάς . . . προσφέρω naturally suggests to Strepsiades battering-rams and similar engines; cf. *Th.* ii. 58. 1 μηχανάς τῇ Ποσειδαίᾳ προσέφερον and the pun on μηχαναί, 'bright ideas' and 'siege-engines', in *Av.* 363. In *Th.* 1130 ff. 'Euripides' uses the same metaphor.

483 εἰ μνημονικός εἰ: '<To see> if <, for example,> you have a good memory.' Cf. 658 f. 'You have to learn a lot of other things first, <for example,> the right form of the names of male animals'. It is not necessary to punctuate strongly after βούλομαι and emend (Dobree) εἰ to interrogative ῆ. Coulon's statement that M has ῆ is wrong; all MSS. have εἰ.

- 485 σκέλιος:** It is uncertain whether we should punctuate before or after this word.
- 486 ἐν τῇ φύσει:** Cf. D. xviii. 278 μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' (*sc.* malice) ἐν τῇ φύσει.
- 487 ἀποστερεῖν δ' ἐν:** 'But I *can* cheat!' It is far-fetched to see a pun on λέγειν and ἐρεῖν and to print (Coulon) ἀποστ-ερεῖν. Strepsiades knows what end he wants and what he is prepared to do, but knows also his own technical incapacity to achieve that end.
- 488 ἀμέλει, καλῶς:** Strepsiades must give some such (unchallenged) assurance if we are to pass on to the next joke without delay.
- 489 προβάλωμαι:** All MSS. have the middle (-λλ- RVVπ1X) and RV have σοι as well (unmetrically). But (a) in 757 the active = 'set a problem', and Plato's usage agrees. Verdenius, *Mnemosyne*, 1953, 179, suggests that the whole point is that Socrates will formulate a problem for his own consideration and Strepsiades is meant to show his brightness by jumping in and solving it before Socrates can. (b) The active is used of throwing food to dogs (*V.* 916), birds (*Av.* 626), or the audience (*Pl.* 798 f.), and Strepsiades' reply (491) shows that he has understood Socrates in this sense. Could he make such a reply to *προβάλωμαι*? Hirschig thought not, and emended to *προβάλλω σοι*. But *ὑφαρπάσει* (490) is enough for Strepsiades (cf. *V.* 837 ὁ κύων . . . ὑφαρπάσας, *Eq.* 56, 1200), and we cannot express ourselves with confidence about actives and middles in this play; cf. 368 n., 783.
- 490 ὑφαρπάσει:** *Pl. Euthd.* 300 D uses this of a speaker 'jumping in' to make a point before the person addressed can reply, and cf. *Grg.* 454 C ἵνα μὴ ἐπιζώμεθα ὑπονοοῦντες προαρπάξιν ἀλλήλων τὰ λεγόμενα. Neither *ἀρπάξιν* nor its compounds are used by Plato and Xenophon of an eager pupil giving a prompt answer. The MSS. other than RVEK<sup>pc</sup>Vb3VSI\*Θ give -σει or -σης, but cf. *Eq.* 708 *ἐξαρπάσομαι*, *Pax* 1118 *ἀρπάσομαι* (and 296 n., above).
- 491 κυνηδόν:** Because an animal or a bird of prey *ἀρπάξει* food thrown to it or left unguarded; cf. 489 n., *Ach.* 1160 f., *V.* 837.
- 492 ἄνθρωπος:** Almost certainly Ar. intended 'This man is stupid' (hence *ἀν-* van Leeuwen; cf. 97), not 'This is a stupid man' (*ἀν- α*); cf. *Av.* 1009 *ἄνθρωπος Θαλῆς*, *Ra.* 652 *ἄνθρωπος ἱερός*, and so occasionally with *οἶτος*, e.g. *V.* 168.
- 493 μὴ πλιηγῶν δέει:** Socrates thinks of Strepsiades as a Greek school-master thought of a stupid boy. Whether Ar. intended *δέει* or *δέη* is uncertain; manuscript evidence on -ει/-η is valueless.
- 494.** Now Socrates wonders how far he can go.
- 494 τύπτομαι . . . 496 δικάζομαι:** Strepsiades is something of a coward, as we have already had reason to suspect, and does not return blow for blow. He cries out *μαρτύρομαι* (like the Second Creditor when threatened [1297]; cf. similar situations in *Pax* 1119 and *Av.* 1031), but after 'waiting a bit', so that he can exaggerate what has

- happened and go to court with a more impressive case. His promptitude in litigation (*ἀκαρῆ* stresses this; cf. *Pl.* 244 ἐν ἀκαρεῖ χρόνου, 'in a moment') is perhaps a reminder of the stock joke against Athenians (cf. 208 n.).
- 497 ἡδίκηκά τι:** Strepsiades thinks that Socrates is going to beat him. Socrates' motive is in fact to make away with the himation; cf. 179 and 856.
- 498 γυμνοῦς:** Not necessarily, or even probably, stark naked. *γυμνός* in *Lys.* 1020 refers to the absence of the outer garment *ἐξωμῖς* (1021 ~ 622); cf. *Pl. R.* 474 A *ῥύψαντας τὰ ἱμάτια, γυμνοῦς λαβόντας . . . ὄπλον*.
- 499 φωράσων:** Under Attic law, if A believed that B had in his house articles belonging to A, he was entitled to enter B's house and look for them (cf. *Is.* vi. 42), on condition, as appears from this passage, that he wore no garment in which he could smuggle the article in and 'plant' it on B. Cf. *Ra.* 1362 ff., *Pl. Lg.* 954 A, *Is.* vi. 50, and Lipsius, 440.
- 500 εἰπέ . . . 504 γενήσομαι:** An artificial question designed solely to lead up to the joke in 504. On Chairephon cf. 104 n. On *φύσις* cf. 277 n. **τοδί:** Adequately defended by *Th.* 740 σὺ δ' ἀπόκριναί μοι τοδί: *τουτί τεκεῖν φῆς*; against Hermann's emendation to make it resemble 748.
- 507 μελιτοῦτταν . . . 508 Τροφωνίου:** Near Lebadeia in Boiotia there was a cave visited by those who wished to obtain oracular responses from the hero Trophonios (cf. *Hdt.* i. 46. 2, *E. Ion* 300, *Str.* 414). It was customary for those consulting the oracle to placate with honey-cakes the snakes which lived in the cave, just as a honey-cake was put out for the 'great snake' believed in early fifth-century Athens to inhabit the Akropolis (*Hdt.* viii. 41. 2 f.). The whole fear-some procedure is described by Paus. ix. 39. 5; Σ<sup>R</sup>, Σ<sup>V</sup>, and Σ<sup>E</sup> give different summary accounts, but snakes and honey-cakes are common to all. For *εἰς Τροφωνίου* cf. 964, 973.
- 509 κυπτάξεις:** The word is not simply 'bend down (and peer)' but carries a strong suggestion of being active, busy, even up to no good (cf. *Pax* 731 and Taillardat, § 536, n. 2).  
Strepsiades fearfully tiptoes into the door of the school and Socrates stalks in after him.

## (D) 510-626. PARABASIS

(i) 510-17. *κοιμᾶτιον: Valediction*

(a) 510 f. The formula *ἀλλ' ἴθι χαίρων* plays the same part in *Eq.* 498, *V.* 1009, *Pax* 729 (all three at the beginning of the parabasis) and *Ach.* 1143, where Dikaiopolis goes out of sight and the chorus sings. In all

those passages, however, the anapaestic rhythm continues for the whole of the κομμάτιον, whereas here it gives place to lyrics.

(b) 512–17. The metrical analysis is:

(1) 512 f.	- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -
(2) 514	- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -
(3) 515 f.	∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -
(4) 517	- ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ -

(1) is an iambo-choriambic tetrameter: *ch ia* (choriambic dimeter) + *cr ba* (ithyphallic). Note the resolution (*δρι*) and the correction of *-πω*. The only parallel in drama for correction in the sequence ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ is S. *Tr.* 846 f. *ἡ που δλοῦ στένει, ἡ που ἀδινῶν χλωρῶν* ('akin to dochmiacs', Maas [§ 129], who asserts that this passage of Ar. is corrupt; but where the sense is unimpeachable and it is hard to formulate a remotely plausible emendation, such an assertion is rash). Triklinios, followed by Schroeder, scanned *δρι προ-* as ∪ - ∪, but *π'ρ-*, though conceivable in tragic lyric (cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 826 f. and Barrett on E. *Hp.* 760) is out of the question for comedy. Cf. 189 n. (2) is a choriambic dimeter: *ch ch*. (3) is an iambo-choriambic tetrameter: *ia ch* (choriambic dimeter) + *ia ia* (iambic dimeter). (4) is an aristophanean: *ch ba*. Cf. 287 ~ 310 nn.

515 νεωτέροις: The meaning '⟨appropriate to the⟩ young', normal in Ar., is uppermost here too, for contrast with 514; but νεώτερος also has sinister associations with violence and revolution.

515 f. τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ: For the exceptional divorce of the reflexive genitive from the article cf. 905 τὸν πατέρ' αὐτοῦ, Pax 880 ἐμαντοῦ τῶ πέει and KG, i. 620.

517 σοφίαν ἐπασκεῖ: Cf. 1025.

(ii) 518–62. *Parabasis proper*

The first person singular throughout is the poet; the role of the Chorus as clouds is discarded. In *Ach.* 628 ff., *Eg.* 507 ff., *V.* 1015 ff., *Pax* 734 ff., the chorus praises the poet in the third person, but in none of these cases does it have to change its character in order to do so, and in *Eg.* 507–9 a fictitious separation of the chorus from the poet is deliberately emphasized.

The metre is eupolidean, constructed thus:

ο ο - x - ∪ ∪ - ο ο - x - ∪ ∪

On the text of 520, *v. n.* (Maas [§ 33. 4] draws attention to anacalasis at the beginning of the 'second kolon', i.e. in the third metron, but the first and third metra are, of course, identical in structure). Resolution occurs in the first metron at 539. Caesura normally occurs at the end of the second metron (where, however, elision is very common) or after

the first syllable of the third; but it is brought forward in 539 and postponed to the second syllable of the third metron in 532, 550, 557, and 558. Ar. does not use this metre elsewhere in his extant plays, though others do: Kratin. 98, 318, Pl. Com. 92 (and Pherekr. 109 is related). The metre may owe its name to frequency in Eupolis, or possibly he was the author of the earliest datable play in which Hellenistic metricians found it.

519 ἐκθρέψαντα: A god *τρέφει* a human being whom he cherishes and favours; cf. 463 n. and the epic adjective *διοτρεφής*, used of kings and warriors. As a comic poet, whose work is produced at festivals of Dionysos, Ar. naturally regards Dionysos as his special deity (cf. Pl. *Smph.* 177 E: 'Aristophanes, whose entire concern is with Dionysos and Aphrodite'), and the point of *ἐκ-* is that Dionysos has looked after him from childhood (cf. 795). The invocation uttered by 'Aischylos' in *Ra.* 886, *Δήμητερ ἡ θρέψασα τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα* is comparable, but Aischylos was actually a native of Eleusis, where Demeter was the most important local deity.

520 οὐτω: Lit., 'thus may I win . . . as (521 ὡς) . . . I thought it right (523 ἡξίωσ') . . .', i.e. 'If I did not think it right . . ., may I not win!', a strong assertion of 'I thought it right'. Cf. *Th.* 469 f., 'For I too—οὕτως ἀναίμυρ τῶν τέκνων—hate that man!' (KG, ii. 494 f.). *νικήσαιμι τ' ἐγώ*: So Bentley, and the strength of his case is that *νικήσαιμι*—*ἐγώ* would deprive the line of the choriambic metron which appears as second metron of every other eupolidean. The poet has no inhibitions about declaring his desire to win first prize; cf. 1115 ff. n. *σοφός*: Cf. 94 n.

521 δεξιούς: Cf. 148 n.

522: Cf. 94 n.

523 πρώτους . . . ἀναγεῦσ': *ἀναγεῦσ'* occurs only here. The meanings of the prefix *ἀνα-* are so varied that if *ἀναγεῦσ'* was a word in general currency we can only admit that we do not know what it meant, and if Ar. coined it for this occasion we cannot know (and I do not see how his audience could know) what he intended. *ἀνα-* sometimes means 'back' (e.g. *ἀναχωρεῖν*) or 'afresh', 'for the second time' (e.g. *ἀναψηφίζεω, ἀνηβῆσαι Lys.* 668, *ἀναβιδῶναι Ra.* 177). If it means that in *ἀναγεῦσ'*, Ar. is saying: 'I have thought it right to present my play again to you—the play over which I took more trouble (in 423) than any other, in spite of which (trouble) I was defeated (in 423) . . .'. If, on the other hand, *ἀναγεῦσ'* is akin to *ἀνοιγνῶναι, ἀναδεικνῶναι* (cf. 304), *ἀνακαλύπτειν*, etc., which have in common the idea of display and revelation, the whole sentence can refer to 423. We may well ask how Ar. could speak of giving his audience the first taste of the play (*πρώτους*), as if it had been open to him to put on in some other state a comedy about contemporary Athenian life. Tragic



poets sometimes put on plays elsewhere (e.g. Aischylos in Sicily), and Euripides' *Andromache*, which was not performed at Athens (*Σ Andr.* 445), may have been performed at Argos shortly before Ar. wrote this parabasis (cf. Page, *GPL*, 223 ff.). Ar. would therefore be pretending humorously that he could have done likewise had he wished—as one might say to a child 'Now here's a very special treat for you!' in giving him something which one would give him in any case.

**524 φορτικῶν:** The usual term of contempt used by a comic poet of his rivals (*V.* 66) or of comedy by others (*Pl. Phdr.* 236 c).

**527 ὑμῶν:** ὑμᾶς (A) is in the spirit of 525 f., but perhaps for that very reason an ancient or medieval emendation. Cf. 533 n.

**528 ἐξ ἔτου . . . 529 ἠκουσάτην:** The reference is to Ar.'s first play, *Banqueters*, performed in 427 (ἐνθάδ' = in the theatre). According to *Σ<sup>RVE</sup>* it contained a good young man and a bad one (they are ὁ σῶφρων and ὁ καταπύγων); in fr. 198 we have a dialogue between an old man and his impudent son, somewhat reminiscent of *Nu.* 1399 ff., the son abusing his father in terms which the father characterizes as reflecting current rhetorical jargon; and in fr. 222 the old man asks for the explanation of Homeric words and phrases, while the impudent son retaliates by demanding of the other son ('No, let your son, my brother here, explain . . .') the meanings of certain legal terms. This community of theme with *Nu.*—old education and new, traditional poetry and modern rhetoric, and the relations between father and son—helps to explain why Ar. expected *Clouds* to succeed. οὓς ἡδὺ καὶ λέγειν: οἷς (α) is senseless. It cannot mean 'even to speak to whom is a pleasure', for (a) λέγω σοι means 'I tell you', not 'I converse with you' or 'I speak in your presence' and (b) with what could 'speaking' be contrasted? If a man said of a pretty girl, 'It is a pleasure even to speak to her', the point would be obvious (and similarly, if a Greek said it of a handsome boy), but we are concerned here with grown men whose judgement on plays matters to the poet. 'Who enjoy speaking also' would be a distorted way of implying that those who liked *Banqueters* did not hesitate to praise it in talking to others, and an equally distorted way of saying (even if Ar. had wished to say such a thing) that *Banqueters* appealed especially to talkative men (men who enjoy speaking, not men who are necessarily good speakers). Sense is restored by Blaydes' emendation οὓς (cf. the corruption οὓς > οἷς in R at *V.* 684). λέγειν c. acc. = 'speak of', 'mention' (cf. 103, 768, and *Pax* 64 τὸ κακὸν . . . οὐγὼ 'λεγον), and Ar.'s point is: 'It is agreeable (<to me now> even to mention them <let alone to know them personally and hear their praise>'. Cf. Hes. fr. 273 ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦθέσθαι ὄσα θνητοῖσιν ἐνεῖμαν ἀθάνατοι, *Lys.* fr. 53. 1 (Thalheim) ἃ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις αἰσχρὸν ἔστι καὶ λέγειν and *Pl. Phdr.* 240D ἃ καὶ λόγῳ ἔστιν ἀκούειν οὐκ

ἐπιτερές (sc. let alone actually to have the experience). σῶφρων: The word is applied to those who refrain from breaking moral or social rules for gratification of their own ambitions or desires; hence 'disciplined', 'prudent', 'modest', 'chaste'; *Lys.* i. 10 uses it of female chastity, but *ibid.* 38 σωφρονεῖν is the opposite of ἀδικεῖν. καταπύγων: The word, as is clear from its etymology (~ πύγη) originally meant a man who practises anal coitus, but (like English 'bugger') came to be a general term of abuse or contempt; cf. *Lys.* 137 ὃ παγκατὰπύγων θήμετερον (= τὸ θῆλυ) ἅπαν γένος, fr. 130, where καταπύγασύνη = 'worthless rubbish', and the feminine καταπύγαινα (*Ed. Fraenkel, Glotta*, xxxiv [1954], 42 ff.).

**530 κἀγὼ . . . 532 κάπαιδεύσατε:** Ar. did not act as διδάσκαλος for his earliest plays, and *Knights* in 424 was the first which he himself ἐδίδαξεν. Whether there was a statutory minimum age for κωμωδοδιδάσκαλοι (as there was [e.g.] for speaking in the Assembly) and he did not attain that age until 424, or whether he did not feel sufficient confidence in his own capabilities (*Σ<sup>RVE</sup>* speaks simply of αἰδώς), we do not know; but *Wasps* in 422 and *Birds* in 414 were put on respectively διὰ Φιλωνίδου and διὰ Καλλιστράτου, from which it follows that youth is not a necessary explanation of Ar.'s giving *Banqueters* to someone else. He speaks of himself metaphorically as an unmarried girl who had a baby and (in accordance with a common Greek custom) left it to die in open country; another girl found it (as so often happens to foundlings in Greek stories) and it has been looked after in the household (the Athenian people, in their role as audience) to which she brought it. παρθένος: Not a biological term, 'virgin', but a social term, 'unmarried'; hence οὐκ ἐξῆν is not 'it was impossible' but 'it was contrary to the rules'. ἦν: ἦν = ἦ is metrically guaranteed in (e.g.) *E. Ion* 280, and I hesitate to emend here, despite the considerations adduced by Barrett on *E. Hp.* 700. Cf. 329 n.

**533 ἐκ τούτου . . . ὄρκια:** ὄρκια (of which πιστά is the stock epithet in epic) are the objects over which oaths are taken. πιστά are 'pledges' which one can 'give and receive'. If A πιστά λαμβάνει παρά B, B is making a promise to A; cf. *X. An.* ii. 3. 26 ἐξεστὶν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ μὴν φιλιαν παρέξεν ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν, *Lys.* xii. 9 f. If παρ' ὑμῖν (α) is right, lit., 'there are for me pledges of judgement in your keeping', *Banqueters*, 'brought up' by the audience, must be the 'pledge'; but Ar. is complaining as a man complains when a promise made to him has not been kept, and the point is that the judgement passed by the audience on *Banqueters* is, in his eyes, a pledge given to him of equally favourable judgement (γνώμη) in the future. Hence it is necessary to adopt παρ' ὑμῶν (*V.3*). The idea of a 'security' or 'deposit' is related to this; cf. *Lys.* viii. 17 'I didn't think that you would slander me . . . παρακαταθήκην ἔχων παρ' ἐκάστου λόγου πονηροῦς περὶ ἀλλήλων'.



534 Ἠλέκτραν . . . 536 βόστρυχον: In the version of the story of Elektra and Orestes portrayed by Aischylos in *Choephoroi*, (i) Orestes returns secretly from exile and puts a lock of hair on Agamemnon's tomb, (ii) Elektra, sent to the tomb with offerings by Klytaimestra, and hoping—but hardly daring to admit her hopes to herself—for Orestes' return, is thunderstruck to find the hair, which she recognizes as being like her own. Unlike Ar.'s play, which has come to the theatre in the hope of finding there the approbation which his earlier play found, Elektra does not 'go seeking' (it is Orestes who seeks her), but the essential point of the comparison is that Elektra waited with desperate longing for some news or sign of the return of one whom she had known and loved long ago, one who would reinstate her and rescue her from humiliation (cf. R. Hackforth, *CR* lii [1938], 5 ff.); and a sign of favourable reaction from the audience is the 'lock' which will revive Ar.'s hopes. There is comparable mythological imprecision in *And.* i. 129: 'Of the three women with whom his father has lived, he is son of one, brother of the second, and uncle of the third. What are we to call him? Oidipous or Aigisthos?' (Newiger, *Hermes*, lxxxix [1961], 422 ff., suggests that *Choephoroi* had been revived recently at the time of Ar.'s revision of *Clouds*, and that Ar. is taking sides with Aischylos against the criticisms implied in *E. El.* 524 ff.).

538 οὐδέν . . . 539 γέλωτος: In Ar.'s time the comic actor playing a male role commonly (perhaps invariably; but this cannot be proved on present evidence) wore artificial genitals of abnormal size. But Ar. is not saying that his revised play has discarded this conventional item of dress; he is claiming (in keeping with 540 ff.) that he disdains certain humorous ideas which other poets have used. The punctuation of ἐρυθρόν ἐξ ἄκρον παχύ is doubtful (cf. 1202 n.), as Σ<sup>E</sup> observes: (i) 'red at the end <and> thick <at the end>', (ii) 'red at the end <and> thick <sc. throughout>', or (iii) 'red <sc. throughout> <and> thick <at the end>'. The third interpretation would accord with *Hor. S.* i. 8. 5 *obscenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus* and with occasional representations of herms on red-figure vases, but on a Classical herm, as on Horace's Priapus, the penis is erect, and Ar. is speaking of a leather penis 'hanging down' (538). This is reconcilable with the first or second interpretations on the assumption that the comic poets sometimes represented a circumcised penis; indeed, this is the only assumption which makes sense of both 'hanging down' and 'red at the end', because the alternative, an inflamed foreskin, is not particularly humorous even to τὰ παιδία. Circumcision was not practised by the Greeks at all, but they knew of it as a barbarian custom (cf. *Hdt.* ii. 37. 2, who disapproves of it on aesthetic grounds), owned circumcised slaves (cf. *Pl.* 267), and exploited its humorous potentialities (cf. *Ach.* 158 [Dover, *Maia*,

*N.S.* xv (1963), 12 f.] and Athens red-figure pelike 9683, on which the clothing of the Egyptians is unrealistically disarrayed to reveal their genitals).

540 φαλακρούς: It appears from *Pax* 771 and *Eup.* 78 that Ar. himself was somewhat bald (perhaps he only had an abnormally high hair-line), but he could take a joke against himself; cf. 545 n. κόρδαχ': The κόρδαξ was an undignified dance characteristic of comedy; cf. 555, *Theophr. Char.* 6. 3 (where dancing the κόρδαξ when neither drunk nor a member of a comic chorus is a product of ἀπόνοια) and L. Séchan, *La Danse grecque antique* (Paris, 1930), 195 ff. ἔλκειν is used by a lively dancer, with reference to his own movements, in *Pax* 328; ctr. the point of 553 below.

541 πρεσβύτης . . . 542 σκώμματα: Σ<sup>E</sup> offers three possible references for Ar.'s criticism: Eupolis's *Προσπάλτιοι*, Hermippos in general, or the actor 'Simermon'. Σ<sup>Rv</sup> refers it solely to the actor, who is 'Hermon' in Σ<sup>R</sup>, 'Sermon' in Σ<sup>v</sup>, and there was in fact a famous comic actor named Hermon (*Poll.* iv. 88, cf. iv. 144). τᾶπη: ἔπος is an utterance considered in its formal aspect; here, therefore, 'the lines' (of the play), 'the verses'. Cf. 544, *Eq.* 508 (referring to the tetrameters characteristic of the parabasis), *Ra.* 801 and 1410 (both referring to tragic iambic trimeters) and *Pl. Com.* 92. 2 (referring to eupolideans). It was only later that ἔπος became specially applied to the dactylic hexameter (whence ἐπικός, 'epic' in Hellenistic Greek). τὸν παρόντ': 'Whoever is there', on stage. ἀφανίζων: 'Concealing' by noisy slapstick the poor quality of the verbal humour.

543 οὐδ εἰσῆξε . . . βοᾷ: This claim is notoriously untrue of the finale of *Clouds* as we have it, but Ar. is simply making, in somewhat rhetorical form, the claim that his play does not rely on noise or violence for its comic effect. (Cf. *D.* xix. 209 βοῶνθ' ὡς εἰσαγγελεῖ με καὶ γράφεται καὶ τοῦ τοῦ.)

544 ἔπειον: Cf. 541 n.

545 οὐ κομῶ: Cf. 14 n.; and Ar.'s baldness (540 n.) gives additional point.

546 δις καὶ τρίς: In revising *Clouds* Ar. would seem to be doing just this; but the following lines show that he is criticizing his rivals for writing ostensibly different plays on the same themes.

547 καινάς: Ar. was ready to adopt a conservative standpoint, for comic purposes, towards tragedy and philosophy, but in his own craft he prided himself on his innovations. It was not for nothing that Kratinos (307) described a κομβός θεατῆς as ὑπολεπτολόγος γνωμοδιώκτης ἐνριπιδαριστοφανίζων.

549 μέγιστον . . . γαστέρα: The reference is to the sustained and virulent attack on Kleon in *Knights*, when his political power was indeed at its peak; cf. 581 ff.

551 παρέδωκεν λαβήν: Cf. 126 n. Ὑπερβολος: We first hear of him

in *Ach.* 846 f; *Eq.* 1302 f., 1362 f; and *Pax* 681 represents him (Kleon being dead by then) as the most influential speaker in the Assembly (cf. *Pax* 921, 1319). Both Ar. and Thucydides are hostile to him, as to Kleon. Ostracized in 417/16 (Theopompos Hist. 96b, Plu. *Alc.* 13. 4 ff.; cf. A. G. Woodhead, *Hesperia*, xviii [1949], 78 ff.), he was murdered at Samos in 411 (Th. viii. 73. 3).

552 **κολερωσ'**: Σ<sup>RV</sup>E offer 'hit in the belly' (probably an inference from 549) and 'trample, as olives are trampled'. The latter is supported by *κελέτρα* as the name of a rural fixed object (an olive-press?) in *IG* ix (2). 521. 26 (Larissa, III); cf. H. Frisk, *SO* xi (1932), 64 ff., and on the interchange of -ελ- and -ολ- cf. Buck, 46, and Schwyzler, i. 255. (Hsch., however, interprets *κέλετρον* [κ 2164] as 'fishing-net'.) **μητέρα**: As in *Th.* 839 ff., and cf. 557 n.; in politics and comedy alike an opponent's mother was not spared slander and ridicule, as we see from (e.g.) D. xviii. 130, xix. 281.

553 **Ευπολις**: An exact contemporary of Ar. His first play was produced in 429 (Anon. *De Com.* 10); he won the first of his three victories at the Lenaia before Ar., almost certainly in 426 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2325. 126), and his first victory at the City Dionysia after Ar., probably in 424 (ibid., 59). He died (at sea, according to S ε 3657) before the end of the Peloponnesian War, though not long before (Eratosthenes *ap.* Cic. *Att.* vi. 1. 18). **Μαρικᾶν**: The play was produced at the Lenaia of 421 (Σ<sup>RV</sup>E ~ hyp. I *Pax*). 'Marikas' represented Hyperbolos (Quintil. i. 10. 8), but the point of the name is obscure. Hdn. i. 50. 11 ff., commenting on its accent and declension (accusative *Μαρικᾶντα* in Eup. 191!) calls it a 'barbarian name'; Hsch. μ 283 goes a little further in giving *ὑποκόρισμα παιδίου ἄρρενος βαρβαρικῶ* as an alternative meaning (the other is *κίναϊδος*). The stem *Μαρι-* does not appear among slave-names at Athens. Hsch. μ 287 records *μαρίς* as a Cretan word for 'sow'; if this word was widely distributed and known to the Athenians it may be relevant, for the pig was the symbol of uncouth ignorance (cf. LSJ s.v. *ὄς* I. 3) and Marikas *nihil se ex musicis scire nisi litteras confiteatur* (Quintil., loc. cit. = Eup. 193). **παρείλκυσεν**: If Ar. had wished to be polite, he would have said *εισήγαγεν*: both *παρ-* and *έλκειν* are meant to give the impression that Eupolis's play was incompetent, dishonest, and unwelcome. Cf. D. xviii. 79 (Phillip) *εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο* and Taillardat § 773.

554 **ἐκστρέφας**: Σ<sup>RV</sup> 88 points out that the word is used of turning a garment inside-out in order to double its life, and that is appropriate here (though not in 88, v. n.). Eupolis apparently retorted (fr. 78) that he helped Ar. to write *Knights* and 'made him a present of it'. **κακός κακῶς**: In these expressions sometimes the adverb intensifies the adjective, sometimes vice versa; cf. *Eq.* 188 f. *οὐδὲ μουσικὴν ἐπίσταμαι πλὴν γραμμάτων, καὶ τὰντα μέντοι κακῶς*

*κακῶς*, *Ach.* 253 f. *ὅπως τὸ κανοῦν καλὴ καλῶς οἴσεις*, E. *Tro.* 1055 f. *κακῶς κακῆ θανείται*, D. xxi. 204.

555 **γρᾶν μεθύσιν**: Possibly Hyperbolos's mother. Drunkenness was a stock joke against women; cf. *Th.* 628 ff., Pl. *Com.* 174, *Pherekr.* 143, and H. G. Oeri, *Der Typ der komischen Alten in der griechischen Komödie* (Basel, 1948), 13 ff. **κόρδακος**: Cf. 540 n.

556 **Φρόνιχος . . . ἤσθιεν**: Phrynichos was an older contemporary of Ar. According to Σ<sup>ε</sup>, the play to which Ar. refers included a burlesque of Andromeda threatened (note the imperfect *ἤσθιεν*) by the sea-monster, a theme which lent itself to comic treatment, as in *Th.* 1010 ff. **πάλαι**: With a perfect tense, surprising at first sight; but a play, once written, continues in circulation as a text, and cf. S. *Ph.* 1030 *τέθνηχ' ὑμῖν πάλαι*.

557 **Ἐρμιππος**: A rather older contemporary of Ar. He won the first of his four victories at the Lenaia c. 430, and his first victory at the City Dionysia shortly after that (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2325. 57, 123); in one unidentifiable play (fr. 46) Perikles is addressed and reference is made to Kleon's attack on him (in 431 or 430). The play in which Hermippos ridiculed Hyperbolos is, according to Σ<sup>RV</sup>E here, *Ἄτρο-πωλίδες*, in which one character represented Hyperbolos's mother.

558 **ἄλλοι τ' ἤδη πάντες**: Plato Comicus wrote a *Hyperbolos* (fr. 166-72). I suspect, with Meineke, that Ar. intended *ἄλλοι* = *οἱ ἄλλοι* (cf. 97 n.), as he normally says *τὰλλα πάντα* (e.g. 365). **εἰς Ὑπέρ-βολον**: The repetition strengthens Ar.'s expression of tedium; cf. *Ec.* 825 *κεῖθός τε κατεχρῆσεν πᾶς ἀνὴρ Εὐριπίδην . . . 829 πάλιν κατεπίττει πᾶς ἀνὴρ Εὐριπίδην* and *Hor. S. i. 6. 45 f. nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum, quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum*.

559 **εἰκός**: In the extant plays, this can only be the *εἰκῶν* of *Eq.* 864 ff., where Kleon is compared with an eel-fisher who stirs up the mud. No doubt another poet, applying the image to Hyperbolos, made more of it, and Ar. was sensitive to this theft of his own joke. *εἰκόνας* seem to us a rather frigid kind of humour (our traditional riddles of the form 'Why is A like B?' play on words, not things), but the Greeks regarded them highly; cf. *V.* 1308 ff., *Av.* 804 ff., Pl. *Meno* 80 A-C and G. Monaco, *Paragoni burleschi degli antichi* (Palermo, 1963). *εἰκός* = *εἰκόνας* occurs also at E. *Tro.* 1178, where the MSS., like all but MNVb3 here, accent it *εἰκοῦς*: the circumflex is probably wrong, since *εἰκοῦς* is more likely to be constructed on the analogy of *μείζους* (nom. pl. = acc. pl.), its accent being also determined by analogy with the second declension, than to be a genuine product of *εἰκόες* (cf. KB, i. 454, 497; Schwyzler, i. 479).

562 **εἰς**: 'In' is *εἰς* when the reference is to the future, and often *ἐκ* when the reference is to the past; cf. *Th.* vi. 71. 2 'with the intention of attacking *ἐς τὸ ἔαρ*' and Pl. *Lg.* 888 c 'no one ever, *λαβόντα ἐκ νέου ταύτην τὴν δόξαν . . .*, continued to old age in this way of thinking'.

(iii) 563-74. *Ode*

The ode is divided into four periods by distinct pauses in sense, and the antode (595-606), which is in complete metrical resposion, is divided in sense at the same points.

(1) 563 ~ 595	- - - -	υ - υ -	
(2) 564 ~ 596	- - - -	υ - υ -	
(3) 565 ~ 597	- - - -	υ - -	
(4) 566 ~ 598	- - - -	υ - υ -	- - υ -
(5) 567 f. ~ 599 f.	- -   υ -	υ - υ -	-   υ -   υ - -
(6) 569 f. ~ 601 f.	- - υ   - - υ -	- - υ -	-   υ -
	- - υ   - - υ -	-   υ -	- -   - -   -   υ - -
(7) 571 f. ~ 603 f.	- - - -	- - - -	- -   - - -   -   υ - -
(8) 573 ~ 605	- - υ - υ -   - - -		
(9) 574 ~ 606	- - - - υ - - -		

(1) and (2) are choriambic dimeters of the form *ch ia*. (3) is an aristophanean, *ch ba*. (4) is a choriambic trimeter of the form *ch ia ch*. (5) is a choriambic tetrameter of the form choriambic dimeter (*ch ia*) + aristophanean (*ch ba*). (6) is a sequence of nine lyric dactyls. On this metre cf. p. 138. Note the elision *πατέρ* in 569; cf. S. *Ant.* 339, 350, where there is correption in the strophe and elision in the antistrophe at the mid-point of a sequence of eight lyric dactyls. (7) is a choriambic tetrameter of the form *ia ch - - - - ch*. (8) is a glyconic, and (9) a pherecratean.

For the general structure cf. *Eq.* 551 ff. ~ 581 ff.: (1) four glyconics + one pherecratean; (2) two glyconics + one pherecratean; (3) two 'aeolionics' (Dale, 189), of the form - - - υ υ - - - υ υ - - -; (4) three glyconics + pherecratean. Here in *Clouds*, however, the central passage of lyric dactyls recalls the unusually elevated parodos and gives a comparable elevation to the ode; cf. Fraenkel, 195 ff.

The Chorus, as in *Eq.*, invites the gods to its dance. Ode and antode together may be summarized: 'Come, Zeus, Poseidon, Athena . . .' Such an invitation to a festival or celebration is fully in accord with Greek practice and sentiment. It is notable that the Chorus resumes its role as clouds (Aither is 'our father', 569), and does not simply sing as a chorus of Athenians at a festival. So in *Ach.* 665 ff. the chorus sings in character when it invokes 'the Acharnian Muse', and similarly in *Th.* 1136 ff. the chorus which opens its song with the words *Παλλάδα τήν φιλόχορον ἐμοὶ δεῦρο καλεῖν νόμος εἰς χορόν* refers to itself (1145) as *δῆμος . . . γυναικῶν*. The maintenance of dramatic role is necessarily less obtrusive in *Knights*, where the chorus represents Athenian cavalrymen.

For the invocation of a list of gods cf. *Th.* 312 ff., where, in response

to the injunction 'Pray to . . .', the chorus sings 'Zeus . . . and Apollo . . . and Athena . . . come here, and Artemis . . . and you, Poseidon . . .', etc. The form is a serious one, not peculiar to comedy or even characteristic of it; we find the same form in *A. Th.* 116 ff., where the chorus calls upon gods to avert an enemy attack, and in *S. OT* 158 ff., where the prayer is for the end of a plague (cf. 263 ff. n., above). In the Sophoclean example the rhythm is predominantly dactylic.

Poseidon, Helios, and Artemis are not named outright in this song, but are identified by their attributes. The names of Athena (604) and Dionysos (606) are delayed until their characterizations are complete, and Zeus and Aither are partially characterized before they are named. This elaborate allusive reference is common in epic and serious lyric poetry (especially Pindar); in observing its presence in *A. Th.* 116 ff. and *S. OT* 158 ff. we observe also that Ar. has exaggerated it. By contrast, in *Knights* Poseidon and Athena, the only two deities invoked, are named in the first verse of ode and antode respectively.

**563 f. θεῶν Ζῆνα τύραννον:** For the word-order cf. Kratin. 256. 1 f. *τραγωδίας δὲ Κλεομάχον διδάσκαλος*.

**566 ταμίαν:** Poseidon is 'ταμίης of the trident' because it is he who decides when to use it to cause earthquakes and tidal waves. Cf. *S. Ant.* 1154 *τὸν ταμίαν (sc. ἀγαθῶν) Ἰακχόν*; in Pindar, Kastor and Polydeukes are *ταμίαι* of Sparta (*N.* 10. 52) and Battos *ταμίης* of Kyrene (*P.* 5. 62).

**570 βιοθρέμματα πάντων:** They are not exactly philosophizing, for the ordinary Greek recognized that the life of plants and animals depends on the weather, but the treatment of Aither as a god does not appear in the fifth century, outside this play, except in *E. fr.* 941 ('treat Aither as Zeus') and 839 ('parent of men and gods'—an idea facilitated by the role of the sky as progenitor in mythological and quasi-philosophical cosmogony).

**571 ἰππονώμιαν:** As in *E. Hp.* 1399; there being no Attic prose words in *-νώμιης*, Ar. did not 'Atticize' artificially a word no doubt known to him only from poetry. Cf. 278, 597.

(iv) 575-94. *Epirrhema*

The Chorus now addresses the audience as clouds, deities, speaking to the citizens of Athens and giving political advice relevant to the date at which the original version of the play was produced (cf. p. lxxx).

Normally, as here, the metre of the epirrhema is the trochaic tetrameter catalectic (cf. *Ach.* 676 ff., *Eq.* 565 ff., *V.* 1071 ff., *Av.* 753 ff.). Normally, too, its matter is (in the broad sense) political, its standpoint critical, and it is spoken by the coryphaeus in character; cf. *Ach.* 676, 'We old men criticize the city' and *Eq.* 580, 'Don't be resentful of us who wear our hair long.'

- 575 **προσέχετε**: οοοο is not normal at the end of a trochaic tetrameter, but τὸν νοὸν προσέχειν, intractable in many forms but indispensable in sense, is simply allowed as an exception; cf. 1122, *Eq.* 503, *V.* 1015, *Av.* 688 (the last three anapaestic). We do not want πρόσχετε (C11<sup>ac</sup>Vc1), i.e. πρόσχετε, for the aorist aspect is inappropriate to the sense of the expression.
- 577 **ὠφελούσαις**: I do not think that ὠφελούσαι (R) can be defended by reference to *Av.* 47, *S.* *OT* 60, or any of the 'illogical' nominatives cited by KG, i. 47.
- 579 **ξυδος**: The dispatch of a military force, often on a small scale and only for a few days (cf. *Ach.* 1073 ff., *Pax* 1179 ff., *D.* xxiv. 94).
- 580 **μηδενὶ ξὺν νόῳ**: The ordinary soldier, whose standpoint Old Comedy adopts, commonly regards his generals and their orders as half-witted. τὸτ' . . . ψακάζομεν: Thunder and rain, like earth-tremors, signified that the gods disapproved (for their own inscrutable reasons) of the enterprise, and it was commonly abandoned, if this was practicable; cf. *Eup.* 110 B (Edmonds), 8 ff., where a demagogue is alleged to have threatened 'to imprison the generals because at Mantinea they wouldn't allow <the attack> when the god thundered'. Similarly in *Ach.* 170 f. Dikaiopolis brings about the dissolution of the Assembly by pretending that it is coming on to rain. It appears from *Ach.* 1073 ff., however, that snow did not necessarily take precedence over military requirements. ψα- in *Π1* R is supported by *Phryn. Soph. PS* 128. 9.
- 581 **βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγόνα**: Kleon, the 'Paphlagonian slave' of *Eq.* 2 (etc.), and a 'tanner', as in *Eq.* 44, because Kleon made his living from tanneries. The radical democracy of late fifth-century Athens tended to elect wealthy aristocrats to high office, and it was possible for the comic poets to sneer at *νοῖι homines*; cf. especially *Eq.* 128 ff. and *Eup.* 117 *αἰρούμενοι καθάρματα στρατηγούς*.
- 582 **ἤρείσθε**: The imperfect is important, cf. 63 n.; Clouds, Sun, and Moon tried to stop the process, but (587) failed. Kleon was elected as one of the ten generals for 424/3; at least in the fourth century (we cannot be sure about the fifth) the elections were held 'on a day of favourable omens after the sixth prytany' (*Arist. Μθ. π.* 44. 4) and this would normally be in late February or early March.
- 584 **ἡ σελήνη . . . 586 Κλέων**: There was an eclipse of the moon on 29 Oct. 425 and an eclipse of the sun on 21 March 424. Ar., writing the play in the latter part of 424 (and this epirrhema belongs to the original version, for it treats Kleon as still alive), can hardly have regarded both eclipses as occurring 'when you were electing Kleon general', and it is better sense (cf. H. B. Mayor, *JHS* lix [1939], 63, n. 3) to suppose that he means what he says: that at the time when the elections were due the weather was unusually bad, the moon 'started to fade out of her path' (untrue, but topical; on the plural

- ὀδοῦς cf. 172 n.) and the sun, growing dim (as the sun does in bad weather) 'threatened that he would not shine' (hardly verifiable, but also topical). βροντή . . . ἀστράτης: Taken from Sophokles (fr. 520N = 578P). στρατηγῆσοι: The future optative (*Π1*, and contained in the paraphrase by Σ<sup>ε</sup>) may be due to the interference of a grammarian.
- 587 **φασί . . . 589 τρέπειν**: Cf. 208 n. *Ec.* 743 ff. refers to the same comforting belief, as λόγος . . . τις . . . τῶν γεραυτέρων: cf. *D.* xix. 256.
- 591 **λάρον**: Cf. *Eq.* 956 *λάρος κεχρηῶς ἐπὶ πέτρας δημηγορῶν*. δῶρων: '(Accepting) bribes.' Cf. *And.* i. 73 *ὅπόσοι κλοπῆς ἢ δῶρων ὄφλοιεν*. It was a standard assumption of ancient politics—and, for all we know, often justified—that one's adversaries were corrupt.
- 592 **φιμώσητε . . . αὐχένα**: A disagreeable way of imprisoning a man, by putting his hands, feet, and head each through a hole in a board. Cf. *Eq.* 1048 f. *τουτοὶ δῆσαι σ' ἐκέλευ' ἐν πενταεργίγγω ξύλω*, *Kratin.* 115, *Poll.* x. 177.
- 593 **τάρχαϊον**: 'As they were', not necessarily a long time ago; cf. *Eq.* 1387 *μακάριος εἰς τάρχαϊα δὴ καθίσταμαι* and *Kassies*, 12 ff.
- 594 **ξυνοίσειται**: The middle (ctr. 590) may have been associated with oracular formulae; cf. *Hdt.* iv. 15. 2, v. 82. 1, 114. 2 and vii. 8. α. 1 *θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον*. Cf. also 296 n.
- (v) 595-606. *Antode*
- 595 **ἀμφί μοι . . . ἄναξ**: A poem of Terpander, according to Σ<sup>ε</sup> 7<sup>ε</sup>, began ἀμφί μοι αὖτις (αὐτε?) ἀνακτα (*PMG* 697), a formula followed, according to Σ<sup>ε</sup>, by dithyrambic poets; hence the word ἀμφιανακτιζέω (*Kratin.* 67). Cf. ἀμφί μοι in *h. Pan.* 1, *E. Tro.* 511.
- 596 **Κυνθίαν**: Kynthos is the rocky height (106 m.) on Delos (*h. Ap.* 17, 26), and Delos was comparable with Delphi as a centre of the cult of Apollo.
- 597 **ὕψικέρατα πέτραν**: The phrase is Pindar's (fr. 325), according to *EM* 504. 4.
- 599 **f. Λυδῶν**: The great temple of Artemis at Ephesos was a focus of Lydian as well as Greek worship; Kroisos had contributed to its building (*Hdt.* i. 92. 1). Cf. *Autokrates I οἱα παίζουσι φίλοι παρθένοι Λυδῶν κόρ μ . . . 'Εφεσίαν παρ' Ἀρτεμιν*.
- 602 **αἰγίδος ἠνίοχος**: The phrase suggests that the goddess travels by flapping the aegis, which (in sculpture and vase-paintings) she wears like a short cape. Cf. *A. Eu.* 403 f. *ἤλθον . . . πτερῶν ἄτερ ροιβιδούσα κόλπον αἰγίδος*. **πολιοῦχος**: A stock epithet of Athena (cf. *Eq.* 581) in the dedications from the Akropolis. **Ἀθάνα**: Possible forms of her name are the epic *Ἀθήνη* and *Ἀθηναίη*, the lyric *Ἀθάνα*, and the normal Attic *Ἀθηναία* or *Ἀθηναῖα*. On the dedications *Ἀθήνη*



occurs sporadically, *Ἀθάνα* once (Raubitschek, no. 53: *πολιήοχε πότνι Ἀθάνα* in an Attic elegiac couplet) and the hybrid *Ἀθαναία* once (no. 290, otherwise Attic; cf. *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 460. 2 *θερα (sic) αθαναίαι ανεθεκε*). The dialogue of drama, as well as lyrics, has *Ἀθάνα*, never *Ἀθήνη* (Björck, *Das Alpha Imitivum* [Uppsala, 1950], 133 f.).

