Notes on the *Νεφέλαι* of Aristophanes

These notes are intended principally for readers with a good knowledge of Attic Greek who wish to learn why I have translated Aristophanes' text as I have. The received text is examined in some detail, though not exhaustively. Many manuscript variants are only evidence of poor lighting or deteriorating eyesight. My comments are based on the Oxford Classical Text of Hall and Geldart (1906), from which the Greek headwords are excerpted. My own views regarding the text are similarly shown in **bold** in the context of the notes.

When comparing material from other works I have tried to cite closely contemporary writings, principally Aristophanes' own *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (425 B.C.), *Ἱππεῖς* (424), and *Σφῆκες* (422), Euripides' *Ἱππόλυτος* (428), and *Ἱκέτιδες* (423),. Where I refer to Roman sources, I do so cautiously, since the image projected by the later lens is often distorted. Greek works are cited by their Greek titles and Greek names are transliterated into Latin letters not into their Latin forms (unless the Latinized name has been so widely adopted in English that the original form would be obscure). One Latin distortion which is unavoidable (at my age) is the use of 'long' (longum) and 'short' (brevis) for syllables in prosody, instead of the more accurate adjectives 'heavy' and 'light'.

I have found the editions of Dover and Sommerstein most useful and stimulating, especially whenever we disagree, and I recommend those studying the play in depth to follow my example and consult their work wherever possible. It is also worth comparing some of the other translations available, of which there are many. The academic publications referred to in the commentary will be found listed in the bibliography at the end. A round-up of journal articles prefaces Alan Sommerstein's most recent, revised edition (xxxvi-vii). The absence of an index to this commentary will distress some, but no one is perfect.

Philologists will recognize that this drama, perhaps more than any other work of Aristophanes, has a wide appeal to non-specialist readers. Therefore, I have not confined my comments solely to matters of syntax and linguistic interpretation, but have allowed myself license to untether my 'flying beetles' as and when the fancy has taken me.

The principal codices, all dating from the Christian era, are referred to by the following letters:
R – Ravennas 429 (10^{th}/11^{th} centuries)
V – Venetus Marcianus 474 (12^{th} century)
A – Parisinus 2712 (13^{th} century)
E – Estensis (14^{th} century)
Θ – Laurentianus 2779 (14^{th} century)
N – Neapolitanus (14^{th}/15^{th} centuries)
Δ – Laurentianus plut.31.16 (16^{th} century)

Prologue (Πρόλογος) 1-274

The scene represents the facades of two houses, separated by a street. One may imagine the drama being played out initially in the courtyard of Strepsiades' town-house to one side and subsequently, before the gates of Sokrates' School. At the edge of the stage beside the door of the house is a horse-statuette on a plinth in honour of the god Poseidon, while at the opposite edge of the stage stands a marble 'Hermes'.

1. ἰοὺ ἰού

The drama begins with a loud, despairing cry, which is probably heard off-stage. It comes from the aged, Athenian farmer Strepsiades who, as head of the household, has been sleeping indoors with his wife and her maids. He now emerges from the door, intending to rouse his son, who is the figure asleep on a pallet-bed. As usual in Aristophanic dramas, the protagonists are representative figures, whose names we only learn as the drama unfolds. In this case, the 'old farmer' does not identify himself until he has to address a stranger (cf. 134).

The ritual cry ἰοὺ ἰού would have been familiar to the ancient audience from the annual ceremony of the Oschophoria. Plutarch (*Θησεύς* 22.3) states that the cry was intended to register "*shock and confusion*" –

ἐκπλήξεως καὶ ταραχῆς. Aristophanes would seem to be parodying its use by tragic poets (e.g. Euripides, *Ἱππόλυτος* 776). In due course (543), however, he will deny that he does so and, although his subsequent use of the cry (1170, 1321, 1493) must be deliberate and meant as comic irony, this initial instance could only be an oversight, which is highly unlikely given its position. The appropriate use of ἰοὺ ἰού is shown in *Εἰρήνη* (1191). Consequently, one ought perhaps to read **ἰὼ ἰώ**. Such a cry of despair is often heard in Tragedy (e.g. Euripides *Μήδεια* 96-7; *Ἱππόλυτος* 811), frequently from off-stage (cf. *Σφῆκες* 750).