**603 Παρνασσίαν:** It sounds for a moment as if we are coming back to Apollo; but the song is rounded off with Dionysos (cf. 311 ff.), who was the god of Delphi during the three winter months. The running of the maenads over the ridges of Parnassos, carrying torches, is mentioned in *S. Ant.* 1125 ff. and *E. Ion* 714 ff. Cf. *A. Eu.* 24 ff. and H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford, 1956), i. 11 ff. The MSS. here and at *Ra.* 1057, 1212, are divided between one sigma and two, but *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1258. 24 (324) has *Παρνήσσιος*.

**604 πεύκαι:** ΠΙΧ have the singular (cf. *πέυκης* V), which could be right; but cf. *E. Ba.* 307 *κάπὶ Δελφίσιον πέτρας πηδῶντα σὺν πεύκαισι* and fr. 372. 2 f. *ἐν πεύκαισι Παρνασσὸν κατά πηδᾶ χορευῶν παρθένους σὺν Δελφίσιον*. In *Ra.* 1212 *πέυκαισι* and *πέυκησι* are variants.

**606 κωμαστής:** *κωμωδία* gives the word a special appropriateness; cf. the chorus in *Th.* 987 ff. *ἦγοῦ δέ γ' ὦδ' αὐτὸς σὺ κισσοφόρε Βακχεῖε δέσποτ'*: *ἐγὼ δὲ κόμοις σε φιλοχόροισι μέλπω* and *E. Ba.* 1167.

(vi) **607-626. Antepirrhema**

The Chorus again addresses the audience in character. The antepirrhema is in the same metre as the epirrhema, and has the same number (twenty) of verses. This identity of antepirrhema with epirrhema in character, metre, and size is found also in *Ach.* 703 ff., *Eq.* 595 ff., *V.* 1102 ff., and *Av.* 785 ff.; sixteen verses in *Ach.*, *Eq.*, and *Av.*—hence the generalization of Hephaestion 73. 7 ff., cf. *Σν V.* 1071—but twenty in *V.*, as here.

**609 χαιρέν:** To greet them, to say *χαίρετε* to them; *χαιρέν* was a normal epistolary opening, used by Kleon in an official dispatch (*Eup.* 308).

**612 δραχμῆν:** One could hardly say *ἄφελῶ σε δραχμῆν*, but the accusative is made possible by the preceding internal accusative *ἐλαττον*.

**614 πρή:** AM<sub>2</sub>Θ<sub>2</sub>X have *πρῶ*, but the aorist imperative in a prohibition, whether one is cajoling a master or giving orders to a slave, has no parallel in comedy (*Th.* 870 is a parody of *S.* fr. 453N = 493P). *Σεληναίης:* ΠΙ has *σεληναίης*, but since *Σεληναίη* (found in Emped. B43) is in any case a grandiloquent name for the moon—current as *Σεληναία* by the time Plato wrote *Cra.* 409 B—there is no reason why it should not be made (humorously) to sound even more grandiloquent by using an epic form. Cf. *Eq.* 1253 *Ἐλλάνιε Ζεῦ, σὸν τὸ νικητήριον*, and 401 n. Two Akropolis dedications use *Ἀθηναίη* even when nothing else is 'epicized': Raubitschek, nos. 29 and 119 (both Attic prose). Nos. 39, 121, and 298 are Ionic in alphabet, morphology, or both. Cf. 989, below.

**615 δ' οὐκ:** With *οὐκ* (α) the meaning is: 'And she says that she confers other benefits on you, and' (= 'and yet', indignantly) '<you> do not . . .', which is clumsier than ' . . . <on you>, but you do not . . .'. Bentley's conjecture δ' οὐκ was anticipated by LP<sup>c</sup>.

**620 δικάζετε:** Cf. 208 n. The law courts were shut on festival days (*[X.] Ath.* 3. 8).

**622 τὸν Μέμνον' ἢ Σαρπηδόνα:** The gods mourn Memnon because he was the son of Dawn, and killed at Troy (*Pi. O.* 2. 83 ~ *P.* 6. 30 ff.). A cup by Douris (Louvre G 115) shows Dawn raising his dead body. Sarpedon was a son of Zeus and 'dearest of men' to him; Zeus wished that he could save him from death at the hands of Patroklos (*Il.* xvi. 431 ff.), and had his body miraculously conveyed by Sleep and Death to his native land (*ibid.* 666 ff.). For the article with the first of two co-ordinated nouns but not with the second cf. 104, 1418, 1465, *Eq.* 320 and *A. Ag.* 324 *τῶν ἀλότων καὶ κρατησάντων* (and cf. Fraenkel on *Ag.* 314).

**623 ἀνθ' ὧν . . . 625 ἀφηρέθη:** Each state which was a member of the Delphic Amphiktyony sent to its meetings representatives called *ιερομνήμονες* (*D.* xviii. 148); that this was true in Ar.'s time too is shown by fr. 322 (from the second *Thesmophoriazusae*), cited here by Σ<sup>c</sup>: *ἀγαθὰ μέγала τῇ πόλει ἤκειν φέροντάς φασι τοὺς Πυλαγόρας ἐκ τῆς Πυλαίας καὶ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα*. How 'we, the gods' 'took away Hyperbolos's chaplet' (which he was wearing as a badge of ceremonial office) we do not know; perhaps by blowing it off at an embarrassing moment. *κάπειθ'*: Cf. 409 n.

**626 κατὰ σελήνην:** Cf. 17 n. It seems that recently (but we do not know whether the antepirrhema belongs to the original play or the revised version) there had been intercalations of days which temporarily put the month out of step with the moon. Evidence that either Athens or Sparta (or both) was out of step at the time of the original play is provided by *Th.* iv. 118 f., where 14 Elaphebolion at Athens (118. 11) = 12 Geraistios at Sparta (119. 1). Cf. *Pax* 414 f. and Gomme's commentary on *Th.* iii. 713 ff.

(E) **627-99. STREPSIADES AS A PUPIL**

(i) **627-99. Socrates tries to teach Strepsiaides metre and grammar**

Socrates comes out of the school alone, expressing his exasperation.

**627 μὰ τὴν Ἀναπνοήν:** Of the three deities by which he swears (cf. 1234 n.) we have already encountered Chaos (424 v. n.) and Aer (264); 'Breath' or 'Breathing' is new to us; cf. 814. *Arist. Resp.* 471<sup>a</sup>7 defines *ἀναπνοή* as including both inhalation and exhalation. It would be interesting to know whether the work attributed to

- Pythagoras, beginning with the words *οὐ μὰ τὸν ἀέρα τὸν ἀναπνέω* (A19), was already in circulation in Ar.'s time.
- 629 σκαιόν:** Coupled with *ἀγρείος* in Alcman 16, with *ἄγρικός* in Ehippos 23. 1, with *ἀπαίδευτος* in *V.* 1183, and with *ἀναίσθητος* in *D.* xviii. 120; in *Lys.* x. 15 it implies inability to understand, and it is the opposite of *δεξιός* (cf. 148 n.) in *V.* 1265 f.
- 630 f. ὅστις . . . μαθεῖν:** Almost (but it is heavy-handed in English) 'trying to learn . . . he has forgotten them before he has succeeded in learning them'; cf. 63 n., 582 *σκαλαθυρμάτι*: The initial σ (*καλα-ΠιR<sup>pc</sup>V*) is certain; cf. *Ec.* 611, where *σκαλαθύραι* is a slang word for sexual intercourse (~ *σκαλεύειν* and *σκάλλειν*, 'poke', 'hoe', 'scratch'), and *σκαλάθυρα* in Hsch. and Phot. *ταῦτ' ἐπιλέλησται:* For the demonstrative in the main clause, referring to something in the preceding participial clause, cf. 591 f.
- 633 ξέει:** When a question is asked with a *negatived* future, it is equivalent to a command (e.g. 1296); a *positive* future sometimes occurs when a command is expected (KG, i. 176), and we cannot always be sure whether it is a question or not. Probably it is a statement when the sentence is long and the style serious (cf. 811 n.), a question when the sentence is short and the tone lively, as here, in 1299 and *Pax* 259 *οἴσεις ἀλετριβανὸν τρέχων; τὸν ἀσκάντην:* Cf. 254 n.
- 634 οὐκ ἔωσι μ':** The joke is akin to the traditional modern joke about ripe cheese walking. Strepsiades emerges, carrying the bed.
- 635 ἰδοῦ:** Cf. 82. Strepsiades puts down the bed in a central position, but does not yet lie on it; cf. 694, 783, 804 nn.
- 637 οὐδέν:** In RV this is Strepsiades' answer, ignored by Socrates; but the dramatic point is spoiled if Strepsiades says at this stage that he does not want to learn anything new. He does want to learn (738 f.) *τὸν ἀδικὸν λόγον.*
- 638 πότερον:** So R; *πότερα* (cett.) may be right; *ωωωω* is rare, but cf. 681 n. and *Av.* 47 *τὸν ἐποπα παρ' ἐκείνου κτλ.* (in *Ach.* 1022 there is division between speakers, and *Ach.* 1054 and *Pax* 1221 are the same excited utterance *ἀπόφερ' ἀπόφερε*). *περὶ ἐπῶν ἢ ῥυθμῶν:* The order in AMd1NUVsrWgZθ, *περὶ ῥυθμῶν ἢ ἐπῶν*, is doubly objectionable, for ἢ ἐ- is a type of hiatus never otherwise attested in Comedy and *περὶ ῥυθμῶν* must, in Comedy, scan *ω-ω-* (cf. 344 n.).
- The difference between *μέτρον* and *ῥυθμός* is best explained by saying that an iambic tetrameter and a trochaic tetrameter differ *ῥυθμῶ* but not *μέτρῳ*, whereas an iambic trimeter and an iambic tetrameter differ *μέτρῳ* but not *ῥυθμῶ*. *ἐπῶν:* Hardly 'verses' here (cf. 541 n.), because when both the 'measure' and the 'rhythm' of a verse have been identified the formal classification of that verse is complete. After 'measures' (639-46) and 'rhythms' (647-54) Socrates goes on (658 ff.) to linguistic questions, the first of which is 'which

- creatures are *ὀρθῶς* masculine?' Therefore Ar. probably intends by *ἐπῶν* 'words', as in *Ra.* 1180 f. *ἀκουστέα τῶν σῶν προλόγων τῆς ὀρθότητος τῶν ἐπῶν.* In Hdt. ii. 30. 1 *ἔπος* is certainly 'word': 'their name is *asmakh*, and this *ἔπος* means . . .' Pl. *Phdr.* 267 c ascribes *ὀρθοεπεία* τῆς to Protagoras, who in *Prt.* 338 E is represented as saying *παιδείας μέγιστον μέρος εἶναι περὶ ἐπῶν δεινῶν εἶναι:* cf. *Euthd.* 277 E, 'First of all, then, according to Prodikos, one must learn *περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος*', *Cra.* 384 E *ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητα*, and D. Fehling, *RM* cviii (1965), 212 ff.
- 640 διχοεικῶ:** Cf. 645 n. We might have expected *-κων*, in view of *Eq.* 807 *οἶων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῶν . . . παρεκόπτου* (cf. A. *Ag.* 1252), and Blaydes emended; but the dative is intelligible on the analogy of *ζημιῶν* τινὰ *χιλίας δραχμαῖς* (*θανάτω, χρήμασιν*, etc.). Strepsiades, as a farmer, would have been selling *ἀλφίτα*, not buying it.
- 642 τὸ τρίμετρον ἢ τὸ τετράμετρον:** When we first meet these and similar words they are plainly adjectives, e.g. Hdt. i. 47. 2 *ἐν εξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ*, lit. 'in six-measure metrical form' (cf. 968 n.); this can be abbreviated, as in Hdt. v. 61. 1 *ἐν εξαμέτρῳ*, which cannot mean 'in a hexameter', because it refers to the utterance of two hexameters. The only 'three-measure <verse>' in common use was the iambic trimeter; Hdt. i. 174. 5 quotes verses uttered *ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ*, and they are iambic trimeters. The 'four-measure <verse>' in Aristotle is the trochaic tetrameter, as is clear from *Rhet.* 1408<sup>b</sup>36-1409<sup>a</sup>1, cf. *Po.* 1449<sup>a</sup>21 f., al.; so probably (though not certainly) in *X. Smp.* 6. 3. Whether Ar. has in mind the iambic tetrameter or the trochaic tetrameter, or either to the exclusion of the other, is not easily determined; but since the iambic tetrameter was confined to Comedy, whereas the trochaic tetrameter was not uncommon in the dialogue of Tragedy, the obvious aesthetic comparison is between the iambic trimeter and the trochaic tetrameter.
- 643 ἡμέκτεω:** Cf. 645 n. In fifth-century Attic both *εων* and *εω* were spelt *EO*, and if Ar. wrote *EO*, as he probably did, in a word which admitted of alternative interpretations, no one could tell afterwards which of the *o*-vowels he meant. The evidence of fourth-century inscriptions shows that *ἡμέκτεων* is the earlier form (*JG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1356. 7 al. [Attica, IV in.]), *ἡμεκτέον* the later.
- 644 οὐδέν λέγεις:** 'You're talking nonsense'; cf. 781 (the same point) and 1095, 'there's nothing in your argument'. *περίδου:* Cf. *Ach.* 772 f. (Megarian speaking, and trying to catch out Dikaiopolis) *περίδου μοι . . . αἰ μή 'στω οὗτος χοῖρος*, lit. 'bet for me . . . <to see> if this is not a piglet', i.e. 'I bet you this is a piglet'.
- 645 τετράμετρον:** 1 *μέδιμνος* = 6 *έκτεῖς*; 1 *έκτεῖς* = 8 *χοίνικες*; hence 4 *χοίνικες* = 1 *ἡμέκτεων*, approximately 4,350 cubic centimeters (cf. Mabel Lang and Margaret Crosby, *The Athenian Agora*, x [Princeton, 1964], 39 ff.).



647 ταχύ γ' ἄν: For this sarcastic expression cf. D. xxi 209 ταχύ γ' ἄν χαρίσαιντο, οὐ γάρ; 'they'd be so quick to show him favours, don't you think?', lviii. 15. There is no exact parallel in comedy (but cf. 8 n.); *Lys.* 25 is not sarcastic. The Thoman reading τάχα δ' ἄν (P9P19P251V2Vv4) makes Socrates too optimistic; note that it is Strepsiades who takes the initiative in pursuing the subject of rhythm. ῥυθμῶν: Cf. 638 n.

649 κομψόν: 'Discriminating' or 'accomplished'; cf. Pl. *Lys.* 216A κομψός ἐδόκει εἶναι ταῦτα λέγων' εὐ γὰρ ἔλεγεν, and Chantraine, *REG* lviii (1945), 90 ff. συνουσία: συνουσία can refer to a drinking-party, as we can say 'we have company tonight' = 'we are giving a party tonight' (cf. *V.* 1209 ξυμποτικός . . . καὶ ξυνουσιαστικός), but it can also refer to any other kind of meeting or association. Cf. *Th.* 21 αἰ σοφαὶ συνουσίαι, 'keeping company with brilliant men' and *Th.* vi. 16. 5 'I know that men like this . . . give offence, especially to their peers, but also τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυνόοντας', i.e. 'when they associate with others'.

650 ἐπαυθ': εἰτ' ἐπάτειν (all MSS. except R) is rendered improbable by *V.* 515 f. καταγελώμενος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπάτειν ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν (trochaic tetrameters); *Rax* 1064 αἰότερος occurs in a parody of epic verse. αἰτε in 1166 (v. n.) is metrically ambiguous. ἐπάτειν θ' is a possibility, since Σ<sup>B</sup>, as well as Σ<sup>V</sup>, presupposes an infinitive. τῶν ῥυθμῶν: Perhaps sc. of the songs sung at the party.

651 κατ' ἐνόπλιον . . . δάκτυλον: Pl. *R.* 400 B mentions (but does not explain) both δάκτυλος and ἐνόπλιος τις σύνθετος (sc. ῥυθμός) among the technical terms used by Damon in the time of Socrates. The expression ἐνόπλιος ῥυθμός occurs also in X. *An.* vi. 1. 11, where men are singing and dancing in armour; δάκτυλος, as a metrical term, does not recur in Classical Greek. Σ<sup>R(2)</sup>ν(2)ε(2) equates ἐνόπλιος with προσοδιακός (Σ<sup>E</sup> λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τινων, cautiously) and defines it as - - - - -; this definition is presupposed by the metrical analysis in Σ<sup>III</sup> Pi. N. 6, and x - - - - - is Hephaestion's definition (47. 22 ff., cf. 153. 18 ff.; Hephaestion does not use the word ἐνόπλιος) of the προσοδιακὸν μέτρον. Σ<sup>R(1)</sup>ν(1)ε(1) equates ἐνόπλιος with ἀμφίμακρος (here too it is Σ<sup>E</sup> who shows by the words οἱ δὲ that alternative theories are involved) and with κωρητικός: the former is - - - in Heph. 11. 12, the latter - - - and - - - in Heph. 218. 9 ff. This does not help us much. A further complication is that Σ<sup>B</sup> Heph. 293. 6 f. uses κατενόπλιος to denote that type of dactylic hexameter which has the form - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - . The term 'enoplian' is extensively used in modern metrics (cf. Wilamowitz, 376 ff., and Dale, 148 ff.), chiefly to denote x - - - - - - - - and x - - - - - - - - , and the usage (like most consistent usages) is justified by convenience. δάκτυλος in ancient metricians usually means - - - (e.g. Hephaestion 11. 6), but Aristoxenos *Rhythm.* ii. 30

defines the δακτυλικὸν γένος of 'feet' as ἐν ἴσῳ λόγῳ (by contrast with the ἰαμβικὸν γένος, which is ἐν τῷ διπλασίῳ, and the παιωνικόν, which is ἐν τῷ ἡμιολίῳ); cf. Σ<sup>RVE</sup> here and Σ<sup>A</sup> Heph. 126. 11 πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐν ἴσῳ λόγῳ δάκτυλον καλοῦσιν οἱ ῥυθμικοί. It may be perilous to interpret Ar. in the light of later technical works, but it is even more so to interpret him in the light of the definitions which we have taken for granted since our schooldays. Possibly Ar. included under rhythms κατὰ δάκτυλον all types of purely dactylic, anapaestic, and spondaic verse, and under κατ' ἐνόπλιον all those in which a division of the verse into identical dactylic, anapaestic, or spondaic units is not possible without a 'remainder' at the beginning or the end.

652 εἰπέ δή . . . 654 οὐτοσί: 'Well, tell me then!' as in 683 (following Strepsiades' confident ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔγωγε) and 778. Either 653 or 654 would be a possible humorous answer; together they do not constitute a possible answer, because there is no adversative particle linking 654 to 653 and no room for its introduction by conjecture, and no type of asyndeton of which 654 would be a recognizable example. Plainly at 653 Strepsiades holds up a finger, and at 654 he extends his middle finger in a vulgar gesture made by boys (cf. Σ<sup>RVE</sup>). I suggest that the two lines are ancient alternatives, such as we find in *Ra.* 1431 f.:

οὐ χρὴ λέοντος σκυμνὸν ἐν πόλει τρέφειν 1431a (om. test.)  
 μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ 'ν πόλει τρέφειν 1431b (om. VA)  
 ἦν δ' ἐκτραφῆ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν. 1432

654 is a more pungent joke than 653 and therefore to be preferred. μὲν does little more than emphasize πρὸ τοῦ (cf. 732, ἐγὼ μὲν in 643, *Lys.* xiii. 74, and E. *Su.* 655 ὡς μὲν [= γε] ἦν λόγος), implying at the most an antithesis between then and now which need not be made more explicit; cf. Denniston, 380 ff. It cannot mean 'but'.

655 ἀγρεῖος: Cf. *Th.* 160 ἀγρεῖον ὄντα καὶ δασύν; the word is rare, and is not surprising to find it replaced by ἀγροικός (K<sup>2</sup>NVSI Z<sup>0</sup>θ) or ἀχρεῖος (M<sup>P</sup>θ<sup>P</sup>). οὐ γάρ: Strepsiades rebuts the suggestion that he is to blame; almost 'No, I'm not, I just don't want . . .'. ἔζυρέ: In *An.* 1641 τί δ' ἔζυρ'; οὐκ οἶσθ' ἐξαπατῶμενος πάλαι; there are notes of both pity and indignation, but the impatience of *Lys.* 948 ἀλλ' ἔζυρὰ κατὰκεισο is nearer to Strepsiades' tone.

656 τί δαί: τί δῆ (R) is not impossible, for the nearest comparable τί δαί in this play (1275) means not 'what, then?' but 'why, what do you mean?'; but cf. *V.* 1211 f., 'Is that how you want me to lie?' — 'Oh, no!' — πῶς δαί;

659 τῶν τετραπόδων . . . 661 ἀλεκτρυόν: Socrates asks, 'Which of the <domestic> animals are rightly <called by> masculine <names>?' Strepsiades assumes that he is being asked a simpler question, whether he can distinguish male from female animals; and, not

surprisingly, having visualized three which have names unlike those of the females, he goes on to visualize a male dog (κύων means both 'dog' and 'bitch', but that does not matter, because he is not thinking about words) and then a male fowl, which is not τετράπους but is naturally thought of in the same context. It is possible that in actual Attic usage τετράπους, despite its etymology, included domestic fowls; but DGE 181. iii. 7 f. (Crete, V) differentiates between 'quadruped' and 'bird' as items of property. Σ<sup>RVE</sup> sees an allusion to the Platonic Socrates' oath 'by the dog', but the point of the passage in no way depends on that. εἰ μὴ μαινομαι: Cf. Th. 470 'I too hate that man, εἰ μὴ μαινομαι'. ὀρθῶς: Cf. 638 n. According to Arist. *Rhet.* 1407<sup>b</sup>6 ff. Protagoras expatiated on the genders of nouns, as part of ὀνομάτων ὀρθότης.

662 ὄρῃς ἃ πάσχεις . . . 663 ἄρρενα: ὄ (RV) is unlikely; cf. V. 1392 ὄρῃς ἃ δέδρακας; and Pl. 932 ὄρῃς ἃ ποιεῖς; and after ὄ- corruption ἄ > ὄ is more probable than the reverse. But cf. 431, 437 nn. Bentley suspected a lacuna before 662, in which Socrates would have asked Strepsiadēs 'And which are female?' and ἀλεκτρυόνων would have figured in the answer. This, however, would be unduly heavy treatment of the joke, and Ar. cuts a corner deftly. Socrates does not mean 'You have just used the same word for male and female' (as the Athenians did, in the case of ἀλεκτρυόνων: cf. Kratin. 110 f.) but 'You have just used for the male a word which, as we all know, is used by the ignorant for the female also'.

664 Σω. πῶς: Cf. Pax 847 πόθεν δ' . . .; — πόθεν; ἐκ τοῦρανοῦ, Av. 1233 f., Ec. 761. Hence Hermann's emendation φέρ'. Σω. ὄπως; (cf. 677) is unnecessary. Elmsley suggested that Ar. divided the line between the speakers after the second πῶς, so that Strepsiadēs asks πῶς δὴ; φέρε πῶς (cf. Lys. 574 πῶς δὴ; φέρ' ἴδω), but for the position of φέρε cf. Ra. 993 οὐδὲ τί φέρε πρὸς ταῦτα λέξεις;

666 ἀλεκτρυάιναν . . . ἀλέκτορα: Whereas ἀλεκτρυάιναν is coined for the occasion, on the analogy of θεραπείαν and λέαινα, ἀλέκτωρ, 'cock', was already established (e.g. Kratin. 259).

669 διαφιτίσω . . . κάρδοπον: Many verbs in -οῦν mean 'cover (smear, equip) with . . .'; cf. Av. 224 κατεμελίτωσε ('filled with sweetness') and Ernst Fränkel, op. cit. (15 n.), 94 f., 97. κάρδοπος was a trough or tray in which dough was kneaded; cf. D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia* xxvii (1958), 239 ff. and B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* lxxxii (1962), 126 f., 135. On ἀλφίτα cf. 106 n.

672 μάλιστά γε . . . 673 Κλεώνυμον: On Kleonymos cf. 353 n. For the repeated γε cf. 696 n. and Pax 1260 μηδαμῶς γ', ἐπεὶ τούτω γε κτλ.

674 δύναται: δύνασθαι in the sense 'mean' is attested as early as Hdt. ii. 30. 1, but Ar. means something less precise: '<The word> "κάρδοπος" has <in one respect> the same power (worth, value) as <the

name> "Κλεώνυμος" —because it is a word which sounds like the name of a male but denotes something female.

675 ἀλλ' ὄγαθ' . . . 676 ἀνεμάττετο: ὄγαθέ is used both in encouragement (e.g. Eq. 71, V. 286) and (as here) in expostulation (cf. 726, Eq. 160). μάττεσθαι is 'knead', 'make dough' (cf. 788). Did Ar. intend γ' ἀνε- or (as in Δ) γ' ἀν ἐ-? The middle ἀναμάττεσθαι does not occur elsewhere in Classical Greek, nor does it refer in Hellenistic Greek to kneading dough, except in Σ<sup>R</sup> on 669, which is perhaps influenced by this line. γ' ἀν ἐ- is improbable, because it was open to Ar. to write γ' ἐμάττετ' ἀν, which is rhythmically preferable. VK omits γ', and if this is right we must scan -λη'νε-; the *scriptio plena* -λη'νε- will have led to the interpolation of γ', as so often. But if γ' really is wrong, we do not know whether Ar. intended ἀνε- or, as Dobree suggested, ἐνε-; ἐμμάττεσθαι is first attested in Kallim. *Dian.* 124, but, again, is not used of kneading dough. Decision is made difficult by the obscurity of the allusion. The past tenses show that Kleonymos is being ridiculed not for some general characteristic which he still possesses but for something which he did on an occasion, or during a period, which Ar. expects his audience to identify. This occasion is clearly related to whatever underlies Eq. 1292 ff., where Kleonymos is ridiculed for bestial greed, bad manners, and sponging. It is hard not to feel that 'he kneaded his dough in a round mortar' is more than a mere reference to gross habits or (Σ<sup>RVE</sup>) to poverty; what is the point of 'round', and of the prefix ἀν-, if that is what Ar. intended (cf. 523, 995 nn.)? Willems, following a hint by Blaydes, perceived sexual *double entendre*; but a simple reference to anal coitus will hardly do, for the slang involved is not attested in other passages where we should expect to find it, the imagery is obscure, and the act itself too much taken for granted by the Greeks to be an object of ridicule *per se*. We get no help from Hdt. v. 92. η. 2 f., where Melissa's ghost refers, in 'Periander put his loaves into the oven when it was cold', to his intercourse with her after her death, for the point of this utterance was that it should be an enigma which he alone would understand. If Ar. did intend a sexual joke, one would expect ἀναμάττεσθαι, like δέφασθαι, to denote male masturbation, in which case the 'round mortar' would be the two-handed grip favoured (e.g.) by the satyr on the London black-figure cup B 410 (*JHS* lxxxv [1965], pl. vii). Strepsiadēs can make the metaphor fully intelligible by gesture. For masturbation as a humorous topic cf. 734, Eq. 24 ff., Pax 289 ff., Ec. 707 ff.; it is improbable that the Greeks attached moral significance to it, but it could be ridiculed on much the same basis as manifestations of hunger and poverty.

678 τὴν Σωστράτην: This is a common name among women (cf. V. 1397, Th. 375, Ec. 41, PA 13308-19), and if Ar. means to ridicule one

Sostratos for effeminacy, he has not made it easy for the audience to see the joke.

**679** ὀρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις: 'Yes, that's right'; cf. Pl. *Μηξ.* 235 Ε ἡ δῆλον ὅτι *Ἀσπασίαν λέγεις*; — λέγω γὰρ ('Yes, I do mean her'). ὀρθότερον λέγεις (β) is a banalization of this idiomatic γὰρ (Denniston, 73 ff.) and was probably the cause of the attribution of the words to Strepsiades (but M has a space before ὀρ-).

**680** ἐκεῖνο †δ' ἦν ἄν†: The forward reference of ἐκεῖνο is normal, but the oddity of the words has not been adequately discussed. If Strepsiades speaks the line (AEMMd1UVp1W9ΘΦΧ give it to him, but in some cases this may be a 'chain reaction' from 679), we expect him to express his realization of the correct form. δ' has no place in such an utterance. ἀρ' ἦν or ἦν ἀρα would be possible, though not exactly appropriate, for it implies 'that's what it was all the time, if only I had known'; Strepsiades might, of course, be looking at his lesson in that light. On the other hand, if Socrates speaks the line, δ' is intelligible, but ἦν ἄν not at all; we expect Socrates to speak dogmatically, not tentatively, and still less as if he had just realized something. Suspicion of the text is increased by the fact that although ἦν ἄν in the sense 'it must be' or 'it is, I suppose' has affinities with εἰεν ἄν 'must have been' or 'were, I think' in *Hdt.* i. 2. 1 and *Th.* i. 9. 4, no one has yet pointed to a clear parallel; certainly the idiom ἐβουλόμην ἄν, with which it is associated in Goodwin § 236, has nothing in common with it semantically. Observing the instability of ἀρα in the MSS. at 394, 410 (> ἄν- M), 465 (> ἄν MNNp1), 1154, 1252 (> ἄν Np1) and 1359, and having strong grounds for believing δ' interpolated with ἀρ' in 1028 (*v. n.*), I suspect that Blaydes may have been right in proposing ἐκεῖν' ἀρ' ἄν εἴη or ἐκεῖνο τὰρ' ἦν. τὰρα is used elsewhere when the speaker is communicating something which he regards as new to the hearer (e.g. *V.* 1262 *μαθητέον τὰρ' ἐστὶ πολλοὺς τῶν λόγων*), and Strepsiades might put the discovery of *Κλεωνύμη* into this category. In any case I think that it is Strepsiades who speaks this line.

**681** ἔτι δέ γε: So Θ<sub>1</sub> (and V<sub>3</sub><sup>pe</sup>), and for υυυυυ cf. 638 n. RVE<sup>ac</sup> MMd1Np1Vb3Vp1X<sup>np</sup> have the metrically defective ἔτι γε and E<sup>pc</sup>NU<sub>2</sub>Vs1W9ZΦ the over-excited and out-of-character ἔτ' ἔτι γε (ἔτ' ἔτι without γε AU<sub>1</sub>: ἔτι K); Triklinios's ἔτι δὴ γε (cf. his δὴ γε in 786) is questionable as Aristophanic Greek (Denniston, 247). περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων: Not, as so often (cf. 638 n.), 'words', but 'names' in the narrow sense, as we see from what follows.

**684.** 'These', says Σ<sup>v</sup>, 'were prostitutes'. They were also quite ordinary Athenian women's names (cf. 'Lysilla' in *Th.* 374), and unless there was a well-known 'firm' or 'team' of prostitutes (cf. *Ach.* 527) of whom four bore these names the audience could hardly understand the line as a reference to actual persons. υυυ|υυ is abnormal, but

cf. *V.* 25, and proper names often occasion abnormality in the rhythm of dialogue metres.

**686:** Melesias is not mentioned elsewhere, but Philoxenos in *V.* 84 is *καταπύγων* and it is probable that Ar. has taken the opportunity to name three men whose masculinity could be called in question. The failure, real or alleged, of one Ameinias to fulfil his military duties was current or recent gossip. We do not know whether he is the same person as the *Κομηταμεινίας* of *V.* 466 (used as a term of abuse against Bdelykleon by the Chorus), the son of Pronapes ridiculed in *V.* 74 f. for addiction to gambling, or the son of Sellos ridiculed in *V.* 1267 ff. as a greedy parasite. On the form of the name cf. 31 n.

**687** ὦ πόνηρε: This is not always abusive (as it is in *Eq.* 712, 858), but it is certainly brusque; cf. *Ach.* 1030, *V.* 214, 223. ἐστ' οὐκ ἄρρηνα: Cf. *Av.* 32 ἄν οὐκ ἀστός, 'though he is a non-citizen', and Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* (Basel, 1928), ii. 263 ff.

**688** ὑμῖν: So M<sup>z</sup>ZΘ<sup>pe</sup>; cf. 195 n. ἡμῖν (cett.) is less convincing, since Strepsiades is still far from identifying himself with the Socratics. ἐπεὶ: Almost 'I'll tell you why: . . .'. Cf. *V.* 79 and 1393 οὐδ' αὖτως γ', ἐπεὶ κτλ.

**689** γ': So R alone, perhaps wrongly (cf. Denniston, 124 f.), but *V.* 310 f. οὐκ . . . οἶδ' ὀπόθεν γε δειπνον ἔσται is relevant.

**691** τὴν Ἀμεινίαν: That Ameinias, ridiculed by Kratinos (213) and Eupolis (209) for a variety of social and political offences, was 'effeminate' is an unfortunate guess by Σ<sup>rv</sup>, who should have understood the next line better.

**692** ἦτις: ὅστις (β) would flatten the joke. Hsch. (η 948) ἦτις: ὅστις must refer to this passage.

**694** οὐδέν: Strepsiades has asked 'What is the point of my being taught . . .' (τί . . . μανθάνω), and the answer seems to be 'There is no point <sc. in going on>'—because of Strepsiades' lack of interest. Cf. *E. Md.* 64, where the old man, in reply to 'What is it? Don't begrudge telling me!', says οὐδέν ('It's nothing'). μετέγγων καὶ τὰ πρόσθ' εἰρημένα. In both passages the sense is close to 'Never mind, never mind!' δευρὶ: Socrates gestures towards the bed, and perhaps pulls back the blankets for Strepsiades to get in.

**696** ἱκετεύω, ἑνταῦθα γ': So Dobree; cf. *Ra.* 11 μὴ δῆθ', ἱκετεύω, πλὴν γε κτλ. and other instances of μὴ δῆθα . . . γε are *Eq.* 960, *Lys.* 36, *E. Md.* 336. Most MSS. have ἱκετεύω σ' ἑνταῦθ', and ἱκετεύω σε is indeed normal, but not invariable (as we have seen from *Ra.* 11, and cf. *Sachtsal.* 37 f.), but the line cannot scan if both σ' and ἑνταῦθα are retained. KNW9Z (and λΣ<sup>v</sup>) have ἐνθάδ', which would make the retention of σ' possible. ἀλλ' εἶπερ γε χρηί: Cf. 930, *Av.* 1359, and *Ra.* 1368 for εἶπερ γε, 251 and 341 for εἶπερ . . . γε, and 672 f. for γε in two successive components of the same sentence. εἶπερ γε is again NZ<sup>o</sup> (ZX have simply εἶπερ); the rest have εἶ γε, to which Thomas



**702 στρόβει πυκνώσας:** *στρόβει* is certainly intransitive in *V.* 1528 (referring to energetic dancing and coupled with *παράβαινε κύκλω*) and possibly so in *Eq.* 387 *ἐπιθε καὶ στρόβει*, an exhortation to a furious onslaught. With *πυκνώσας*, which in *Hdt.* ix. 18. 1 is used of an army closing its ranks, there is an element of contradiction; in 'gathering oneself together' one does not 'whirl'. But the highly metaphorical words of the Chorus (*πυκνώσας* is meant to suggest *πυκνός*, 'wise', familiar from epic onwards) are accompanied by *Strepsades'* contortions as the bugs bite him; he twists and turns (*στροβεῖ*), shrinks into as small an area of the bed as possible (*πυκνοῖ*), and at 704 (*πήδα*) gives a frantic jump.

**703 ταχύς . . . 705 φρενός:** Cf. Socrates' advice, 743 f., and p. xliv.

**705 ὕπνος . . . 706 ὀμμάτων:** Cf. 415, 732.

(iii) **707–22. *Strepsades in torment***

There may be parody here of a tragic hero expressing his agony in anapaestic verse; cf. *E. Hp.* 1347 ff. and *S. Niptra* as known from *Pacuvius* 280 ff.

In the MSS. Socrates utters both 708 and 716. But *Σ<sup>ε</sup>* on 707 ff. distinguishes between 707 and 708 as *τὸ μὲν τοῦ πρεσβύτου* and *τὸ δὲ τοῦ χοροῦ*, and *οἶτος τί ποιεῖς*; in 723 can hardly be uttered by the same person as 716. See p. 186 on Socrates' absence from the stage.

**707 ἀτταταῖ ἀτταταῖ:** Both this (RV) and *ιατταταῖ ιατταταῖ* (β, except for compromise in K) are acceptable; cf. *Ach.* 1190, *Eq.* 1. *Σ<sup>ε</sup>*, by describing the line as a 'quadrisyllabic choriambic foot', implies one or other of several possible variants, *ἀτταταταῖ* being the least unlikely, though even that is unparalleled.

**708 τί πάσχεις; τί κάμνεις;** For the dramatic effect of bacchiac rhythm, which is far commoner in tragedy than in comedy, cf. *Lys.* 711 *ἀληθῆ ἀληθῆ* and 716 *ὠὸ Ζεῦ*, in an elaborate paratragic setting (706–17).

**710 οἱ Κορίνθιοι:** It is possible that *κόρεις*, 'bugs', was current slang for 'Corinthians' (cf. the modern 'Jerries', etc.), and that the point of the joke is its reversal. Cf. *Ra.* 443 *Διὸς Κόρινθος ἐν τοῖς στρώμασιν*.

**711–15 καὶ τὰς πλευράς . . . καὶ μ' ἀπολοῦσιν:** Combination of symmetry and assonance to this degree is unusual, though there are comparable passages in Comedy, e.g. *Hermippos* 47 *χλαινίδες δ' οὐλαὶ καταβέβληνται, θώρακα δ' ἅπας ἐμπερονᾶται, κνημῖς δὲ περὶ σφυρὸν ἀρθροῦνται, βλαύτης δ' οὐδεὶς ἔτ' ἔρωσ λεύκης, ῥαβδὸν δ' ὄψει τὴν κοτταβικὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀχυροῖσι κυλινδομένην κτλ.*: *Eupolis* 163 *ὅς χαρίτων μὲν ὄζει, καλλαβίδας δὲ βαίνει, σησαμίδας δὲ χέζει, μήλα δὲ χρέμπτεται*: *Nikophon* 19, *Anaxandr.* 27. Ennius used the same device for tragic effect in *fr.* 97–99, called by *Cic.* (*Tusc.* iii. 44) *praeclarum carmen . . . et rebus et uerbis et modis lugubre: 'haec omnia uidi inflammari, Priami*

*ui uitam euitari, Iouis aram sanguine turpari'*, and cf. *Anon. ap. Cic. Tusc.* i. 69 '*caelum nitescere, arbores frondescere, uites lactificae pampinis pubescere, rami bacarum uerticite incuruescere*'. **δαρδάπτουσιν:** The word is predominantly epic, but not necessarily alien to Attic; cf. 995 n. and *Ra.* 66. **καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκπίνουσιν:** In RV this follows 713, but the extraction of the *ψυχὴ* is more naturally associated with the mortal injuries implied in 711 (cf. however *R. B. Onians, The Origins of European Thought* [ed. 2, Cambridge, 1954], 93 ff., for some considerations which might possibly point the other way). In Homer *ψυχὴ* is sometimes treated as a kind of vapour which escapes when the body is pierced by a weapon (cf. *Il.* xiv. 517 ff., xvi. 505, and *B. Snell, The Discovery of the Mind* [ed. 2, Oxford, 1953], 9 ff.). *ἐκπίνουσιν* suggests that it is here regarded more as 'life-blood'; cf. the metaphor of *S. El.* 785 f. *τοῦμόν ἐκπίνουσ' αἰὲ ψυχῆς ἄκρατον αἶμα*—and, of course, it often means simply 'life'. **ἐξέλκουσιν:** *Blaydes'* suggestion that the word should be interpreted as *ἐξελκοῦσιν*, 'ulcerate', does not do justice to the spirit of the passage.

**718 φρούδα . . . 719 ἐμβάς:** For the repetition cf. *Lys.* 962 ff. *ποῖος γὰρ ἂν ἦ νέφος ἀντίσχοι, ποία ψυχὴ, ποῖοι δ' ὄρχεις, ποία δ' ὀσφύς, ποῖος δ' ὄρρος κτλ.* Since *Nu.* contains at least one clear parody of *Heceuba* (1165 ff. ~ *Hec.* 171 ff.) it is probable that here too the model is another part of the same lament, 159 ff.: *τίς ἀμύνει μοι; ποία γέννα, ποία δὲ πόλις; φρούδος πρέσβυς, φρούδοι παῖδες* (but cf. also *Ion* 865 f. *στέρομαι δ' οἴκων, στέρομαι παίδων, φρούδοι δ' ἐλπιδες*, and *Andr.* 1078). *Ar.* does not use *φρούδος* much, but he does not confine it to paratragedy; cf. *Lys.* 106, *Th.* 691, *Ra.* 305. **χρήματα:** As at the start of the play, not as an immediate consequence of initiation; he has not yet learned anything which will alter the situation. **χροιά:** Cf. 103 n., 501 ff. **ἐμβάς:** Cf. 500 n., 858.

**721 φρουράς ἔδων:** 'Singing (a song) of (= belonging to, characteristic of) guard-duty' is intelligible in itself (unlike *φρουράς ἔδων* RVENP119 W9 [and *Σ<sup>ε</sup>*, but not *Σ<sup>κ</sup>*]) and was no doubt an expression commonly used (cf. *Σ<sup>κν<sup>ε</sup></sup>*) of passing the time in tedious or uncomfortable circumstances. Cf. the watcher in *A. Ag.* 16 f. and the generalization of *Lucr.* v. 1405 f. For the syntax, cf. *V.* 1225 *ἔδω . . . Ἀρμοδίου* ('one of the songs in which Harmodios is apostrophized'), *Lys.* 1236 f. *εἰ μὲν γε τις ἔδοι Τελαμώνος, Κλειταγόρας ἔδειν δέον*, where the reference is to specific songs entitled, as it were, 'Telamon' and 'Kleit-agora' (cf. *V.* 1245 ff., *PMG* 912), and—a somewhat different relationship—*Men. Dysc.* 432 f. *αὔλει . . . Πανός*, 'play one of the tunes which are acceptable to Pan' (or 'which belong to the cult of Pan'); cf. *Handley ad loc.* (I see no grounds for van Leeuwen's interpretation of *φρουράς ἔδω* as '*inter uigilandum canto*'). Cf. also 22 n. The curious variant *ἰδών* recorded by *Σ<sup>ν</sup>* must have arisen in antiquity



through a misunderstanding of an iota written over *ΑΙΩΝ* to show that *ΑΙΔΩΝ* was intended.

(iv) 723–90. *Socrates loses patience with Strepsiades*

**723 οὔτος τί ποιεῖς:** Socrates puts his head out of the door (cf. 726–9, 731 nn.). The expression *οὔτος τί ποιεῖς* (*πάσχεις, δρᾶς*) is used when the person addressed has begun to do something which he has not been doing hitherto or when the speaker notices something which, either through absence or through preoccupation, he has not hitherto noticed. Cf. 1502, *V. 1, Av. 1044, 1164, 1567*. Since Strepsiades is not doing anything new, but is simply continuing to be bitten by bugs, the words are a strong indication that Socrates did not speak 716 and has not been present during 700–22.

**726 ἀπολεῖ κάκιον?** With these angry words, more a threat than an imprecation (cf. *Ach. 294 f. σοῦ γ' ἀκούσωμεν; ἀπολεῖ, κατὰ σε χάσομεν τοῖς λίθοις*) Socrates bobs back into the school.

**727 οὐ μαλθακιστέ' . . . 729 κάπαιόλημ':** The MSS. (supported by the implications of *Σ<sup>RV</sup>* here and *Σ<sup>R</sup>* 731) give these words to Socrates. There is no objection to Socrates' passing from threats to encouragement in the course of half a line—such a change of mood, often required for a succession of different kinds of joke, would be characteristic of comedy (cf. 646 f.)—but the shorter we make Socrates' absence or withdrawal from the scene the harder it becomes to understand 731, 'Well, now, first of all let's see . . .'. I follow Willems in supposing that 727–9 are uttered by the Chorus. ἀποστερητικός: -ικός was a fashionable suffix at this time; cf. 318 n.

**729 τίς . . . 730 ἀποστερητρίδα;** 'If only someone would . . .!'; cf. *Lys. 1086 τίς ἂν φράσειε κτλ.*, 'I wish someone would tell me . . .', *V. 166 πῶς ἂν σ' ἀποκτείναιμι*, 'O, if only I could kill you!' One ἐπιβάλλει bedclothes—cf. *Ec. 536* and the words ἐπιβλημα (Nikostratos 15) and [ἐπιβ]λήτια (*SEG* xiii. 12. 219)—but one does not ἐπιβάλλειν anything from bedclothes; nor is ἐπιβάλλειν γνώμην meaningful in itself. If, however, we take ἐξ in a sense in which 'instead of', 'after' are blended (cf. *D. xviii. 131 πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ γεγονώς*, 'having become rich, though formerly a beggar') the point is: 'Socrates has put bedclothes on me; now, I wish that someone would put an idea into my head.' ἀποστερητρίδα, not the only possible way of forming a feminine corresponding to ἀποστερητής and by no means the only possible feminine adjective cognate with ἀποστερεῖν (cf. 728), reminds us of ἀλλητρὶς and ὀρχηστρίς, and there may be a point here foreshadowing 734; Strepsiades thinks of γνώμην ἀποστερητρίδα as a personable young woman materializing in his embrace under the bedclothes. It is also possible that ἀρν- is meant to suggest ἕξαρος (cf. 1203), in which case Strepsiades would also mean: 'I can deny

that I've borrowed the money; all I need now is an idea of how to get away with it.' This, however, is far-fetched, in that denial is not so much a step towards ἀποστερεῖν as an aspect of it, and Strepsiades can hardly venture on denial until he thinks he has mastered the technique of ἀποστερεῖν.

**731 φέρε νυν:** Socrates now bustles out of the school and crosses to Strepsiades, who is lying motionless. πρῶτον: Cf. 224 n. **8τι δρᾶ, τουτονί:** ἀθρήσω τουτονί ὅτι δρᾶ = ἀθρήσω ὅτι δρᾶ οὔτοσί would be commonplace Greek; the word order here is unusual, but cf. *Ec. 1125 φράσατέ μοι . . . τὸν ἄνδρ' ὅπου 'στί, τῆς ἐμῆς κεκτημένης* and *E. Ion 1307 τὴν σὴν ὅπου σοι μητέρ' ἐστὶ νουθέτει*.

**732:** Strepsiades, whose thoughts have been far away, jumps guiltily.

**733 ἔχεις τι:** *Σ<sup>RV</sup>* remarks that this is what one says in fishing and catching birds.

**734 πλὴν ἤ:** Cf. 361; πλὴν εἰ is also found, e.g. *Av. 601* (where, however, the immediately following τις may have determined the choice of εἰ rather than ἤ). τὸ πῆος: This reflects a common assumption of vulgar humour, that an adult male cannot be in bed alone and awake for long without masturbating (cf. 676 n.). *Σ<sup>RV</sup>* suggests that Strepsiades throws back the bedclothes and sits up, imitating masturbation with the comic phallus (cf. 538 f. n.). This is an inference from 735 ἐγκαλυψάμενος and 740 καλύπτου, and it may be wrong. In the theatre it would be more amusing if Strepsiades pushed the bedclothes up from underneath (which would necessarily draw them away from his chin), and did not sit up (in exasperation) until 736.

**735 ἐγκαλυψάμενος:** Right over his head (in order not to be distracted from thought by sights and sounds [*Σ<sup>RV</sup>*]), to judge from *Ra. 911 f. ἐγκαλύψας . . . τὸ πρόσωπον οὐχὶ δευκνύς*, and *Pl. Phdr. 237 A*, where Socrates speaks ἐγκαλυψάμενος in order not to see Phaidros while speaking.

**737 αὐτός . . . λέγε:** Cf. 636 f. n. αὐτός and πρῶτος together constitute an established expression; cf. *Th. vi. 88. 8* 'the Corinthians, having voted αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι for help to Syracuse, also sent envoys to Sparta with the Syracusan envoys', vii. 84. 3 (where the emphasis is on 'first') and 89. 3 (emphasis more on 'himself').

**738 ἀγῶ . . . 739 τόκων:** = ἃ ἐγὼ φροντίζεω βούλομαι βούλομαι γὰρ περὶ τῶν τόκων φροντίζεω.

**740 σχάσας . . . 742 σκοπῶν:** In other (and less colourful) words: do not commit yourself at once to that approach to the problem which you have already tried in vain, but cast around and see if it may not afford a purchase when approached from a different direction. ὀρθῶς διαιρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν is advice of a different kind, but equally alien to people like Strepsiades. On Platonic διαίρεσις cf. p. xliii.

**742 οἰμοὶ τάλας:** Strepsiades had obeyed the command καλύπτου, and now the bugs are busy on him again.



- 743 *κἄν ἀπορήσῃ* . . . 744 *ἄπελθε*: Cf. 703 ff., and for *ἄπελθε* cf. E. *IT* 546 *ἄπελθε τοῦ λόγου τούτου*.
- 744 *κἄτα* . . . 745 *ζυγώθρισον*: *τὴν γνώμην* (α) will not do, for (i) although *τὴν γνώμην κίνησον αὐτό* might be justifiable in theory as a verb with both an 'internal' and an 'external' object, no one has yet pointed to a true parallel, and it is hard to see what meaning Ar. could have intended which could not have been communicated much more clearly by *τῇ γνώμῃ*, and (ii) it is out of the question to make *αὐτό καὶ ζυγώθρισον* equal *καὶ ζυγώθρισον αὐτό*, with a post-positive anaphoric pronoun coming before the prepositive connective (*Pax* 417 and A. *Pr.* 51, where a demonstrative precedes *καί*, are a different matter). Since *κἄτα* was regularly written *KATA* in Hellenistic texts, it was liable to be confused with the preposition *κατά*; it is in fact written *κατα* here in RA<sup>ac</sup> and in 1076 *κἄτ' ἐλήφθη* is corrupted to *κατελήφθη* (which does not scan) in all MSS. I postulate, with Reiske, that Ar. intended *κἄτα τῇ γνώμῃ* and that the dative was altered to the accusative when *KATA* was interpreted as *κατά*. Bergk suggested *καὶ* *κατὰ τὴν γνώμην*: but this, I think, would mean to Ar. what it means elsewhere, 'according to your judgement/opinion', not 'in/with the mind'. *ζυγώθρισον* must be cognate with *ζυγόν* in the sense 'beam of a balance', and mean 'weigh up'; this is one interpretation recorded by Σ<sup>RVE</sup>, and the other interpretation recorded, *σύμψηξον* or *συνάρμοσον* (cf. Poll. x. 26 *καὶ τὸ "ζυγώθρισον" δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ "κλείσον" εἰώθασι τάττειν*) gives inferior sense.
- 746: We have to get Strepsiades out of bed at some point, to introduce mobility into the ensuing dialogue and put an end to the jokes about bugs. Σ<sup>RV</sup> says that he gets up now, and it would be appropriate if Socrates is arrested on his way back into the school by Strepsiades' clamoring excitedly out of bed. The bed can be taken into the school by students or slaves at any point from 748 onwards.
- 748 *τὸ τί: τοδι* NZ, but cf. *Pax* 826 *ἴθι νυν κάτειπέ μοι— τὸ τί: — ἄλλον τιν' εἶδες κτλ.* Strepsiades has perhaps paused for a moment, to put his idea into words; Socrates is in effect saying 'Go on!' Cf. 694. In 775, however, *τὸ τί* is not an interruption.
- 749 *γυναῖκα* . . . 750 *σελήνην*: 'Suppose. . .'. Cf. 769 ff.; no 'apodosis' emerges. Cf. Pl. *Grg.* 513 A, 'What they say of the women who draw down the moon, the Thessalian women'. Menander's *Θεσπιάλη* portrayed this theme (fr. 192-7; Plin. *NH* xxx. 7), and Σ<sup>RVE</sup> says that the women of Thessaly are called witches 'to this day'. *πριάμενος: ὠνεῖσθαι* and its aorist *πρίασθαι* are used normally of buying slaves and (not surprisingly) of 'buying' people, i.e. corrupting them by bribery (cf. [Lys.] xx. 15 *ἐκπριάμενοι τοὺς κατηγοροῦς*). There is no certain instance of their meaning 'hire', 'engage the services of', and before we give *πριάμενος* that sense here we should reflect that not all

- slaves were barbarians. Minor wars, of which there was no lack in Thessaly, put an abundance of Greek slaves on the market.
- 750 *εἶτα δὴ: εἶτα δέ* is admittedly common (metrically guaranteed in *Ach.* 24, *Eq.* 25, *V.* 1087, etc.), but *εἶτα* itself often has connective force (cf. 66 n.), and there is no justification for emending; cf. 259, *Anaxil.* 22. 26, where *δὴ* is metrically guaranteed, and Denniston, p. 207.
- 751 *λοφεῖον*: In *Ach.* 1109 this is a box in which *λόφοι*, 'plumes', 'crests', are kept; whether the word was also used of a box in which a mirror was kept, as Poll. x. 126 suggests (probably by inference from this passage) is doubtful. Strepsiades thinks of the moon as big enough to need a *λοφεῖον* and also, like a mirror, as needing a receptacle which will protect it against abrasion.
- 752 *κάτροπον*: This is how the word is spelt in all Attic inscriptions down to the late fourth century (Meisterhans, 80 f.); etymological pedantry won the day later. On metathesis of *ρ* cf. 394 n.
- 755 *ὅτι τί δὴ*; Cf. 784. *τιή τί δὴ* (all but RVNZ) could be right; cf. *V.* 1155, *Pax* 1018; but ctr. *Pl.* 136 *ὅτι τί δὴ*;
- 756 *μῆνα*: Cf. 17 n. *τάργυριον*: The reading which Σ<sup>R</sup> attributes to Phrynichos, *ἀργυρίων*, is obviously wrong, but his argument for the plural (i.e. *τάργυρια*, as in Vc1) could be right; cf. *Av.* 599 f. *τοὺς θησαυρούς . . . τῶν ἀργυρίων*.
- 757 *εὖ γ'*: It is not necessary to suppose, either here or in 773, that Socrates' approval is sarcastic or that he is outwardly indulgent to Strepsiades while inwardly despondent about the prospects of such a pupil. In Ar.'s eyes the absurd suggestions of Strepsiades are similar in kind to the Socratic experiment with the flea, and Socrates' approval of them is part of Ar.'s indiscriminate ridicule of intellectuals. *προβαλῶ*: Cf. 489 n.
- 761 *εἶλλε*: We cannot be sure whether Ar. intended *ἴλλε*, *εἶλλε*, *εἶλλε*, or even *ἴλλε*, *εἶλλε*, or *εἶλλε*. The evidence, here and elsewhere (when the compounds *ἀπ-* and *ἐξ-* are found), is conflicting; etymology suggests the presence of *ε* (cf. Frisk, s.v. *εἶλέω*), and cf. *DGE* 62. 152 (Herakleia, IV ex.) *ἐγρηθηθῶντι*, but ctr. *ibid.* 761. 6 f. (Thebes by Mykale, IV) *ἀπὸ δὲ τῶ[ν πετρῶν]* *ἴλλε* ('continues its circuit') *ἢ στεφάνη εἰς τὸν λό[φον κτλ.]*—where, however, although *πετρῶν* is a certain restoration (cf. line 5) I am not sure that *εἶλλε* can be ruled out. *εἶλλε* is the form offered by RVMP<sup>c</sup>Np1<sup>c</sup>Vb3.
- 763 *μηλοδόνην*: The cockchafer and related species, handsome and conspicuous beetles which spend much of their life on the wing. The reference is to a children's game, tethering a cockchafer by a thin thread and letting it buzz round (cf. *Life*, 3 Sep. 1963, 45).
- 766 *παρὰ τοῖσι φαρμακοπώλαις*: It is not obvious at first glance why dealers in *φάρμακα* should sell burning-glasses, but 'remedies' and prophylactics included amulets, bracelets, and rings made from

metals and stones which were believed to have magical properties. Medical writers and practising doctors did not believe this, but the gap between the doctor and the layman was surprisingly wide. Cf. the linking of *φαρμάκια* with spells in Pl. *Th.* 149 c, the expression *ἄκος περιλαπρον* (Kratin. 22 [Demiańczuk]) and Pl. *R.* 426 b, 'No *φάρμακα*, cautery, or surgery, no spells or amulets or anything else of that kind, will do him any good'.

**768 ἄπτουσι:** This is our earliest mention of a glass lens. Its use for lighting a fire is taken for granted; *Σ<sup>RV</sup>E*, trying to make the suggestion sound more practical, makes it less so by supposing that Strepsiades envisages lighting a fire by means of the lens and then moving the fire over to the secretary's tablet!

**769 φέρε τί δῆτ' ἄν:** In the MSS. Socrates says these words, whereupon Strepsiades proceeds with *εἰ ταύτην κτλ.* Reisig removed the changes of speaker, rightly; cf. 154 n.

**770 γράφοιτο:** We might have expected that the *γραμματεὺς* would *γράφειν*, the prosecutor *γράφεσθαι*—particularly as the Secretary of the Council is instructed in so many surviving Attic decrees to *ἀναγράψαι* the decree, not *ἀναγράφασθαι*, even though he did not wield the stonemason's tools himself. But strictly speaking it is the *ὑπογραμματεὺς* who holds the tablet and handles the stylus, while the *γραμματεὺς* tells him what to write; hence one can say of the *γραμματεὺς* either *γράφεται*, 'he sees that it is written down', or *γράφει*, 'he writes it' = 'he causes it to be written'. On the middle cf. 368 n., and on the causative active 245 n.

**772 ἐκτίξαιμι:** The details would be written on a waxed tablet; cf. 19 n.

**773 σοφῶς γε:** Cf. 94, 757 nn. *νῆ τὰς Χάριτας:* This oath is related by *Σ<sup>2</sup>* to the story which we find in Paus. i. 22. 8 ('they say') and D.L. ii. 19 ('some say'), to the effect that Socrates was not only the son of a sculptor but a sculptor himself (cf. Timon fr. 25. 1), and that he made the statues of the Graces—and of Hermes, according to Paus.—in the Propylaea (cf. Paus. ix. 35. 7, where 'they say' is dropped). Socrates in Pl. *Euthyphro* 11 B does indeed refer to Daidalos as 'our ancestor', and it is not unreasonable to interpret this in the light of *Smp.* 186 E, where the doctor Eryximachos uses the expression 'our ancestor' of Asklepios; but we do not know on what evidence the story about the Graces was based. It is by no means necessary as an explanation of the admiring oath *νῆ τὰς Χάριτας*. *οἶμ' ὡς ἤδομαι:* *Σ<sup>v</sup>* remarks 'In ordinary usage we commonly say *οἶμοι* when someone rejoices', but there is no exact parallel in Ar.; *Pax* 425 *οἶμ' ὡς ἐλεήμων εἶμ' αἰ τῶν χρυσίδων* contains a note of self-pity, and *Th.* 1185 *οἶμ' ὡς στέριπο τὸ τιττὶ'* one of unsatisfied desire (cf. Kratin. 183. 3 *οἶμ' ὡς ἀπαλὸς καὶ λευκός*).

**775 ξυνάρπασον:** Cf. 490 n. The word is used of sensory perception in *S. Aj.* 16.

**776 ἀποστρέψαι ἄν:** For the optative ending *-αις* (instead of the usual *-αισ*, as in 689 and 760) cf. *Pax* 405 *ἴσως γὰρ ἄν πείσαις ἐμέ.* In *V.* 726 and *Pl.* 1036 the form occurs in quotation of proverbial expressions; but Rutherford's attempt (*The New Phrynichus* [London, 1881], 439 ff.) to dismiss *V.* 572 *ελεήσαις* as 'stately' and 'antiquated' and *Pl.* 1134 *ὀφελήσαις* as paratragic is misguided in view of his own observation that 'the evidence derived from tragic verse in support of the longer forms is curiously even stronger than that from comedy'. Meineke's *ἀποστρέψαι ἄν (-ψαι ἄν Npr!)* is unnecessary. *ἰντιδικῶν:* We cannot know for certain whether Ar. intended *-δί-*, as in *V* (genitive plural of *ἀντιδικός*), or *-κῶν* (nominative participle of *ἀντιδικεῖν*), 'rebut a lawsuit brought by adversaries' or 'rebut a lawsuit in presenting your (opposing) case'. The second alternative seems the less tautologous; neither word occurs elsewhere in Ar.

**777 μαρτύρων:** Less was documented in Greek transactions than in ours; 'signatures' were not evidence at all, and although seal-impressions made by a seal-ring were (e.g. D. xxxvii. 42) documentation did not have the finality which we accord it. So much turned upon witnesses; cf. D. l. 30, 'I wanted to make the reckoning while the sailors were still there to testify to what had been spent, so that if he afterwards denied anything I could at once refute him', *Lys.* iii. 22, xvii. 2, and, in general, M. I. Finley, *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1952), 21 ff.

**779 ἐνεστώσης:** 'Still to be heard', 'pending'; a technical term. Cf. *Is.* xi. 45 *δίκαι ἐνεστήκασι ψευδομαρτυριῶν.*

**780 καλείσθ':** Another technical term; cf. *V.* 824 *θᾶπτον ἄν δίκην ἐκάλουν* and D. xxxvii. 42 *τὸ μέλλειν καλεῖσθαι τὴν δίκην.* *τρέχων:* Logic might be thought to demand the aorist *δραμών*, but usage does not; cf. 1213 and *Ach.* 828.

**781 ἔγωγ':** Repudiating *οὐδὲν λέγεις* (cf. 644 n.): 'I am saying something', i.e. 'It is not nonsense'. Cf. *Lys.* xxii. 5 *ἄλλο τι οὖν ἀξίως ἀποθανεῖν . . . ; — ἔγωγε (sc. ἀξίῳ ἀποθανεῖν).*

**782 εἰσάξει:** The word is commonly used of the magistrate who refers the case to the court; but since any verb can bear a causative sense (cf. 245 n.) *εἰσάγειν* is also used (cf. 845) of the litigant who causes his adversary to be brought into court.

**783 ἄπερρ':** Socrates' patience is at last exhausted, and he wants no more to do with Strepsiades. *διδασκαλίην:* We expect the active; hence *διδάξαμεν* cj. Reiske, *διδάξαμ'* ἄν Elmsley (on *E. Md.* 290; for the repeated ἄν cf. *Av.* 127 *ποῖαν τιν' οὖν ἤδιστ' ἄν οἰκοῦτ' ἄν πόλιν;*). But emendation seems unjustified when we consider *Pl.* 687 *ὁ γὰρ ἱερεὺς αὐτοῦ με προυδιδάξατο*, *Pl. R.* 421 E *οὗς ἄν διδάσκη, χείρους δημιουργοὺς διδάξεται (sc. the potter) and Mnx.* 238 B *τέχνους πρώτους παιδευσάμενοι (sc. οἱ θεοὶ) καὶ . . . σπῆων . . . χρῆσαν διδάσκαμοι.* Ar.'s audience may have made a difference between *διδασκαλίην* and

διδάξαιμι, interpreting the former as 'supervise (or take charge of) your education'; I would feel no confidence in asserting or denying this. Cf. 368 n.

785 ἄττ' ἔν και μάθης: 'Anything that you have learned'; cf. Denniston, 321.

786 νῦν: νῦν β (except δὴ Θ), but cf. 825. ἐδιδάχθη: ἐδιδάσκου ΑΕ<sup>α</sup>ΚΜΝριVβ3VριΘX<sup>1</sup>) is inappropriate; in *Th.* 629 εἶπέ μοι ὅτι πρῶτον . . . ἐδείκνυτο the aspect is determined by a stronger inceptive tone.

787 φέρ' ἴδω . . . 789 τίς ἦν: The luckless Strepsiades has even forgotten (but only temporarily; cf. 1247 ff.) the word κάρδοπος. μέντοι: Cf. 126 n., *Th.* 630 φέρ' ἴδω, τί μέντοι πρῶτον ἦν; (also an old man racking his brains, but with much more excuse) and *Pl. Phdr.* 236 D ὄμνυμι γάρ σοι—τίνα μέντοι, τίνα θεόν; Denniston, 402 f.

789 οὐκ εἰς κόρακας ἀποφθερεῖ: = *Eg.* 892.

790 ἐπιλησμότατον: Morphologically surprising as the superlative of ἐπιλήσμων (we expect ἐπιλησμονέστατον), but not wholly unparalleled (cf. *Sophron fr.* 63 καταπνυγότεραν), and emendation is impossible.

(v) 791–803. *Strepsiades seeks advice from the Chorus*

We naturally expect Socrates to depart into the school at 790; but 803 shows that he is on stage throughout 791–803. It is not impossible to guess at a reason for this. During 791–3 he stamps around in a fury, and makes for the door of the school. At 794 he pauses and listens in curiosity. At the mention of 'son' in 795 he shows a more lively interest, perhaps cupping one ear and raising the index finger of the other hand in the air. At 797 he begins to creep towards Strepsiades from behind, rubbing his hands (or whatever the Greek gesture of pleasurable anticipation may have been); by 803 he is very close to Strepsiades. See 804–13, 813 nn.

792 ἀπὸ γὰρ δλοῦμαι: Cf. 238 n., 1440. This 'tmesis' survives in Comedy notably with ἀπολλύναι and words of similar meaning; cf. *Ra.* 1047 κατ' οὖν ἔβαλεν, and *Sachtsal*, 41. γλωττοστροφεῖν: Cf. *Ra.* 892, where Euripides prays to γλώττης στροφήξ: the idea goes back to *H.* xx. 248 f. στρεπτή δὲ γλώσσ' ἐστὶ βροτῶν, πολέες δ' ἐν μύθοι παντοίοι.

794 ἡμῆς . . . 796 μανθάνειν: On the tragic rhythm of these lines cf. 1458 n.

797 ἄλλ' ἔστ' ἔμοιγ' υἱός: We want 'I have a son', not 'I have a son', and may therefore be inclined to emend (with Thiersch) to ἄλλ' ἐστὶ μοι γ'. This, however, would give the sense 'But I have a son, anyway!', cf. *S. OT* 848 ἄλλ' ὡς φανέν γε τοῦπος ὠδ' ἐπίστασο and Denniston, 119. What we have, I think, is a combination of ἄλλά in the sense 'Why, yes!' (cf. Denniston, 20) and the common ἔγωγε = 'yes!' (e.g. 769), with which *Lys.* 896 f. ὀλίγον μέλει σοι . . .; — ἔμοιγε

νῆ Δία and *Th.* 624 f. καὶ τίς σοῦσσι οὐσκηρήτρια; — ἡ δεῖν' ἔμοιγε have some affinity. καλὸς τε κάγαθός: Cf. 101 n.

798 ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐθέλει γάρ: 'But, as he doesn't want . . ., what . . .?' Cf. Bentley's conjecture at *V.* 318 and Denniston, 98 f.

800 καὶ Κοισύρας: Cf. 48 n. τῶν (β: R has neither καὶ nor τῶν) will not do. 'The <women> of Koisyra' is not Greek for 'women like Koisyra' or even 'women descended from Koisyra', as becomes apparent from perusal of the formally similar expressions collected in *KG*, i. 264 ff., 333 f. καί, on the other hand, is akin to *A. Pers.* 749 f. θεῶν ἀπάντων . . . καὶ Ποσειδῶνος and *Th.* vi. 103. 1 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν καὶ τοῦ κρημνώδους, 'from the precipitous part of Epipolai'; cf. Verdenius, *Mnemosyne*, 1953, 179 f. and Denniston, 291 f.

802 ἐξελεῖ: Strepsiades repeats the threat which he uttered vainly in 123.

803. Strepsiades rushes into his own house.

(vi) 804–13. *Antistrophe. The Chorus advises Socrates*

We expect Socrates to go into the school when Strepsiades tells him to (803), but the Chorus now addresses him. It is, of course, quite possible for a chorus to apostrophize an absent character in valediction or when awaiting his appearance (as in *V.* 286 ff., *S. Aj.* 134 ff., *E. Hp.* 141 ff.). Also Dikaiopolis must be inside the skene while he is addressed by the chorus in *Ach.* 842 ff., for he comes out at 864 in the belief that the Boiotian flautists who strike up at 862 f. are buzzing insects. There, however, there is no doubt whom the chorus is addressing; but here there is, for the words ἀρ' αἰσθάνει . . . θεῶν are equally appropriate whether addressed to Socrates or to Strepsiades, and in the absence of any clue it is not until 808 that we realize that ὅδ' must be Strepsiades. (The sense precludes the possibility—raised by A. Römer, *SBAW* 1896, 243 f.—that ὅδ' refers to Pheidippides. Both Römer and, before him, Piccolomini wrongly believed that if σὺ δ' refers, as indeed it does, to Socrates nothing in 804 ff. can refer to Socrates.) I suggest, therefore, that when Strepsiades departs at 803 Socrates remains on stage for a moment, perhaps rubbing his hands expectantly and jiggling with pleasure. He must, of course, go into the school well before 814, for we have to imagine 814–59 as taking place outside Strepsiades' house.

804–9 respond to 700–6. We then have:

(1) 810 f.    - - - -    -| - - -    -| - - -|  
 (2) 812 f.    - - -| - -    - -| - -    - - - -|    - - -|

(1) is a pure choriambic trimeter. (2) is an iambo-choriambic tetrameter of the form *ia ia ch ba*, i.e. iambic dimeter + aristophanean, the catalectic form of 705 f. ~ 808 f.; cf. Dale, *GPL*, 204, n. 2. For the strong stop within the first metron of (2) cf. 1155. - - - - is not

a common form of iambic metron in Ar.'s lyrics, but cf. *Ach.* 1040 *κατάχει σὺ τῆς χορδῆς τὸ μέλι* and *Pax* 948 *τὸ κανοῦν πάρεστ' ὀλὰς ἔχον*: the synzesis *ταχέως* would not be Aristophanic. For *τῶαυθ'* in lyrics cf. *Pax* 1034 *τῶιούτος*.

806 *μόνας θεῶν*: Cf. 331, 365, 423 f. nn.

810 *γνοῦς*: 'Realizing when a man . . .'; cf. Pl. *Ap.* 27 A ἄρα γνῶσεται . . . ἐμοῦ χαρεντιζομένου. ἀπολάψεις: Σ<sup>x</sup> and S record a variant ἀπολέψεις. (i) ἀπολάπτειν = 'lap (up)', 'lick (off)'. There is no other example of (ἀπο)λάπτειν or (ἀπο)λείχειν in the sense 'extract money' (*Eq.* 103 *λείχας* and 1034 *διαλείχων* = 'devour' both come from contexts in which the metaphor of eating is sustained at length and in detail), but cf. the metaphorical sense of 'eat', 'drink', 'swallow'; 815 n. and *Ra.* 1466 ὁ δικαστῆς αὐτά (sc. the revenues) καταπίνει μόνος. (ii) (ἀπο)λέπειν = 'skin', 'peel', 'strip'. This may sound to us an appropriate metaphor, but whether it can mean in Greek 'extract money' turns on Photios, *λέπει* (sic) *κατεσθίει οὕτως Ἐπόλις* (fr. 427). The word has a very different metaphorical meaning, 'wound', 'beat', in Apollod. *Car.* fr. 5. 10 f. *λεπομένους . . . αὐτοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῶν καὶ καταπίπτοντας νεκροῦς*: cf. Pl. *Com.* 12 (*AB* i. 106. 28) and possibly Timokles 29. 3 (cf.). *Pax* 885 *ἐκλάφεται* is not a serious objection to the adoption of the active form ἀπολάψεις; for the aorist, cf. *Ach.* 1229 *ἀμυστιν ἐξέλαψα* ~ Pherekr. 95. 2 *λεπαστήν λεψαμένους*, and for the variation between active and middle forms in the future cf. 296 n. The future here is not quite equivalent to an imperative, but rather to 'You will, I hope (I am sure, I have no doubt) . . .'; cf. 633 n., Pl. *Plt.* 338 A *ὡς οὖν ποιήσετε, καὶ πείθεσθέ μοι κτλ.*, Lykurg. *Leocr.* 67 *κολαστέον ἐστὶ τοῦτον . . . καὶ οὐ τοῦτο λογιέσθε, εἰ κτλ.* and KG, i. 176. *ὅτι πλείστον δύνασαι*: Probably not, as the mood and tense might suggest, 'as much as you are (as we well know) capable of doing', but simply 'as much as you can'; cf. S. *Ph.* 849 ff. *ὅτι δύνᾳ μάκιστον κείνο . . . ἐξιδὸς ὅσα πράξεις*, and 348 n., above.

812 *ταχέως*: For the effect of the placing of the word cf. *Lys.* 829 f. *ἰὸδ ἰὸδ γυναῖκες ἴτε δεῦρ' ὡς ἐμὲ | ταχέως*. — *τί δ' ἔστιν*; and the common rhetorical phenomenon exemplified by D. i. 10 . . . *εἰκότως τὸ μὲν γὰρ κτλ.*

813 *ἐτέρᾳ τρέπεσθαι*: The Chorus's point is: however exasperated you may be with Strepsiadēs, *don't miss this chance*, which we, your patron deities, have presented to you. Socrates' greed for money is brought into prominence in this part of the play; cf. 876 n. We discover later that the Chorus has been playing a sinister and treacherous part in this train of events; but we have no grounds yet for suspecting this, so that the undertones of *ἐτέρᾳ τρέπεσθαι* can be perceived only by those who have read or seen the play once already. On *τρέπεσθαι* cf. 88 n.

(vii) 814-66. *Strepsiadēs puts pressure on Pheidippides*

Strepsiadēs and Pheidippides come out of their house, the former in a towering rage and the latter bewildered, sullen, and a little frightened. Whether the father is driving the son before him or dragging him out after him, we cannot tell. Pheidippides, who thinks that Strepsiadēs has gone mad (816 f., 844 f.), retreats towards the right-hand end of the stage; Strepsiadēs moves to slightly right of centre (cf. 825, 866 nn.).

Although in the last scene we were given the impression—and it was dramatically necessary, in order that Socrates might be pushed beyond the limit of his patience—that Strepsiadēs could not retain in his mind anything that he had been taught, for the purposes of the present scene he is represented (814, 828, 847) as tinctured with Socratic manners and doctrines, though not to a significant degree (854 f.).

814 *μὰ τὴν Ὀμίχλην*: The oath is of Socratic type; cf. 627. *ἐνταυθοῖ*: Cf. 843, V. 1442 *οὔτοι μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ' ἔτ' ἐνταυθοῖ μνεῖς*, Th. 225. The usage of *ἐνταυθοῖ* in Ar. justifies the statement of Hdn. i. 502. 6 f. that it is synonymous with *ἐνταῦθα*, at least to the extent that it is used both of position (as here) and of direction (as in *Lys.* 568 and 570 *τὸ μὲν ἐνταυθοῖ, τὸ δ' ἐκεῖσε*).

815 *ἔσθι*: 'Eat' is used metaphorically of consuming wealth extravagantly, e.g. *Eq.* 258 *τὰ κοινὰ . . . κατεσθίεις*. Hence one point of Strepsiadēs' words is: 'You've ruined me; now Megakles can support you'. The other point is: 'I'm not going to feed you any more; you can look after yourself'. So in *Pax* 1116, when the oracle-monger Hierokles has referred to Sibylla as an authority (1095) and has also begged shamelessly for a share in the sacrifice, Trygaios says *τὴν Σίβυλλαν ἔσθιε*. *κίονας*: Cf. 46 n., 124. Columns, not uncommon in Hellenistic houses, may have been in the fifth century a sign of the owner's wealth or pretensions. The well-known Dema house, contemporary with Ar., had some; cf. J. E. Jones, L. H. Sackett, and A. J. Graham, *ABSA* lviii (1962), 75 ff., which presents much comparative material.

816 ὁ δαμμόνι: Cf. 38 n. *τί χρήμα*: Cf. 2 n.

817 *οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖς*: Here plainly equivalent to *παραφρονεῖς* (cf. 844, 1475). *μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον*: The rare  $\omega \uparrow \omega$  is tolerated more easily because of the unity of the phrase; cf. *Eq.* 746 *αὐτῆκ' ἀμάλ'*.

818 *ἰδοῦ γ' ἰδοῦ*: Cf. 1469.

819 *τὸν Δία νομιζέιν*: Cf. V. 835 *βάλλ' εἰς κόρακας τοιοντοὶ τρέφειν κίνα*. Omission of the article in this type of expression is comparatively rare; cf. 268, *Ec.* 787 ff. *τῆς μωρίας, τὸ μὴδὲ περιμείναντα*—(the sentence is broken off), KG, ii. 23 (D. xxi. 209 and xxv. 91, often cited in this connexion, have no article but summarize other people's thoughts and words). Valckenaer even suggested emendation of





τόν το τό, and this might be right; but emendation is not justified, and τόν can be explained as deictic, 'that Zeus' or 'your Zeus'. In MMd1<sup>π</sup>Νπ1 we find σε after δντα; here again, the subject is more often than not expressed, but it is not in *Ec.* 787.

820 ἐτέον: Cf. 35 n.

821 ἀρχαϊκά: For the derogatory use of ἀρχαῖος cf. 915, 984, 1357, 1469 and *Isok.* iv. 30 ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις καταφρονήσειεν τῶν λεγομένων ὡς ἀρχαίων ὄντων, and for similar ideas, 398 n.; and for the phraseology cf. *V.* 507 φρονῶν τυραννικά. Whether Ar. intended -χαῖ- or -χαῖ-, there is no doubt about the scansion; cf. *Antiph.* 44. 6 ἀρχαϊκός = - - - υ - υ - υ.

822 γε μὴν: Cf. 631. πρόσελθ': So in *E.* *Alc.* 779, Herakles, somewhat drunk and genially offering worldly wisdom to Admetos's slave, says δευρ' ἔλθ' ὅπως ἂν καὶ σοφώτερος γένη. ἴν' εἰδῆς πλείονα: We would say 'learn better', but πλεόν (or πλείω) εἰδέναι suggests special knowledge which is denied to others; cf. *Th.* vii. 49. 4 ὑπόνοια μὴ τι καὶ πλεόν εἰδῶς ὁ Νικίας ἰσχυρίζεται, 'a suspicion that Nikias's insistence was founded on knowledge which they did not possess'.

823 ἀνήρ: 'Grown up', and no longer παιδάριον; cf. *V.* 1185, 'Are you going to tell stories about mice and weasels ἐν ἀνδράν?' The common sense 'a real man' (as in *Eq.* 179, 1255) does not apply here.

824 ὅπως δέ . . . μηδένα: Strepsiades remembers that what he learnt at the school is a 'mystery', and he adopts the same attitude as the student in 140 and 143.

825 ἰδοῦ: Pheidippides has moved close to his father, in compliance with the command πρόσελθε; cf. 82 n. νυνί: So *V*; νῦν (*R*) does not scan, and νῦν νή (*β*) would mean (lit.), 'By Zeus, you swore just now'. Cf. 786 n.

826 ὄργς οὖν: Cf. *Pl.* *Grg.* 475 Ε ὄργς οὖν ὦ Πῶλε ὁ ἔλεγχος . . . ὅτι οὐδὲν εὐκλει;

827 ἀλλὰ τίς: Naturally Pheidippides asks, 'Who, then, <rules the universe>?'; cf. Strepsiades' own question, 368, and p. xxxv. τί (ANUW9Z) is out of character; Hermann's suggestion that Ar. intended the indefinite τις, and that the whole of 827 f. is spoken by Strepsiades, is frigid.

828 Δῖνος . . . ἐξεληλακῶς: Cf. 381 n.

829 αἰβοί: Cf. 102 n. ἴσθι . . . ἔχον: We would say 'I assure you', just as we say 'I will tell you . . .' or 'I will explain . . .' where Greek says 'Hear now . . .' or 'Learn . . .'.

830 ὁ Μήλιος: There is little doubt that the reference is to Diagoras of Melos, who was regarded, justly or not, as impious, became proverbial for impiety (as in [*Lys.*] vi. 17), and in later times is described as an atheist; cf. L. Woodbury, *Phoenix*, xix (1963), 3 ff. It appears from *Av.* 1073 f. that when *Av.* was produced (spring 414) Diagoras had been outlawed by the Athenians, possibly—and certainly, if *Diod. Sic.* xiii. 6. 7 is more than mere inference from *Av.*—during the

religious reaction engendered by the mutilation of the herms and the profanation of the mysteries in 415. Σ<sup>ν<sup>ε</sup></sup> gives an alternative reference to 'Aristagoras of Melos, a dithyrambic poet', who divulged secrets of the mysteries in words and dance. We have no other information about him; some poetry was attributed to Diagoras (*PMG* 738), and the name in Σ<sup>ν<sup>ε</sup></sup> may simply be a slip.

831 τὰ ψυλλῶν ἵχνη: Cf. 144-53.

832 τῶν μανιῶν: Cf. *Pax* 65 τὸ γὰρ παράδειγμα τῶν μανιῶν ἀκούετε: 'his madness' there, and 'your madness' here. The article is not usual in the expression εἰς τοσοῦτο + genitive + 'go', 'arrive', etc.

833 χολῶσιν: Cf. *Pax* 66, 'What he said when his madness (ἡ χολή, cf. 65 τῶν μανιῶν) began'. Side by side with an older belief that madness was a supernatural visitation, the Greeks of Ar.'s time, doctors and laymen alike, tended increasingly to attribute it to injury (cf. 1275 f.) or to biochemical causes (cf. *Hdt.* iii. 33) particularly to diffusion of bile (*Hp. Morb.* i. 30, *Morb. Sacr.* 15). This was, of course, consistent with a belief that the biochemical change was induced in the first place by a god, a belief which may be (but is not necessarily) implied by *Pl.* 8 ff. On the whole question of the Greek attitude to insanity cf. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (University of California Press, 1951), ch. iii. Excess of bile was most commonly regarded as causing a pathological degree of anger; but anger is clearly irrelevant here, and LSJ is not justified in translating χολή in *Pax* 66 as 'wrath'.

834 φλαῦρον: The word is used especially of ill-treatment, abuse, and slander; cf. 1157 and *Lys.* 1041 οὔτε δράσω φλαῦρον οὐδὲν οὐθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν πείσομαι and 1044 f. οὐδέν' . . . φλαῦρον εἰπεῖν οὐδέ ἐν. δεξιούς: Cf. 148 n.

835 καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντας: Cf. 317 n. ὑπὸ τῆς φειδωλίας: In expressions with ὑπὸ in the sense 'through', 'because of', the article is sometimes present (e.g. *Pax* 933), more often absent (e.g. 855, *V.* 106, *Pax* 25).

836 ἀπεκείρατ': Pheidippides (14 n.) and other young men of high social pretensions wore their hair long, but not artlessly; a Socratic could no doubt keep his own hair short by using a carving-knife. Σ<sup>ν<sup>ε</sup></sup> observes that the meanness imputed to the philosophers by Ar. could in other circumstances be praise of their ἀρετὴ καὶ καρτερία. ἠλείψατο: Cf. 442 n., 920.

837 λουσόμενος: Washing in warm water, such as was provided at bath-houses, was common enough, especially in cold weather (cf. R. Ginouvès, *Balanéutiké* [Paris, 1962], 177 ff.) but could be regarded as a luxury, especially when the weather was tolerably warm, and therefore (a) was avoided by ascetics in real life and by philosophers in comedy, out of meanness and indifference to ordinary pleasures, and (b) was frowned on by moralists as degenerate and enervating.