Dover points out that Aristophanes often adopts a cry or complaint as a comic ploy to grab the spectators' attention at the opening of a play, e.g. in *Ἀχαρνεῖς*, Dikaiopolis complains of gnawing anxiety; in *Ἱππεῖς*, a slave runs onto the stage howling in pain.

2. **ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ**

He calls upon the father of the gods as lord of all and dispenser of justice, just as any character in a tragic-drama might do. But here it is more of an expostulation than an invocation and tantamount to exclaiming, "*Is there NO justice*?" (cf. 153, *Σφῆκες* 625).

τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν ὅσον

A similar expression occurs in *Βάτραχοι* (1278), ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῶν κόπων ὅσον – "*Almighty Zeus, work never ends*!" I doubt that it was self-parody, as Dover suggests; rather it is a means of adding an exclamation mark when expressing a complaint or wondering aloud. Variations, found in *Βαβυλώνιοι* (frg. 73), ὦ Ζεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῆς νεολαίας ὡς καλόν – "*Oh my, what a fine-looking bunch of young chaps*!" and *Εἰρήνη* (1192), ἰοὺ ἰού, ὅσον τὸ χρῆμα ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἦλθε – "*Good Lord*, *what a crowd has showed up for the feast*!", show the poet using it to draw the spectator into the imagined scene. Here, Aristophanes wants to establish at the outset that his character is put-upon, knowing that it is human nature to smile at another's discontent (cf. 174 note).

We understand from the plural τῶν νυκτῶν that this is not the first sleepless night he has had to undergo. As Graves and Henderson spot, it is '*night time*' generally rather than this one 'night' which drags. Dover disagrees.

3. **ἀπέραντον**

The codices are divided between ἀπέραντον (R) and ἀπέρατον (V). Either is possible (the third syllable is 'long' in any case), but modern editors are unanimous in adopting the former. They may be right to do so, but not perhaps for the right reason. The earliest evidence for this line is a piece from a fifth-century A.D. codex, which suggests that ἀπέρατον was written then and a scholion to this verse (RVE) makes no bones about it (*Σοῦδα* α 3035, οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ν γράφοντες ἁμαρτάνουσιν – "*those who write it with the* (*first*) *vv are mistaken*"). If, as the scholiast states, the adjective ought to be written ἀπέρατον, we might reasonably restore the correct spelling here and elsewhere (e.g. 393, Plato *Θεαίτητος* 147 γ and Aischylos *Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης* 153-4, ἀπέραντον Τάρταρον), where the spelling ἀπέραντον has been preferred. In the case of the Aischylean phrase, the *νυ* may have been added to ensure that the syllable was treated as 'long' while the Platonic passage may have been made to conform to Aristophanes' perceived usage in this play. But, though the ancient scholiast was probably right orthographically, the *correct* reading may not be what the poet intended.

Editors place a full-stop before this adjective, making it almost an afterthought. But, since the sense does not demand it, why does the poet express it? In all likelihood he intended comic ambiguity. The audience (and modern philologists) expect Strepsiades to say that night-time extends beyond his capacity for sleep (due to his anxiety) and therefore seems 'interminable'. But, what ancient scholars may have overlooked is the likelihood that Strepsiades is actually suggesting something a little different. What he says is that the long hours of darkness are "*impenetrable*", because the extension of night just does not admit of any penetration (i.e. the old farmer cannot 'get it up'). The poet's use of the verb περαίνω is demonstrated in *Γεωργοί,* where he accuses the poet Meletos of 'penetrating Kallias' (frg.117, Καλλίαν περαίνοντος). Sexual innuendo, then and now, tends to cause knowing laughter. In a while, he will allude again to his wife's sexual demands on him (55). Similarly crude word-play appears to enliven the opening scene of *Σφῆκες* (28-30).

4. **καὶ μὴν πάλαι**…**ἤκουσ**(**α**) **ἐγώ.**

The conjunctive phrase (repeated at 1036) indicates a statement of conviction ("*I did…I heard*…"), which makes it clear that he had not merely imagined the cock crowing. But, cocks are notoriously unreliable as

alarm-clocks, and the audience would have been reminded of numerous false alarms which had disturbed their own sleep (cf. *Σφῆκες* 100, of a cock, ὃς ᾖδ' ἀφ' ἑσπέρας – "*which crowed just after nightfall*").
[Cockerels are rarely heard now in Athens, but Lawrence Durrell's account of the *Katsimbaline cockcrow* of Athens in Henry Miller's '*The Colossus of Maroussi*' (appendix), is a reminder that they disappeared from the scene only comparatively recently.]

5. **οἱ δ(ὲ) οἰκέται ῥέγκουσιν**

The use of the plural seems to confirm that he has emerged from the house, because if he had been lying awake in a bed alongside his son he would not be able to state with any certainty that all his *slaves* were snoring. An ancient scholiast claims that the plural should be taken to mean his household (members of his family as well as servants), but the reference to meting out punishment to the οἰκέτας (7) most likely relates to the slaves only (cf. 1414).

οὐκ ἂν πρὸ τοῦ.

We have to supply the verb in the imperfect thus, "<*they*> *wouldn't have* <*been snoring*> *in times past*" (cf. 108). The point is that he would not have let the slaves sleep on in times past, if he had been up and about. There may be a suggestion that his despairing cry should have roused any slave with concern for his master's welfare, as Homer sang that Aigialeia "*would wake her household with her cries of sorrow*", ἐξ ὕπνου γοόωσα φίλους οἰκῆας ἐγείρῃ (*Ἰλιάς* 5. 413).

6. **ὦ Πόλεμε**

The irate farmer does not address his complaint to Ares, the god of battles, but instead rails against *War* in its own right, as the party responsible for the misery and disruption inflicted on Athens' long-suffering population over an extended period (cf. *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 977, οὐδέποτ' ἐγὼ Πόλεμον οἴκαδε ὑποδέξομαι). Later, in *Εἰρήνη*, the poet will actually create a speaking part for the allegorical figure. Cf. Thucydides 3.82, ὁ δὲ Πόλεμος...βίαιος διδάσκαλος – "*War teaches by violence*".

7. **κολάσ(αι)...τοὺς οἰκέτας**

The elision of the infinitive, which does not occur in the codices, is necessitated by the metre. It could be that the main verb would have been prodelided instead (cf. *Σφῆκες* 501, ὅτι κελητίσαι 'κέλευον), but this is less likely when an initial syllable is accented. However, it is open to question whether the poet himself would have recognized any such *rules* of elision (cf. 1373 note).

In wartime, it was inadvisable to mistreat the toiling slaves on whom one's welfare depended. Not simply because they might defect to the enemy (cf. Sommerstein's note), as the Peloponnesians were no longer invading Attika each summer, and the Boiotians and Megarians might treat them as spies in any case (for it was by whipping himself and dressing in a slave's rags that Odysseus had contrived to enter Troy as a spy, cf. *Ὀδύσσεια* 4. 244-5), but because internal security had been destabilized and they would be likely to seize any opportunity to retaliate or steal. Slaves had to endure the privations of war beside the citizens and as non-combatants they might simply abscond when the opportunity presented itself (cf. *Εἰρήνη* 451, δοῦλος αὐτομολεῖν παρεσκευασμένος), depriving the householder of their labour. In critical situations, it became necessary to offer the able-bodied slaves their freedom in return for them joining the battle-line (as was done by Miltiades to repel the Persian landing at Marathon).

The contrast with peacetime normality is evident from *Σφῆκες*, which was produced in the following year, when Athens had negotiated a temporary peace. In the opening scene two slaves are anxious that they will be beaten, if their master catches them asleep on duty. Later, the master's elderly father fondly recalls the good, old pre-war days when he used to beat his slaves "*heroically*" (448-52).

8. **ὁ χρηστὸς οὑτοσὶ νεανίας**

His voice is laced with irritation and sarcasm. The word νεανίας in Aristophanes is rarely colourless (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 531, where the old men of the Chorus speak dismissively of BdelyKleon and 1333, where an old man's behaviour is typical of a 'young hooligan'). Polydeukes tells us that the verb νεανιεύσθαι was used by the poet in the sense of 'to act recklessly' (frg. 859).

9. **πέρδεται**

As Dover notes, the verb is frequently associated with sleeping, an observation which should alert us to its meaning here. It can mean one of two things, either 'to fart' or 'to make a noise like a fart'. In *Ἱππεῖς* (115), where the sleeping Paphlagon πέρδεται καὶ ῥέγκεται he is both farting and snoring and Eupolis in *Δήμοι* (frg. 99.10) describes ὁ Θεογένης [τ]ὴν νύχθ' ὅλην πεπορδώς. Here, however, the young man may

not be farting, since the layers of sheepskin coverlets mentioned in the next line would have muffled all but the most aggressive of farts. So, Strepsiades probably hears his son snoring in a forceful manner. The reason Aristophanes does not say ῥέγκεται is that he is likening the raucous rumble to a horse's snort (cf. *Σφῆκες* 616-8, where κατέπαρδεν is used of a 'donkey' flask). In archaic English, the distinction between snoring and snorting was not so plain, e.g. John Donne, *The Good Morrow* ("*Or snorted we in the seaven sleepers*' *den*?").