- 856 θοιμάτιον: Cf. 497.  
 857 καταπεφρόντικα: Cf. 838 n.  
 858 τὰς δ' ἐμβάδας: Cf. 719 n. ποῖ τέτροφας: Cf. *V.* 665 καὶ ποὶ τρέπεται δὴ πεῖτα τὰ χρήματα ἄλλα, 'And where does the rest of the money go then?' (or 'And what is done with . . .?'), *D.* xxv. 47.  
 859 ὡσπερ Περικλέης: *Plu. Per.* 23. 1 tells the story. When Perikles' accounts came up for scrutiny after the crushing of the Euboian revolt in 445, it was seen that he had entered ten talents as spent εἰς τὸ δέον: the Assembly, knowing that this sum had been given as a bribe to bring about the Spartan king's withdrawal of his army from Attica (22. 2), wisely asked no questions. So Σ<sup>RVE</sup>(1)(2); Σ<sup>E</sup>(2) implausibly refers to the alleged disappearance of money allocated for the statue in the Parthenon (cf. *Pax* 605 f. c. Σ). ἀπόλεσα, between which and δέον there is almost a logical contradiction (hence ἀνήλωσα K1), gives the expression a comic twist. On -κλέης, cf. 70 n.  
 860 ἀλλ' ἴθι: They move together, Strepsiades dancing ahead impatiently, Pheidippides reluctantly, towards the school.  
 860 εἶτα . . . 861 ἐξάμαρτε: 'Furthermore', introducing a fresh argument (cf. 1214 n.), then, lit., 'Do wrong in obedience to your father.' The point (correctly taken by Σ<sup>RVE</sup>) is: 'Never mind whether it's wrong or not; do it because your father wants you to'; cf. Herodas 1. 61 f., where an old woman is coaxing a younger woman into adultery: ἀλλ' ὦ τέκνον μοι Μητρίχη, μίαν ταύτην ἀμαρτίην δὸς τῇ θεῶ (sc. Aphrodite). This seems to me better sense than the usual interpretation 'If only you do what I want you to, you can do what you like afterwards, for all I care', on the analogy of *Lys.* 653 f. τὸν ἔρανον . . . εἴτ' ἀναλώσαντες οὐκ ἀντεισφέρετε τὰς εἰσφοράς = ἀναλώσαντες εἴτ' οὐκ ἀντεισφέρετε: if we say that Strepsiades means πιδόμενος εἴτ' ἐξάμαρτε we are missing the point, for we do not want 'in spite of having obeyed, you can do wrong'. Although 'if you obey, then you can do wrong' would be meaningful, it could not be extracted from εἶτα.  
 861 κάγώ τοι ποτέ: Cf. *S. Ph.* 801 f., where Philoktetes implores Neoptolemos to end his sufferings: 'O my son . . . burn me! κάγώ τοι ποτέ brought myself to do this to Herakles.'  
 862 οἷδ': Unless this is parenthetic, in which case πιδόμενος is a participle dependent on the verb ἐπριάμην, we have asyndeton in 863. Asyndeton seems to me far more natural than parenthetic οἶδα, and there are abundant parallels, e.g. 758, 779, 817, 874. πιδόμενος: So M<sub>1</sub><sup>PC</sup>U<sup>PC</sup>W<sub>0</sub>Θ<sub>2</sub><sup>PC</sup>Φ, giving 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓; cf. 12. πειδόμενος (cett.) would give 𐀓 𐀓 𐀓, which is unparalleled.  
 863 ὄβολόν . . . ἡλιαστικόν: The daily fee for jury service was three obols at the time of the play, as references to it in *Eq.* 255 and *V.* 684 show. There are no grounds for believing that it was ever one obol or that Ar. is being pedantic about Strepsiades' younger days.

- Σ *V.* 88 and 300 allege that the fee was originally two obols but was raised to three by Kleon; it is not certain that this is more than a rash inference from passages of Ar. The evidence collected by Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, ii (Munich, 1926). 898, n. 4, is of unequal value. I print ἦ- (as in N<sub>1</sub>V<sub>4</sub> Σ<sup>E</sup>), not ἦ-, despite the pun ἡλιάσει πρὸς ἡλιον in *V.* 772 and the aspiration οὐκέθ' before ἡλιάζει (ἦ- R) in *Lys.* 380, because in fifth-century Attic inscriptions, where the sign H represents the sound [h], it never appears in the word ἡλιαία (cf. *ATL*, Ag. 14, D14. II. 7, D17. 75). The word is the West Greek ἄλια or ἀλιαία.  
 864 Διασίους: Cf. 408 n. ἀμαξίδα: There is no reason why this should not mean 'toy cart' (cf. the diminutives κλινίς, κιστίς, etc.). The alternative explanation, mentioned in Σ<sup>RVE</sup> but not accepted by Symmachos, that ἀμαξίς was a kind of cake, may be the product of centuries of inflation; at a time when the sculptors who worked on the Erechtheum were paid one drachma a day, one obol (= ½ drachma) was a fair price for a toy cart. Cf. also 880 n. *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 81. 12 (Eleusis, 421/o) justifies the contention of Ael. Dion. a 81 and 98 (Erbse)—ctr. *Hdn.* i. 530. 23 ff.—that ἀμαξα had an aspirate in Classical Attic.  
 865 ἦ μὴν σύ: Cf. 1242.  
 (viii) 866-88. *Strepsiades presents Pheidippides at the School*  
 866-8 δεῦρο . . . ἀναπέισας: Socrates comes out in response to this call—not, I think, displaying eagerness, but with nonchalant dignity; cf. the patronizing tone of 868 ff., and 876 n. νηπίτιος: A purely epic equivalent of νήπιος (cf. 105 n.), used, says Σ<sup>RVE</sup>, 'to make an impression on the young man'.  
 869 κρεμαστῶν: This was the reading adopted explicitly by Σ<sup>RV</sup> and contained in Σ<sup>M</sup> on 870 (Σ<sup>E</sup> there has κρεμαστῶν). κρεμαστά σκευή (as opposed to ξύλινα σκευή) are the sails and ropes of a ship (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1610. 5 f. [c. 370]; cf. *Hermipp.* 63. 12 f. τὰ κρεμαστά ἰστία), abbreviated to κρεμαστά *ibid.* 1609. 110, and κρεμαστά is treated as a technical term in *X. Oec.* 8. 12 διὰ πολλῶν δὲ τῶν κρεμαστῶν καλουμένων πλεῖ (sc. ναῦς). Σ<sup>RV</sup> (and, confusedly, Σ<sup>EM</sup>) show awareness of a variant, and that must be what all the MSS. have, κρεμαθῶν. In defence of κρεμαθῶν it could be pointed out (as by Σ<sup>EM</sup>) that Socrates first appeared (218) ἐπὶ κρεμάθρας: but the rarity of the scansion θ<sub>1</sub>ρ in comic iambic trimeters (cf. 1470 n.) is a considerable objection to it. Socrates thus appears to be using an expression like our 'know the ropes'; but, of course, we are also meant to remember the κρεμάθρα.  
 870 τρίβων: As a noun, τρίβων means a workaday cloak which has worn thin (cf. *V.* 1131). Clothes were hung up and beaten when they were cleaned (*Hp. Vict.* i. 14); since ἐπιτρίβειν is used (e.g. 972) of beating people, Pheidippides probably means not 'if you were

hanged' (as in E. *Hp.* 1252) but 'if you were hung up (<sc. like a slave being beaten>'. Cf. Herodas 4. 78 'May he be hung up by the foot in a fuller's shop! A vase illustrated and discussed by H. Blümner in *MDAI(A)* xiv (1889), 150 ff., shows a slave suspended by feet and neck for a flogging. Conceivably Pheidippides has crucifixion in mind—ἀνακρεμαννύναι in Hdt. vii. 194. 2, ix. 120. 4.

**872 f. ἰδοῦ . . . διεερρηκόσιν:** 'With his lips loosely apart' suggests the lack of mobility and precision in articulation which characterizes infant speech, and this suits ἠλίθιον, νηπίσιος (868) and the tone of 878 ff. It may be that slackness of articulation, with inadequate movement of the lips, was characteristic also of the class of young men to which Pheidippides assimilated himself, but we do not have to assume this. In κρέμαιο the lips meet on μ, part on α, stretch a little on ι and are rounded on ο. μ is an easy sound for infants; difficulty in pronouncing rolled ρ (unlike difficulty in pronouncing the very rare sound written 'r' in English) is not apparent in the movement of the lips; thus the only pronunciation which makes sense of Socrates' words is something like [k(r)emæw]. κρέμαϊό γ' (all but Mdr<sub>1</sub>) must be wrong, for it would require interpretation as κρέμαϊό γ', κρέμεό γ', or κρέμαν γ', and when Pheidippides uttered the word in 870 its scansion was normal. Bentley's emendation κρέμαι' (cf. γ' om. Mdr<sub>1</sub>) is necessary; unmetrical interpolation of γ' (a consequence of *scriptio plena*) is very common, e.g. 1466 ἐμοῦ γ' ἐλθῶν RV. An alternative emendation ἰδοῦ γέ κρέμαι' is not impossible; for ἰδοῦ γέ cf. 818, 1469, and for  $\text{و} \text{و} \text{و} \text{و}$  684 n.

**874 ἀπόφευξι:** Cf. 167. The repetition of ἀπόφευξις in V. (558, 562, 645) and its occurrence in Antiphon v. 66 suggest that it was in forensic use in the fifth century. (Whereas all MSS. have -φν- in V. 558, this is otherwise confined to V in V. 562; LSJ is wrong about R.)

**875 κλησιν:** An ordinary legal term, as we see from 1189 and Antiphon vi. 38, but not confined to the fifth century; cf. D. xxiii. 63. χαύνωσις: This is the language of rhetoric, not of law; cf. δεινώσις in a series of rhetorical terms in Pl. *Phdr.* 272 A. Solon 23. 16 χαίνα μὲν τότ' ἐφράσαντο describes vain ambitions; in E. *Andr.* 931 τοῦσδ' ἐχαύνωσαν λόγους seems to mean 'talked misleadingly (inciting me to vanity)', and Hermione adds κλύουσα . . . ἐξημερώθηρ μωρία: in Pl. *Lys.* 210 ε χαυνόοντα καὶ διαθρύπτοντα ('spoiling' by indulgence) is the opposite of 'humbling and reducing'. These passages suggest that χαύνωσις is 'making something out of nothing', a successful kind of forensic deception; contrast Phld. *Rh.* i. 219, on ill-judged or exaggerated praise, where χαύνωσις is something which makes a bad impression on the hearer.

**ἀναπειστηρίαν:** Cf. 96 n. Adjectives in -(σ)τήριος are abundant in fifth-century Attic, including tragedy, and also in prose, e.g. Th. vii. 53. 4 σβεστήρια κωλύματα and iv. 81 ἀνδρα . . . δραστήριον.

**876 καίτοι:** καίτοι γέ (RV), which gives the rare  $\text{و} \text{و} \text{و}$  (cf. 684 n.), is not uncommonly presented by MSS.; but although sometimes certain (e.g. *Ach.* 611) it is a variant, as here, in a high proportion of instances. Cf. 1254 n. and Denniston, 564.

**ταλάντου:** Socrates is a clever salesman. Having in effect refused Pheidippides as a hopelessly immature pupil—and having thus created an agonizing anxiety in Strepsades—he adds musingly, 'All the same, for a talent . . .', implying that he might be able to teach Pheidippides, but it cannot fail to be very difficult and very expensive. A talent is a prodigious fee. Euenos of Paros charged 5 mnai ( $\frac{1}{2}$  of a talent) for a complete course (Pl. *Ap.* 20 B) and Prodikos charged the same sum for an ἐπίδειξις which, he claimed, was adequate instruction in the correct use of words (Pl. *Cra.* 384 B). **Υπέρβολος:** Cf. 551 n., 1065; the implication is that Hyperbolos's prowess as a persuasive speaker owes nothing to his native wit but everything to an abnormal effort on the part of a teacher.

**877 ἀμέλει:** Cf. 422 n. **θυμόσοφος:** Cf. V. 1280, where θυμοσοφικώτατος is used of Arphrades with sarcastic reference to his sexual practices.

**878 εὔθης γέ τοι . . . τυννουτονί:** Falling in with Socrates' treatment of Pheidippides as a little boy, Strepsades recites the trivialities which seem to a doting father evidence of precocity in his son (Luc. *Somn.* 2 owes something to this passage). At τυννουτονί he puts his hand a couple of feet from the ground—or, for comic effect, much lower. For the word cf. 392, and for its neuter forms cf. *Th.* 745 τυννοῦτον ὄν. — τυννοῦτο; — μικρὸν νή Δία.

**879 ἔνδον:** i.e. before he was old enough to leave the house and join other boys in the streets or field.

**880 ἀμαξίδας τε ἴσχυτινας:** What 'leather carts' are, no one has succeeded in explaining or imagining, unless a cart with leather traces could be so described. Since Antiphanes 122. 3 f. is cited by Athenaios once (98 F) as σοφιστῶν . . . σκυίνων and again (565 F) as σοφιστῶν . . . σκυτίνων, Naber suggested that Ar. wrote σκυίνας, 'of fig-wood'; cf. V. 145 ξύλου . . . σκυίνου. I am restrained from printing this in my text only by the reflection that phrases denoting physical objects often mean something quite different from what they seem to mean literally.

**881 πῶς δοκεῖς:** In effect, 'you can't imagine!' Cf. 1368, where πῶς οἶσθε is syntactically integrated; *Ach.* 24 f. ὠπτιοῦνται—πῶς δοκεῖς; —ἐλθόντες, where πῶς δοκεῖς is parenthetic; and the highly idiomatic *Ach.* 12 πῶς τοῦτ' ἔσεισέ μου δοκεῖς τὴν καρδίαν;

**883 ὅστις ἐστί:** Cf. 113 n.

**884 τᾶδिका λέγων:** The rhythm  $\text{و} \text{و} \text{و}$  is extraordinary (cf. Fraenkel in *Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik* [Cologne, 1959], 21, n. 27 [= *Kl. Beitr.*, i. 440 n. 3]). In 29 there is elision at  $\text{و} \text{و} \text{و}$ ; our only

parallel is *Lys.* 52 μηδ' ἀσπίδα λαβεῖν (-α ὤψις), but that at least is unassailable and deters me from printing Reisig's τᾶδικ' ἀνατρέπει λέγων—a seductive transposition, for a desire to restore *simplex ordo* is a common cause of corruption (cf. G. Thomson, *CQ* N.S. xv [1965], 161 ff.), as we see from β in 1401.

885 πάση τέχνῃ: This expression does not refer to sophistic technique, but makes an imperative or its equivalent into an urgent plea; cf. 1323, *Eq.* 591 ff. δεῖ γάρ . . . τοῖσδε πάση τέχνῃ πορίσαι σε (*sc.* Nike personified) νίκην, *Lys.* xix. 53 πάση τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ ἐλεήσατε, and formal expressions such as οὐκ ἀποστήσομαι . . . οὔτε τέχνῃ οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδέμιᾳ (*IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 39. 21 f. [445]).

886 αὐτός: 'He will learn by himself'; 887 tells us why.

887 ἐγώ . . . 888 δυνήσεται: In R<sup>VAKM</sup><sup>pc</sup>Vb3 the whole passage is spoken by Socrates; the other MSS. have Στ. at the beginning of 887. But Σ<sup>π</sup> assumes change of speaker at τοῦτο (where it is marked in by Vsr<sup>1</sup>), treating the allocation of 887-9 to Socrates as a variant. He is certainly right. ἐγώ δ' ἀπέσομαι must be spoken by Socrates, giving point to 886, and we see from 1105 ff. that Strepsiades is present during the contest between Right and Wrong; on the alleged presence of Socrates at 1105, *v. n.* It is necessary for the actor who plays the part of Socrates to take the part of Right or Wrong, for otherwise we should have five actors on stage (cf. p. lxxvii), and Socrates' previous absences (700-22, 726-30) make his absence now perfectly in character; we can imagine him engaged in scientific experiments. τοῦτό νυν κτλ. must be spoken by Strepsiades, for there is no one present to whom Socrates could meaningfully address such a plea (the commentators mentioned by Σ<sup>π</sup> took it not as a plea but as a warning, with reference to the last part of the play). Obviously it is not for Strepsiades to see that Pheidippides learns Wrong, and after the contest he is treated as choosing. There he uses much the same terms (1107 f.) as here and above (882). νυν: So RMN<sup>π</sup>IX, though (as usual) accented νῦν: NZ have δ' οὖν, and the rest γοῦν. νυν is supported by *Eq.* 495 μέμνησό νυν δάκνειν, διαβάλλειν (Demos's parting words to the Sausage-seller) and *Th.* 275 f. (τοίνυν).

We expect a choral song at this point, especially as the actor playing Socrates, having gone into the school not earlier than the middle of 887, has to change costume and appear as Right in 889 or as Wrong not later than the beginning of 891. The absence of a song, a sign of the incomplete revision of the play (cf. p. xcii), was noted in antiquity, and the text as known to the source of Σ<sup>RVE</sup> contained the entry χοροῦ. Such an entry was normal practice in the fourth century to indicate a song of which the words were irrelevant to the action of the play and (presumably) were not composed by the poet. R has χοροῦ at *Ec.* 729 and 876, and it is frequent in the MSS. of *Pl.* (cf. Handley, *CQ* N.S. iii [1953], 55 ff.). On its occurrence in later comedy

cf. K. J. Maidment, *CQ* xxix (1935), 1 ff. and Handley on *Men.* *Dysc.* 230.

#### (F) 889-1114. THE CONTEST OF RIGHT AND WRONG

On the names and characters of the contestants see pp. lvii ff.; and on their dress, p. xc.

In formal structure, and to some extent in content also, this section of the play has something in common with the first part of the dispute between Aischylos and Euripides in *Frogs*.

#### Clouds

886 f. Socrates' brief announcement that Pheidippides shall learn from Right and Wrong themselves.

(After 888: lyrics omitted from revised version; see on line 887)

889-933. Violent altercation between Right and Wrong, at the end of which they are on the point of coming to blows. Anapaestic sequence.

934-48. Intervention of the Chorus, which persuades the disputants to argue their case; it is decided that Right shall speak first. Anapaestic sequence.

949-58. Lyric strophe, setting the stage for the dispute and ending with νῦν γάρ . . . μέγιστος.

959-60. The Chorus invites Right to speak. Anapaestic tetrameters.

961-1023. Speech of Right, with two interruptions by Wrong. Anapaestic tetrameters to 1008,

814174

#### Frogs

754-813. Preparation for the contest by the conversation between the slaves of Pluton and Dionysos, in which we learn of the quarrel between Aischylos and Euripides.

814-29. Four lyric stanzas, heightening our expectation.

830-50. Altercation between Aischylos and Euripides, with interventions (and some measure of control) by Dionysos. Iambic trimeters.

851-74. Dionysos persuades the disputants, with some difficulty, to argue more coherently and rationally. Iambic trimeters.

875-84. Lyric ode, setting the stage and ending with νῦν γὰρ ἀγὼν σοφίας ὁ μέγας χωρεῖ κτλ.

885-94. On Dionysos's order, each of the disputants prays for success. Iambic trimeters.

895-904. Lyric strophe, pursuing further the theme of 875-84.

905-6. Dionysos invites the disputants to speak. Iambic tetrameters.

907-91. Speech of Euripides, with frequent interruptions by Aischylos. Iambic tetrameters

P

- ending with a loose anapaestic sequence 1009-23.
- 1024-33. Lyric antistrophe, complimenting Right fulsomely and ending with advice to Wrong.
- 1034-5. The Chorus invites Wrong to speak. Iambic tetrameters.
- 1036-1104. Speech of Wrong, mostly in the form of an interrogation of Right. Iambic tetrameters to 1084. Dialogue in iambic trimeters 1085-88 and in a loose iambic sequence 1089-1104, the last verse having a lyric flavour.
- to 970, ending with a loose iambic sequence 971-91.
- 992-1003. Lyric antistrophe, commenting briefly on Euripides' performance and giving extensive advice to Aischylos.
- 1004-5. Dionysos invites Aischylos to speak. Anapaestic tetrameters.
- 1006-98. Speech of Aischylos, with frequent interruptions by Dionysos and Euripides. Anapaestic tetrameters to 1076, ending with a loose anapaestic sequence 1077-98.

The decision taken in consequence of the dispute, 1105-12, corresponds roughly to the much more elaborate process of decision in *Ra*. 1414-81; nothing corresponds to *Ra*. 1099-1413; but, of course, a second formal dispute is in store for us in *Nu*. 1321-1451. Cf. Gelzer, 88 ff.

(i) 889-948. *Anapaestic dialogue*

Right strides out of the school, and gestures angrily to Wrong to follow him. He speaks in a tone of contempt and indignation which he maintains most of the time down to 1085 f. Wrong is nonchalant and very much in control of the situation.

In this anapaestic sequence there is no paroemiac before the last kolon. Coincidence of metron-end with word-end is almost universal; exceptions are in 892, 917 (*πορ'* is postpositive), 937 (*ἄν*), 947 (cf. *V*. 752 f., *Pax* 88), and elision at metron-end is common, e.g. 891, 912, 913 (cf. *V*. 1057). On the rhythm of 1916 and 932 *v*. nn.

- 890 *καίπερ θρασύς ὤν*: As *γάρ* and *ἐπεὶ* (e.g. *Lys*. iv. 4) sometimes give not the reason why an event just stated occurred but the reason why the statement was made, so *καίπερ* here has the point: 'I tell you to show yourself although you are bold (and do not need to be told).'
- 891 *ἴθ' ὅποι χριῆεις*: Borrowed from E. fr. 722 (*Telephos*, a play which Ar. had parodied in *Ach.* and was to parody again in *Thesmophoriazusae*; cf. 921 f.).
- 892 *ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖσι*: Shameless Wrong is the opposite of the modest Hippolytos (E. *Hp.* 986 f.) and of the *persona* ingratiatingly assumed by many speakers in the courts (e.g. Antiphon i. 1, *Lys*. xiii. 3).

- 893 *ἦττων γ' ὤν*: 'Yes, but . . .'; cf. Denniston, 135, and some of his examples on pp. 133 f. admit of a similar translation.
- 898 *ἀνοήτους*: Right does not spare the audience, though he hopes (918) that they will come to their senses one day. Cf. 208 n.
- 902 *Δίκη*: In Attic *δίκη* is not a synonym of *δικαιοσύνη*, except in certain phrases, e.g. *ἐν δίκη*, and Wrong refers to the deity of Hes. *Op.* 256 ff., 'the virgin daughter of Zeus', who, when she is injured by mankind, 'sits beside her father and tells him of men's unrighteousness'. Cf. A. *Su.* 144 ff., *Th.* 662 ff. and fr. 530M = 282L (Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* lxxv [1955], 59 ff.), Pl. *R.* 536 E ~ 487 A. Wrong denies the existence of Dike just as Socrates (367) denied the existence of Zeus.
- 905 f. *τὸν πατέρ' αὐτοῦ δήσας*: The chorus in A. *Eu.* 640 ff. makes the same point against Apollo—who, like Right, is provoked to an emotional outburst. Zeus's temporary ill-treatment of Kronos was *σκάνδαλον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν*, to judge from the way in which Hesiod, who relates the savage behaviour of Kronos himself in detail (*Th.* 154 ff., 423 ff.), slips lightly over it (73); cf. Pl. *Euthphr.* 5 E f., *Smp.* 195 C. On the position of *αὐτοῦ* cf. 515 f. n.
- 906 *αἰβοῖ* . . . 907 *λεκάνην*: Cf. 102 n.; Σ<sup>RV</sup> (cf. Σ<sup>R</sup> 829) strangely takes *αἰβοῖ* as a representation of laughter. A *λεκάνη* was evidently used as a receptacle for vomit; cf. Kratin. 251. *καὶ δὴ*: 'Verbal pointing', and not always at the beginning of a clause; cf. *Lys.* 65 *αἶδε καὶ δὴ σοι προσέρχονται τινες* and Denniston, 250 f.
- 908 *τυφογέρων*: Used abusively of old men in *Lys.* 335. Cf. LSJ s.vv. *τύφος* and *τυφώω*.
- 909 *καταπύγων*: Cf. 529 n.
- 910 *ρόδα* . . . 912 *γιγνώσκεις*: Wrong's complacency is imitated later by Pheidippides (1328 ff.) and in a famous scene of Plautus, *Pseud.* 360 ff. Roses and lilies go together in Kratin. 98. 2 and Chairemon 8. *χρυσῶ πάττων*: 'Sprinkling with gold' suggests the odd and wasteful procedure of throwing gold dust over a person. It seems (despite the numerous instances of *πάττειν* = 'sprinkle') that the words must mean 'adorn all over with gold ornaments'; cf. *Eq.* 500 ff. *νικήσας* . . . *ἔλθοις στεφάνους κατάπαστος*, where Neil suggests 'bespangled', and *χρυσόπαστος* is an epithet of magnificent clothing (Hdt. viii. 120 [a tiara] and Eubul. 134 [*ξυστίδες*, cf. 70 n.]).
- 913 *οὐ δῆτα πρὸ τοῦ γ'*: Right means: hitherto, what I am saying to you would have been regarded as *μολύβδω πάττειν*.
- 915 *ἀρχαῖος*: Cf. 821 n.
- 916 *διὰ σέ δέ*: So R. *διὰ σέ* V: *διὰ σέ δὴ* cett. *υυυυ* is an abnormal resolution in anapaests, but common phrases and formulae often justify metrical abnormality; cf. 575, 1066 nn., and *Av.* 1753 *διὰ σέ* where *υυ* is expected (possibly a formula from hymns; cf. Ed. Fraenkel, *RM* lxxii [1918], 178 [= *Kl. Beitr.* i. 182 f.]). *φοιτᾶν*:

sc. to school, as commonly, e.g. D. xviii. 265; more fully expressed in *Eq.* 1235 *παῖς ὡν ἐφοίτας εἰς τίνος διδασκάλου*;

920 *αὐχμείς*: Cf. 442 n.

921 *ἐπτώχευες*: 'Beggars', and therefore despised, leads on to the theme of the next line.

922 *Τηλέφος* . . . *φάσκων*: Euripides' *Telephos* represented the Mysian king as appearing disguised as a beggar at Agamemnon's court. The play, produced in 438, seems to have made a great impression, perhaps because the audience liked to see splendid costumes in tragedy and were shocked by a realistic portrayal of beggar's rags; Ar. exploits the play very fully in *Acharnians* and *Thesmophoriazusaē*. Cf. E. W. Handley and J. Rea, *BICS* Suppl. v (1957).

923 f. *ἐκ πηριδίου* . . . *Πανδελετείους*: The first two words suggest living off scraps which he saves in a bag (cf. the disguised Odysseus in *Od.* xiii. 437 f.); *γνώμας* both reminds us of the stage *Telephos* and suggests that Wrong in the old days had nothing except his clever talk. Pandeletos is characterized by Σ<sup>RV</sup> as a sycophant and active politician; this may be pure guesswork—he may indeed have been a proverbial character, like *Koisyra* (48 n.)—but *Kratinos* named him in *Cheirones* (242). Adjectives in *-eios*, whether formed from proper names or not, sometimes lack feminine forms, e.g. E. *Ion* *μαντείων ἔδραν* (cf. KB, i. 537). The resemblance of *Πανδελετείους* to a compound adjective in *παν-* (KB, i. 540) may have influenced Ar.'s choice of declension here. We should not attach importance to *-τίας* (V), since the corruption *-ους* > *-ας* is more likely than the reverse; cf. 952, where *AEKNPPIVPIVSIΘ<sub>2</sub>* have *γνωμοτόπαις μερίμναις*.

925-6. Only RV present the two lines in this form; the nearest parallel is E. *Tro.* 577-607, and E. *Ba.* 966 ff. have a slight resemblance. Possibly Ar. intended the two actors to speak simultaneously. For interrupted utterance cf. 1221 f., and for the part-repetition of one speaker's words by the other cf. V. 1484 *καὶ δὴ γὰρ σχήματος ἀρχή — μᾶλλον δέ γ' ἴσως μανίας ἀρχή. ὦμοι*: I print this in deference to the MSS. evidence, but without conviction; cf. 773 n. and Barrett on E. *Hp.* 799.

928 *λυμαινόμενον τοῖς μειρακίοις*: We are reminded of the charge against Socrates (Pl. *Ap.* 24 B, X. *M.* i. I. 1), *τοὺς νέους διαφθείροντα*.

929 *Κρόνος*: Cf. 398 n.

930 γ': 'Oh yes, I will . . .!'; cf. Denniston, 132 (a mixture of rather dissimilar examples). *σωθῆναι*: The translation 'to be saved' sounds rather evangelical; perhaps 'if he is not to come to any harm'.

932 εἶα: Either εἶα, as implied by *Lys.* 945 *ἀγαθὸν εἶα αὐτ'* (υ υ υ υ -) and *Ra.* 1243 *εἶα αὐτὸν ὦ τᾶν*, or εἶα, which would be in keeping with the normal contraction *εα* > *ᾶ* but cannot be proved metrically.

933 *κλαύσει* . . . *ἐπιβάλλης*: Cf. *Lys.* 435 *εἰ . . . τὴν χεῖρά μοι ἄκραν*

*προσοίσει* . . . *κλαύεται* and *Kratin.* 277. Wrong has moved to take hold of *Pheidippides*, and Right now threatens violence, which is averted by the Chorus.

938 *φοιτῆ*: Cf. 916 n.

940 *πρότερος*: The adjective (VAEKM<sup>2</sup>NPIU<sup>1</sup>Vb<sub>3</sub>VPIVSI<sup>2</sup>ΘΦ<sup>1</sup>) is supported by V. 15 *σὺ λέξον πρότερος*: for the assonance cf. *Ec.* 1082 *ποτέρας ποτέρας οὖν κατελάσας ἀπαλλαγῶ*; and Pl. *Lg.* 712 C *φέρει δὴ τοῖνυν, πρότερος ὑμῶν ἀποκρίνασθαι πρότερος ἂν ἐθέλοι*;

941 *τούτω δώσω*: It was sometimes held (rightly or wrongly) that the first speaker has an advantage (D. xviii. 7), but Wrong knows better.

943 *ῥηματίσιον* . . . 944 *κατατοξεύσω*: Pl. *Th.* 180 A uses the same idea: *ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρέτρας ῥηματίσσια αἰνιγματώδη ἀνασπῶντες ἀποτοξεύουσι*.

945 *ἀναγρώξῃ*: The aorist subjunctive *ἀναγρώξῃ* (β) may be right; cf. V. 374 *τοῦτον δ', ἐὰν γρώξῃ τι, ποιήσω δακεῖν τὴν καρδίαν*.

#### (ii) 949-58. *Strophe*

Responson to 1024-33 is normal at the beginning and end, but highly irregular in 953-6 ~ 1028-31 (Σ<sup>E</sup> comments that there are alternative analyses of the strophe).

(1) 949 f. ~ 1024 f.	---υ-	υ-υ-		υ-υ-	υ---	
(2) 951 f. ~ 1026 f.	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	
(3) 953 f.	υ-υ-υ-	- υ-	- υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	
1028 f.	υ-υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	
(4) 955 f.	υ- υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	- υ-υ-	
1030 f.	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	
(5) 957 f. ~ 1032 f.	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-	

(1) and (2) are iambo-choriambic tetrameters of the form *ia ch ch ba*; cf. 700 f. ~ 804 f. (3) in the strophe is *ia cr lek* (cf. *Av.* 851 f. ~ 895 f.), in the antistrophe *ia lek* (cf. V. 734 ~ 746; 746 ends with an open short syllable, *ἐπέθετο*, like *τότε* here). The text of these lines will be discussed ad loc. For responson υ υ υ υ υ υ cf. V. 869 ~ 886 - υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ -, V. 1454 ~ 1466 υ υ υ υ υ υ and *Ra.* 1489 ~ 1498 υ υ υ υ υ υ - υ - υ. (4) in the strophe is a choriambic tetrameter, in the antistrophe a choriambic trimeter. On the problem of responson posed by (3) and (4) cf. *Ach.* 216 (4 *cr*) ~ 231 (3 *cr*), *Eq.* 306-10 (10 *cr*) ~ 386-8 (9 *cr*), *Ra.* 536 (2 *tr*) ~ 592 (*tr*), V. 297 f. (2 *io* + *anacr*) ~ 309 f. (*io* + *anacr*), and *Pax* 464 (2 *an*) ~ 491 (*an*). Cf. also p. 246. The problem of syncopated responson (Denniston, *GPL*, 143 f.) is generically different. (5) is an iambo-choriambic tetrameter of the form *ch ia ch ba*; cf. 567 f. ~ 599 f.

952 *γνωμοτόποις*: The chorus describe Aischylos and Euripides in *Ra.* 877 as *ἀνδρῶν γνωμοτόπων. μερίμναις*: Cf. 101 n.







- 971 Φρῶνιν: In Pherekr. 145. 14 ff. Music, personified as a woman, complains (the passage is full of sexual *double entendre*) of her treatment by Phrynis: κάμπτων με καὶ στρέφων ὄλην διέφθορον . . . ἐν ἐπτά χορδαῖς δώδεχ' ἀρμονίας ἔχων. According to ΣΥΝΕ, Phrynis was a Mytilenean citharode who won the prize at the Panathenaia 'in the archonship of Kallias'. The earliest Kallias (456/5) is indicated by the sequence in Pherekrates: Melanippides—Phrynis—Kinesias—Timotheos. Melanippides won first prize at Athens in 494 (*Marm. Par.* A47). Kinesias was a contemporary of Ar., and appears as a character in *Birds* (see the testimonia in Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, iii. 248 ff.). Timotheos was born not before 455 (*Marm. Par.* A76). Right is thus condemning as a modern innovation something with which Ar. himself had grown up.
- 972 πολλὰς: sc. πληγὰς: cf. D. xix. 197 ξαίνει κατὰ τοῦ νότου πολλάς. ἀφανίζων: Cf. Th. vii. 69. 2 ἀξίων . . . τὰς πατρικὰς ἀρετὰς μὴ ἀφανίζων.
- 973 παιδοτρίβου: Cf. p. lix and 508 n.
- 973 μῆρόν . . . 976 καταλείπειν: Cf. p. lxiv. ἀπηνές: A surprising word (as remarked by Eust. *Hom.* 113. 23), meaning 'cruel' (cf. Pl. *Lg.* 950 B ἀγριον καὶ ἀπηνές, of a repressive law), not 'indecorous'. The point is that the sight of a boy's genitals 'torments' his lovers, just as Eros himself is a cruel and merciless power (ἀλγεσιδώρος, Sa. 172; ἀνιάρως, Theokr. 2. 55) and Alexander jokingly described beautiful Persian women as ἀλγηδόνες ὀμμάτων (Plu. *Alex.* 21. 10). Right's revelation of the tastes of the generation which he champions can be made plain by change of tone in 973 and 974. ἀνιστάμενον: So RVMd1<sup>ac</sup>; preferable to -μένους (cett.) as *lectio difficilior* and consonant with Greek idiom; it does not go too far beyond *Ra.* 1073 ff. οὐκ ἠπίσταντ' ἀλλ' ἢ μᾶζαν καλέσαι . . . — . . . καὶ προσπαρδεῖν γ' . . . κάκβας τινα λωποδυτῆσαι νῦν δ' ἀντιλέγει κτλ. and *Ec.* 300 f. ὅσοι πρὸ τοῦ μέν, ἠνίκ' ἔδει λαβεῖν ἐλθόντ' ὀβολὸν μόνον, καθήγτο. The plural τοῖσιν ἐρασταῖσιν is no obstacle; many lovers competed for the favours of a handsome boy (cf. Pl. *Chrm.* 154 A). ἦβης: Similarly used of the genitals in Theop. Com. 37. 2.
- 977 ἠλείψατο . . . 978 ἐπήνηται: These lines are crucial for the interpretation of the character of Right and the manner in which Ar. regards this contest. First, it is as if a modern preacher, having thundered 'No girl ever wore trousers in those days!' continued 'And sometimes you glimpsed the satiny flesh on the inside of her thighs'. Right speaks 977 indignantly, 978 dreamily, as his imagination runs away with him, and then pulls himself together in 979 (cf. the envoy in *Ach.* 73 ff.). Secondly, we must ask what visual effect, described in 978, is incompatible with anointing with oil below the navel. χροῦς looks easy; it is normally 'down', especially on the face, and it seems that Right likes immature pubic hair to be fluffy, not plastered flat with oil. But in Theokr. 27. 50 a girl's breasts are μάλα . . .

- χροάοντα: there, as here, μῆλα are fruit with a firm texture but a matt surface—quinces or, better still, apricots, rather than glossy apples—and χροάοντα is 'velvety' (obviously not 'hairy'). δρόσος means liquid in the form of drops or a film, including dew and drizzle (*A. Ag.* 560 f.), vaginal secretion (*Eg.* 1280 ff. ~ *Pax* 883 ff.) and semen (*Kallim.* fr. 260. 19; cf. Pfeiffer ad loc.), whence, like γόνος, it can mean 'offspring' (*A. Ag.* 141; an unromantic interpretation [ctr. Taillardat, § 122, who seems to me wide of the mark], but cf. the earthiness of *Pi. N.* 10. 81 f.). Following αἰδοῖοισι, δρόσος would at first suggest 'semen' to Ar.'s audience, but a more realistic picture is obtained if we take it as referring to Cowper's secretion, which in some individuals is emitted when the penis is fully erect. What stimulates Right's aesthetic imagination is the visual and tactile contrast between the matt surface of the penis as a whole and the secretion revealed by pushing back the foreskin; the same kind of contrast as is obtained by taking a small bite at a peach. [LSJ s.v. δρόσος curiously refers to the cheeks.]
- 979 οὐδ' ἂν μαλακὴν . . . 980 ἐβάδιζεν: Cf. p. lxiv. τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν: So Π4; the plural (a) is less acceptable, because Ar. always uses the dual when referring to one person's eyes, e.g. 362, 411.
- 981 ἀνελέσθαι: This (KMNPiZ<sup>0</sup> Stob.) rather than ἂν ἐλέσθαι (cett.) seems the appropriate word for securing one's share of food, given *Ach.* 809 f. οὐτὶ πάσας κατέτραγον τὰς ἰσχυράδας· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὰν τάνδε μίαν ἀνεῖλόμαν. It is also slightly questionable whether the past-frequentative ἂν suits ἐξῆν (I can find no parallels for ἐξῆν ἂν = 'it was normally permissible'); and there are independent grounds for eliminating ἂν in 982. ῥαφανίδος: It seems that ῥαφανίς was not simply the very small root we call 'radish', but a generic name covering some much larger species; cf. 1083 n. and Theophr. *HP* vii. 4. 2.
- 982 ἄνηθον: We find: (1) *Th.* 486 ἄνηθον, σφακόν as medicines for enteritis. (2) Alexis 127. 5 μάρathon, ἄνηθον . . . ἡ ἄνηθον, θύμον, σφακόν as condiments. (3) Theokr. 15. 119 ἄνηθω as decoration of a garden of Adonis. (4) Moschos 3. 100 σέλινα τό τ' . . . ἄνηθον in a garden, and Theokr. 7. 63 ἄνηθιον . . . στέφανον. (5) Nic. *Ther.* 650 ἄνηθου and 911 ἄνηθου, a medicine. So much for the examples where there is metrical control. Where there is none, e.g. *Hp. Acut.* 23, Theophr. *HP* vii. 1. 2, ix. 7. 3, *Plin. NH* xix. 189 f., xx. 196 (both *anesum* and *anetum* as condiments and medicines!), *Poll.* vi. 66, 107 (referring to Alkaios, Sappho, and Anakreon), and *S a* 2402, 2444 (= *An. Bachm.* 96. 23), the confusion is increased immeasurably, since in most of these passages there are variant readings. If we stick to Ar., we read ἄνηθον here. If we bring in Alexis, we should probably emend to ἄνηθου in *Th.* 486 and keep ἂν ἄνηθον here. The former seems to me the wiser course; cf. also 981 n.
- 983 ὀψοφαγεῖν: They are expected to be content with the staple diet of

bread and wine, and not to be choosy over other foods. Pl. R. 372 E thinks of *ῥῥα* primarily as salt, olives, and cheese, but elsewhere the word is applied to meat and fish (Hdt. ix. 82. 1 and X. Cyr. viii. 5. 3 distinguish *ἀρτοκόποι* or *αἰστοποιοί* from *ῥῥοποιοί*: cf. *Eq.* 1106 and Pl. R. 332 D). Obviously no one believed that boys in the old days survived on a purely farinaceous diet, and if we regard *ῥῥα* as that element of diet in which variety is possible, and to part of which the cook's competence and imagination make a difference, we can see how a regard for *ῥῥα* could be stigmatized by champions of austerity. *ἐναλλάξ*: Presumably this was considered too relaxed and confident a posture in the presence of one's elders.

984 *ἀρχαία*: Cf. 821 n. *Διπολιώδη*: The festival *Διπολία* (not *Δι-*: cf. *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 843. 7 and *AB* 91. 8), in honour of Zeus Polieus, was celebrated on 14 Skirophorion (*S Pax* 419); cf. Deubner, 158 ff. *Σ<sup>RV</sup>E* wrongly equates it with the Diasia. It was perhaps despised by the younger generation as overladen with archaic ritual and devoid of the athletic and artistic contests which made other festivals interesting. *τεττίγων*: The reference is to the custom, mentioned as out of date by Th. i. 6. 3 and in *Eq.* 1331, of wearing in the hair a golden brooch in the shape of a cicada.

985 *Κηκείδου*: 'A very early dithyrambic poet', according to *Σ<sup>RV</sup>E*. Whether his name was Kek(e)ides, Ked(e)ides (Nauck, cl. Phot. s.v. *Κηκείδης* and Hesch. κ 2476 *Κηκείδης*) or any of the variants presented by the MSS. (*Κείδου* Stob.: *Κηκείδου* S), we can hardly determine. One Kedeides was *διδάσκαλος* of a tribal chorus on an occasion when Kleisthenes (cf. 355) was its choregos, in the late fifth century (*IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 770, in mixed Attic and Ionic script); if he was an old-fashioned poet and a contemporary of Ar., the emendation *Κηκείδου* should be adopted and *Σ<sup>RV</sup>E* rejected as having made a bad guess; but *Σ*'s reference to Kratin. 156 must give us pause, for Kratinos may have made the date of the poet clearer. *Βουφονίων*: Evidently part of the Dipolieia, for *EM* 210. 30 gives the same date, 14 Skirophorion, and Hesch. β 990 defines *βούτης* as (*inter alia*) *ὁ τοῖς Διπολιεῖσι τὰ Βουφόνια δρών*.

986 *Μαραθωνμάχας*: The testimonia and all MSS. except *VE<sup>ac</sup>Md1<sup>ac</sup>* *Νριθ* have *-χους*. We find *-μάχαι* in *RF* at *Ach.* 181, supported by *S*. *-μάχης* has somewhat more of the flavour of archaic poetry than *-μαχος*, but both have parallels: *Ach.* 570 *τειχομάχας ἀνὴρ* (dochmiacs), Pl. *Euthd.* 299 c *ὀπλομάχην* (immediately after a reference to heroic legend), but *X. Lac.* II. 8 *ὀπλομάχοις*.

987 *ἱματίοισι*: For the overrunning of the caesura,  $\omega\sim\mu$ , cf. *V.* 568, *Av.* 600, and White, § 317.

988 *ἀπάγγεσθ'*: Ostensibly with indignation at their feebleness (cf. *V.* 686 *ὁ μάλιστά μ' ἀπάγγει*), but we may be meant to infer also that the lowering of the shield deprives him of his favourite sight.

989 *τὴν ἀσπίδα τῆς κωλῆς προέχων*: The reference is to the *πυρριχισταί*, who danced at the Panathenaia (Lys. xxi. 1) naked, wielding a hoplite shield energetically, as described by Pl. *Lg.* 815 A *τὴν πολεμικὴν (sc. ὄρχησιν) . . . πυρρίχην ἄν τις ὀρθῶς προσαγορεύοι κτλ.*: cf. K. Latte, *De Saltationibus Graecorum* (Giessen, 1913), 56 ff. and L. Séchan, op. cit. (540 n.), 92 ff. and pl. iv. *κωλή* is the haunch of animal or man (cf. 1019 n., *Eup.* 47), often mentioned in connexion with the partition of meat after a sacrifice (cf. *Pl.* 1128, *Ameips.* 7. 2). If a man is physically weak, he cannot dance for long holding a heavy shield with his fore-arm at right-angles to his chest or moving it quickly up and down; his arm flops and the shield covers his side from shoulder to knee. The exaggeration 'holding it in front of his haunch' is typical drill-sergeant's language. *ἀμελή τις*: With *τῆς* (a) instead of *τις* (Ct1<sup>ac</sup>) *τις* must be understood (it appears in *Vb3<sup>Φ</sup>* after *προέχων*), and this superimposes an abnormality on what would otherwise be an unobjectionable inconcinnity (cf. 975 n.) of *αὐτοῦς* with *ἀμελή*. *Τριτογενεῖς*: For the justification of *-ης* cf. 614 n. This is a name of Athena from Hesiod onwards, e.g. *Lys.* 346 f. *καί σε καλῶ σύμμαχον, ὦ Τριτογένεια*: a name rather than an epithet; the adjective is *τριτογενής*, which accompanies *Παλλάς* in Raubitschek, nos. 66 and 133 (in no. 115 we have *ἡγναιτριτογ[ ]*). Cf. *'Hριγένεια* in *Od.* xxii. 197 f., xxiii. 347, not to mention *'Ιφιγένεια*.