10. **ἐν πέντε σισύραις**

His son is almost grown to manhood and prefers to leave the women and children sleeping inside, if the weather permits. He is cocooned in layers of hair-blanket, which protect him against the chilly night air, and the nuisance of flies and mosquitos. In *Σφῆκες*, the adult son, who is not yet married, is portrayed as sleeping on the flat roof of his out-house. The slaves in that play, like the one sleeping by the door here, have neither bed nor blankets.

11. **ἀλλ(ὰ) εἰ δοκεῖ**

The tone is one of gloomy resignation rather than bitter sarcasm, "*Very well, if that's what you want*." In *Σφῆκες* (1008), a disconsolate PhiloKleon agrees to follow his son's bidding with a similarly acquiescent phrase, ταῦτά νυν, εἴπερ δοκεῖ.

ῥέγκωμεν ἐγκεκαλυμμένοι

He becomes sarcastic. These words have given commentators the idea that he is lying in bed already, but all he is saying is 'Let's all ignore reality then, and sleep peacefully without a care in the world', or 'It is alright for some'.

12-3. **δείλαιος**

The epithet "*miserable*" is typically used of old people (cf. Euripides *Ἑκάβη* 157, γῆρας) and often occurs in the lament οἴμοι δείλαιος (e.g. 1504, *Σφῆκες* 165, *Ἱππεῖς* 139).

δακνόμενος

The poet plays with the verb's literal and metaphorical senses. We might assume that the old man is being bitten by mosquitos or bed bugs, when in fact he is being gnawed at by the worry of his debts (cf. *Σφῆκες* 253, where an old man frets about his soaring bill for lamp-oil, "*You're not the one bitten when the price is through the roof*" – οὐ γὰρ δάκνει σ', ὅταν δέῃ τίμιον πρίασθαι).

14-6. **ὁ δὲ κόμην ἔχων**

The description of his son would fit most young men of the upper class whose leisured life-style allowed them to wear their hair long and advertise their social status by keeping a string of horses (and the grooms to look after them). Euripides has given us a portrait of such a young nobleman in the eponymous hero of his *Ἱππόλυτος* and Pheidias has sculpted the horsemen and grooms on the western frieze of the Parthenon.

15. **ξυνωρικεύεται**

The verb is not found elsewhere, but clearly is used to mean συνωρίδα ἐλαύνει, "*he drives a carriage and pair*"; the equivalent perhaps of driving an Aston Martin sports-car nowadays (cf. 1302, ξυνωρίσιν).

16. **ὀνειροπολεῖ θ' ἵππους**

So far the only evidence for his assertion are the indistinct noises coming from the sleeping figure, but cf. 27).

17. **ἄγουσαν...εἰκάδας**

Selene, the Moon-goddess, was an aspect of the heavenly huntress, Artemis, who is portrayed as a divine shepherdess "*leading the twenties*" (as if they were οἶες), since the Attic calendar 'followed' the phases of the moon. The plural εἰκάδας can be used to mean 'the twentieth day', but here he is thinking of the last ten days of the month (20^{th} – 29^{th}) when the date of his next interest payment draws ever closer with each passing day. For him a month is the smaller wheel on the economic cycle.

He views the lunar cycle in terms of a wheel turning inexorably by which he is being ground (ἀπόλλυμαι) as the end of each month comes round. This may refer to the method by which slaves were tortured under judicial examination, for though Antiphon (φαρμακείας κατὰ τῆς μητρυιᾶς, 20), speaks of a slave-woman 'being subjected to the wheel' (τροχισθεῖσα), in exceptional cases it could also be applied to citizens (e.g. Andokides *περὶ τῶν Μυστηρίων* 43, ἀναβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τὸν τροχὸν). It is highly improbable that this method of torture was intended to be fatal as was the case with the 'breaking wheel', a mode of execution used in early medieval Europe. The latter had to be antedated by several centuries to fit the apocryphal Catherine

of Alexandria. In *Βαβυλωνίοι* (frg. 95), Aristophanes refers to a flour-mill, ὅπου ἐκολάζοντο οἱ οἰκέται – "*where slaves were punished*" and it may be that while under interrogation slaves were forced to turn the mill-stone until they dropped exhausted. Alternatively, they may have been waterboarded on the wheel of a water-mill, though this seems unlikely in an almost riverless Attika. At any rate, a slave caught trying to run away could be "*whipped while being dragged over the wheel*" (*Εἰρήνη* 452, ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ γ' ἕλκοιτο μαστιγούμενος) – a sufficient deterrent.