991 *μυσεῖν ἀγοράν*: Cf. *Isok.* vii. 49, idealizing the youth of primeval Athens: *οὕτω δ' ἔφευγον τὴν ἀγοράν κτλ.* *βαλανεῖον*: Cf. 837 n.

992 *φλέγεσθαι*: Modest boys were expected to blush readily, but this is a strong word, referring rather to a surge of emotion—anger and shame—when one is the object of ridicule; on *σκώπτειν* cf. 1267.

993 *ὑπανίστασθαι*: An obvious mark of respect in ancient as in modern times; cf. *X. M.* ii. 3. 16, *Cyr.* viii. 7. 10.

994 *περὶ τοὺς σαυτοῦ γονέας*: *περὶ c. acc.* is used of the sphere or direction in which an error or offence falls; cf. Antiphon iii. β. 7 *περὶ οὐδένα . . . ἤμαρτεν*, γ. 6 *περὶ τὸν καιρὸν . . . πλημμελήσας*, iv. α. 2 *ἀσεβεῖ . . . περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς*. *σκαίουργεῖν*: Cf. 629 n. The word here refers more to *bétises* than to the serious offences such as striking one's parents.

995 *ὅτι τῆς Αἰδοῦς μέλλεις τᾶγα μ' ἴαναπλήσειν†*: 'By doing which' (or 'by experiencing which') 'you are likely to . . .'; cf. Th. vi. 33. 5 f., (Great expeditions come to grief) *ὅπερ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ Μήδου . . . σφαλέντος, . . . ἠξήθησαν*. *Αἰδώς* is personified, as in Hes. *Op.* 197 ff., *E. IA* 1089 ff.; cf. *GVI* i. 1564. 1 (Athens, V ex.) *πότνια Σωφροσύνη, θύγατερ μεγαλόφρονος Αἰδοῦς* and Timotheos 789 *σέβεισθ' Αἰδῶ συνεργὸν Ἄρετᾶς*. Shameless behaviour is an offence against her, as Justice is 'manhandled' by unjust rulers in Hes. *Op.* 220 ff., and the offence is described metaphorically as doing something to her statue; obviously we need some word meaning 'mutilate', 'deface', or 'defile'

(*μολύνειν* in the paraphrase of Σ<sup>8</sup>). *ἀναπιμπλάναι* means 'infect', and is freely used in metaphor, e.g. 1023, *Ach.* 846 f., D. xxiv. 205, but it is not used without specification of the disease or condition transmitted, and I do not see how anyone can 'infect a statue' as one can infect a person or a community with immorality. *ἀναπλάττειν* (*ἀναπλάσσειν* NΘ<sub>2</sub>: *ἀναπλάσσειν* f), '(re-)mould', is used of building up, improving, or repairing, never of mutilating; cf. Pl. *Alc. I* 121 D, Hp. *Mochl.* 2, and especially Alexis 98. 5, where it refers to the art of turning plain girls into attractive hetairai. \**ἀναπλήττειν* (cf. *ἀναπλήσσειν* Mδ1VσιΦ) is unexampled (future \**ἀναπλήξειν*, cf. *πλήξει* in A. fr. 275. 2N = 478. 2M). I suspect that Ar. wrote *ἀμαλάπτειν* (cf. S. fr. 427N = 465P), *ἀμαλάψειν* or (*ἀ*)*λαπάξειν* (cf. A. *Ag.* 130); for the occasional comic use, apparently without paratragic point, of words associated with archaic poetry or tragedy cf. *Pax* 380 *ἀμαλδονθήσεται*, *V.* 5 *ἀπομερμηρίσαι* and, *V.* 188 *ινδάλλεται*. I cannot think that the idea that a good man is himself an *ἄγαλμα* (or *εἰκών*: cf. Diogenes the Cynic *ap.* D.L. vi. 51) of Modesty, or even that he 'has a statue of Modesty in his heart', despite the 'sanctuary of Justice in one's own nature' (E. *Hel.* 1022) and the 'altars of Justice and Eunomia and Aidos in all men' (D. xxv. 35), would occur to the audience. But even if the latter were intended, the primary point that shameless action is a mutilation of the statue of Aidos is still valid. (The whole point of Pl. *Smr.* 215AB is quite different: a comparison of Socrates with a highly specialized object made by certain craftsmen.)

996 *ὄρχηστρίδος*: Dancing-girls and flute-girls were normally slaves; it would be unfair to say that they were necessarily prostitutes as well, but they could be prostituted (as is presupposed in *Th.* 1172-1201), and they could certainly be importuned in a manner which a free woman (not to mention her male relatives) would resent. Cf. *V.* 1342-81, *Ra.* 514 ff.

997 *μήλω*: Throwing fruit at a man was a means by which a girl could suggest to him, without committing herself in words, that she would let him try to seduce her (the modern equivalent would be cigarette smoke-signals). Cf. Theokr. 5. 88 f. *εὐκλείας*: The prostitute was despised, as often in those societies which have made most use of her (cf. *Lys.* iv. 19); and chastity in the adolescent was admired as an aspect of *σωφροσύνη*, just as one admires those who can endure privation. The conventional attitude of Right (which, as often happens with conventional attitudes, did not necessarily have any close relation to realities of conduct) is expressed also in *Lys.* xiv. 25, where the younger Alkibiades is blamed: *ἐκόμαζε μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἀνῆθος ἐταίραν ἔχω.*

998 *ἀντρεπείν*: Cf. *Lys.* xix. 55, 'I am thirty years old, and I have never yet contradicted my father', in a parade of the speaker's virtues.

*Ἰαπετόν*: Brother of Kronos (Hes. *Th.* 134), so that calling a man 'Iapetos' makes the same point as calling him 'Kronos' (398 n.).

999 *ἡλικίαν*: Everywhere else *μνησικακεῖν* is used absolutely (e.g. *Lys.* 590) or that which is recalled with opprobrium is put in the genitive; cf. And. i. 81 *μη μνησικακεῖν ἀλλήλοις τῶν γεγενημένων*. *ἐξ ἧς*: 'That time of (his) life when you were looked after as a fledgling'. Cf. 562 n.

1001 *τοῖς Ἰπποκράτους υἱέσιν*: Whether this Hippokrates was the son of Ariphron and thus the strategos killed at Delion in 424 (*Th.* iv. 66. 1, 101. 2) we do not know for certain. He probably was, for (i) one of his three sons was named Perikles—the other two were Telesippos and Demophon (Σ<sup>8</sup>v<sup>8</sup>)—and Ariphron was a brother of the great Perikles (Plu. *Alc.* 1. 2), and (ii) from *Lys.* fr. 43 (Thalheim) it appears that the 'sons of Hippokrates' were orphaned. The boys are ridiculed as simpletons (*οὐδαμῶς τοῦ νῦν τρόπου*) in *Eup.* 103 and (according to Σ<sup>8</sup>v<sup>8</sup>) as *προκέφαλοι* (whatever shape of head that may mean) in Ar. fr. 112, 557. *καλοῦσι*: For initial β' λ cf. *Eg.* 298 (trochaics) *κάτιορκῶ γε βλεπόντων*, *V.* 611 (anapaestic) *εἰς σέ βλέψαι*. *βλιτομάμμαν*: *βλίτον* is a vegetable described by Plin. *NH* xx. 252 as *iners . . . et sine sapore . . . unde conuicium feminis apud Menandrum* (832) *faciunt mariti*. Cf. Hsch. β 749 *βλιτὰς καὶ βλιτῶνας*: *τοὺς εὐήθευς* and our derogatory use of 'cabbage' and 'turnip'. *Ὀν-μαμμαν* cf. 1383 n.; *βλιτομάμματος* is a contemptuous synonym of \**βλιτοφάγος*.

1004 *ἐλκόμενος*: Involved in litigation, as witness or supporter or defendant; cf. 1218. *γλισχραντιλογεσιπρίπτου*: *-εσιπρίπτου* (cf. *ἐπίπριπτος* as a term of abuse, *Ach.* 557, *Pax* 1236) expresses, I think (ctr. Taillardat, § 322, n. 1), the speaker's emotional attitude to what he is describing.

1005 *Ἀκαδήμειαν*: This locality, 1 km NW of the city perimeter, did not have in Ar.'s time the associations which it later acquired, as 'The Academy', through Plato. It was a public park and gymnasium, dedicated to a local god Akademos (*Eup.* 32: *θεός* there, not *ἦρω*) perhaps (though none of the evidence is of Classical date) in the time of the Peisistratidai (S τ 733) and augmented by a benefaction of Kimon (Plu. *Cim.* 13. 7). Cf. Judeich, 412 ff., and Ida T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens* (London, 1952), 221. For the form of the word cf. *SEG* xiv. 97. 4 (Athens, 180 B.C.) *Ἰαδημειαιαγυμν[ι]*, Alexis 327. 1 (υ υ - - υ) and *Hdn.* i. 272. 24 f. ~ 277. 14. *ἀποθρέξει*: 'Run off'; where to, is immaterial. The evidence favours *-ει*, not *-εις* (VAKMNZΘ), although *ἀποθρέξεις* is recorded by *AB* 427. 31 from Plato *Com.* 232. Cf. 296 n.

1007 *σμίλακος*: Abundant but contradictory evidence makes a firm decision between *σμίλαξ* and *μίλαξ* impossible. (*Hdn.* ii. 551. 3 f., referring to Hermipp. 33, does not seem to be relevant). W. Peek

*Hermes*, lxviii (1933), 118 ff., publishes a verse graffito from an early Attic red-figure pyxis in which the words *σοφροσυνενεικα[δοικε]* ([δοικε]?) *μυλα[κος . . .]* seem to refer to a man who is crowned (as a victor?), but the point of the graffito as a whole is not very clear. *ἀπραγμοσύνης*: Aristophanes of Byzantium decided that this must be the name of a flower that grew in the Academy, and Σ<sup>νε</sup> followed him. Maybe; but more probably this is a characteristic Aristophanic mixture of concrete and abstract, as in *Av.* 1539 ff. *τὴν εδβουλίαν, τὴν εὐνομίαν, τὴν σωφροσύνην, τὰ νεώρια, τὴν λοιδορίαν, τὸν κωλακρέτην, τὰ τριώβολα*. Cf. 398 n. †*φυλλοβολούσης*†: Poplars do not 'cast their leaves' in spring, and *φυλλοβόλος* and its cognates are attested (from the fourth century B.C.) only in that meaning. Possibly Ar. intended the word to mean 'shaking its leaves' (in *Av.* 1481 *φυλλορροεῖν* is used of shedding leaves). Meineke's *φυλλοκομούσης* will hardly do, despite *φυλλόκομος* in *Av.* 215, 742, since *-κομῆν* = 'tend' in Classical Greek (e.g. *ἵπποκομῆν Pax* 74) and does not refer to the growing of hair until the Hellenistic epigrammatists; nor could *φυλλοκομώσης* be supported by any other *-κομῆν* compounds.

1010 *καὶ πρὸς τούτοις*: Normally *προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν* takes a simple dative, not *πρὸς*: hence *καὶ τούτοις* cj. Meineke, *καὶ πρὸς τούτοις* (and *ἐχθρῶ*) Bergk.

1012 *λαμπράν*: *λευκὴν* (RVMd1Vb3<sup>1</sup>X) will not do, as a white skin, desirable in a woman (cf. *Ec.* 62 ff.), is always shameful in a man; cf. especially *Ra.* 1091 f, 'slow, white, fat', of a man out of training.

1014 *πυγὴν μεγάλην*: Muscular young men are commonly depicted in vase-paintings with buttocks jutting out above massive thighs. Plato *Com.* 184. 3 ridicules a thin-shanked man as *ἄπυγος* (Meineke's emendation of *ἄπυιος*) and Semon. 7. 76 uses the same word of the ugly, monkey-like woman. It was a standing joke against the Athenians that they wore down their buttocks by rowing; cf. *Eq.* 1368 c. Σ, *Poll.* ii. 184, and in *Ra.* 1070 f. we encounter the idea that too much sitting around and talking 'wears down the buttocks'. *πόσθην μικράν*: An abnormally small penis is characteristic of gods, heroes, and youths on vase-paintings, an abnormally large one characteristic of barbarian slaves and of some types of satyr. Possibly the Greeks shared the common popular belief that there is a correlation between size of penis and sexual appetite.

1017 *ὠχράν*: A strong, sunburnt man is *μέλας* (*Th.* 31, D. xxi. 71); cf. G. Reiter, *Die griechischen Bezeichnungen der Farben Weiss, Grau und Braun* (Innsbruck, 1962), 115 f.

1019 *κωλήν μικράν*: Apart from AKΘ<sub>1</sub>, which have nothing between *γλωτταν μεγάλην* and *ψήφισμα μακρόν*, the MSS. say 'small buttocks, a large' ('small' V) 'κωλή'. But this will not do; the underdeveloped man has a small haunch, just as Semonides' *ἄπυγος* woman is also *αὐτόκωλος* (cj. Bergk: *αὐτόκωλος* codd.); we do not want *μικράν* twice

in the same kolon; and we miss either a reference to the penis or a surprise substitute for it. *ψήφισμα μακρόν* gives precisely the new twist needed. The idea that *κωλή* can = 'penis'—i.e. that a straightforward term for one part of the body can denote a different part, in a context to which the straightforward meaning is highly relevant—is not attractive; the only comparable passage would be *El.* 1023 *διήμησ' Ἰφιδόνης παρηίδα*, which I interpret as 'severed (<from the body> the face' (ctr. J. H. Kells, *CQ* n.s. xvi [1966], 53 f.) The use of words meaning 'tail' for 'penis' is different, because we do not have tails.

1022 *Ἀντιμάχου*: A man of this name is the object of Ar.'s malice in 1150. *καταπυγοσύνης*: Cf. 529 n. *ἀναπλήσει*: Cf. 995 n. *καταπλήσει* (NZ) is not impossible; cf. Antiphon ii. a. 10 *συγκαταπιμπλάει τοὺς ἀναίτιους* (sc. *τοῦ μιάσματος*), *Pl. R.* 496D.

(v) 1024-33. *Antistrophe*

1028 *ἄρ' ἦσαν*: *δ' ἦσαν ἄρ'* (RVMd1Vb3) and *δ' ἄρ' ἦσαν* (cett.) are both inappropriate. Elsewhere in Ar. *δέ* and *ἄρα* are combined only when a change of subject is emphasized (410 ἢ *δ' ἄρ'*, *Eq.* 626 *δ' δ' ἄρ'*, *V.* 451 *σὺ δ' . . . ἄρα* [with a different sense of *ἄρα*], *Av.* *δ' δ' ἄρ'*) or a 'change of direction' (only *Av.* 393 *ἔτερον ἦν δ' ἄρ'*). With an emotive expression like (*ὡς*) *εὐδαίμων* we find simple *ἄρα*: *Ra.* 19 *ὦ τρισκακοδαίμων ἄρ' . . . οὐτοσί*, 1195 *εὐδαίμων ἄρ' ἦν, εἰ κτλ.*, *Ec.*, 746 *κακοδαίμων ἄρα . . . ἔσομαι*, 760 *κακοδαίμων ἄρ' εἰ κτλ.*, *Pl.* 657 *νῆ Δί' εὐδαίμων ἄρ' ἦν κτλ.* *ἄρα* may either precede or follow the imperfect of *εἶναι*: cf. *Pax* 819 *ὡς χαλεπὸν ἐλθεῖν ἦν ἄρ' κτλ.* ~ *V.* 821 *ὡς χαλεπὸς ἄρ' ἦσθ' ἰδεῖν*. If we delete *δ'* and read *ἄρ' ἦσαν* (Ω), then *εὐδαίμονες ἄρ' ἦσαν οἱ* responds to *ὁπότερος αὐτοῖν ἀμεί-*.

1029 *τότε*: *τότ' ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων* (a) would not be impossible in a different context, but will not do here. 'Those who lived at that time' (i.e. 'in your time') did not exactly live 'in the days of *οἱ πρότεροι*', but were themselves *οἱ πρότεροι*. Moreover the reference of *τότε* is normally understood from the context, as in 1215 and 1456, and not amplified; in *Ra.* 1072 and *Pl.* 1178 f. *τότε* is correlative, preceding a temporal clause, and there is no nearer parallel to our present passage than *Pax* 694 *τάρχαί' ἃ κατέλειπεν τότε*. Delete *ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων*, and we have *ζῶντες τότε* responding to *-ων λέγων φανήσεται*, on which cf. pp. 213 f.

1030 *πρὸς τάδε σ'*: *πρὸς οὖν τὰδ'* (a) conflicts with Ar.'s unvarying practice elsewhere; he never uses a connecting particle with *πρὸς τάδε* (*Ach.* 702, *Eq.* 622, *Pax* 305) or *πρὸς ταῦτα* (*Ach.* 659, *V.* 648, *Pax* 765, *Ec.* 486), whether in choral lyric (from which all those examples are taken) or in dialogue. Cf. A. *Su.* 312 f. *πρὸς τὰδ', ὦ πολιοῦχοι θεοί*, and *Eu.* 545 ff. *πρὸς τάδε τις . . . αἰδόμενος τις*



ἔστω. The latter example, in which the postpositive *τις* is repeated, suggests the solution *πρὸς τάδε σ'*, with repetition of *σε*. Similar repetition occurs in *Ach.* 383 f. *νῦν οὖν με . . . ἔάσατε ἐσκευάσασθαι μ' κτλ.* and *Men. Dysc.* 805 f. *διόπερ ἐγὼ σε φημι δεῖν . . . χρήσθαι σε γενναίως* (cf. Handley ad loc., Dover, 18, and Fraenkel, 89 ff., 216). With *πρὸς τάδε σ'* the verse is wholly choriambic, as is the responding verse; cf. p. 213. Blaydes attributed this reading to O6, but he misread a globular delta as a sigma; O6 has the Triklinian *πρὸς τάδε δ'*.

1031 *κομψοπρεπή*: Cf. 649 n.; *-πρεπή* perhaps hints at speciousness.

(vi) 1034–5. *κατακελευσμός*.

(vii) 1036–1104. *Speech and Victory of Wrong*

1036 *πάλαι γ'ὼ π'νιγόμεν*: So in *Ra.* 1006 Aischylos, when invited to reply to Euripides, says *θυμοῦμαι μὲν τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ καὶ μὴ τὰ σπλάγγν' ἀγανακτεῖ*: but he, unlike Wrong, is angry at having to argue with Euripides at all. If Ar. wrote both *πάλαι* (om. RV) and *ἐγὼ, πάλαι γ'ὼ* is the only satisfactory way (cj. Bentley) of writing them (cf. *V.* 605 οὐ γ'ὼ 'πελελήσμην); *πάλ' ἐγωγ'* (E<sup>ac</sup>Vb3Θ) is prosodically and rhythmically clumsy. For *πάλαι* with the imperfect cf. *Av.* 1670 *ἐθαύμαζον πάλαι* (implying *καὶ ἔτι θαυμάζω*); cfr. *Ach.* 1088, *V.* 825 al.

1041 *πλεῖν ἤ*: Cf. 1065 n. *στατήρων*: *στατήρ* is not used of any Attic coin in documentary inscriptions, but it is used of foreign gold coins in (e.g.) *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 302. 13, 352. 13 ff., *SEG* x. 246. 32 f., and in comedy (*Pl.* 816 f., *Eup.* 112) staters are of gold. Athens had no gold coins until at least 407/6 (W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena* [Cambridge, Mass., 1932], 22 ff., 86 ff.).

1042 *ἔπειτα*: 'Nevertheless', 'in spite of that'.

1044 *θερμῶ . . . λοῦσθαι*: Right has implied this in 991. Cf. 837 n.

1046 *κάκιστον*: The frequent associations of *κακός* and *κακία*, as applied to persons, with cowardice (cf. orac. *ap.* Hdt. i. 55. 2), the least forgivable delinquency in the Greek adult male, colours *κάκιστον* here. *δειλόν*: The most important contribution of the Thoman MSS. (O3P20V2); *δειλότατον* (a) does not scan.

1047 *εὐθύς . . . ἄφυκτον*: Cf. 126 n.

1050 *Ἡρακλέους*: The leading question hardly permits of any other answer. The comic Herakles is a glutton (*Pax* 741, *Av.* 1583–1694, *Ra.* 62 f.); Herakles in serious literature (e.g. Isok. v. 76 f.) is above all a benefactor of mankind, a slayer of monsters, and the ideal of male courage, strength, and endurance. The metron *υ-υ-υ-υ* in iambic tetrameters is normally restricted to proper names and formulae (cf. 1066).

1051 *Ἡράκλεια λουτρά*: Warm springs were the gift of Hephaistos to Herakles, according to Ibykos 300. Cf. Hdt. vii. 176. 3, where the

altar of Herakles by the warm springs at Thermopylai is mentioned; Peisander Epicus 7 represented them as created for Herakles by Athena.

1052 *ταῦτ' . . . 1054 παλαιστρας*: As in 906 f., Right has no answer. *βαλανεῖον*: Cf. 837 n.

1055 *ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὴν διατριβήν*: = *τὴν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διατριβήν*: cf. *Ach.* 636 *πρότερον δ' ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐξαπατῶντες . . . ἐκάλουν κτλ.*, where the interpretation as *οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις* is supported by the prose parallels collected by KG, i. 615 f.

1057 *ἀγορητὴν . . . ἔπαντας*: Nestor in *Il.* i. 248 and iv. 293, but also Peleus (vii. 126). Wrong is playing on the changes in meaning of *ἀγορά*: in epic, 'assembly', 'meeting-place' and '(sc. public) speech', later 'city centre' as the focus of public life, and 'market'. Solon 2. 2 *κόσμον ἐπέων ᾧδὴν ἀντ' ἀγορῆς θέμενος* means 'putting what I have to say into verse instead of speech'.

1058 *ἀνεμι*: Wrong develops his points methodically, in a way used by historians (e.g. Hdt. vii. 239. 1) and adopted by orators (e.g. D. xviii. 42). Cf. 1075, 1408.

1063 *Πηλεὺς . . . μάχαιραν*: Pindar assumes our knowledge of the story in *N.* 4. 54 ff., and Σ ad loc. fills it in with reference to Hesiod (fr. 209); Apollodoros iii. 13. 3 gives a similar outline but differs in detail. Peleus (cf. Hippolytos, Bellerophon and Joseph) resisted the advances of Hippolyte, the wife of his host Akastos, and was accused by her of trying to seduce her. Akastos thereupon contrived that Peleus should be left defenceless in a region full of wild beasts, but Hephaistos brought him a knife. Both Sophokles and Euripides composed a *Peleus*; cf. 1154 f. n. *τὴν* presupposes that the hearer knows the story to which the speaker alludes; cf. 179 n. *ἔλαβε διὰ τοῦτο*: For the rhythm cf. 1064, 1407 (resolutions in iambic tetrameters) and 1066, 1083, 1359, 1427, *Eq.* 909 f., *Th.* 368, *Ra.* 932, 937, 1043 (υ-υ-υ-υ in iambic tetrameters).

1064 *ἀστεῖόν γε*: For *γε* (VAEKNP1Vp1X) cf. Pherekr. 149 *δώσει δέ σοι . . . — καλόν γε δῶρον κτλ.* (also sarcastic), a parallel which gives it precedence over *τό* (cett., except NZ, which have both). On *ἀστεῖος* cf. 204 n.

1065 *Ἵπέρβολος*: Cf. 551 n. *οὐκ τῶν λύχνων*: 'The man from the lamp-market'; cf. *V.* 789 *ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν*, 'in the fish-market', and *Av.* 13 *οὐκ τῶν ὀρνέων*. Hyperbolos is called *λυχνιοποιός* in *Pax* 690 and a retailer of lamps in *Eq.* 1316. It does not follow that he made them with his own hands or personally kept shop; cf. 581 n. *πλεῖν ἢ τάλαντα πολλά*: Cf. D. xxix. 7 *μαρτυριῶν πλεόν ἢ πάντων πολλῶν*. *πλεῖν* (or *πλέον*) ἢ is not always 'more than'; cf. Antiphon vi. 44, where 30 and 20 days add up to *πλεῖν ἢ πενήτηκοντα*, i.e. 'a full 50 days'. *τάλαντα* πολλά is 'a vast amount of money'; cf. Th. vi. 31. 5, where 'if anyone had reckoned up the total expenditure . . .', followed by a list of all

the different categories, leads to the climax *πολλὰ ἂν τάλαντα ἠύρέθη . . . ἐξαγόμενα*.

- 1066 οὐ μὰ Δι' οὐ:** On — — — cf. 1063 n. There is an additional justification here (cf. 575 n.), that *οὐ μὰ Δι' οὐ* is a set phrase (e.g. D. viii. 29).
- 1067 Θέτιν:** Cf. Hes. fr. 211. 4ff. on men's envy of Peleus. The marriage was not, however, simply a reward for *σωφροσύνη*. According to *Kypria* fr. II (Allen) and Hes. fr. 210 the reason was Zeus's spite against Thetis. Pi. I. 8. 27 ff. represents Zeus and Poseidon as rivals for Thetis; but they learned from Themis that it was fated that Thetis's son should be 'mightier than his father', and they prudently married her off to a virtuous (8. 40) mortal. Even so, she was hard to catch, and Hdt. vii. 191. 2 suggests a story in which she was boldly carried off by Peleus, not presented to him.
- 1068 ἀπολιπούσα:** The correct legal term for a wife's desertion of her husband; cf. D. xxx. 4 and Lipsius, 486. In the *Iliad* Thetis is obviously not living with Peleus and had not wished to marry him (xviii. 429 ff.; cf. Pi. N. 4. 62 ff.). Sophokles fr. 155N = 151P represents her as leaving him, as a goddess might well, when he spoke harshly to her. ὕβριστής: ὕβρις, treating a fellow-citizen as if he were a slave or foreigner, was a serious offence in Attic law (cf. D. xxi. 180), and in gnomic poets and tragedians it is behaviour which results from man's forgetting that he is not a god and deciding to do as he wishes. ὕβριζειν has special associations with lack of sexual restraint (e.g. X. M. ii. 1. 30); hence a faint note of admiration, as for roguish virility, creeps into ὕβριστής: cf. Th. 63. Wrong goes further in treating ὕβρις as an ideal—naturally, since it is the opposite of *σωφροσύνη* (e.g. in X. M. i. 2. 19).
- 1069 τὴν νύκτα παννυχίζειν:** Cf. *Ra.* 150 *ἐπιόρκον ὄρκον ἄμοσεν*, 1085 f. *δημοσιθῆκων ἐξαπατώντων τὸν δῆμον*, E. *Hr.* 1213 f., and John Jackson, *Marginalia Scaenica* (Oxford, 1955), 243, on the insensitivity of the Greek poets to the use of the same stem twice in one clause.
- 1070 Κρόνιπος:** Cf. 398 n. The element *ἱππο-* seems to denote 'monstrous' in *Ra.* 929 *ῥήμαθ' ἱππόκρημνα*, and is a derogatory intensification in Men. *Theorh.* 19 *ἱππόπορνε*. As an element in proper names it could be regarded as having an aristocratic flavour (63 ff.), and it may possibly have been thought old-fashioned; but it is not uncommon in late fifth-century casualty-lists—*SEG* x. 424. iv shows five examples out of twenty-seven names well enough preserved to allow a decision, and in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1951 it appears sporadically among the names of sailors (even [441] a slave can be called Xanthippos). Ar. named one of his own sons Philippos.
- 1073 παιδων:** Cf. p. lxiv. ὄψων: Cf. 983 n. *καχασμών*: So R, and cf. *Ec.* 849 *καχάζων μεθ' ἐτέρου νεανίου*: in V β *κιχλισμών* is probably accommodation to 983.

- 1075 πάρειμ':** Cf. 1058 n. φύσεως ἀνάγκας: The opposition between *νόμος* and *φύσις* (cf. F. Heinemann, *Nomos und Physis* [Basel, 1945], *passim*, and Guthrie, ii. 353) was of great intellectual interest in the fifth century; it is assumed in E. *Ion* 642 ff., fr. 920, is made most explicit in *Hr. Reg.* i. 11, and D. xxv. 15 f. is a popular exposition of the same theme. *φύσεως ἀνάγκη* could mean the physical laws of the universe, as in E. *Tro.* 886, including the law of mortality (*Isok.* iv. 84) and the life of the body in general (*Aischin.* i. 138 *τῶν ἐκ φύσεως ἀναγκαίων*). It could also be used as an excuse for illegal or immoral action; cf. Th. v. 105. 2, where the Athenians in the Melian Dialogue ascribe *οὐδ' ἂν κρατῆ ἄρχειν* to the force of *φύσις ἀναγκαία*, and E. fr. 840 (from *Chrysiῆros*) *γνώμην δ' ἔχοντά μ' ἢ φύσις βιάζεται*. Wrong means simply 'sexual desire'; cf. Heinemann, 130 ff., 142 ff.
- 1076 ἡμαρτες . . . ἐλήφθης:** There are many types of asyndeton in Greek, and copious examples are cited by KG, ii. 339 ff. (cf. Denniston, *Greek Prose Style* [Oxford, 1952], 112 ff.), but the closest parallels to the vivid narrative sequence here are not in contemporaries of Ar. but in Menander (e.g. fr. 685 *ὑπεδεξάμην, ἔτικτον, ἐκτρέφω, φίλῶ*: cf. *Epitr.* 74 f.) and in Latin comedy and satire. Cf. 241 n.
- 1077 ἀπόλωλας:** Attic law allowed a husband to kill an adulterer caught in the act, and one Euphiletos, for whom Lys. i was written, did so; but there was a less austere alternative (cf. 1083 n.).
- 1078 χρῶ τῇ φύσει:** Cf. 1075 n. 'Do as you will', whether it is right or wrong, as in *Isok.* vii. 38, Theodectes 8. 6 ff. σκίρτα: Used also of Philokleon's hybriatic behaviour in *V.* 1305, and cf. Pl. *R.* 571 c, where the bestial element in the soul *σκίρτῃ* when the control of reason is removed by sleep.
- 1079 πρὸς αὐτόν:** *sc.* to the husband.
- 1080 ὡς:** *sc.* λέγε. εἴτ' . . . **1082 δύναιο:** Helen so excuses herself in E. *Tro.* 948 ff., and *Isok.* x. 59 speaks of Zeus as *πρὸς τὸ κάλλος ταπεινός*. Plato's hostility to tragedy is largely based on the specious arguments which can be drawn from the weaknesses of the gods in legend (*R.* 391 E).
- 1083 ραφανίδωθῆ . . . τιλοῆ:** An adulterer caught in the act was commonly subjected to grotesque and painful indignities (*κακά τε καὶ αἰσχρά*, X. M. ii. 1. 5); a 'radish' (cf. 981 n.) was pushed up his anus (cf. *Catullus* 15. 19) and his pubic hair was pulled out (*Pl.* 168) with the help of hot ash (*Th.* 537 f.). On the rhythm cf. 1066 n.
- 1084 εὐρύπρωκτος:** A man subjected to *ραφανίδωσις* would literally be *εὐρύπρωκτος*. The word is also used as a general term of abuse (like *καταπύγων*), as we see from the following lines, implying enlargement of the anus by habitual subjection to anal coitus.
- 1087 ἦν τοῦτο νικηθῆς ἐμοῦ:** Wrong is going to 'prove', by appealing to standard comic assumptions, that a majority are *εὐρύπρωκτοι*: from which (he implies) it follows that to be such is not a *κακόν*. The



syntax of *μικηθῆναι* is accommodated to that of *ἡττηθῆναι* (e.g. *V.* 523 *ἦν γὰρ ἡττηθῶ λέγων σου*) and *ἡττων εἶναι*: cf. *E. Md.* 315 *κρείσσόνων μικώμενοι*.

**1089 συνηγοροῦσιν**: Although prosecution for an offence against the state was initiated by an individual, the state could appoint *συνήγοροι* to help in (virtually, sometimes, to take over) the presentation of the case; cf. *Ach.* 685 ff., *V.* 482, and Lipsius, 205 ff. *συνήγοροι* are naturally treated in comedy as unpopular, like tax-collectors today.

**1091 τραγῳδοῦσα**: Cf. the portrayal of Agathon as effeminate in *Th.* 35, 97 f., 130 ff.; but *εὐρυπρωκτία* does not appear elsewhere as a joke against tragic poets, actors, or dancers.

**1093 δημηγοροῦσι**: It is a common joke that those who are prominent and fluent speakers in the Assembly are *εὐρύπρωκτοι* for physical reasons. Cf. *Ec.* 112 f., 'they say that those young men who *πλείστα σποδοῦνται* are the best speakers', Pl. Com. 186. 5.

**1095 οὐδὲν λέγεις**: Cf. 644 n.

**1096 θεατῶν**: Cf. 208 n.

**1100 κομήτην**: Cf. 14.

**1102 ὃ κινούμενοι**: Right now treats Wrong and the audience together as one side in the battle which he has lost. *κινεῖν* is one of the many slang terms in comedy for heterosexual (cf. 1371) or homosexual intercourse.

**1103 πρὸς τῶν θεῶν . . . 1104 πρὸς ὑμᾶς**: To outstrip his pursuers, or to fight, a man discards his himation (cf. *V.* 408, *Th.* 568, Hipponax 71, Lys. iii. 12); hence a hoplite's slave would discard it when deserting in the field. Obviously, however, those addressed in *δέξασθε*, before Right starts running, cannot be the same as the people to whom he is deserting. I suggest that Right exclaims *ὃ κινούμενοι* to the audience at large, flings his himation towards Strepsiades and Pheidippides (addressing *δέξασθε* to them), and then bounds out of the orchestra into the audience—whence, when the scene is over (1114), he will depart quietly. **ἔξαστομολῶ**: The rhythm — — — — — has been foreshadowed in the iambic tetrameters (1066, 1083), and is appropriate in the last verse of the sequence because of its resemblance to the common lyric clausula — — — — —.

(viii) **1105–12**. *Pheidippides enters the School*

Socrates is off stage, and the part of Right or Wrong has been taken by the actor who played Socrates. There is no time for a change of costume, and no formal grounds for positing a lost choral song between 1104 and 1105. Therefore it is Wrong, not Socrates (to whom the part is given in a), who now addresses Strepsiades and takes over Pheidippides. The way has been prepared for this by 919, 929 ff., 937b f., and 990, where Right and Wrong were presented as rival prospective teachers

of Pheidippides. The situation was correctly understood by the composer of Hypothesis III (q.v.) and by Σ<sup>RVK</sup> 1102, where Pheidippides is described as *τῷ ἐτέρῳ παραδοθείς*. (It is idle to say—with Russo, 150; cf. Blaydes ad loc.—that 1105 'can only be spoken by Socrates'. If Socrates is not there, the line can be spoken only by someone else. The first person in modern times to see what ancient commentators had seen was C. Beer, *Ueber die Zahl der Schauspieler bei Aristophanes* [Leipzig, 1844], 114 ff.)

**1108 στομῶσαις**: 'Give a sharp edge to'; cf. *E. Su.* 1206 *δέξαστομον μάχαιραν*.

**1109 οἶον**: Until *γνάθον* has been used, it is doubtful whether *οἶαν* (a) is intelligible. *θατέραν* (EMNPI<sup>ac</sup>UVSIW<sub>9</sub>Φ: cf. *θατέρα* Mdx) in 1108 cannot be adopted; until the Hellenistic period (and really firm evidence is lacking before the Empire) forms of *θάτερος* are confined to those cases in which the article ends in a vowel. **γνάθον**: Neither 'jaw' nor 'cheek', but one cheek plus that side of the upper and lower jaws; hence the term *ἐτερόγναθος*, used of horses in *X. Eq.* 1. 9.

**1112**. The only person who can grumble at this point is Pheidippides himself (on *ἀχρόν* cf. 103, 120). Strepsiades (to whom RVK give the line) is enthusiastic, Right is defeated, Wrong is triumphant, and the Chorus has not yet sounded its first note (1114) of foreboding.

(ix) **1113 f. Valediction**

An iambic tetrameter of the form *ia ia ith* (cf. 1212 f. [clausula], *V.* 248 ff.), with resolution in the first component of the ithyphallic (cf. 513 and *V.* 255). **χωρεῖτε**: RVMNVb<sub>3</sub>VsI<sup>pc</sup>Z<sub>2</sub>Θ<sub>2</sub> have *χῶρει*, as a metrical consequence of which M adds *γε* and NΘ<sub>2</sub> have *οἶμαι* instead of *οἶμαι*. But as all four actors depart, the singular is inappropriate at this point. The utterance is of the same character, and fulfils the same purpose, as the Chorus's *ἔτε δὴ χαίροντες ἐπὶ στρατιᾶν* in *Ach.* 1143, *ἀλλ' ἔτε χαίροντες ὅποι βούλεσθ'* *V.* 1009; cf. 510 n. The theatre is left free for the 'second parabasis'.

**1114 μεταμελήσειν**: Now the role of the Chorus begins to change. *σοι* cannot be Pheidippides (who has not taken the decision himself, and in any case will be far from regretting it); it might conceivably be Wrong, since the school will in the end be demolished; but it is pretty certainly Strepsiades, whose reason for repentance will be emphasized and clarified in 1307 ff. *οἶμαι κτλ.* are uttered behind his back as he capers triumphantly into his house; cf. 804 ff. n. The attributions in the MSS. are complicated. P<sub>14</sub> has *ἐπίρρημα* against 1113, implicitly giving it to the Chorus, but the siglum X<sub>o</sub> seems to have been first added by Musurus. RV give 1113 f. to Pheidippides and VsI<sup>pc</sup> to Strepsiades; AKMdxUVPIW<sub>9</sub>Z<sub>2</sub>Φ give *χωρεῖτέ νυν* to

Socrates, and then (except K, which has no further siglum) οἶμαι κτλ. to Pheidippides; the other MSS. (including V<sup>SI</sup><sup>ac</sup>) have no siglum at the beginning of 1113—thus giving it by implication to Pheidippides—and AMd<sup>i</sup>UVp<sup>r</sup>V<sup>SI</sup>WgZΦ give οἶμαι κτλ. to Pheidippides.

(G) 1115–1130. SECOND PARABASIS

The Chorus now addresses the judges; they speak as clouds, promising favours in return for award of the first prize and threatening vengeance for an adverse verdict.

The combination of the maintenance of the Chorus's role with rupture of dramatic illusion occurs also in the birds' address to the judges at a similar point in the action, *Av.* 1101 ff., and in the exodos (1154 ff., cf. 1142) of *Ecclesiastusae*. Other and briefer references to the poet's hope of a favourable verdict occur at *Ach.* 1224 and *Av.* 445 ff.

The metre is the trochaic tetrameter.

**1116 δικαίων:** The poet naturally pretends that the award of the first prize to him will be just and right. So Pherekr. 96 confidently tells the judges μή ποικεῖν μηδ' ἀδίκως κρίνειν. ἡμεῖς: So RV. ὑμῖν (β, except ὑμεῖς K<sup>1</sup> and ἡμῖν A<sup>ac</sup>) would in other circumstances be preferable; cf. the oratorical formula βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν (e.g. D. xxiv. 122). But in 1117 f. the Chorus is speaking directly to the judges; hence, lit., 'we wish to tell you (sc. the audience), <with reference to> the judges, what they will gain . . .', though possible—for the chorus-leader could face the middle of the audience in speaking 1115 f. and then turn towards the judges' seats for 1117 f.—is awkward, and on balance I favour ἡμεῖς.

**1117 ἐν ὧρα:** 'At <the appropriate> time of year'; one of the many phrases which we may assume to have taken shape before the demonstrative δ had degenerated into an article, for it has no article in X. *Oec.* 5. 4.

**1120 ἄγαν:** ἄγαν and λίαν function freely as indeclinable adjectives when preceded by the article (e.g. *Th.* 704 τὴν ἄγαν αὐθαδῖαν), and their adjectival character lingers about them even when there is no article; cf. 1236 n. on ἔτι.

**1122 προσχέτω:** Cf. 575 n. πρὸς ἡμῶν: 'At our hands', with what follows.

**1123 χωρίου:** The normal Attic for 'farm', as in *Pax* 1146.

**1124 ἐλαῖα:** So spelt in *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 376. 7 (c. 425), though ἐλαῶν *ibid.* 94. 33 (418/17).

**1126 πλιυθεύοντ':** The reference is to making bricks (on which *Ra.* 399 f. throws some light) by drying blocks of mud or clay in the sun.

**1128 γαμῆ:** Rain was especially unwelcome at a Greek wedding, because the procession to the bridegroom's house and the dancing

outside his house were in the open and torchlit; cf. *Pax* 1316 ff. (especially 1317 δῆδός τε φέρειν). ἡ τῶν ξυγγενῶν ἢ τῶν φίλων: The predicative genitive is common enough (e.g. *Pl.* 345 εἰ γὰρ τῶν φίλων), but a partitive genitive playing the part of a nominative or accusative is rare; examples are X. *HG* iv. 2. 20 ἐπιπτον ἑκατέρων (sc. τῖνες) and Buck, no. 60. 6 (Tolophon, III) αἱ τῶν Αἰωνείων (sc. τινῶ) ῥυσιάζοι: cf. Schwyzer, ii. 102 and (for Hellenistic examples) Blass-Debrunner, *Grammatik des neustamentlichen Griechisch*, ed. 8 (Göttingen, 1949), Anh., 29. Blaydes's emendation ἡ τῶν ξυγγενῶν τις ἢ φίλων should be favourably considered; on the article in such cases cf. 622 n. τις *contra metrum* in M<sup>d1</sup><sup>ac</sup>V<sup>SI</sup> is simply an intrusive gloss.

**1130 Αἰγύπτω:** The point is: he would rather be in Egypt because of the rarity of rain there (on which *Hdt.* iii. 10. 3 remarks), despite its unpleasant remoteness (as one might say 'at the North Pole') and the equally unpleasant reputation of its inhabitants (cf. *Kratin.* 378, *Ar. Th.* 921 f.).

(H) 1131–1213. THE HOMECOMING OF PHEIDIPPIDES

(i) 1131–53. *Strepsiadēs comes to fetch his son*

Strepsiadēs comes out his house, soliloquizing. He is carrying some object, or leading some animal, which he is going to present to Socrates (cf. 1146 n.); or one of his slaves is carrying or leading it. On the social relationship portrayed cf. 1147 n. and p. liv.

**1131 πέμπτη . . . 1134 νέα:** Cf. 17 n. After the twentieth day of the month the count was reversed, as we see from the step-by-step argument in D. xix. 58–60, so that the penultimate day was δευτέρα and the last day ἔτη καὶ νέα, lit., 'belonging-to-the-last-unit-of-time and new <day>' (e.g. *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 304B.32, 374.276 f.); the addition of τε is a matter of poetic convenience. Then the first day of the next month was νομηνία, as we see from 1191 and 1195 f. ἔτος can in a different context mean 'belonging to the last year', as applied to a board of magistrates in (e.g.) *SEG* x. 227. 26 (Athens, 422).