18. **οἱ...τόκοι χωροῦσιν**.

As Herakleitos observed, τὰ πάντα χωρεῖ – 'everything waxes and wanes'. With the inevitable regularity of the moon's changes, his old debts are replaced by new ones as the interest is added. In our electronic age marked out in minutes and seconds we tend to forget that the passage of Time has been *measured* in *months* by the moon, since the dawn of human civilization (cf. 615-26).

ἅπτε, παῖ, λύχνον

The use of the present (rather than the aorist) imperative in telling the slave to "*get on and light the lamp*" is due to the process involved in accomplishing the action (cf. 877). The fact that the slave is called 'boy' is no indication of his age (cf. 132 and *Σφῆκες* 1297).

19. **κἄκφερε**

The verb ἐκφέρω makes clear that the slave has been sent off indoors to fetch lamp and ledger. Dover's effort to distinguish the position of the speaker as actor from his location as character (introduction lxxiii) is a desperate attempt to bolster the contention of earlier editors that the opening scene takes place in "*the interior of the house of Strepsiades*" (Graves, p.73).

γραμματεῖον

A (wooden) tablet smeared with a layer of beeswax on which letters and numerals could be scratched, and altered if need be. Papyrus, an expensive foreign import, would only be used for (semi-) permanent data.

20. **λογίσωμαι**

Although he could have asked the slave to bring him an abacus to assist his calculations, he is relying on a now out-moded method of reckoning known as 'mental arithmetic' (cf. *Σφῆκες* 656).

21. **δώδεκα μνᾶς Πασίᾳ**

Twelve silver minas (or 1,200 drachmai) would be worth about four thousand, three hundred U.S. dollars at the current price of silver (USD 25.95 per troy ounce).

As Dover notes in his introduction, the creditor's name "*is not intrinsically humorous*", so it would only get a laugh if it belonged to someone the audience might be expected to recognize. Unfortunately, we do not and though, later, we will be given an indication of his physical appearance (1237-8), one still cannot 'Google' him successfully. Demosthenes mentions a banker named Πασίων (and his son Πασικλής) on a number of occasions (e.g. 27.11, ἐπὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ τῇ Πασίωνος – "*at the bank of Pasion*"). This individual was a metic.

22. **τοῦ**

The interrogative pronoun τίνος is condensed to τοῦ in Attic poetic diction. Here, it is used elliptically for <ἐκ> τοῦ <χρήματος>; "*concerning what matter*?" It is echoed in later dialogue on the same subject (cf. 736, 1223).

τί χρησάμην;

His ledger records outstanding debts, but not why they were incurred. He ruminates awhile, chewing the end of his stylus or his nails. Then, after a brief pause, the answer comes to him.The codices indicate the penny dropping, as it were, with the word συνῆχ' <ὅτε> – "*I've got it*" (συνῆκα, the aorist of συνίημι, is used of 'putting two and two together', e.g. *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 101, συνήκαθ' ὃ λέγει; – "*did you catch what he is saying*?"). It is quite possible that the word was part of the original text, but was considered extra versum (as shown in the thirteenth-century Ambrosianus manuscript), a feature of Aristophanic exclamations (cf. e.g. 174, 176, 222, *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 456, *Σφῆκες* 314).

23. **κοππατίαν**

The intrusion of ἵππον in a later manuscript (N) is simply a gloss to explain the meaning of κοππατίαν; a horse branded with the archaic letter κόππα to identify it as a thoroughbred (not as a mark of ownership). It may be that, as Graves states, the letter stood for a Corinthian horse from the blood-line of the mythical Pegasos.