**1135 ὀμνός:** 'With an oath', as in X. *Smp.* 4. 10 ὀμνύντες καλὸν με φατέ εἶναι. Misunderstanding of the construction led to ὀμνός in all MSS. except E<sup>p</sup>KNp<sup>r</sup>Θ<sup>x</sup> (no accent M<sup>p</sup>).

**1136 πρυτανεῖ':** This is the sum of money paid to the state as a deposit by the prosecutor and forfeited if he lost the case; cf. 1180. In *Isok.* xviii. 1 ~ 12 and D. xlvii. 64 the amount is thirty drachmai, and these examples show that Σ<sup>rv</sup>e is wide of the mark in saying 'one tenth of the sum claimed' (Σ<sup>rv</sup> 1191 says 'one drachma'); on the complex issue raised by *Poll.* viii. 38 cf. Lipsius, 825 ff. ἀπολεῖν . . . κάξολεῖν: Cf. D. xix. 15 ἐδημηγόρει καὶ συηγόρει κείνῳ πολλῶν ἀξίους . . . θανάτων λόγους.

- 1137** κάμου μέτριά τε: So V3; with ἐμοῦ (a) there is asyndeton between φησι in 1136 and φασίν in 1139. This could be removed by transposition of τε to follow ἐμοῦ (so Green—following Bergk, who also emended τε to δέ), but I prefer the supposition that καί fell out at a stage of transmission which had the *scriptio plena* καὶ ἐμοῦ. δεῖσθαι μέτρια καὶ δίκαια becomes a stock phrase in the orators, e.g. D. xxxvii. 3, xxxix. 41.
- 1138** τὸ μὲν τι: Cf. *Pl.* 1179 ff. ὁ μὲν ἂν ἤκων . . . , ὁ δὲ τις ἂν δίκην ἀποφυγῶν, ὁ δ' ἂν . . . τις κτλ.
- 1139** ἀναβαλοῦ: 'Put off' says much the same as 'don't take now' (1138), but this does not matter. Strepsiades is portraying himself not as speaking to one creditor and asking for different favours in respect of different parts of the same debt, but as speaking to each of several creditors and using different approaches.
- 1145** παῖ: He knocks at the door of the school, and Socrates appears. We might have expected a student to open the door, just as in an ordinary household a slave (if available) would (cf. 132 n.), but that would be dramatically inconvenient and time-wasting at this point.
- ἀσπάζομαι**: A normal formula of greeting; cf. *Av.* 1377 ἀσπαζόμεθα φιλόρμον Κινησίαν, and in Hellenistic letters the imperative = 'give my regards to . . . '.
- 1146** τουτονί: In several passages of comedy an object is referred to solely by a demonstrative pronoun in the same gender as its ordinary Attic name, and the text gives us no further help in identifying the object; cf. *Ach.* 346 (in *Th.* 380 the context makes the identification of τόνδε as στέφανον easier). Σ<sup>RVE</sup> (recalling 668 f.) suggests that Strepsiades has brought a sack (θύλακος) of flour; but I would be surprised if Ar. missed a comic opportunity here. Possibly τουτονί refers to an emaciated he-goat or a decrepit dog; better, though (to remind us simultaneously of 54 f. and the complex 179/497 ff./856 f.), he brings a tattered χιτῶν: he could appear with it folded under his arm and only reveal its true nature while speaking 1146.
- 1147** ἐπιθαυμάζειν: No doubt a current euphemism (cf. Σ<sup>R</sup>) for 'pay money to' or 'give a present to'. Cf. 428 n.
- 1148** τὸν υἱόν . . . **1149** εἰσήγαγες: Three translations are possible: (1) 'And tell me whether my son has learned that argument, that <son> whom you took into' (cf. 1212) 'your school a little while ago.' (2) ' . . . that argument which you took indoors . . . '. (3) ' . . . that argument which you brought into the theatre . . . '. Since Socrates has shown that he remembers (1145) who Strepsiades is, (1) is the least natural translation and should be rejected unless there are real objections to the other two. (2) is in fact objectionable because Socrates was not present at 1114 and did not 'take' Wrong indoors. There remains (3). A poet is said to εἰσάγειν, 'bring in' (sc. to the theatre) whatever he 'puts on' (cf. 546). If he composes a scene in

which a character comes out of the skene, he ἐξάγει that character; cf. *Pax* 744, where ἐξήγον = 'caused to come out of the skene', and *Ra.* 946, where οὐξιών = 'the character who comes out of the skene'. Now Right and Wrong came out of the skene, so that strictly speaking Socrates ἐξήγαγε them (cf. Hypothesis III τούτου δὲ ἐξαγαγόντος [VEN] αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν ἀδικὸν καὶ τὸν δίκαιον λόγον); but εἰσάγειν seems from 546 to be the more general term, 'stage', and Socrates in fact 'staged' the contest for the benefit of Strepsiades and Pheidippides (and in Hypothesis III Θ has εἰσαγαγόντος). I conclude that (3) is the sense in which Ar.'s audience would accept 1148 f.

**1150** Ἀπαιόλη: Cf. 729.

**1152** μάρτυρες: Cf. 777 n.

(ii) **1154-70.** *Song of triumph and lyric dialogue*

Strepsiades bursts into a song largely composed of tragic phrases; some of these come from extant tragedies, some from tragedies known to the ancient commentators, and one suspects that there may have been specific sources for the rest. The mixture of metrical genres is characteristic of tragic monodies—especially a mixture of anapaests and dochmiacs; cf. *E. Hec.* 181 ff., 1069 ff., and Dale, 59 ff.

(1) 1154	υ-υ-	υ-	υ-υ-
(2) 1155	υ- υ-	υ-υ-	υ-υ-υ-
(3) 1156	--υ-	--υ-	υ- υ-
(4) 1157	--υ-υ-	υ- υ-	υ-υ-υ-
(5) 1158	υ-υ- υ-	υ-υ-	
(6) 1159	υ-υ-υ-υ-	υ-	
(7) 1160	υ-υ-	υ- υ-	
(8) 1161	υ-υ-υ- υ-	υ- υ-υ-	υ- υ-
(9) 1162	υ-υ-υ- υ-	υ- υ-υ-	υ- υ-
(10) 1163 f.	υ-υ-υ- υ-	υ-υ- υ-υ-	
(11) 1165	υ-υ-υ-	υ-	υ-
(12) 1166	x υ-υ- υ-	υ-υ-	} or υ-υ- υ-  υ-υ-υ- υ-
(13) 1167	υ-υ-υ- υ-	υ-υ-	
(14) 1168	υ-υ-υ- υ-		
(15) 1169	υ-υ-υ- υ-		
(16) 1170	υ-υ-υ- υ-		

(1) and (2) are iambic trimeters of the form *ia lek*, abundant in tragedy (e.g. *E. Andr.* 1031 ~ 1041); cf. Denniston, *GPL*, 126 f. (3) and (4) are iambic trimeters. (5) and (6) are dactylic hemiepie, which are closely combined with dochmiacs in *S. Aj.* 881 ff. ~ 927 ff. (cf. N. C. Conomis, *Hermes*, xcii [1964], 35). (7) is an anapaestic paroemiac. (8) is an iambic trimeter. (9) and (10) are pairs of dochmiacs. The dochmiac dimeter occurs in skolia (e.g. *V.* 1245 ff., *PMG* 884 ff.) but (*pace* Dale, 111)

I feel that the audience would not associate the rhythm with skolia in this paratragic pot-pourri. Σ<sup>RVE</sup> is wrong in prescribing the scansion *λυσανίας*, as the parallel which he cites (*v. n. ad loc.*) shows. (11) is an anapaestic dimeter. Hiatus after *παί* is attested in dialogue (1145) and is acceptable in lyric, for *παί* has the character of an exclamation; cf. A. *Pe.* 1019 *ὄρω ὄρω ~ 1031 παπαί παπαί* (Maas, § 141). (12) and (13) either together constitute an anapaestic dimeter containing the rare sequence —○○○○— (cf. E. *Hec.* 145 and the passages discussed by Denniston on E. *El.* 1319 f.) or (12) is a dochmiac and (13) an anapaestic metron. (14) is a dochmiac. (15) is an iambic metron; for the textual problem, to which the metrical analysis is relevant, *v. n. ad loc.* (16) is a dochmiac; for the textual and dramatic problem there cf. 1171a n.

**1154 βοάσομαι . . . 1155 βοάν:** Σ<sup>V</sup> attributes the words to Sophokles' *Peleus*, Σ<sup>RE(2)</sup> to Euripides' *Peleus*, and Σ<sup>R(3)</sup> to Phrynichos's *Satyrus* (not otherwise known, and *σατύροις* could mean 'in a satyr-play'). There is no evidence to support any decision between these alternatives. ὦ *ῥολοστάται*: 'Moneylenders', as is clear from Antiph. 168 and Lys. fr. 60 (Thalheim). We are encouraged to assume that Strepsiades owes to real moneylenders, but the creditors who appear shortly are not that; cf. p. xxxi.

**1156 τάρχαϊα:** 'Capital', a technical term, as we see from (e.g.) D. xxvii. 28. τόκοι τόκων: There is good word-play here (as in Pl. *R.* 506 E–507 A) on *τόκος* in its ordinary sense 'interest' and its poetic sense 'child'. Coupled with *αὐτοί* it reminds us (e.g.) of Tyr. 9. 29 f. *καὶ παῖδες . . . καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω* (cf. Solon 1. 29 ff.) and of formulae used in decrees which honour, curse, or outlaw, e.g. *φεύγειν τὴν ἐπ' αἵματι [φυγῆν] καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκγόνους* (SIG 58. 2 f. [Miletos, V m.]), *πρόξενον εἶναι . . . καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδας* (IG xii (9). 187. 3 f. [Eretria, 411]). But *τόκοι τόκων* also appears as a straightforward term for 'interest on interest' in Theophr. *Char.* 10. 10.

**1157 φλαῦρον:** Cf. 834 n.

**1158 οἶος:** = *ὅτι τοιοῦτος*: cf. 7 n. and Pl. 774 f. *αἰσχύνομαι δὲ τὰς ἐμαντοῦ συμφορὰς, οἷος ἄρ' ἀνθρώποις ξυνὸν ἐλάνθανον*.

**1159 τοῖσδ' ἐνὶ δώμασι:** The school; the expression is highly tragic.

**1160 ἀμφήκει:** Cf. 1108 ff.

**1161 ἐχθροῖς βλάβη:** Cf. Theognis 872 *τοῖς δ' ἐχθροῖς ἀνίη καὶ μέγα πῆμ' ἔσομαι*.

**1162 λυσανίας:** Σ<sup>E</sup> comments that this is 'Sophoclean in character' and cites *Ζεὺς νόστον ἄγοι . . . πανσανίαν κτλ.* (S. fr. 801N = 887P).

**1163 τρέχων:** Whether Socrates is so obsequious as to run is doubtful; but clearly he goes in to fetch Pheidippides.

**1165 ὦ τέκνον . . . 1166 πατρός:** A close parody of E. *Hec.* 171 ff. ὦ τέκνον, ὦ παῖ δυστανοτάτας—ἐξελθ' ἐξελθ' οἴκων—ἄε ματέρος αὐδάν. Cf. 718 n.

**1167:** Socrates and Pheidippides come out of the school.

**1169 ἄπιθι λαβών:** RV have *ἄπιθι λαβών τὸν υἱόν σου* and β *ἄπιθι σὺ λαβών*, except that Ernesti reported *ἄπιθι συλλαβών* from a Paris MS. ('Par. 3' in Blaydes) of which the affinities appear to lie mostly with O7; cf. Pl. 1079 *ἄπιθι χαίρων συλλαβών τὴν μέρακα*. If *ἄπιθι σὺ λαβών* is right, this is the only lyric utterance of Socrates in the play; Dale, 86, n. 1, considers the possibility that the words are an abnormal anapaestic metron, comparing the occurrence of —○○○○ in anapaestic contexts (pp. 63 ff.)—one might compare also Av. 333 ff. ~ 349 ff., where —○○○○ responds several times to —○○○○ (Dale, 56 f.)—but the same objection would, I think, apply to this as to a dochmiac: 'Socrates does not sing' (cf. Bentley on 457 ff.) 'and a dochmiac cannot be spoken'. I suspect that *σὺ* is a relic of the gloss which appears in full in RV, and *συλλαβών* either a fluke or an arbitrary emendation. *λαβών* gives as good sense as *συλλαβών*: cf. 1105 *τοῦτον ἀπάγεσθαι λαβών, Ra.* 1415 *τὸν ἔτερον λαβών ἄπει, Pl. Lys.* 206D *καὶ ἄμα λαβών τὸν Κτήσιππον προσῆα εἰς τὴν παλαίστραν*.

(iii) **1171a–1213.** *Pheidippides shows his mettle and is welcomed home*

**1171a ἰοῦ ἰοῦ:** *ἰώ ἰοῦ ἰοῦ* in V has the effect of running the lyric scene and the dialogue together; I prefer (following Σ<sup>RV</sup>) to make a sharp division, ending the lyrics at 1170 and making 1171a an exclamation *extra metrum*, as in I and 1321.

**1171b πρῶτα . . . 1172 πρῶτον:** Cf. 224 n.

**1172 f. ἐξαρνητικός κἀντιλογικός:** Cf. 318 n.

**1173 τοῦπιχώριον:** Cf. 208 n., and Pl. 340 ff., 'The really astonishing thing is that when he's doing well he sends for his friends'; *οὐκουν ἐπιχώριον γε πρᾶγμ' ἐργάζεται:* Alexis 222.

**1174 τί λέγεις σὺ:** 'What do you mean?', uttered aggressively—a usage recognized by Σ<sup>RVE</sup> as a current (*εἰώθαμεν κτλ.*) method of brow-beating (*καταπλήξαι*) an interlocutor. Cf. V. 1378; but the tone of other instances in Ar., e.g. 387 and *Ach.* 768, is different.

**1175 καὶ κακούργοντ':** 'Even in the act'. The point is that whereas *ἀδικεῖν* is a very wide term, *κακούργος*, in Attic law, is a man who commits theft or violence in a form which admits of arrest in the act and summary punishment. Cf. Antiphon v. 9 and Lipsius, 77 ff. and 319 ff. *δοκεῖν ἀδικεῖσθαι κακούργοντα* would be no mean achievement.

**οἶδ' ὅτι:** For the tagging on of this expression cf. V. 1348 and *Pax* 365.

**1176:** This line, which weakly summarizes the point of the preceding lines and is yet co-ordinated with them by *τε*, may be an interpolation, expanding a gloss on *ἐπανθεῖ*. *βλέπος* is cited from Ar. (Poll. ii. 56)—cf. *κλέπος* (Solon 'in his laws' *ap.* Poll. viii. 34) and *τέρπος* (SEG iii. 774. 8 [Crete, I])—but not necessarily from this play. Σ<sup>RV</sup> record χ against the line, a sign used to draw attention to any point of linguistic interest (cf. E. G. Turner, *Chr. d' Ég.* xxxvii [1962], 148 ff.).

- 1179** τις: Not τις (VAEKUVb<sub>3</sub>Vs<sub>1</sub>W<sub>9</sub>ΦX), 'What day is . . .?' γε in Strepsiadēs' answer is 'Why, yes, the one on which . . .'. Pheidippides, for the purpose of the argument, pretends not to know a term in general use, but even within this pretence he can guess that ἔνη refers to a unit of time.
- 1180** εἰς: Cf. 562 n.
- 1182** ἡμέραι: R has the dual, but the plural, which is common enough with δύο (e.g. 1189) is needed to bring out Pheidippides' point more clearly.
- 1184** γένοιτ' ἄν: Strictly potential, 'unless the same woman can be . . .', and preferable to γένοιτο (AE<sup>ac</sup>ΝριVριΘX Eust.), 'unless the same woman were to be . . .'. Cf. Goodwin, § 506.
- 1185** νόμον: One more reminder of the fact, often unavoidably obscured in translation, that νομίζειν is the verb corresponding to νόμος: cf. 847 n.
- 1187** Σόλων: Since Solon was the codifier of the Athenian laws in VI in., there was a tendency to speak of all the laws as his (e.g. D. xxii. 25), even those obviously of later date; whereas we speak of 'English law', 'French law', etc., the Greeks commonly named the real or imagined lawgiver and spoke of 'the laws of Solon', 'the laws of Lykurgos', etc. It was axiomatic with public speakers in the fifth and fourth centuries (as remarked by Σ<sup>RV</sup>) that Solon's legislation was democratic; cf. D. xviii. 6 εὔνοος ὦν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός. Cf. C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford, 1952), 17 ff. 299 ff.
- 1191** θέσεις: Sc. τῶν πρυτανείων. νουμηγία: Pheidippides, equating νέα with νουμηγία, is arguing that the traditional expression ἔνη καὶ νέα means 'the last day of the old month and also the first day of the new month'.
- 1192** προσέθηκεν: On the rhythm cf. 214 n.
- 1194** ἀπαλλάττεινθ' ἑκόντες: i.e. come to terms without litigation. Cf. Pl. *Lg.* 915 C δίκαι δ' ἔστωσαν . . . ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον . . . ἀπαλλάττωνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.
- 1198** προτένθαι: Ath. 171 c suggests tentatively (μήποτε) that these officials were what in his time were called προγεῦσται, responsible for seeing that the food prepared for festive occasions was satisfactory. He cites Philyllios 8 (from *Herakles*), where the personified Dorpia (the name given to the first day of the Apaturia [Σ *Ach.* 146 and Hsch. α 5842]) describes herself as ἡ τῶν προτενθῶν Δορπία καλουμένη, and a decree of the archonship of Kephisodoros (366/5 or 323/2) which implies that members of the Council should be free to celebrate the Apaturia for a term of five days (inclusive reckoning, no doubt) from the day ἧς οἱ προτένθαι ἀγοσιν. Σ *Ach.* makes the Apaturia last three days, whereas Hsch. and Harp. s.v. (adding ὡς φασιν οἱ τὰ περὶ ἑορτῶν γράψαντες) give it four. It seems that the

- προτένθαι exercised their function the day before the festival itself began. On the festival cf. Deubner, 232 ff. Σ<sup>RV</sup>ε, in default of evidence, makes unwise guesses at the meaning of προτένθαι, representing them as greedy malefactors. παθεῖν: A less obvious word than the variant ποεῖν (RVU<sup>s</sup>Vs<sub>1</sub><sup>s</sup>), it implies, in accordance with ordinary Greek psychology, being compelled to do something—by impulse, appetite, error, or external pressures (e.g. custom). Dikaiarchos fr. 89 (Wehrli) *ap.* Σ<sup>RV</sup>ε 1364 even speaks of the holding of a twig while singing skolia as a πάθος.
- 1199** ὅπως τάχιστα: ἔν' ὡς τάχιστα (E<sup>ac</sup>KVριΖΘ) is possible, but for ὅπως τάχιστα = ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα cf. *Ach.* 756.
- 1200** ἡμέρα μᾶ: The dative is due to the prefix προ- cf. πρότερον (or ὕστερον) δέκα ἡμέραις, etc.
- 1201** κάθησθ': Cf. D. xxiii. 185 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πεφρακισμένοι κάθησθε and our 'And you just sit there . . .!'
- 1202** ὄντες: I punctuate (with AKMVs<sub>1</sub>Φ<sub>2</sub>) before this word, not after it, to give the sense 'for you are . . .' or 'and you are . . .', in view of examples such as D. xxiii. 109 ὑμεῖς δ', ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι, κτλ.: cf. the common Herodotean ἐστὶ δέ . . . and εἶσι δέ . . . in 'essential' characterization, often after 'accidental' elements have been enumerated (e.g. ii. 73. 2). λίθοι: Cf. Thgn. 567 ff. 'When I am dead, I shall lie beneath the earth like a stone, dumb'.
- 1203** ἀριθμός, πρόβατ' ἄλλως: Cf. E. *Trō.* 475 f. ἀριστεύοντ' ἐγεναίμην τέκνα, οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως, ἀλλ' ὑπερράτους Φρυγῶν, D. xix. 24 οἱ δ' ἀντιλέγοντες ὄχλος ἄλλως καὶ βασκανία κατεφαίνετο, Ar. *Pl.* 921 f. 'Wouldn't you like to have nothing to do all your life?'—ἀλλὰ προβατίου βίον λέγεις.
- 1205** ἄστειον μούγκάμιον: ἐγκώμιον and ἐγκωμιάζειν are freely used in the fourth century of formal praise in prose or verse, but in fifth-century usage ἐγκώμιον is especially a poem celebrating someone's victory (as is plainly implied by Pl. *Lys.* 205DE). Cf. Ar. fr. 491 Ἴσθμιακὰ λαβόντες ὡσπερ οἱ χοροὶ ἄδωμεν εἰς δεσπότην ἐγκώμιον. Pindar refers to his ἐπινίκια as ἐγκώμια μέλη (*O.* 2. 47, *N.* 1. 7) or ἐγκώμιοι ὕμνοι (*P.* 10. 53).  
The metrical analysis of the song is:
- |             |          |                |         |        |
|-------------|----------|----------------|---------|--------|
| (1) 1206    | υ υ   -- | υ υ ~          |         |        |
| (2) 1207    | -- υ -   | - υ -          |         |        |
| (3) 1208    | --   υ - | -   υ -        |         |        |
| (4) 1209    | -- υ -   | - υ -   -- υ - |         |        |
| (5) 1210 f. | -- υ   - | υ -   υ   -    | -   υ - | -- υ - |
| (6) 1212 f. | -- υ -   | υ   - υ -      | - υ   - | υ - -  |
- (1) is an ionic dimeter catalectic. (2) and (3) are iambic dimeters, of the form *ia cr*, as in *Pax* 1128-30 ~ 1160-2; if the variant ἐκτρέφεις were right (and linguistically there is little to choose) (3) would be *ia ia*,



but the ancient metrical analysis in Σ<sup>ε</sup> supports *τρέφεις*. (4) is an iambic trimeter of the form *ia lek*. (5) is an iambic tetrameter of the form iambic dimeter (*ia ia*) + cretic dimeter (*cr cr*). (6) is an iambic tetrameter of the form iambic dimeter (*ia ia*) + ithyphallic (*cr ba*). 1212 f. belong metrically inside the framework of the song, though in sense outside it.

**1206 μάκαρ**: A conventional opening; cf. Pi. P. 4. 59 ὦ μάκαρ νῆ Πολυμνάστου, E. Ba. 565 μάκαρ ὦ Περία (cf. Dodds ad loc.), 1242, Timotheos 802. ἰ μακάριος ἦσθα, Τιμόθε', ὅτε κάρυξ εἶπε· νικᾷ Τιμόθεος κτλ. **Στρεψιάδες**: Possibly names in -(i)άδης could have a vocative in -(i)ades as early as the fifth century; confusion between 1st and 3rd declension masculine names in -ης certainly began in the fourth century, as we see from (e.g.) Καλλιάδους in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 5414, and in X. An. vii. 7. 11 ff. the Thracian Medosades is addressed as ὦ Μηδόσαδες, despite acc. -δην (I. 5 al.). But there is no other sign of this in the text of Ar. (ctr. V. 401 ὦ . . . Τεισιάδη, Av. 139 ὦ Σπιλβωνίδη). Σ<sup>ε</sup>rv<sup>ε</sup> thinks that Strepsiades, as an ignorant rustic, simply gets the vocative of his own name wrong, but there is a better explanation than that. Strepsiades is under the impression that abnormal morphology makes his utterance poetic. The composers of epitaphs were under the same impression, as we see from their mixture of dialects, which often runs counter both to locality and to genre; cf. GVI i. 2018. 6 ff. τᾶς σοφίας . . . Σωκράτew . . . κλεινοῖο . . . ἐσθλοτάταν βιοτᾶς . . . κοῦφή γαῖα (Miletos, c. 200). Abundant excuse for this conception of poetic language was, of course, provided by the alternative forms used in epic, e.g. Il. i. 337 Πατρόκλεες ~ 345 Πάτροκλος. (The explanation of B. Marzullo, *Maia* vi [1953], 99 ff., that Ar. makes Strepsiades bring out the aptness of his name by treating it 'adjectivally', seems to me too recherché).

**1213 εἰσάγων**: We find εἰσαγαγών in β (except Vb3); but cf. 780 n., *Pax* 882 καταθήσομαι γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰς μέσους ἄγων, V. 169 f., Av. 658 f. Strepsiades and Pheidippides go into their house.

## (I) 1214-1320. STREPSIADES ROUTS HIS CREDITORS

### (i) 1214-58. The first creditor

The First Creditor, a fat man (1237 f.), arrives with a summons and with a witness (cf. 777 n.). The witness is a sympathetic listener and has no speaking part (cf. 1246 n. and p. lxxvii).

On the 'identification' of the creditors in ancient commentaries cf. pp. xxix ff.

Although Strepsiades had proved a hopelessly forgetful pupil, and the whole point of giving Pheidippides sophistic training was that Pheidippides should do his arguing for him (cf. 1228 f.), it is actually

Strepsiades himself who carries off these scenes—confusedly (1247 ff., 1278 ff.) and with recourse to insolence (1237 f., 1260 ff.) and violence (1296 ff.), but with his memory considerably improved.

**1214 εἶτ'**: This way of opening an indignant speech, conveying the impression that the speaker has been grumbling before we first hear him, is characteristic of later comedy; cf. Men. *Dysc.* 153 and Handley ad loc.

**1215 κρεῖττον εὐθὺς ἦν τότε**: The reason for preferring this to κρεῖττον ἦν εὐθὺς τότε (AEKNp1Vp1ΘX) is the traditional *lectio difficilior potior*; separation of 'be' from its predicate became rarer in later Greek.

**1217 ὅτε**: Cf. 7 n.

**1218 κλητεύσοντα**: Clearly the technical term in Ar.'s time for acting as witness to the delivery of a summons (*κλήσις*, 1189). The creditor himself says *καλοῦμαι* (1221), not *κλητεύω*. Cf. D. xlvii. 26 f. 'When I met him . . . I summoned him (*προσεκαλεσάμην*) . . . and to prove that I am speaking the truth, I will produce you, as witnesses to my account, τοὺς κλητεύσαντας'. The witness is *κλητήρ* in V. 1408, 1445; cf. Harp. s.v. *κλητήρες καὶ κλητεύειν*: these terms were used also of those who delivered a (written?) summons abroad (Av. 147, 1422 and D. xviii. 150).

**1219 δημότη**: Strepsiades, of course; Σ<sup>ε</sup>rv<sup>ε</sup> perversely takes it as referring to the witness.

**1220 ἀτάρ . . . 1221 ζῶν**: One naturally sympathizes with any creditor who has to deal with Strepsiades, but the First Creditor is slightly absurd; he is working himself up to do an embarrassing and distasteful job (cf. p. xxix). There may, however, be a further allusion to Athenian litigiousness; cf. 208 n.

**1221 τίς οὐτοσί**: Strepsiades puts his head out of the door, and no doubt comes right out of the house on saying *μαρτύρομαι*.

**1222 μαρτύρομαι**: Addressed possibly to the creditor's witness, but more probably (cf. 1226) to the world at large; cf. Is. iii. 19, 'We call τοὺς προστυχόντας to witness what is done to us'.

**1223 τοῦ χρήματος**: Cf. Av. 1046 *καλοῦμαι Πεισέταιρον ὕβρεως*, and 22 n., above.

**1225 ψαρόν**: Arist. *HA* 632<sup>b</sup>19 uses the same word of dark colouring in we birds; cf. Reiter, op. cit. (1017 n.), 92 f. There is no reason, so far as know, why a horse which was ψαρός should not also be *κοππατίας* (23): but it is evidently not important to Ar. that we should identify this creditor as 'Pasiās (21 f.)'. Cf. p. xxix.

**1228**: All the primary MSS. except Mdr<sup>pc</sup>NUVsr1W9Z begin the line with τὸ χρέος, a continuation of the creditor's words. But some MSS. which have τὸ χρέος also have, in Strepsiades' reply, words which must have originated in attempts to make an iambic trimeter out of

a line which began with *μα Δί'*: hence *οὐ δῆρ' οὐ γάρ* AE<sup>ac</sup>KNP1ΘX, *οὐ δῆρ' α' οὐ γάρ* M, *οὐδέποτ' οὐ γάρ* E<sup>pc</sup>Md1UVb3VsrWgZ. Sense and dramatic style alike suggest rejection of *τὸ χρέος* (which in Attic should be *τὸ χρέως*, in any case) and the adoption of *μὰ τὸν Δί'* (LVV5); cf. V. 1126, *Ec.* 336 *μὰ τὸν Δί'*, *οὐ γάρ κτλ.*, Pl. 106. It is possible that Φ had *τόν*, but it is hardly legible at this point. 'Oh no I didn't, because Pheidippides hadn't yet learned . . .' is not a very logical answer to 'You swore you'd pay it back', especially as later in the scene Strepsiades does not so much deny the loan (1256) as cheerfully defy the creditor to recover it. Hence *νῆ τὸν Δί'* (Θ<sub>2</sub>X<sup>70</sup>) is momentarily tempting. But *γάρ* still does not make a logical connexion; if he already had cause for confidence that he would not have to repay the debt, he would have sworn with less hesitation. In the immediate context denial of the loan is uppermost (1225 f., 1230 ff.), and the muddled logic of 1228 is very much in character.

**1232 ἀπομόσαι:** Throughout the Classical period the swearing of an oath was—or could be treated as—a weighty matter, because of the divine punishment which might fall upon a perjurer (cf. 397 n.). D. xxxiii. 13 f. affords a good example, and cf. F. Solmsen, *Antiphon-studien* (Berlin, 1921), 19 ff.

**1233 ἴν' ἄν κελύσω γῶ σε:** *ἴνα* = 'where'. If a man swore in the sanctuary, or before the altar, of a god he could not so easily feel that maybe the god had not heard him swear; hence he would be more frightened of perjury. Cf. Lys. xxxii. 13 'I am willing to swear to this . . . wherever you yourself prescribe', D. liv. 26.

**1234 τὸν Δία, τὸν Ἑρμῆν, τὸν Ποσειδῶ:** A trio is common (cf. 627 and H. Usener, *RM* lviii [1903], 1 ff.); Zeus, Apollo, and Demeter appear as the *θεοὶ ὄρκοι* prescribed by the state (*IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 10. 15 [V m.] and ii<sup>2</sup>. 97. 22 ff. [375]); cf. Deinarchos *ap. S* Aischin. i. 114, Pl. *Lg.* 936 E, Poll. viii. 142, *S<sup>a</sup> Il.* xv. 36 and Lipsius, 152 f.). In ii<sup>2</sup>. 1196B. 16 ff. (c. 330) the deme of Aixone prescribes Zeus, Poseidon, and [Demeter]. But we find also the quartet Zeus, Athena, Poseidon, and [Demeter?] in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 111. 66ff. (362) and sometimes larger companies (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 127. 38 ff. [356], 236. 2 f. [338/7]).

**1235 κἄν προσκαταθείην:** Strepsiades adopts a mood of cheerful cynicism; he means 'I'd even pay for the fun of it'—and there may be a point in 'three obols', matching the three gods of the oath. For the reinforcement of *καί* by *γέ* (om. RKMd1Vb3) cf. Denniston, 158 f.

**1236 ἔνεκ' ἀναιδείας ἔτι:** *ἔτι* seems to function as an adjective qualifying *ἀναιδείας*, 'this additional shamelessness'; cf. 1120 n. and Th. vii. 46 *ἄξων στρατιῶν ἔτι*, 'to bring back additional forces', D. xviii. 62 *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτ' ἀγνοία τοῦ . . . κακοῦ*. But the interpretation 'May you come to grief one day' (or ' . . . in the end') is also possible, given the threatening tone of E. *Alc.* 731 *δικας δὲ δώσεις*

*σοῖσι κηδεσταῖς ἔτι*. 'Also', i.e. 'I'll not only prosecute you—> I hope you come to grief, too, for your shamelessness' is improbable in view of the word's late position in the utterance.

**1237 ἄλοιν . . . 1238 χωρήσειαι:** Strepsiades pats the creditor's belly, pretending that one could make a good wineskin out of it; hides were salted as a preliminary to tanning (R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* [Leyden, 1955–], v. 3, 19; cf. *S<sup>rvs</sup>*). Antiph. 19 refers to a man called *ἀσκός* because of his 'drunkenness and obesity'. *χοῶς*: Whether the Athenians of Ar.'s time said *χῶας* or *χοῶς* (<*χοῶας*) can hardly be decided from the abundant but conflicting evidence available in the MSS. and in later periods (details in LSJ). One *χοῶς* = 3.2 litres (cf. Lang and Crosby, op. cit. [645 n.], 47).

**1240 καταπρίξει:** Good comic diction (cf. V. 1396), but also Ionic in the fifth century (Hdt. iii. 156. 3) and earlier (Archil. 87); not in fourth-century Attic prose. *ἤσθην θεοῖς*: Strepsiades laughs loudly, as *S<sup>rvs</sup>* observes. Here *θεοῖς* virtually = 'your saying "θεοῖς"', the quoted word being accommodated to the syntax of its new context. Cf. 63 n.

**1243, μοι (K)** looks like an intrusive gloss, but the alternative *εἶτε γ' ἀποδώσεις* (AE<sup>pc</sup>MNUVsrWgZ) looks even more like an interpolation of *γ'* resulting from the *scriptio plena* *εἶτε ἀποδώσεις* which survives in Md1Vb3, and *εἶτ' ἀποδώσεις δὴ* in Ctr1 is an alternative (Thoman) interpolation. *εἶτε γέ* is nowhere paralleled (ctr. D. xix. 188 *εἶτε βούλομαι γ' εἶτε μὴ*); the combination (-)τε γέ in general is rare even as a variant (Denniston, 161). Blaydes's transposition *εἶτ' ἀποδώσεις εἶτε μὴ τὰ χρήματα* is a serious possibility.

**1245.** Strepsiades rushes into his house. As we shall see, he has recovered his memory since 786 ff.

**1246 ἀποδώσειν σοι δοκεῖ:** The creditor addresses the whole line (so *S<sup>a</sup>*) to the witness, who no doubt replies with a nod or a shrug. *S<sup>v</sup>*, followed by K, attributes the whole line to the witness. *S<sup>e</sup>* refers to an interpretation (*τῶς*) which gave *τί σοι δοκεῖ δρᾶσειν* to the creditor and only *ἀποδώσειν σοι δοκεῖ* to the witness, an interpretation which is not reflected in the sigla of any primary MS.; several Thoman MSS. follow the interpretation to its logical conclusion by substituting *μοι* for *σοι* in the 'witness's reply'.

**1247.** Strepsiades reappears with a kneading-bowl.

**1249 ἀργύριον:** So AE<sup>ac</sup>KMNp1Vb3Vp1X, and it seems to me to give slightly better sense than *τὰργύριον* (cett.), 'your money' or 'that money'.

**1252 οὐχ ὄσον γ' ἔμ' εἰδέναι:** The same expression occurs in dialogue in Pl. *Thl.* 145 A. The elementary humour here is like that of *Pax* 824: 'You've come back, master?'—'So someone's told me!'

**1254 καὶ τοῦτ' ἴσθ':** 'And I can tell you . . .!', threateningly, as in *Av.* 1408 *οὐ παύσομαι, τοῦτ' ἴσθ' ὅτι, πρὶν ἂν κτλ.*: Pl. 889 *μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐκ οὐν* 814174

τῷ γε σῶ (sc. ἀγαθῷ), σάφ' ἰσθ' ὄτι. On the alternative καίτοι γ' ἰσθ' (E<sup>ac</sup>MVριΘX) cf. 876 n.

**1255 ἢ μηκέτι ζῶην ἐγὼ:** A more colloquial and less melodramatic utterance than 1220 f.; cf. *Lys.* 531, where *μὴ νυν ζῶην* = 'I'm damned if I will!', *E. Su.* 454 f. *μὴ ζῶην ἔτι εἰ τέκνα τὰμὰ πρὸς βίαν νυμφεύσεται*. Creditor and witness stalk off, and Strepsiades calls the next line after them defiantly.

**1256 προσαποβαλεῖς:** Cf. *Ec.* 811 *ἀποβαλεῖ τὴν οὐσίαν* and our expression 'throw away' = 'pay' (or 'give') 'to no purpose'. *καὶ προσαποβαλεῖς* (RΘ<sub>2</sub><sup>ms</sup>), though acceptable in sense (cf. *X. M.* iii. 10. 7 *ἤττων δ' ὦν καὶ τὰ ὄντα προσαποβάλοι ἄν* is near, though not a perfect parallel), gives the abnormal rhythm — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ (cf. Newiger, *Hermes*, lxxix [1961], 176 f.) and, like *καὶ προσαπολεῖς* (V), seems an excessive accumulation of elements meaning 'in addition', for *καὶ* must = 'also'; *καὶ* (. . .) *ἄρα* does not occur as an Attic particle-complex. Without *καὶ*, the tautology is unobjectionable (cf. *Eg.* 1075 *προσετέθη πρὸς τῷ κυνί*); it is common with *πρὸς c. acc.* (e.g. *V.* 450). Cf. 1010 n.

**1257 καίτοι . . . 1258 κάρδοπον:** Presumably uttered in a tone of contemptuous pity, as one might say 'It's a shame to take your money!' Cf. the half teasing, half grudging words of Myrrhine to Kinesias in *Lys.* 905 *καίτοι σ' οὐκ ἐρῶ γ' ὡς οὐ φιλῶ*. **κάλεσας:** If the meaning were 'You named the kneading-bowl in a foolish way' Strepsiades would himself be lapsing into the normal usage which he has ridiculed, and this would certainly have a humorous point, but it could not be understood without doubt. *καλεῖν*, as Σ<sup>v</sup> saw, commonly means 'use the word', 'say', as in (e.g.) *Pl. Prm.* 147<sup>D</sup> *ἕκαστον τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμὴ καλεῖς*;

(ii) **1259a–1302. The second creditor**

Strepsiades has gone, or is just going, into his house. The Second Creditor comes on limping and battered, for a reason which he explains indirectly in 1264 and directly in 1272. Ar. is aiming at the greatest practicable variety and contrast between the two creditor-scenes. The element common to both is Strepsiades' introduction of irrelevant items of sophistic lore (1247 ff. ~ 1279 ff., 1290 ff.), naïvely applied sophistic technique (1225 ff., 1237 ff. ~ 1269, 1274 f., 1286 [cf. Pheidip-pides in 1179]) and insolent violence (1253 ~ 1296 ff.).

On the 'identification' of the Second Creditor cf. p. xxx.

**1259b εἶα . . . 1260 θρηγῶν:** If εἶα is *extra metrum*, as in *E. Andr.* 896, *Su.* 92, RV are defective in 1260; if εἶα is not *extra metrum* (cf. *Pl.* 824 εἶα τίς ἰσθ' ὁ προσιῶν οὐτοσί, *E. Hp.* 905, *Or.* 1573) RV are wrong, as their text would then involve ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪.

**1261 τῶν Καρκίνου τις δαιμόνων:** The natural inference (drawn by the

author of a scholion in the edition of Junta [Florence, 1515]) is that Karkinos had composed at least one tragedy in which a god had been portrayed as lamenting. But in *V.* 1501 ff., *Pax* 781 ff. (cf. 864), Ar. refers to the sons (three in *V.*) of Karkinos, one of whom (*V.* 1511) is a tragic poet. Σ<sup>e</sup> here names three sons (Σ<sup>x</sup> two), and identifies Xenokles (cf. *Th.* 441 *Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Καρκίνου*) as the tragic poet. The joke is complicated; we expect 'one of the sons of Karkinos'; we get *δαιμόνων* instead, and the creditor utters (1264 f.) lines which are in fact (according to Σ<sup>rv</sup>) taken from a tragedy by Xenokles.

**1263 κατὰ σεαυτὸν νυν τρέπου:** The same unsympathetic reply is given by Dikiaopolis in *Ach.* 1019 to the farmer who answers *ἀνὴρ κακοδαίμων* to the question *τίς οὐτοσί*;

**1264 ὁ σκληρὲ . . . 1265 ἀπόλεσας:** Σ<sup>rv</sup> says that these words are taken from the *Tlempolemos* (Σ<sup>e</sup>) or *Likymnios* (Σ<sup>rv</sup>, following Euphronios, whose opinion is cited also by Σ<sup>e</sup>) of Xenokles, with substitution of *θραυσάντυγες* for *χρυσάμπυκες* (Σ<sup>rv</sup>) or *χρυσάμπυγες* (Σ<sup>e</sup>; a corruption of *χρυσάντυγες*?) and that they are spoken in the play by Alkmene *τῆς Λικυμνίου* (Σ<sup>e</sup>) when Likymnios had been killed by Tlempolemos. Alkmene was Likymnios's half-sister (*Pi. O.* 7. 27 ff.), not his wife. That Tlempolemos killed Likymnios is mentioned in *Il.* ii. 661 ff.—in *Pi.* (loc. cit.) *σκάπτω θενῶν σκληρᾶς ἐλαίας*, accidentally, according to Σ<sup>ad loc.</sup> Possibly in Xenokles' play Tlempolemos contrived that Likymnios should be killed in an 'accident' while driving a chariot; cf. the myth of Pelops and Oinomaos.

**1266 Τλημπόλεμος:** This spelling (R) is found in *SEG* x. 39. 14 (Athens, 439/8), *Τληπο-* nowhere in Classical Attic inscriptions; cf. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vasenschriften* (Gütersloh, 1894), 235.

**1269 ἄλλως τε μέντοι:** Cf. *Pl. Ap.* 35<sup>D</sup> *ἄλλως τε μέντοι . . . καὶ ἀσεβείας φεύγοντα* and Denniston, 410. The combination *γε μέντοι* (RVV<sub>1</sub><sup>ac</sup>) does not relate a participial clause to a finite clause; cf. Denniston, 412 f.

**1272 ἵππους:** 'Chariot drawn by' horses', as normally in epic. γ': 'Yes, . . .'; cf. Denniston, 130 f.

**1273 ἀπ' ὄνου καταπεσών:** *Pl. Lg.* 701 c (cited here by Σ<sup>e(1)</sup>) says, 'One must keep on reining in the argument as one does a horse, not, as if one had no bit in one's mouth, be carried away by the argument and κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἀπὸ τινος ὄνου πεσεῖν'. ὄνου there is a correction by the second hand of the Vaticanus; the first hand, and the other MSS., have *νοῦ*, which does not make much of a proverb and does not suit the rest of Plato's metaphor. 'Tall' must belong to the proverb as known to Ar. and Plato, though to Σ<sup>rv</sup> and Σ<sup>e(1)</sup> ἀπ' ὄνου is the whole of the proverbial expression. But ἀπὸ νοῦ (*MdIrv-VsIrv-γρΣ<sup>o</sup>*), which, unlike *μετα νοῦ*, *ἀνευ νοῦ*, *κατὰ νοῦν*, etc., does not occur as an independent adverbial phrase, must be an ancient pun on the proverb. Σ<sup>e(1)</sup> tells the story of two men who, arguing over

possession of a stray ass which they had found, did not notice when it ran away.

**1275 αὐτός:** As distinct from your money. *ὕγιαίνεις:* Cf. 833 n. and *Av.* 1214 *ὕγιαίνεις μὲν;* = 'Are you in your right mind?', *Pl.* 1060, 1066, *D.* xxiv. 74 *ἀλλ' οὔτε ταῦτα ποιήσεις ἂν οὐδεὶς ὕγιαίνων.*

**1276 ἐγκέφαλον:** Although their terminology presupposes that thought and feeling are functions of organs located in the trunk, the Greeks could not fail to observe the effects of injury to the brain. Cf. *Hp. Aph.* vii. 58, 'When the brain has been shaken, the patient necessarily loses the power of speech at once'. *ὥσπερ:* Not 'I think you have, as it were, had your brain shaken' but 'I think you are like a man who has . . .'. Cf. *Pax* 234 f. *ὥσπερ ἡσθόμην . . . θυεῖας φθέγμα,* 'I caught a sound like that of a mortar'.

**1279 πότερα . . . 1281 πάλιν:** This is a scientific problem not explicitly raised earlier in the play, but *Hp. Aer.* 8 assumes that rain was water drawn up by the sun, and *Diogenes* (A18) thought so too; cf. 272 n.

**1283 τάργυριον:** I feel a slight difference in tone between this line and 1249, such as to justify adopting *ἀργύριον* there and retaining *τάργυριον* here; but I would be hard put to it to defend this against the contrary feelings of others.

**1285 ἀλλ' εἰ . . . 1286 ἀπόδοτε:** We have *ἀπόδος* in β. 'Well, if you're short, pay me <only> the interest on my money' is good sense, but the transition from the singular *σπανίζεις* to the plural *ἀπόδοτε* is odd. *Pheidippides* borrowed the money (1268 ff.) but why should he be brought into the payment of the interest if it is *Strepsiadēs'* shortage of money which prevents the repayment of the capital? The emendation *σπανίζετ' ἀργυρίου* would remove that difficulty, but leaves us with *μοι* at the beginning of an apodosis, which is extremely unlikely (cf. *Dover*, 15 f.). *ἀπόδος γε* (CtIP20) or *ἀποδοτέ* (followed by *οὗτος*) also remove the difficulty after a fashion, but the *γε* has no true parallel (cf. *Denniston*, 125 f.), and the order in 1285, meaning 'the interest on my money', is intolerable; we want the emphasis to fall on 'interest'. *Blaydes* (following leads given by *Meineke* and *Teuffel*) may have got the right answer in *ἀλλ' εἰ σπανίζετ' ἀργυρίου, [μοι] τὸν <γούν> τόκον ἀπόδοτε.*

**1286 τοῦτο . . . θηρίον:** On *θηρίον* cf. 184 n.; the extension of the word beyond the realm of living creatures is perhaps facilitated by the ambiguity of *τόκος* (cf. 1156 n.). *Σ*<sup>2</sup> records an ancient interpretation of *θηρίον* as vocative. On the order of phrases cf. 379.

**1288 πλέον πλέον:** Cf. *Ra.* 1001 *μᾶλλον μᾶλλον:* the idiom sounds colloquial, and perhaps usually was, but cf. *E. IT* 1406 *μᾶλλον δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς πέτρας ἦει σκάφος.*

**1289 ὑποπρέοντος:** Nowhere else used of time; ctr. *A. Eu.* 853 *οὐπυρρέων . . . χρόνος.*

**1292 δίκαιον:** The equation of *δίκη*, righteousness and justice among men, with cosmic order and physical laws, is implied by *Parmenides* B8.14 (cf. A32 and the Old Persian concept *arta*), and *Alkmaion* regarded health (B4) as depending on the *ισονομία* of the *δυνάμεις* in the body; cf. *G. Vlastos, CP* xlii (1947), 156 ff. An ordinary Athenian might not always have put the matter quite as the creditor does, but it is dramatically desirable that the creditor should be trapped into implying that his own demand for interest is *ἀδικον*. *Solon* (11) said of the sea *ἦν δέ τις αὐτὴν μὴ κινή, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη* (cf. *Vlastos, CP* xli [1946], 66); we might almost say that the sea 'behaves itself' if not set in motion by some external force.

**1292 κἄτα . . . 1295 σόν:** A curiously similar argument from the order of nature is offered by *Iokaste* in *E. Ph.* 543 ff., when she suggests that *Eteokles* and *Polyneikes* should divide their inheritance as day and night divide the year.

**1296 ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας:** All MSS. except *E<sup>ac</sup>KMNπiΘ<sup>ac</sup>X* have *ἐκ*, not *ἀπὸ*, but in *Ar.* *ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας* is used only of movement which must, or can, be through the door from the interior of the building: 123, 802, *V.* 266, *Lys.* 866, *Ec.* 65, *Pl.* 857. Contrast *V.* 456 *παῖε . . . τοὺς σφήκας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας* and *Pax* 1221 *ἀπόφερ' εἰς κόρακας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας:* in both those cases the action, as here, takes place outside the house. On *ἀποδιώξει* (*Elmsley:* -*ξείσ* a) cf. *Eq.* 368 *διώξομαι* and 296, 490 nn., above.

**1297 φέρε:** A slave brings out the goad, as we have to assume on many similar occasions when a character cries *φέρε . . . , δός . . . δότω . . .*, etc. *μαρτύρομαι:* Cf. 495 n.

**1298 ἔλας:** Cf. 28 n. *σαμφόρα:* Cf. 23 n. and p. xxxi.

**1299 ὕβρις:** Cf. 1068 n. *ἄξεις:* Cf. 633 n. 'Pull <the chariot>' makes sense; interpretation as *ἄξεις*, 'go quickly' is perfectly possible but not necessary. *ἐπιαλῶ:* Setting aside the nonsensical and unmetrical *ἐπὶ ἄλλων*, many of the wide range of interpretations offered by *Σ<sup>RVE</sup>* all stem from one error, the belief that the last four syllables of the line were *ἐπὶ ἄλω*, 'on to a threshing-floor', which is in fact ruled out by the hiatus. A compound verb is the only possibility, and the epic *ἐπιάλλειν* is suggested by *Od.* ix. 288 *ἐτάροις ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἰάλλειν*, 'he laid hands on my companions'. The only question is whether we should emend to *ἐφιαλῶ*. In *V.* 1348 we find *οὐδὲ φιαλεῖς* and in *Pax* 432 *ἔργω φιαλοῦμεν*, which *Bentley* interpreted as -δ' *ἐφι-* and *'φι-*, since *Hdn.* i. 539. 12 says that *ιάλλειν* was Attic (cf. *Eust.* 1403. 16). The statement of *Ael. Dion.* ε 52 (*Erbse*) that *'Επιάλτης* was the correct form of the proper name is borne out by *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 950. 92. Given these data, however, both corruption and deliberate alteration of *ἐφιαλῶ* to *ἐπιαλῶ* seem unlikely, and *ἐπιάλλειν* may have been used as a technical term in driving animals. The variant *ἐπιβαλόν*, recorded by *Σ<sup>RVE</sup>* (*sc. τὴν μάστιγα*) carries with it, as the paraphrase of *Σ* shows, *ἄξω σ'* in place of *ἄξεις*.



**1300** *πρωκτόν*: Cf. 164 n. Strepsiadēs refers not to a stab in one buttock, which all ages have regarded as irresistibly funny, but to the cruel practice of goading a draught-animal in the anus; cf. the obscene allusion of Sotades I. *σειραφόρον*: Cf. 122 n.

**1301** *ἐμελλόν σ' ἄρα*: The creditor, naturally, has fled. Strepsiadēs means 'Aha! I thought I'd make you get a move on!' Cf. Dionysos in *Ra.* 268, when he has silenced the frogs: *ἐμελλον ἄρα παύσειν ποθ' ὑμᾶς τοῦ κοῦξέ*. For *ἄρα* = *ἄρα* in this and other usages cf. Denniston, 44 f. (*Ach.* 347 is textually suspect). Of the two possible positions of σ' I prefer the earlier (E<sup>ac</sup>KMMd<sub>1</sub>Np<sub>1</sub>X have it after -*σειν*); cf. 37 n.

**1302** *ξυνωρίσιν*: Cf. 15 n.

(iii) **1303-20**. *Lyric system*

The Chorus now prepares us for the disaster which is about to fall upon Strepsiadēs, and in its very first words condemns his conduct.

(1) 1303 f. ~ 1311 f.

---υ--- υ---υ--- --|υ---(l) { υ---|υ---υ---|  
υ---υ---υ---||

(2) 1305 ~ 1313

υ---υ--- --|---υ---|

(3) 1306 ~ 1314

υ---υ--- υ---υ---|

(4) 1307-10b ~ 1315-20

(a) ---υ--- ---υ---

(b) ---υ---υ---|---υ---

(c) ---υ---|---υ---

(d) { ---|---υ--- ---υ---

---υ---υ---υ---|---υ---

(e) { ---↑υ---|---|---↑|

---υ--- υ---|---|

(1) is an iambic trimeter + reizianum; on balance, I prefer not to regard a verse as ending with *δ γάρ* ~ *δπερ*. For the abnormal responson cf. 1312 n. (2) and (3) are iambic dimeters. (4) is an iambo-trochaic *πνύγος* (cf. Wilamowitz, 480 f.), consisting of (a) iambic dimeter; (b) and (c) lekythia; (d) iambic dimeter in the strophe, and in the anti-strophe a sequence which can be interpreted either as *cr ia ia* or as *lek ia*; cf. the metrical analysis of 953 f. ~ 1028 f.; (e) the strophe, apparently a telesilleian, is, I believe, corrupt (cf. 1310b n.), and the anti-strophe is an iambic dimeter of the form *ia ba*.

**1303** *ἐρᾶν*: Cf. 1459.

**1310a** *ὄν*: On the genitive cf. 22 n., but note also that the text of the next line is suspect.

**1310b** *τι κακὸν λαβεῖν*: In itself the expression is commonplace (e.g. D.

xviii. 198 *ἴταν τι κακὸν . . . λάβῃ*), but I find it very hard to believe in *λήψεται* (sc. *δ γέρον* *δδε*) *τι πράγμα' δ τοῦτον ποιήσει τὸν σοφιστὴν* (= *τὸν γέροντα τόνδε*) . . . *τι κακὸν λαβεῖν*, and Bergk's transposition *κακὸν λαβεῖν τι* solves only the metrical problem of responson 1310b ~ 1320, leaving the stylistic problem untouched. I suspect that *τι κακὸν λαβεῖν* is a gloss which has ousted a more recherché expression, perhaps (sarcastic) *καλὸν γ' ὄνασθαι*: for *ὄνασθαι c. gen.* cf. E. *Md.* 1025; for sarcastic *καλὸν cf. ἀστεῖον* in 1024; and for this type of γε in mid-responson cf. *Pl.* 1043 *πολιὰ γεγέννηται ταχύ γε νῆ τὸν οὐρανόν* and Denniston, 129.

**1312** *ἐξήτει*: If this (β) is right, the sequence υ---υ--- (found in [e.g.] *Av.* 1314 ~ 1326 and *S. El.* 479 ~ 495; cf. Dale, 84 and *GPL*, 190) must respond to the reizianum (1304) υ---υ---. Since RV have *ἐπεζήτει*, Bergk suggested *ἐπήτει*, 'begged for', but this does not seem the right word to use of a man who has paid for his son's teaching. Wilamowitz's *ἐπήτει* is worse; it is not a synonym of *μετήτει*, but implies 'attack', 'tackle', or possibly 'proceed to' (e.g. *Ach.* 627, *Eq.* 387, *Av.* 559). The responson which I posit seems to me hard to avoid in 1349 f. ~ 1395 f., where text, sense and style leave us little freedom of manœuvre. The principle involved is that of 'syllable-counting' without regard for quantity, a principle plainly enough attested in *V.* 274 ff. ~ 282 ff., where *μῶν ἀπολώλεκε τὰς ἐμβάδας ἢ προσέκοψ' ἐν* responds to *ἐξαπατῶν καὶ λέγων ὡς φιλαθήναιος ἦν καὶ εἶτ' ἐφλέγγμηνεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ διὰ τοῦτ' ὀδύνηθεις* (cf. Dale, 179). Related to this is a series of irregularities involving three or more brevia, viz. *Av.* 333 ff. ~ 349 ff. (Dale, 56 f.), *Lys.* 786 ~ 810 and *V.* 1062 ff. ~ 1093 ff. (Dale, 89), *Lys.* 787 f. ~ 811 f., 262 ff. ~ 277 ff., *Th.* 438 ~ 525 (Dale, 90), and *V.* 339 ~ 370 (Dale, 57, n. 2).

**1318** *ἴσως δ' ἴσως*: Cf. 1129; and for the repetition, D. iii. 37 *ἴσως ἂν ἴσως . . . τέλειόν τι καὶ μέγα κτήσασθ' ἀγαθόν*.

(J) **1321-1511**. PUNISHMENT OF STREPSIADES AND SOCRATES

(i) **1321-1344**. *Altercation between Strepsiadēs and Pheidippides*

Strepsiadēs rushes frantically out of the house, clutching his head and his face and shouting for help. Pheidippides comes out after him. Whereas Strepsiadēs is agitated, and shows this in his movements and gestures, Pheidippides is nonchalant, self-possessed, and dominant (cf. 799 *εὐσωματεῖ γὰρ καὶ σφρυγᾶ*).

This is the beginning of what will be presented as a contest similar in form to the contest of Right and Wrong. The play is not unique in possessing two contests, but it is unique in possessing two on so elaborate a scale. We may distinguish seven stages (cf. Gelzer, 17 ff., 90 f.):



(i) 1321-44. The violent altercation between Strepsiades and Pheidippides (in iambic trimeters) corresponds to the altercation between Right and Wrong in 889-948. In neither case is there actual violence on stage; here the violence has already been committed, while there it is threatened and narrowly averted (933). An interesting difference lies in the fact that Right and Wrong were persuaded by the Chorus to argue (934 ff.). Strepsiades and Pheidippides are not persuaded by any intervention of the Chorus; Pheidippides is all too ready to argue his case (1334), and this is wholly in character with the sophistic education he has received, whereas Strepsiades' readiness to listen (1344), dramatically necessary if the contest is to proceed, is not entirely in character.

(ii) 1345-50. The Chorus sings a strophe, addressed to Strepsiades. The equivalent strophe in the previous contest was addressed to both participants impartially (949-58).

(iii) 1351-2. The Chorus invites Strepsiades to explain how the quarrel started; cf. the invitation to Right (959-60) to state his case.

(iv) 1353-90. Strepsiades tells the story. He is interrupted (1359 f., 1377 f., 1379) by Pheidippides; (iii) and (iv) are in iambic tetrameters. Their equivalent in the contest of Right and Wrong was in anapaestic tetrameters; note, however, that Right was interrupted by Wrong (984 f., 1000 f.), and that he ended with an anapaestic pignos (1009-23), just as Strepsiades ends with an iambic pignos (1386-90).

(v) 1391-6. The Chorus sings the antistrophe, commenting on what Strepsiades has told them. The antistrophe which followed the argument of Right commented on his speech and exhorted Wrong to reply (1024-33).

(vi) 1397-8. The Chorus invites Pheidippides to reply; cf. the invitation to Wrong, 1034 f.

(vii) 1399-1451. Pheidippides replies. After introductory remarks, interrupted (1406 f.) by Strepsiades, he proceeds by interrogation; so Wrong, after similar introductory remarks (1036-42), interrogated Right. (vi) and (vii), like the equivalent portions of the earlier contest, are in iambic tetrameters. Right took the initiative in 1083, and the final pignos was a dialogue; the last words were spoken not by Wrong, but by Right (1102-4), proclaiming his own desertion. Similarly, Strepsiades takes the initiative in 1430, the pignos (1445-51) is a dialogue, and the last words are spoken by Strepsiades. We proceed immediately to dialogue in iambic trimeters between Strepsiades and the Chorus (1452 ff.), just as Right's desertion was immediately followed by dialogue in iambic trimeters between Wrong and Strepsiades.

The parallelism of structure between the two contests emphasizes the extent to which Pheidippides has emerged from his education a replica of Wrong; we shall see how he reproduces not only the rhetorical methods but even the actual words of Wrong.

1321 **ιοῦ ἰοῦ**: Cf. 1 n.

1322 **δημόται**: It is natural enough that a man should call on his neighbours for help (cf. *Pax* 79); it is less natural, to our way of thinking, that his cry for help should presuppose that his relatives and other members of his deme are within earshot, but this is in fact true to life; cf. 210 n.

1323 **ἀμυνάθερέ**: Whatever the original function of the affix *-αθ-* or *-εθ-* (cf. Schwyzer, i. 703 f., and Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* [Paris, 1948], i. 326 ff.), there are no grounds for making any distinction in classical Attic between *ἀμύνειν* and *ἀμυνάθειν*, *διώκειν* and *διωκάθειν* (1481), etc.; cf. Pl. *Ap.* 32 A οὐδ' ἂν ἐνὶ ὑπείκαθουμι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον δέσας θάνατον, μὴ ὑπέικων δὲ κἂν ἀπολοιμήν. **πάση τέχνῃ**: On this expression (which here goes with *ἀμυνάθερέ μοι*) cf. 885 n.

1324 **γνάθου**: Cf. 1109 n.

1325 **φήμ'**: 'Yes'; cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 270 C — *χρὴ μέντοι σκοπεῖν . . . εἰ συμφωνεῖ*. — *φημί*.

1326 **δραθ'**: Addressed to the world at large; cf. 1225 f.

1327 **τοιχωρύχε**: *τοιχωρύχος*, in the strict sense, is a man who digs or breaks through a wall in order to steal—a species of *κακούργος*, liable to summary execution (cf. D. xxxv. 47; Lipsius, 78). The word is used, however, as a highly general term of opprobrium; cf. Ameipsias 24 *μονοφάγε καὶ τοιχωρύχε*, Ar. *Pl.* 909.

1328 **αἰθίς με . . .** 1330 **ρόδοις**: Pheidippides adopts, in the face of his father's vituperation, precisely the tone adopted by Wrong in 910-12; note in particular 910 *ρόδα* and 912 *πάττων*. **ἄρ' οἴσθ'**: We would say 'Don't you . . .?' rather than 'Do you . . .?'; cf. *Av.* 797, where the Chorus, after recounting all the advantages of having wings, says *ἄρ' ὑπόπτερον γενέσθαι παντός ἐστὶν ἄξιον*; (cf. D. xviii. 195 and Denniston, 46 f.). In *Ach.* 481 *ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὅσον τὸν ἀγῶν' ἀγωνιεῖ τάχα*; 'Do you realize . . .?' is more appropriate. **λακκόπρωκτε**: Since *λάκκος* is 'cistern' or 'reservoir', *λακκόπρωκτος* carries the same implications as the common *εὐρύπρωκτος* (cf. 1084 n.), but at a more advanced stage of grossness and fantasy. Like *καταπύγων* (cf. 529 n.), it could be used as a term of general opprobrium; in Eupolis 351. 4 *λακκοπρωκτία* is applied to drinking wine first thing in the morning.

1333 **καὶ πῶς**: Cf. 717 n.

1336 **ἔλοῦ . . . λέγειν**: The joke is against the sophistic exercise of 'praising and criticizing the same thing' (cf. p. xxxvii). Dramatically speaking, it is inappropriate, for Pheidippides has already committed himself to what is, from the standpoint of *νόμος* (cf. 1038-42), *ἥττων λόγος*, but it serves to bring out his readiness to defend in words even what he does not accept in practice.

1338 **μέντοι**: The sense is plainly 'I *have* had you taught . . .', spoken bitterly. There is no exact parallel for this sense of *μέντοι*, but cf. 787.

**1340 μέλλεις ἀναπεισείν:** While ἀναπειθεῖν commonly has a personal object (as in 1342), it need not have one; cf. 96, where it means, as here, 'argue a case against what is generally believed'. Hence μ' in AMd1NUVb3Vp1Vsr1WgZΘΦX should be regarded as an interpolation; σε is similarly interpolated at 143 in K and Thoman MSS. (Ct1O3P20<sup>v</sup>Vv4).

**1344 και μήν:** 'Very well' or 'All right, then'; cf. Pl. *Ion* 536D οἶμαι δὲ οὐδ' ἂν σοὶ δόξαιμι, εἴ μου ἀκούσας λέγοντος περὶ 'Ομηρου. — και μήν ἐθέλω γε ἀκούσαι κτλ. (Denniston, 353 ff.)

(ii) **1345–50. Strophe**

(1) 1345 ~ 1391	υ - υ   - υ - υ - - - υ -
(2) 1346 ~ 1392	υ - υ - υ - - -
(3) 1347 ~ 1393	- - υ - - - υ - - - υ - - -
(4) 1348 ~ 1394	υ -   υ - υ - υ -
(5) 1349 ~ 1395	υ - υ - υ - υ -   υ - υ - υ -
(6) 1350	υ - υ - υ - - -
~ 1396	- - υ - υ - - -   }

(1) and (3) are iambic trimeters; (2) and (4) are reiziana. If my text is right, (5) is an iambic trimeter; (6) in the strophe is a verse of the type presented by β at 1312 and here, as there, it responds to a reizianum. Cf. 1349 f. n.

**1347 'πεποίθειν:** ἦδειν is metrically guaranteed at (e.g.) *V*. 558.

**1349 δῆλον . . . 1350 τάνθρώπου:** As the text stands in the MSS., the elided λῆμι' (followed by ἐστὶ τάνθρώπου, which was the text assumed by the author of the metrical analysis in *S*<sup>2</sup>) 'responds' to ἂν in 1395, which must be the last syllable of the verse, since it is followed by a vowel; to take 1395 f. as a single verse would give a respension of unparalleled eccentricity:

1349 f.	- - υ - υ - υ - υ - - - υ - - - - -
1395 f.	υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - - - -

If we delete ἐστὶ in 1350 and adopt both γε (from Triklinios) and τοὶ (from Hermann) in 1349, we achieve respension in 1349 ~ 1395; on 1350 ~ 1396, see above. γέ τοι is peculiarly appropriate; cf. *V*. 1415 f. ἔρχεται καλούμενός σε· τὸν γε τοὶ κλητῆρ' ἔχει, Pl. 1040 f. φαίνεται ἀτέφανός γε τοὶ καὶ δᾶδ' ἔχων πορεύεται and Denniston, 550 f.

(iii) **1351 f. The Chorus invites Strepsiades to tell his story**

**1351 ἀλλ':** Cf. 476 n.

**1352 ἤδη λέγειν χρῆ πρὸς χορόν:** The Chorus speaks as if it were a producer telling an actor what to do next. This is unique; the

self-references of the Chorus in lyrics (e.g. 564) or in addresses to the audience are generically different, and the rupture of dramatic illusion in *Ach.* 416 δεῖ γάρ με λέξαι τῷ χορῷ ῥῆσον μακράν, though comparable in degree, is a special case because Dikaiopolis is there speaking to Euripides and asking for the loan of tragic stage-properties. It is also noteworthy that the Chorus says πρὸς χορόν (not [except in NUWgZΦ] πρὸς τὸν χορόν), for the usage of the definite article in choral passages κατὰ στίχον is the same as in dialogue generally and in prose: it is used when reference is made to an entity the existence of which is already known to speaker and hearer, but omitted in prepositional phrases which had acquired formulaic status, e.g. 619, 1117. It may be that πρὸς χορόν was a technical theatrical term; we certainly find it later (e.g. Aristid. xx. 1), though the article is present in Aischin. i. 157 εἰπόντος τι πρὸς τὸν χορόν ἀνάπαιστον. *S*<sup>2</sup> treats it as a technical term, but implausibly suggests that the Chorus danced while Strepsiades spoke. If Ar. had wished to write πρὸς τὸν χορόν he could have omitted χρῆ: cf. 433 n.

**πάντως δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις:** πάντως is a word of many meanings: 'in every way', 'at all costs', but also 'in any case', even 'admittedly' (*Ach.* 956). The future is not used by Ar. in an imperatival sense (cf. 811 n.); indeed, this use is ill attested in Attic, and in Pl. *Prt.* 338 A ὡς οὖν ποιήσετε καὶ πείθεσθέ μοι κτλ. the word ὡς points to an archaic formula. The Chorus, then, is not saying to Strepsiades 'please do this' but 'you will do it anyway' (sc. 'even without my telling you to do it'); cf. *Ec.* 704 ποῖ θεῖς οὗτος; πάντως οὐδὲν δράσεις ἐλθών, 'What are you running after? You won't achieve anything, anyway' (sc. 'so there's no point in your running'). The remarkable first half of the line suggests that the Chorus's point is not '(you will tell us) because you, Strepsiades, are bursting to air your grievances', but 'because it is in the script of the play'; the rupture of dramatic illusion in the whole line constitutes the joke.

(iv) **1353–90. Strepsiades' story**

The quarrel began when Strepsiades asked Pheidippides to sing a song (we, deprived of the music, would call it a lyric poem) of Simonides, and Pheidippides objected to singing while drinking after dinner. Strepsiades then asked him to recite something from Aischylos. Pheidippides expressed contempt for Aischylos and extolled Euripides. Strepsiades, still forbearing, then heard him recite from Euripides; horrified at the content, he expressed himself vehemently, and they came to blows.

The quarrel turns on two issues: the traditional practice of singing after dinner, and the rival merits of old and contemporary poets.

For the practice of singing at parties our best evidence is *V*. 1219 ff.,

where Bdelykleon is coaching his father for respectable company and says 'The flute-girl has blown a note . . . mind you take up the skolia' (i.e. as is shown by what follows, 'take up a song which someone else has begun'); cf. Ameipsias 22. That not all songs called 'skolia' in the fifth century were anonymous products of Attica is proved by fr. 223 (from *Banqueters*) 'Take it' (sc. the myrtle-branch? Cf. 1364 n.) 'and sing me a skolion of Alkaios or Anakreon'; cf. A. E. Harvey, *CQ* N.S. v (1955), 161 ff. As we see from 1355 f., since boys of middle and upper class families had been taught to play the lyre and sing (cf. pp lix f.), they were expected, when grown up, to be able to accompany their own singing on the lyre. That intellectuals in Ar.'s day were coming to despise this practice (as Σ<sup>ε</sup> comments) is attested by Eupolis 139 as well as by Pheidippides' words here, and it has strong support in Pl. *Prt.* 347 C ff. There Socrates, wishing to end a lengthy discussion of a passage of Simonides, says that educated men have no need of the 'voices of others'—that is, of instrumental players and poets (347 E3)—but can occupy themselves, while drinking, in question and answer, using their own voices and their own resources. This is a natural enough development in an age of expanding intellectual activity. A similar point is discernible in the anecdote (Plu. *Ale.* 2. 6) about the young Alkibiades' refusal to learn the flute: 'let the sons of Thebans play the flute—they don't know how to converse'. (But that is not the main point of the anecdote; and E. *Md.* 190-4, cited by van Leeuwen as relevant to Pheidippides, has an entirely different point, as we see when we read on to 203.)

Ar. represents men past middle age—e.g. Dikaiopolis in *Ach.* 9-12 ~ 393-489—as uncritically fond of Aischylos while ridiculing Euripides and other contemporary poets. (Sophokles, whose distinguished career in tragedy began fourteen years before the death of Aischylos and continued until the year after the death of Euripides, is only rarely and briefly mentioned by Ar., and nowhere before *Pax*.) This antithesis is the subject of the second half of *Ra.*, where much is made (1043 ff.) of the objection which Strepsiades here brings against Euripides, immorality of subject and characters. It is not wholly intelligible, at first sight, that it should be wrong for Euripides to portray Phaidra, unhappy victim of a goddess's malice and murderess only by proxy (cf., however, Barrett's *Hippolytos*, pp. 11, 37 ff., on the earlier Phaidra), but right for Aischylos to portray Klytaimetra, who embraces both adultery and murder with determination and whose measure of moral responsibility is as disputable (*Ag.* 1448-1577, *Ch.* 908-30) as such things are (though the terms are different) in real life. We must, however, remember that by modern standards the Greeks were profoundly indifferent to questions of responsibility, and the plea that such-and-such a character in drama is a victim of the gods should not be introduced into this problem at all. Secondly, whereas Aischylos made his

audience feel that they were witnessing monstrous events of the distant past, full of grandeur and fear but essentially remote and—in a strict sense of the word—inhuman (cf. *Ra.* 1058 ff.), Euripides *involved* the audience in these same heroic events (cf. *Ra.* 954 ff.); the point is not directly made in *Ra.* or anywhere else, but there is no doubt that the biggest single contribution to this involvement was the element of generalization, necessarily embracing heroes of the past and contemporary Athenians alike, which Euripides introduced into his characters' speeches (e.g. *Md.* 230 ff., on the status of women). Therefore Euripides was disturbing; Aischylos was not, because he had been dead for more than thirty years when *Nu.* was written, and his work had become classical. There is a third reason for the antithesis between Aischylos and Euripides, which is perhaps the most important reason of all. Few men, unless they are of abnormal artistic sensitivity or are professionally interested, are capable of comparing objectively poetry or music composed after they are forty with the poetry and music which they were taught to admire when they were twenty; and most men do not even try. Those who were in their twenties during the last decade of Aischylos's career were in their sixties during the Archidamian War; this fact was the essential determinant of the antithesis between Aischylos and Euripides as Ar. presents it.

1353 καὶ μὴν: Cf. 1036 n.

1355 τὴν λύραν: Cf. p. lix.

1356 ἄσαι . . . ἐπέχθη: Lit., 'to sing Krios, how he was shorn' is normal Greek; the addition of 'a song of Simonides', giving ἄσαι two objects, complicates the syntax but in no way obscures the sense. The poem (*PMG* 507) contained the words ἐπέξαθ' ὁ Κριὸς οὐκ ἀεικέως, exploiting the fact that κριός = 'ram' (for another play on the name, cf. *Hdt.* vi. 50. 3 and *GVI* i. 1785 [Athens, IV/III]). Cf. Page, *JHS* lxxi (1951), 140 ff.

1357 ἀρχαῖον: Cf. 821 n. εἶν': Cf. 7 n. καθαρίζειν: λύρα and κιθάρα are named as separate objects by Pl. *R.* 399D and Anaxilas 15 (cf. Wegner, 39 f., and H. Abert in *RE* xiii. 2479 ff.), but καθαρίζειν covers both, λυρίζειν being a Hellenistic word; cf. *h.Herm.* 423 λύρη δ' ἐρατὸν καθαρίζων, and in *Eq.* 989 ff. it is the καθαριστῆς who teaches boys to play the λύρα.

1358 ὡσπερὶ . . . ἀλοῦσαν: Women sang then, as they do now, in performing monotonous manual work, and a couple of their songs have survived: Plu. *Sept. Sap.* 157 E (*PMG* 869)—note τῆς ξένης . . . ἀδούσης πρὸς τὴν μύλην—and Ath. 618 E (*PMG* 849). κάχρυς: So VAE<sup>a</sup>cM<sup>a</sup>cNp1Vp1<sup>1</sup>Θ<sub>1</sub> (κάγχρυς cett.); κάχρυς is metrically guaranteed by V. 1306 and Kratin. 294.

1359 ἀράττεσθαι: So Meineke, for ἄρα τύπτεσθαι: VVb3 have the worst text of all, ἀλλά for ἄρα and (with KNp1VsIX) no τε. — — — — is not

unexampled in iambic tetrameters (cf. 1066 n.), but it is abnormal, and we cannot feel confident that whatever is communicated by *ἀρα* was so important to Ar. as to make this rather ugly abnormality unavoidable. For *ἀράττεσθαι* cf. 1373 *ἀράττω* and *Lys.* 459 *οὐχ ἔλξεν*, *οὐ παίησατε, οὐκ ἀράξετε*;

- 1360 τέτιγας:** The cicada is the singer par excellence; cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 258 E–259 D, where Socrates invents an aetiological story, telling how cicadas were once men who ‘singing, took no thought for food or drink, and died before they realized what they were doing’.
- 1361 μέντοι:** Cf. 126 n.
- 1363 μόλις μὲν, ἀλλ’ ὄμως ἠνεσχόμην:** ‘I put up with it with difficulty, but still, I did put up with it’. Cf. E. *Hp.* 47 f., D. lviii. 26.
- 1364 ἀλλά:** The kind of ἀλλά used with imperatives in the sense ‘well, then’ or ‘at any rate’ (as in 1369; cf. Denniston, p. 13) is here retained in indirect speech; cf. E. *Or.* 1562 *ὡς ἂν ἀλλὰ παῖδ’ ἐμὴν ῥυσώμεθα, ΙΑ 1239 ἴν’ ἀλλὰ τοῦτο . . . ἔχων*. *μυρρῖνην* Dikaiarchos (fr. 89 [Wehrli]), quoted here by Σ<sup>RVE</sup>, said that ‘those who sing at drinking-parties do so with a branch of bay or myrtle in the hand, in accordance with an old tradition’. This explains Ar. fr. 430 *ὁ μὲν ἦδεν Ἀδμήτου λόγον πρὸς μυρρῖνην: Ἀδμήτου λόγον* are the opening words of a skolion (*V.* 1238). There are no grounds for thinking that in Ar.’s time recitation from tragedy was normal after dinner. Strepsiades is compromising by not demanding a song to the lyre, but he preserves appearances by the myrtle-branch. *μυρρῖνης* (UW9Φ) may at first sight seem to be supported by X. *An.* i. 5. 7 *λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ* (cf. KG, i. 345), but a partitive genitive is not in fact appropriate.
- 1366 πρῶτον:** Pheidippides is sarcastic (cf. 8, 647 nn.). For *πρῶτος* as a term of praise cf. E. *El.* 82 and Denniston, ad loc.
- 1367 ψόφου . . . κρημοποιόν:** Now Pheidippides drops his sarcastic tone. *ἀξύστατος* is probably ‘incoherent’, applied to the poet because it could be applied to his work; cf. Arist. *Po.* 1453<sup>b</sup>3 f., ‘the plot of the play must *συνεστάναι* in such a way . . .’. (What Aischylos himself meant by *ἀξύστατον ἄλγος* [*Ag.* 1467] is disputable.) The splendidly expressive word *στόμφας* evidently means ‘bombastic ranter’; this is clear from [Longin.] *Subl.* 3. 1, ‘tragedy, which is by nature *ὄγκηρός* and admits of *στόμφος*’, less clear from *V.* 721 *ἐγγάσκειν σοι* (‘make a fool of you’) *στομφάζοντας*. *κρημοποιός*, lit. ‘cliff-maker’, ‘crag-maker’, speaks for itself; the same metaphor seems to be used in *Eq.* 626 ff. *ελασίβροντ’ ἀναρρηγνὸς ἔπη τερατευόμενος . . . κρημονὸς †ερείδων*. The charges that Aischylos is ‘full of noise’, ‘bombastic’, and ‘makes mountains out of poetry’ are precisely the charges brought against him by Euripides in *Ra.* 924 ff. (especially *ρήματα βόεια*), 939 ff. (‘swollen’ poetry, in need of slimming), 961 ff., and 1056 *ἦν οὖν σὺ λέγῃς Λυκαβηττοῦς καὶ Παρνασσῶν ἡμῖν μεγέθη:* Dionysos says much the same, in complimentary terms, in 1004 *πυργώσας*

*ρήματα σεμνά*. It is quickly demonstrable that the average word-length in Euripides is smaller than in Aischylos, but debatable how far popular literary judgements are founded on subliminal perception of statistics rather than on a few memorable passages. The charge of ‘incoherence’ is not specifically made in *Ra.*, but is implied in Euripides’ criticisms to Aischylos as ‘cheating a simple-minded audience’ (909 f., cf. 989 ff.) by the enigmatic silences of his characters (910 ff.).

- 1369 τὸν θυμὸν δακόν:** A man may bite his lip to fortify his spirit; so Tyrtaios 8. 21 f. exhorts the soldier to stand his ground firmly, ‘biting his lip with his teeth’, the old men in *V.* 1083 boast that they fought at Marathon ‘standing man to man, eating the lip in fury’, and Pentheus (E. *Ba.* 621) struggles with a bull sweating and ‘giving his teeth to his lips’. ‘Biting my spirit’ must be what we would express as ‘biting *back* my anger’. *Ach.* 1 *δέδηγμαί τῆν’ ἐμαντοῦ καρδίαν* is quite different, for *δάκνειν* there is ‘hurt’, ‘pain’, ‘anger’, as in *Nu.* 12; *δακέθυμος ἰδρώς* (Simon. 579. 5) and *δακέθυμος ἄτα* (S. *Ph.* 706, of Philoktetes’ painful wound) are probably—but not quite certainly—related to this. ἀλλά: Cf. 1364 n.

**1370 ἔτι:** Cf. 113 n. **σοφά:** Cf. 94 n.

- 1371 ἦγ’:** This emendation was suggested to me by Dr. E. K. Borthwick; the MSS. have *ἦσ’*, *ἦσ’* or *ἦσεν*. *ῥήσις* is a speech (cf. *Ach.* 416, referring forward to 496 ff., and cf. the cognate words *ῥήμα* and *ῥήτωρ*), and nowhere else does anyone ‘sing’ a speech; note *V.* 579 f. *πρὶν ἂν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς Νιόβης εἴπη ῥήσιν*, 1095 *ῥήσιν εὐ λέξων ἐμέλλομεν*, Ehipp. 16 *ῥήσεις . . . λέγοι*. The reference might conceivably be to a monody, of the kind for which Euripides was famous (cf. *Ra.* 944), e.g. *Hec.* 154 ff., 197 ff., 1056 ff., *Supp.* 990 ff., 1012 ff.; one might say that its content justifies *ῥήσις*, its character *ἄδειν*. But in Theophr. *Char.* 27. 2 the MSS. (silently ignored in Diels’ apparatus) have *ῥήσεις μανθάνειν . . . καὶ ταύτας ἄγων παρὰ ποτὸν ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι*, and this seems to me decisive. ἐκίνει: Cf. 1102 n. Cf. 1364 N.

- 1372 ἀδελφός . . . ἀδελφὴν:** Hermann’s *ἀδελφός* (cf. *δ’ ἀδελφός* O2O7) is probably the right interpretation; cf. 97, 558 nn. and Arist. *Rhet.* 1418<sup>b</sup>28 *ποιεῖ γὰρ (sc. Ἀρχίλοχος) τὸν πατέρα λέγοντα περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς*. The play concerned is *Aiolos* (E. fr. 14–41), and the brother and sister are Makareus and Kanake (Σ<sup>RVE</sup>), Aiolos’s children; cf. *Ov. Her.* 11, and Ar. *Ra.* 1081 no doubt has the same reference. The point of *ὀμομητρίαν* is that marriage between children of the same father but different mothers was permitted by law at Athens; D. lvii. 20 affords an example of it (cf. Lipsius, 476 f.). *ὦ λειξίκακε:* Σ<sup>RVE</sup> say ‘the epithet is peculiar to Herakles’, but it is by no means certain that when an Athenian expressed a horrified reaction by the words *ὦ λειξίκακε* he had any particular deity consciously in mind; for *λεξίκακος* as a ‘free’ adjective cf. *V.* 1043, *Pax* 422.

- 1373 κἀγὼ οὐκέτ’:** For synizesis of *ἐγὼ* and *οὐ* cf. *V.* 416 *ὡς τοῦδ’ ἐγὼ*



οὐ μεθήσομαι; for the reduction of *καί + ἐγώ + vowel* to two syllables cf. (e.g.) *Eq.* 420 *κἀγὼ ἔν τοσοῦτω*, 647 *κἀγὼ φρασα*. εὐθέως ἀράττω: This seems to have been the reading of Π5<sup>1</sup> and (possibly by medieval emendation after the common corruption of εὐθέως to εὐθός) is found in C1r: εὐθέως ἀράττω Vb3, εὐθός ἀράττω Vs1. εὐθός ἐξαράττω (cett.: εὐθέως ἐξαράττω O3P25) is inferior, for wherever else that verb is used ἐξ- has a point (e.g. *Eq.* 641, *Th.* 704), and here it has none.

1376 *κἀπέτριβεν*: RV have *κἀπέθλιβεν*, which may be right. θλίβειν is 'press', 'squeeze' (e.g. *V.* 1239, *Ra.* 20); ἀποθλίβειν means 'pinch off' in Diphilos 43. 30 (*τὰ κράσπεδ' ἀποθλίβοντα* from food); ἐπιθλίβειν ('press') does not appear before Hellenistic times; *E. Cy.* 236 f. are an enigma: ἐφασκον . . . μάλιστα γ' εὐ τὸ νῶτον ἀποθλίψεν σέθεν, where Ruhnken conjectured ἀπολέψεν, for 'squeezing off' someone's back with a whip is an odd metaphor. But I suspect that ἐπιτριβειν, one of the commonest words in comedy, was corrupted through the familiarity of θλίβειν, θλίψις in Biblical and Patristic Greek in the metaphorical sense 'affliction', 'oppression'.

1378 *σοφώτατον*: For the position of this adjective cf. *Ra.* 143 f. *θηρί' ὄψει μυρία δεινότητα*, *Ach.* 73 ff. *σοφώτατόν γ'*: γε is often used when the second speaker repeats a word from the first speaker and agrees with it, e.g. *Pl. R.* 610 E *σχολῆ τό . . . κακὸν ψυχῆν ἢ τι ἄλλο ἀπολεῖ, πλὴν ἐφ' ᾧ τέτακται*. — *σχολῆ γ'*, ἐφη, ὡς γε τὸ εἰκός. There is no true parallel for a usage which would give us here, 'What, Euripides a genius?' (Denniston [130] cites as a parallel only *Ach.* 120 *τοιόνδε γ' ᾧ πῆθεκε τὸν πάγων' ἔχων κτλ.* where γ', δ', and θ' are variants and the line is in a part-quotation.) We must, I think, interpret *σοφώτατόν γ'* as expressing heated sarcasm (as in English, 'Oh yes, very clever . . .'); it has affinities with the sarcasm of 647 and 1064 and the common *καλ- γε* (cf. Denniston, 128). ὦ: ὦ (RVMd12Np1Vb3Vs1ZΦ) shows that on one ancient interpretation the words mean 'Ah, what am I to call you?', with a strong stop after ἐκείνον (on ὦ and ὦ cf. 219 n.). This would be plausible if *σοφώτατόν γ' ἐκείνον* could be a self-contained indignant question, 'What, he a genius?' As we have seen, that is an unlikely interpretation; *Strepsiadēs* begins as if he were going to continue 'when he . . .' (*δοστις . . .*), interposes a vocative, is about to use something like the epithets of 1327, but realizes that none of them is strong enough to express his feelings. Hence, 'Oh yes, very clever, you—what am I to call you?' Cf. *D.* xviii. 22 *εἶτ', ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπὼν σε τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι*; —.

1379 *ἀλλ'*: He abandons the attempt to find a suitably opprobrious name, reflecting on the probable consequences. ἐν δίκῃ γ' ἂν: Π5 has γε, followed by a dicolon; cf. (e.g.) *Eq.* 258 *ἐν δίκῃ γε, V.* 508 *νῆ Δι' ἐν δίκῃ γε*, at the beginning of vehement answers. But γ' ἂν (RVE<sup>a</sup>cKMMd12NNp1Vb3Vs1W9ZX) is preferable, for ἂν is very unlikely to be an interpolation here. It can carry the weight of

a verb, with a change of (understood) mood, as in *Eq.* 1251 f. *σὲ δ' ἄλλος τις λαβῶν κεκτήσεται, κλέπτῃς μὲν οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον, εὐτυχῆς δ' ἴσως* and *S. Ph.* 114 f. *οὐκ ἄρ' ὁ πέρσων . . . εἰμ' ἐγὼ*; — *οὐτ' ἂν σὲ κείνων χωρὶς οὐτ' ἐκείνα σοῦ* (cf. *KG*, i. 243 ff.). AE<sup>pe</sup>Md12UVp1Φ (and possibly W9<sup>ae</sup>) have γάρ.

1380 *δοστις κτλ.*: On the sentiment and argument cf. 861 ff.

1382 *εἰ μὲν γε βρῶν . . .* 1385 *προυσχομένη σε*: For the frequentative imperfect and aorist with ἂν cf. 977. *βρῶν, μαμμᾶν*, and *κακῶν* do not strike us as plausible baby-words; but *βρῶ, μαμμᾶ* and *κακῶ* do, and we must accept the evidence of this passage that when they were used by parents in talking to infants (i) *μαμμᾶ* and *κακῶ* were treated as feminine nouns (note 1390 *πόση κακῶν*: cf. fr. 543. 5 *δοκω* = 'repetitions of the word *δοκω*'), and (ii) *βρῶ* was treated not like the uninflected *γρῶ* but like *δρῶς* or *μῶς*. This interpretation is supported by *Theocr.* 15. 13 f. *θάρσει, Ζωπυρίων, γλυκερὸν τέκος, οὐ λέγει ἀπφῶν*. — *αἰσθάνεται τὸ βρέφος ναὶ τὰν ποτῖαν*. — *καλὸς ἀπφῶς* and by *Hsch.* β 1210 *βρους (sic) πειῦν (βρῶν πειῦν appears as β 1247, and Hsch. has no βρῶ)*; cf. also *Lys.* 878 f., where an infant cries *μαμμία μαμμία μαμμία* when told by his father *οὐ καλεῖς τὴν μαμμίαν*; *κακῶ* has a cognate in adult language, *κάκκη (Pax 162)*; *μαμμᾶ* does not stand in so immediate a relationship to *μάμμη*, for that means not 'food' but 'mum', 'ma' (e.g. *Pherekrates* 70. 4; hardly 'mummy', for the speaker has been mixing wine and is addressed as *ὦ κατάρατε*). Cf. also 1001 n. *προυσχομένη*: Sanitation in Greek households was rudimentary, and possibly 'outside' was good enough for children; cf. *Pax* 1265 f. A house might have an outside *κοπρῶν (Th.* 483 ff.), but not always even that, if the implications of *Ec.* 320 ff. and *Eubul.* 53 are to be trusted.

1386 *βοῶντα . . .* 1390 *κακῶν*: This *pnigos*, concluding one side of the contest, as 1445–51 concludes the other (cf. p. 210), has an effect as if one were to 'stretch' an iambic tetrameter into a 'decimeter'; *ἐτλης* is the only point at which verse-end is possible, for the iambic metre depends on treating *δοτι*, *-αρέ* and *-μενος* each as υυ. *καὶ κεκραγῶθ'*: Cf. *Lys.* 3. 15 *βοῶντα καὶ κεκραγῶτα καὶ μαρτυρόμενον*.

(v) 1391–6. *Antistrophe*

1396 *ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐρέβινθου*: Almost '—why, not even . . .'; *ἀλλ' οὐδέ* became a formula in the fourth century; cf. *Men. Sam.* 143 f. *ἀποδέδρακέ με ἀλλ' οὐδέ μικρὸν συλλαβῶν* (Denniston, 23 f.). *ἐρέβινθος* is 'chick-pea', and 'we wouldn't accept it at the price of a chick-pea' means 'we wouldn't give a fig for it' (cf. *KG*, i. 377 f.). The statement of E<sup>s1</sup> that *ἐρέβινθος* means 'penis' here is misplaced erudition.

(vi) 1397–8. *The Chorus invites Pheidippides to state his case*

1397 *σὸν ἔργον*: Cf. 1345 n. *ἐπῶν*: Cf. 541 n. *κινητὰ καὶ μοχλευτὰ*: *μοχλευτής* in 568 referred to Poseidon, who causes earthquakes



and is imagined as moving the earth with a lever (*μοχλός*). Unlike *μηχανή* and its derivatives, the derivatives of *μοχλός* are not used metaphorically until the first century A.D., but it is hard not to discern something like the metaphorical sense of 'engineer' in this passage; otherwise we must think of *κανά ἐπη* as something massive to be shifted, not as something complicated to be constructed. Many nouns in *-της*, denoting types of craftsmen (insufficiently emphasized by Chantraine, 310 ff.), are known from Athenian building inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries, or from Pollux, and sometimes from those sources alone (e.g. *πρίστης* [IG i<sup>2</sup>. 373. 256], *ἐγκαυτής* [ibid. 374], *τορνευτής* [ibid. 374. 355], *χρυσωτής* [IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1635. 37], *δαδοσχίστης* [ibid. 1557. 29]), and it is reasonable to suspect that a *μοχλευτής* was a specialist in constructional problems. *κινῶν* has, of course, a wide range of metaphorical senses; in Polyb. xxviii. 17. 2 *κινῶνται καὶ καχέκται* are 'agitators and malcontents'.

(vii) 1399–1451. *Pheidippides' argument*

**1401** τὸν νοῦν μόνη: *μόνη* τὸν νοῦν (β: cf. 884 n.) does not scan; τὸν νοῦν μόνον (R: τὸν νοῦν μου V) does, but contains the ambiguity often inseparable from *μόνον* (or in English from 'only'). τὸν νοῦν μόνη (Bentley) is the obvious emendation. We should nevertheless observe that although *μόνον* is sometimes a corruption of another form of *μόνος* (e.g. *Eq.* 989 τὴν Δωριστὴ μόνην ἂν ἀρμόττεσθαι θαμὰ τὴν λῆραν, where *μόνον* [A<sup>1</sup>T] is betrayed as a corruption by the metre) it has also sometimes been corrupted to another form: V. 596 μόνον ἡμῶς οὐ περιτρώγει, where *μόνους* (RVΓ) is metrically impossible; V. 970 δ' ἕτερος οὐδὲς ἐστὶν οἰκουρὸς μόνον, where *μόνος* (R<sup>1</sup>V) gives the wrong sense; Pl. 185 ἐφ' οἷς ἂν οὗτος ἐπικαθέλζηται μόνον, where R has *μόνον* and *μόνος* (*coll.*) gives the wrong sense. In *Ra.* 1410 δὴ ἐπη τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρῶ μόνον, μόνον (R) is supported against *μόνα* (VAM) by *Av.* 447 ἐνὶ κριτῇ νικᾶν μόνον, where there are no variants. For these reasons some readers may well prefer *μόνον* here; it is 'ambiguous' by the standards of a logician, but not by those of a participant in a real conversation. Cf. Holzinger on Pl. 185.

**1402** τρι': Three was a proverbially insignificant number; cf. *Ach.* 598 'We were elected—' '—Yes, by three cuckoos', and there is a similar undertone in *Ach.* 529. ἦ: Cf. 530 n.

**1404** λεπταῖς: The adjective qualifies all three nouns; cf. Th. vi. 49. 4. οὔτε πλοῦν πολλὸν οὔτε ὀδόν.

**1406** τοίνυν: Cf. 254 n.

**1407** ἵππων τρέφειν τέθριππον: On the recurrence of a stem in a compound cf. 1069 n. τυπτόμενον ἐπιτριβήναι: On the rhythm cf. 1063 f.

**1408** ἐκέισε δ' . . . μέτεμι: 'Pursue'; cf. the methodical exposition of Wrong, 1058 and 1075.

**1409** ἐρήσομαι: Pheidippides, like Wrong, proceeds by asking his opponent questions and exploiting the answers.

**1409** παῖδά . . . **1414** τοῦμόν δὲ μή: Pheidippides now turns to good account the traditional father's argument (1380 ff.) 'Repay me for my care for you in your childhood.' ἐπειδήπερ γε: Cf. V. 1129 ἐπειδήπερ γ' ἅπαξ . . . παραδέδωκας. τοῦτ' ἐστ' εὐνοεῖν τὸ τύπτειν: Cf. Antiphon i. 5 εἰ νομίζει τοῦτο εὐσέβειαν εἶναι, τὸ τὴν μητέρα μὴ προδοῦναι.

**1414** καὶ μὴν . . . γε: Cf. 4. ἐλεύθερος: A free man could strike his own children (cf. Pl. *Pri.* 325D), but he himself could not be struck with impunity (Lipsius, 643 ff., and note especially D. xxi. 70 ff.).

**1415** κλάουσι . . . δοκεῖς: The line is an adaptation of E. *Alc.* 691, where Pheres, indignantly refusing to die in place of his son Admetos, says χαίρεις ὄρων φῶς, πατέρα δ' οὐ χαίρειν δοκεῖς; Since the words *πατέρα δ' οὐ κλάειν δοκεῖς*, so far as the sense goes, could have been uttered by Strepsiades, implying, 'Since a father is capable of feeling pain, he should be spared', and since the quotation is an iambic trimeter surrounded by tetrameters, it is not surprising that the MSS. show various traces of attempts to introduce changes of speaker and to fill out the line; these two things are to some extent, but not completely, interdependent. VMdI have a change of speaker before *κλάουσι*, and V has one before *πατέρα*: M<sup>m</sup>Md<sup>i</sup>NN<sup>r</sup>iM<sup>s</sup>UVb<sub>3</sub>W<sub>9</sub>ZΘΦ (cf. ZV<sup>s</sup>) end the line with *τιῆ δῆ, τιῆ δῆ, vel sim.*, spoken by Strepsiades. AE<sup>a</sup>cMMd<sup>i</sup>NN<sup>r</sup>iU<sup>a</sup>cVb<sub>3</sub>Vp<sub>1</sub>W<sub>9</sub>ZΘΦ begin the next line with *Φε.*, and E<sup>p</sup>c also with *τί δῆ*. It need hardly be said that it would make nonsense of the argument to divide the quotation between Pheidippides and Strepsiades; it is the second half which makes Pheidippides' point, and the first half is determined by the second. The only issue is whether three syllables are missing at the end of the line, and, if so, what they were and who spoke them. Of what we find in the MSS., only *τιῆ δῆ* (Vb<sub>3</sub>W<sub>9</sub>) would scan, but we do not encounter the expression elsewhere in Ar.; we find *τιῆ*; (e.g. *Eq.* 126, *Pax* 927), *τιῆ τί δῆ*; (V. 1155, *Pax* 1018), *τιῆ τί*; (fr. 569. 14), *ὅτι τί*; (*Nu.* 784) and *ὅτι τί δῆ*; (*Nu.* 775). But the decisive argument against *τιῆ δῆ*; is not its form, but the fact that wherever an expression of this type occurs it asks a genuine question, 'Why?' or 'What do you mean?', and is immediately answered by the other speaker.

**1416** φήσεις: For this asyndeton at a step in a reasoned argument cf. *Ach.* 540 ἐρεῖ τις, οὐ χρῆν' ἀλλὰ κατ. τοῦργον: Being beaten does not seem to us an ἔργον on the child's part, but an ἔργον is not always creative; cf. *Av.* 165 f. 'Don't fly around everywhere with your beaks agape, ὡς τοῦτ' ἄτιμον τοῦργον ἐστίν', though even there the translation 'behaviour' suggests itself. For the uncertain boundary between doing and suffering in Greek cf. 1198 n.

- 1417 **δῖς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες**: This truism is found also in Kratinos 24 (more concisely, *δῖς παῖς γέρων*), Theopompos Com. 69 and, in elegant tragic dress, S. fr. 447N (= 487P). 3 *πάλιν γὰρ αὐδὺς παῖς ὁ γηράσκων ἀνὴρ*.
- 1418 **ἢ νέους**: So Bentley, from *ἢ τοὺς νέους* (RAE<sup>pc</sup>Md1UVp1W9ΘΦ): the rest have *ἢ τοὺς νεωτέρους* and VANNp1Vb3Vp1ZΘX have no τι. On the omission of the article, intolerable to many editors, cf. 622 n.
- 1420 **ἀλλ' οὐδαμοῦ νομιζέται**: We are not to imagine that Strepsiadēs is necessarily taking non-Greek peoples into account. The Greeks were aware that no two Greek cities had identical νόμοι, and a man could criticize those of his own city by comparison with others (e.g. Pl. *Smp.* 182 A ff.). For the purposes of argument it was possible to generalize about 'everywhere' and 'nowhere'; e.g. Antiphon 4. δ. 7, 'Heavy penalties have been imposed everywhere on the aggressor, whereas no penalty has been prescribed anywhere for the man who defends himself', and X. *M.* iv. 4. 20, 'It is customary everywhere (*πανταχοῦ νομιζέται*) to honour one's parents'.
- 1421 **οὐκ οὖν ἀνὴρ . . . 1424 ἀντιόπτειν**: The realization that a given law is the work of people at some time in the past, that these people were not necessarily more intelligent or virtuous than we are, that the circumstances which prompted the law may have differed fundamentally from ours, and that once a law has been made general inertia is apt to protect it from repeal, is a landmark in the history of civilization and must have excited intellectuals in the fifth century. Yet Pheidippides is characteristically Greek in thinking of a νόμος not as a 'behaviour pattern' which is eventually codified but as the product of one man's conscious design and one assembly's conscious decision. So Hippias and Socrates in X. *M.* iv. 4. 19 f. agree that the universal unwritten laws of mankind must have been imposed by the gods because 'the whole of mankind could not meet' (*sc.* to adopt these laws) 'nor do they all speak the same language'. On the concept of the individual lawgiver cf. 1187 n.
- 1426 **ἀφίμεν**: The word sounds a formal, legal note. Cf. the oath in a document *ap.* And. i. 98: 'All the oaths which have been sworn at Athens or in the fleet or anywhere else contrary to the interests of the people of Athens, *λύω καὶ ἀφίμι*', and D. xxxvii. 59 *εἰὰν ἐλὼν τις ἀκουσίου φόνου . . . αἰδέσθηναι καὶ ἀφή*.
- 1427 **σκέψαι . . . 1429 οὐ γράφουσιν**: The idea that birds are free to assault their parents, unrestrained by νόμος, is exploited again in *Av.* 755 ff., 1343 ff. A serious sophistic concept of 'the law of nature' existed; cf. 1075 n. Kallikles in Pl. *Grg.* 483D justifies his 'law of nature' by reference to 'all living creatures, including man'. Plato was ready to use similar arguments for different purposes, e.g. *Smp.* 207 A ff. (the care of animals for their young [cf. E. fr. 346] is evidence

- that Eros is the impulse in the mortal towards immortality) and *Lg.* 836 c (homosexuality is unnatural because animals do not practise it). Early evidence for awareness of such arguments is found in Hdt. ii. 64: all races except the Egyptians and the Greeks have sexual intercourse in sanctuaries; they (presumably Babylonians, Persians, and others) say that 'animals have intercourse in sanctuaries, and if this were not acceptable to the gods animals would not do it; offering this justification, they behave in a way of which I do not approve' (Herodotos abides by Greek νόμος, but gives no reasons). Cf. Heinimann, *op. cit.* (1075 n.), 145 ff. **βοτά**: Not a very common term for animals in prose literature, but frequent in epic and tragedy, and also in *SEG* ix (1). 72. 31 (Cyrene, IV) *θύσας βοτὸν τέλευν*. **ταυτί**: Cf. 83 n.
- 1430 **τί δῆρ' . . . 1431 καθεύεις**: Strepsiadēs sees without difficulty the fatal flaw in any argument which selects elements common to animals and man but ignores the differences. In most extant Greek discussion of this topic it is the differences which are emphasized; cf. especially X. *M.* i. 4. 11 ff. on the natural advantages of man, and E. *Su.* 201 ff., Isok. iv. 28, xv. 254, on the bestial (*θηριώδης*) condition from which civilization and law and the arts first raised mankind.
- 1432 **οὐ ταύτόν . . . ἐστίν**: We have the impression that Pheidippides would find it hard to say why and to defend his own argument against a charge of arbitrariness. For *ὃ τᾶν* cf. 1267. **οὐδ' ἂν Σωκράτει δοκοίη**: Ar. reveals in these four words his awareness that what passes as rational criticism of irrational authority is sometimes no more than transfer of allegiance to another authority.
- 1433 **πρὸς ταῦτα . . . 1435 τὸν υἱόν**: 'This being so' (*sc.* the new 'law' of reprisal) 'do not strike me'; on *πρὸς ταῦτα* cf. 1030 n. The argument of 1434 f. is elliptical: 'Just as I have a right to chastise you <and thus incur a beating myself, now that I am old>, so you have a right to chastise your own son <and will thus incur a beating yourself, when you are old>.' The text to which Σ<sup>2</sup> refers gave *πρὸς ταῦτα* to Pheidippides, Strepsiadēs beginning abruptly with *μη τύπτ'*.
- 1434 **καὶ πῶς**: Cf. 717 n.
- 1436 **τεθνήξει**: Despite what I have said about active and middle futures in 296 n., I adopt Dawes's emendation here (*τεθνήξει α*), because *τεθνήξων* is metrically guaranteed in *Ach.* 325 (in *Ach.* 590 and *V.* 654 there is no such guarantee for the MSS. -ει). A change from active to middle forms in futures derived from perfective stems is indicated by *Lys.* 634 *ἐστήξω παρ' αὐτόν* ~ Hegesipp. i. 25 *ἐστήξεται*, and Luc. *Pseudol.* 7 regards the active form as 'Attic' (cf. A. *Ag.* 1279 *τεθνήξομεν* and KB, ii. 111, 444).
- 1437 **ἐμοὶ μὲν . . . 1439 δρῶμεν**: This address to the old men among the audience is unique in its banality. We cannot say that Ar. was uncertain how to make the transition from 1436 to 1440 and devised

1437-9 as a stopgap, in a moment of fatigue, for no transition is needed; it would have been entirely in character for Pheidippides to proceed straight from rebuttal of Strepsiades' last point to a fresh argument which excites him intellectually. It seems, therefore, that Ar. is preparing the way—unskillfully, for he is handling a sequence of events of a type alien to comedy—for Strepsiades' repentance in 1462 ff.

**1440 σκέψαι . . . γνώμην:** Pheidippides persists in treating the occasion as one in which the emotions are not involved (cf. 1336) and the skill and plausibility of the argument are all that matters. **ἀπό γὰρ ὀλοῦμαι:** He means, 'No, I don't want any *more* argument—it'll be the death of me!' On tmesis cf. 792 n.

**1442 ἐπωφελήσεις:** **ἐπωφελεῖν** (ctr. 753 **τί δῆτα τοῦτ' ἄν ὠφελήσειεν σ' ;**) does not occur elsewhere in Comedy, and it is possible that there is sarcastic point in ἐπ-, 'what further benefit . . .?' It must, however, be admitted that it would need an excess of subtlety to discern the sense 'further' in S. *El.* 1005 f. **λῦει γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐπωφελεῖ βάξιν καλὴν λαβόντε δυσκλεῶς θανεῖν.** ἐπ- is absent in E<sup>ac</sup>KMNp<sub>1</sub>Vb<sub>3</sub>Vs<sub>1</sub>X, and it is conceivable that Ar. wrote ἔτ' ('after this') **ὠφελήσεις:** cf. *Eq.* 140 **πόθεν οὖν ἄν ἐτι γένοιτο πώλης εἰς μόνος;** Cf. 654 n.

**1443 τὴν μητέρα . . . 1444 κακόν:** The **μητραλοῖας** and the **πατραλοῖας** are normally spoken of together, e.g. *Ra.* 149, *Lys.* x. 8, *Pl. Phd.* 114 A, and neither in law nor in rhetoric do we find it explicitly stated that violence against one's mother is more abhorrent than violence against one's father. Yet Strepsiades' horrified reaction receives some support from the wording of *Pl. Lg.* 881 B **μητραλοῖαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γεννητόρων ἀνόσοι πληγῶν τόλμαι**, from the importance of matricide as a tragic theme (Plato's attitude to Orestes [*Cra.* 394 E] is strikingly harsh), and from a fourth-century expression of metrolatry, *Alexis* 267 (**τοῖς γὰρ ὀρθῶς εἰδόσιν τὰ θεία μείζω μητρός οὐκ ἔστιν ποτέ κτλ.**). On **καί**, 'my mother <also>', as I did *you*', cf. Denniston, 295 f.

**1444 τί δ' ἦν ἔχων:** Neither **τί δῆτ' ἄν ἔχων** (RV) nor **τί δῆτ' ἦν ἔχων** (AMd<sub>1</sub>Vp<sub>1</sub>) makes sense; **τί δῆτ' ἦν ἔχων** (E<sup>ac</sup>[?]KMNp<sub>1</sub>Vb<sub>3</sub>ΘX) makes sense but does not scan. The alternative possibilities are (i) **τί δ' ἦν ἔχων** (E<sup>p</sup>cNUV<sub>1</sub>W<sub>9</sub>ZΦ) and (ii) Hermann's emendation **τί δῆτ' ἄν, ἦν,** deleting **ἔχων.** (i) is good Greek, for **ἔχων c. acc.** often means more than 'with', 'by' (cf. 1045 **τίνα γνώμην ἔχων**), and although it commonly occupies an unobtrusive position in the clause, following either its object or the main verb, this is not always so; cf. *V.* 36 **ἔστιν δ' ὄνομα . . . Βδελυκλέων, ἔχων τρόπους κτλ.** (ii) is attractive *prima facie* (cf. 769 **φέρει τί δῆτ' ἄν, εἰ κτλ.**, 'Well, now, suppose . . .'), but it is open to one objection. Wherever this precise type of ellipse with **ἄν** occurs in Comedy (e.g. *Lys.* 399, *Th.* 773) the conditional protasis contains an optative, an aorist indicative, or an

imperfect indicative; that is to say, if the appropriate verb were present in the elliptical apodosis, it also would be one of those three tenses, and not a future indicative or a present indicative. Add that the corruption **τί δ' > τί δῆτ'** has occurred in VM at 1447 and that **ἔχων** is an improbable interpolation (for there would be no difficulty in treating **τὸν ἦττω λόγον** as object of **λέγων**), and **τί δ' ἦν ἔχων** prevails; but 1379 (*v. n.*) must leave a doubt.

**1447 τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ, ταῦτ' ἦν ποῆς:** So Kock. Elsewhere **τί δ' ἄλλο γε** is followed by ἦ, e.g. 1287, 1495; the solitary exception is *Eq.* 615 **τί δ' ἄλλο γ' εἰ μὴ Νικόβουλος ἐγενόμην** ('Why, . . . simply . . .'). With the interrogative expression **ἄλλο τι, ἦ** may be omitted; cf. 423 n. If the MSS.' text here is sound, **τί δ' ἄλλο γε** is influenced by **ἄλλο τι:** possibly **οὐδὲν σε κωλύσει** is sufficiently akin to 'simply' in sense to assist the process. But V has **ἦ ταύτην** and AMd<sub>1</sub>NVp<sub>1</sub>W<sub>9</sub>ZΘ **ἦν ταῦτα**, and Kock's emendation (cf. *Theop. Com.* 62. 5 **ταῦτ' ἦν ποῆς, βῆσαν ἔσει τὴν οὐσίαν**) is a reasonable interpretation of these data.

**1448 σεαυτόν . . . 1451 ἦττω:** For the order **A μετὰ B . . . καὶ Γ,** cf. *Ec.* 542 f. **αἱ δὲ δὴ Λακωνικαὶ ψῆχοντο μετὰ σοῦ κατὰ τί χη βακτηρία; βάραθρον:** Cf. *Eq.* 1362 f., 'I'll pick him up . . . and throw him into τὸ βάραθρον'—a gully, near the junction of the northern Long Wall with the city perimeter (Judeich, 140; cf. *Pl. R.* 439 E) into which were thrown the bodies of men executed for offences against the state; cf. *X. HG* i. 7. 20.

(viii) **1452-63. Strepsiades reproaches the Chorus**

**1456 ἡγορεύετε . . . 1457 ἐπήρατε:** **ἡγορεύσατε** (VAE<sup>p</sup>cM<sub>d</sub>1NUVp<sub>1</sub>Vs<sub>1</sub>W<sub>9</sub>Z<sub>1</sub>Φ) is certainly wrong, for the Attic aorist of **ἀγορεύειν** is **εἶπεῖν.** **ἐπήρατε** in 1457, however, is preferable to **ἐπήρατε** (R); cf. 42 n.

**1458 ἡμεῖς . . . 1461 δεδοικέναι:** Now the Chorus reveals itself, in solemn style, as a member of the supernatural company traditionally worshipped by the Greeks; cf. p. lxix. They have deceived Strepsiades in order to punish him for his dishonesty, and he accepts (1463) this; it is fully in accord with ordinary Greek theology and ethics. RVV<sub>1</sub>S<sub>1</sub>V<sup>p</sup> have **ἡμεῖς:** **αἰεῖ** (cett.) is tautologous with **ἐκάστοθ'.** Tautology is not in itself a strong argument against a variant (cf. 295, 1279 n., *Pax* 399 **διὰ παντός . . . αἰεῖ,** *Krates* 24 **ἕτερος . . . λόγος ἄλλος,** *Kratin.* 6. 2 **ταχέως . . . καὶ παραχρήμα**), but **ἡμεῖς** is positively supported by 258 f. **ταῦτα πάντα τοὺς τελομένους ἡμεῖς ποοῦμεν,** *V.* 384 **τοιαῦτα ποῆσομεν ἡμεῖς,** *V.* 1075 f. **ἔαμὲν ἡμεῖς . . . Ἀττικοὶ μόνοι κτλ.,** and many other passages in which there is no explicit antithesis between **ἡμεῖς** and anyone else. Cf. 1116 n. **ὄντιν' ἄν:** E<sup>ac</sup>KM<sup>ac</sup>Np<sub>1</sub>Vb<sub>3</sub>Vv<sub>1</sub>X have **ἄν τιν' οὖν,** which is not Attic. The rest have **ὅταν τινά** (except **ὅταν τιν' οὖν** M<sup>p</sup>cV<sub>1</sub>S<sub>1</sub>), which, though metrically abnormal, is possible (cf. 185 n.) and grammatically sound; the real

objection to it is stylistic. The Chorus speaks, and Strepsiades replies, solemnly. If *ὄταν τινά* is right, it is not only an isolated snatch of comic rhythm in a passage (1452–64) otherwise uniform in avoiding resolutions and abnormal diaeresis, but an exaggerated one and—for communication of the sense—wholly unnecessary (cf. R. Klaver, *De Aristophanis Trimeterum Compositione Artificiose* [Diss. Marburg, 1905], 15 ff.). Porson's *ὄντιν' ἄν* is surely right; cf. *Pax* 371 f. *ἄρ' οἴσθα θάνατον ὅτι προεῖψ' ὁ Ζεὺς, ὃς ἂν* (= *εἰάν τις*) *ταύτην κτλ.*, *V.* 586.

1462 ὦμοι . . . 1464 ἀποστρεφείν: Cf. 1437 ff.

(ix) 1464–75. *Strepsiades appeals to Pheidippides to help him take vengeance on the sophists*

1465 Χαιρεφώντα: Cf. p. xciv on the surprising prominence of Chaerephon at this point.

1467 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν . . . τοὺς διδασκάλους: Why not? Pheidippides, who has cheerfully violated the traditional relationship between father and son, is shocked at the suggestion that he should violate the relationship between teacher and pupil. This is true to life; Pheidippides, like Kallikles in *Pl. Grg.* 483 c d, is not abjuring the use of the terms *δίκαιον* and *ἀδικον* (cf. 1332, 1377) but changing their application. It is natural enough that a young man should feel himself bound more closely to his intellectual liberator than to his father; cf. 1432 n. and p. lxi.

1468 καταδείσθητι πατρῶν Δία: There are three reasons for supposing these words to be paratragic. One is the prosody of *πατρῶν* (cf. *Pax* 140 ἦν δ' ἐς ὑγρόν πόντιον πέση βάθος, *Eg.* 1178 ἦ δ' Ὀβριμοπάτρα (— — — — — or — — — — —), *Lys.* 742 ὃ πότ' ἔν' Εἰλείθια); a second, the fact that *καταδείσθαι* occurs elsewhere only in tragedy and Ionic prose. What is most important is that Athenian families and phratries had a cult of Apollo *πατρῶος* (cf. *D.* xviii. 141) but no cult of Zeus *πατρῶος*: hence it is possible for Socrates to say in *Pl. Euthd.* 302 b ff. that neither he nor any other Athenian or (he adds, wrongly) Ionian calls Zeus by the title *πατρῶος*. But others did; Niobe in Aeschylus fr. 162. 3N = 278 A. 3M speaks of an 'altar of Zeus *πατρῶος*', and the title occurs in many inscriptions. As applied to Apollo in *Euthd.* 302 c it is interpreted, by implication, as 'from whom the community is descended'; its earlier implication was 'whose cult has been transmitted within the household' (cf. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, i. 524 f. and *Pl. Lg.* 717 b *ἰδρύματα ἴδια πατρῶν θεῶν*). What exactly it meant in the tragedy from which Strepsiades' words are borrowed is not known, but the borrowing strongly suggests that *πατρῶος* could be interpreted as 'whose province is the relationship between fathers and children'; cf. *E. Andr.* 921 (Hermione to Orestes) *ἀλλ' ἄντομαί σε Δία καλοῦσ' ὁμόγνιον*,

*S. OC* 1333, *A. Ag.* 362 *Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι*, *Pl. Phdr.* 234 E *πρὸς Διὸς φίλου*, etc. There is no instance of *πατρῶος* used unequivocally in this sense; in *Pl. Lg.* 881 d, where it is proposed that an *ἐπιχώριος* (n.b., not a foreigner) who fails to help parents assaulted by their children *ἀρὰ ἐνεχέσθω Διὸς ὁμογνίου καὶ πατρώου*, we are concerned with an imaginary community.

The serious tone of the last twenty lines is set aside by the incongruity of tragic quotation; Ar. does not allow us to cease to regard Strepsiades as a comic figure.

1469 ἰδοὺ γε: Cf. 818 n., and 821 n. on *ἀρχαϊκά*: Strepsiades' own words are now being used against him.

1470 οὐκ ἔστ' οὐκ: Only RV repeat the negative. Cf. *Ach.* 421 οὐ *Φοίνικος*, οὐ, and the idiom is common in fourth-century prose, e.g. *Pl. Hp. Ma.* 292 B, *D.* xviii. 24, xxi. 112, xxv. 50.

1472 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τοῦτ' ὥμην: It is difficult, in the absence of parallels, to extract the sense 'I only thought so'; probably 'This was my opinion', implying 'You are simply repeating what I told you.'

1473 διὰ τούτων τὸν δῖνον: As the following words show, a *dinos* is before our eyes in the theatre. Where did it come from? There is no point in the dialogue at which Strepsiades can run indoors and fetch it. And why 'because of this *dinos*'? Both questions are answered by the supposition that a *dinos*, symbolizing the gods of the sophists, stands beside Sokrates' door (so Σ<sup>2</sup>(2)), just as a conventional herm (1478 ff.) stands beside Strepsiades' (cf. p. lxxvi). The interpretation of *τούτων* as 'that which we all know' (cf. 83 n.) is absolutely ruled out by the contrast between the cosmological *Dinos* and this very different *dinos*. The point of *διὰ* is: 'Because of the teaching I received in this school'. Cf. 380 ff.

1475. Exit Pheidippides, probably into Strepsiades' house.

1476–1511. *Strepsiades burns the school*

1477 ἐξέβαλον καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς: *ἐξέβαλλον* (R<sup>o</sup>V) seems to give better sense, 'tried to throw out', but it requires the deletion of either *καὶ* or *τοὺς*. Interpolation of adverbial *καὶ* is virtually unknown; and Ar.'s usage gives very strong support to *τοὺς* (e.g. 1461, 1506, 1509). *ἐξέβαλον* should therefore be read; for the sense 'repudiate' cf. *Pl. Cri.* 26 b, 'I cannot now *ἐκβαλεῖν* what I said before'.

1478 Ἐρμῆ . . . 1485 ἀδολεσχῶν: At *Pax* 661 ff. Hermes puts a question to Peace, who is represented on stage as a statue, and pretends to hear her reply; so here Strepsiades addresses the herm standing beside his door and pretends to receive advice. Despite the sensible comment of Σ<sup>o</sup> on 1483, *ὡς τοῦ Ἐρμιῶ ἀνανεύσαντος*, an ancient interpreter tried to give Hermes a speaking part; *Ερμ* appears in VA<sup>o</sup> before *εἶθ'* (1482), at the end of the line in R (with a symbol



relating it to εἶθ'), and at the beginning of 1483 in M, and Hermes is listed in V among the dramatis personae. Cf. 1508 n. ἀδολεσχία is idle talk (ἀδολεσχίης is coupled with δημοφάγος in Kephisodoros 9), and sometimes implies that the talk is mischievous or foolish or both. γραφήν: Not a lawsuit for damages, but an indictment for an offence against the community—such as the real Socrates eventually had to face. διωκᾶθω: Cf. 1332 n. οὐκ ἔων: Cf. 1044 n.

1485 δεῦρο . . . 1492 ἀλαζόνες: This is not an unprecedented revenge; Strepsiades is treating the Socratics as if they were accused of or condemned for an offence against the state, A fifth-century Lokrian decree (Buck, no. 59) provides (11 ff.) that when a man incurs exile for proposing the partition of certain land 'his house shall be razed in accordance with the law of homicide', and the Spartans, angry with Agis in 418, fined him and demolished his house (Th. v. 63. 2). Cf. K. Meuli in *Festschrift Dornseiff* (Leipzig, 1953), 233 f., on medieval parallels. By 1493 both Strepsiades and his slave are on the roof of the school, the slave hacking off the tiles and Strepsiades, torch in hand, setting fire to the exposed rafters. It is prudent, and normal practice, to begin the demolition of a house from the top, and only what is inflammable can be fired. In any case, a house can be made uninhabitable by destruction of the roof alone. How realistically it would have been possible to do all this in the theatre we do not know, and it is possible that realism would have been taken to the point of setting fire to the wooden set (p. lxxii).

The slave should come out with the ladder and mattock at 1487 and go up on to the roof while Strepsiades is speaking 1489 f. A second slave brings Strepsiades a torch at 1491, and Strepsiades goes up the ladder at furious speed after declaiming 1491 f.

1489 ἔως . . . οἰκίαν: 'Bring the house down on top of them'; cf. *Ach.* 511 (of an earthquake). 1489, omitted by E<sup>1</sup> and added by E<sup>ms</sup>, precedes 1488 in KM<sup>ac</sup>Np1V<sup>s1</sup>X. This is stylistically possible (cf. *Lys.* 177 ff.), but abnormal; cf. 1458 ff., *Pax* 69 ff. τιν' αὐτῶν: Cf. *Lys.* 446 παύσω τιν' ὑμῶν τῆσδ' ἐγὼ τῆς ἐξόδου. αὐτῶν differentiates this usage of τιν' from the menacing 'someone' of (e.g.) *Ra.* 552 κακὸν ἔκει τινί: it has closer resemblance to E. *Hp.* 1086 κλαίων τις αὐτῶν ἄρ' ἐμοῦ γε θίξεται, 'Any of them who touches me will regret it'; and *Il.* xix. 71 ff. ἀλλά τιν' οἶω | ἀσπασίως αὐτῶν γόνυ κάμψειν, ὅς κε φύγησαν κτλ., 'Any of them who. . .'

1493 ἰοὺ ἰοὺ . . . 1507 ἔδραν: We must distinguish between three interlocutors (X, Y, and Z) of Strepsiades. X says (1495) 'What are you doing?', and is answered; Y says (1497) 'Who is setting fire to our house?', and is answered; Z says (1502) 'You there on the roof, what are you doing?', and he too is answered. If the speaker of 1493 comes into view when he cries ἰοὺ ἰοὺ, he is no doubt X; if he cries from inside, it does not matter who he is. Either X or Y can say

ἀπολεῖς ἀπολεῖς (1499). So far as the sense goes, any one of the three can say 1504, and any other one 1505.

It is dramatically appropriate, for three reasons, that Z should be Socrates. His appearance is climactic, and 1503 is a turning of his own words (225) against him. Also, the plural εἰλήφατε in 1498 suggests that Strepsiades is treating Y simply as a representative of the school, not as an individual. Now, it would clearly not be appropriate if Socrates were silent while X and Y spoke 1504 and 1505; therefore one of these two lines is spoken by Socrates. In most MSS. he speaks 1504 (only Mdr1V<sup>s1</sup> differ, giving it to Chairephon); in REMdr1V<sup>s1</sup> 1505 is spoken by an unnamed student, in KNNp1UVb3Vp1<sub>2</sub>W9ZΘX. by Chairephon, and in Vp1<sub>1</sub> it is not assigned to anyone (vs. om. A). M has, and repeats at 1506, the compendium χρ: Φ is illegible. The introduction of Chairephon (about which the scholia are completely silent) is an astute interpretation, giving a symmetrical duet, the last words from the sophists, to the two men whose names are linked in 1465 (cf. p. xciv), and variants in 1506 f. (v. n.) may have seemed a decisive argument in its favour. It would be dramatically most effective if Chairephon were the last to appear, chalk-white, thin, and bewildered in the unaccustomed day-light, perhaps winkled out of the burning house by other students. Unfortunately, this would need five actors, and we are not entitled to assume five, however dramatically pleasing the result, so long as the scene can be performed with four. Ar. may well have envisaged X or Y as Chairephon, and the symmetry of 1504 f. suggests that the speaker of 1505 is more important than the third inmate of the school; he may have intended, if the revised version of the play were ever performed, a physical caricature of Chairephon; but he has not left us in the words of the text quite strong enough grounds for adding Chairephon to the dramatis personae.

In RV both 1495 f. (from ὄτι) and 1503 are attributed to the slave Xanthias; but it is obviously inappropriate that the retort in 1503 should come from anyone but Strepsiades, and in any case a speaking part for Xanthias would again mean more than four actors. διαλεπτολογουμαι: Concocted from λεπτολογεῖν (320) and διαλέγεσθαι. θοιμάτιον: Cf. 497 and 856 f.

1503 = 206. So Dionysos in *Ra.* 1471 uses *Hp.* 612 against Euripides, and the old man in *Th.* 51 uses a phrase of Agathon's slave (43) against him.

1506 τί . . . ἔδραν: The verb is dual in 1506 in E<sup>ac</sup>KMNp1U<sup>1</sup>Vb3V<sup>s1</sup>ZΘp1Φ<sup>1</sup>X and in 1507 in AEUVp1V<sup>s1</sup>ΘΦ. These duals may have originated in an ancient interpretation of μαθόντεσσι as μαθόντ' ἐς τοὺς (ὑβρίζειν takes either a direct object, as in *Pax* 1226 παύσαι μ' ὑβρίζων, or eis, as in *Pl.* 899 ὑβρίζειν εἰς ἐμέ); V has an unmetrical and corrupt conflation, μαθόντες εἰ (sic) τοὺς. It is hardly possible, on the evidence



available, to decide whether this interpretation prompted, or was prompted by, the attribution of 1505 to Chairephon. **μαθόντες**: Cf. 402 n. **έσκοπέιτε**: So K<sup>ac</sup>Md<sup>r</sup>NWgZ; the middle has stronger claims stemmatically, but the active is found in all the earlier plays of Ar. (note especially 231), whereas *Ec.* 193 is the first comic passage in which the imperfective middle is metrically guaranteed. **έδρα**: *έδρα* is the correct term for the 'station' of a heavenly body; cf. Hdt. vii. 37. 2 *ό ήλιος έκλιπών* (cf. 584 n.) *τήν έκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ έδρην άφανής ήν*. The Thoman reading *τας έδρας* is astronomically appropriate but spoils the *double entendre*, for *έδρα* also means the 'seat' of the body, cf. *Th.* 133.

**1508 δίωκε παιε: βάλλε** In KVA 1508 f. are attributed to Hermes (so too Σν)! They are, of course, uttered by Strepsiades—in a sense, to his slave, but also to himself, for *δίωκε* and other words of the same type are as much war-cries as commands. Cf. *Ach.* 280 ff., *Eq.* 247, *E. Rh.* 675 ff., and especially X. *An.* v. 7. 21, 'We suddenly heard a lot of noise, *παιε παιε βάλλε βάλλε*, and soon saw a number of men running up with stones in their hands'. For *πολλών οὔνεκα μάλιστα δ'* cf. D. xviii. 160.

We do not want two actors stranded up a ladder at the end of the play, and the analogy of *Th.* 1227 ff., where the last character has rushed off before the Chorus says 'Well, we have had enough sport', suggests that the theatre is clear of all but the Chorus by 1510. Strepsiades and his slave can most easily descend while 1504 f. are being spoken and extravagantly acted. 1505 f. can then be uttered by Strepsiades on the ground, and 1506 f. shouted while he and his slave pursue the inmates of the school out of the theatre.

**1510 ήγειεθ' . . . 1511 ήμίν**: The *exodos* in *Ach.*, *Pax*, and *Av.* is a song celebrating the hero's triumph; in *Lys.*, *Ra.*, *Ec.*, and *Pl.* this pattern is variously modified but is still essentially a triumphant celebration. In *V.* the dramatic illusion is broken in the very last words (1536 f.): 'No one ever before has taken a comic chorus away dancing.' *Nu.* shares with *Th.* a final choral utterance which is little more than the verbal equivalent of dropping the curtain (*μετρίως* occurs in both) but is peculiar in being entirely colourless; in *Th.* the role of the chorus is maintained (note the feminine *έκάστη* [1229]) and the blessing of Demeter and Kore is invoked (cf. the reference to Poseidon in *V.* 1531 f.).

## ADDENDA

- p. xxv, on Strepsiades' name. Add to the references 1455 (*στρέψας σεαυτόν*).
- p. xxvi, on Strepsiades' age. In Antiphon iii. β. 11 the father of a *μειράκιον* (= *νεανίσκος*, iii. δ. 6) is *γηραιός*, and in Herodas 3. 32 the mother of a young schoolboy describes the boy's father as *γέρον*.
- pp. xxix. and xxxi, on moneylending. I should have drawn from D. xxxvii. 52 the inference that Ar. may intend us to regard the First Creditor as a man who relies on usury but describes this *τέχνη* euphemistically.
- p. xxxv. On Socrates elsewhere in Ar. cf. R. Stark, *RM* xcvi (1953), 77 ff.—who, however, see allusions in *Av.* where the humour does not require allusion.
- p. xlix, on Pl. *Phd.* 96A ff. It should be added that the more closely *Phd.* is pressed to mean that Socrates at one time pursued the scientific interests caricatured in *Nu.*, the greater the falsehood in Pl. *Ap.* 19D, where S. asks all those in the jury 'who have ever at any time up to now (*πώποτε*) listened to my conversation' to tell their fellow jurors 'whether anyone among you has ever (*πώποτε*) heard me talk at all (*ή μικρόν ή μέγα*: cf. 19 C 4 f.) on such subjects' (~ 19 B 5, C 6).
- p. 1, on *χορός*: Cf. *GVI* i. 810. 7 (Paros, I A.D.) *τόν . . . δέ προς ήράϊων χορόν άγνόν ήρπασεν . . . Τύχη*.
- p. lii, on distinctions. Recent correspondence on ecumenism suggests a closer parallel. Anglicans often assert that Catholics 'worship' the Virgin Mary; Catholics deny this; but to an agnostic they seem to be splitting a hair so fine that it is hardly visible. Further: if Socrates conversed and argued as he does in Plato, anyone who stayed to hear only part of a conversation might go away with an extraordinarily misleading impression; cf. L. G. Versényi, *Socratic Humanism* (New Haven, 1963), 155.
- p. liv, n. 3. Aischines i. 173 represents Socrates as executed for his teaching of Kritias. The meaning of Hypereides fr. 55, 'our ancestors punished Socrates *έπι λόγους*' is obscure; we do not know the context.
- p. lx, on the cost of education. Cf. Herodas 3. 9 ff.
- p. lxix, on the Chorus's true nature. Not only is the *parabasis* (as we should expect, given the conventions of Old Comedy) in conflict