24. **εἴθ(ε) ἐξεκόπην...λίθῳ**.
He might have employed the simpler phrase 'I wish I'd never laid eyes on that horse', as if it was merely an unlucky event. But, the sound of κοππατίαν has suggested to him the verb ἐξεκόπην, so that he in fact expresses the wish more dramatically by saying, "*I wish I'd had my eye gouged out by a stone before <I'd laid eyes on that horse>*", which conveys the absurd notion that his eye(s) were somehow to blame for his financial plight (cf. κατὰ *Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον* 5.29). Rogers has replicated the assonance neatly with "*a hack*" and "*hacked out*". A similar joke is made at the opening of *Σφῆκες* (3).
It should be noted that where English talks of 'eyes' or 'an eye', Strepsiades says '*my eye*'. One copy of the text actually omits τὸν, perhaps accidentally. I do not think that this should be taken as evidence that he is already blind in one eye, but rather as a reflection of the likely fact that a stone would strike only one eye. Although both eyes share equal responsibility, Attic usage seems to have held that punishing one eye would serve as an adequate warning to the other.
25. **ἔλαυνε...δρόμον.**
The young man is talking in his sleep, imagining a chariot-race in which a φίλος named Φίλων is 'cutting him up'. It may be that an actual person named Philon had been called out for veering off course; perhaps his rule bending had led to the crash which necessitated the repairs to be mentioned shortly (31).
26. **τοῦτ(ο) ἔστι τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν**
Only the codex Ravennas has the emphatic τουτὶ, other manuscripts repeat τοῦτο. But when the phrase is repeated in *Εἰρήνη* (64), the principal codices (RVΓ) agree on τουτὶ. The run of seven short syllables may be intended to stress his agitated state.
27. **ὀνειροπολεῖ γὰρ**
We have been informed already (16) on circumstantial evidence that the young man "*dreams of horses*". Now we have heard confirmation for ourselves that he does so. But, it is curious that the poet says that, "*even when he is asleep, he dreams of matters relating to horses*". Surely the best time to dream is when one is asleep? I wonder whether, in fact, the main verb has been corrupted from a less common word such as ὀνειρολέγει – "*he talks of his dreams*" (cf. *Σοῦδα* ο 343, ὀνειρολεσχία).
28. **τὰ πολεμιστήρια**
These 'war-chariots' were sturdier vehicles than the single-handed racing chariot and were able to support a spearman as well as the charioteer, [comparable, perhaps, to more robust motor-rally cars, as against the lightweight, single-seat Formula One cars]. Greece's terrain was not ideally-suited to their deployment in battle (even the legendary Hippolytos in Euripides' play is reduced to driving his along the flat shore-line) and in historical times their use was confined to ceremonial processions. But, because they featured in the epic battles of Homer on the plain of Troy, conservative military tradition evidently retained some as part of the training programme and as a result they were still raced at religious festivals like the pan-Athenaia, on suitable courses.
30. **τί χρέος ἔβα με**
The verb is used ironically for 'mounting' a horse or chariot; its use here probably suggested by the action of a warrior mounting a moving war-chariot in competition. But the phrase parodies a line from a drama of Euripides (frg. 1011), τί χρέος ἔβα δῶμα, where χρέος is probably used in the sense of an 'obligation', or 'debt of honour' placed upon a noble family. Our equivalent metaphor here would be 'to *saddle* with debt'.
μετὰ τὸν Πασίαν
It is likely that the poet wrote μετὰ **τὸ Πασία**, understanding τὸ χρέος as the object of the preposition. We can compare *Σφῆκες* 1037, where the reading of the codices μετ' **αὐτοῦ** ('after his <comeuppance>') has often been 'corrected' in modern editions to μετ' αὐτὸν ('after him'), ignoring the ellipse. Blaydes, in fact, suggested emending (with τὸ Πασίου as an alternative), but his proposal was not fully appreciated. Cf. 1144.
31. **τρεῖς μναῖ**
The substantial amount of "*three minas*" was probably chosen for the assonance with the name Ameinias. It equates to three hundred drachmai.
διφρίσκου

In Homeric epic a war-chariot was fitted with a sturdy foot-board to support both the charioteer and the warrior, but a racing chariot required only a flimsy support for the charioteer alone. In this instance, the two wheels and the chariot-board are probably to be thought of as replacement parts for a chariot which had been badly damaged in a pile-up.

Ἀμυνίᾳ

This is most probably the same man, the son of a certain Προνάπης, who is mentioned in *Σφῆκες* (74 and 1267). Some manuscripts write **Ἀμεινίᾳ**, a name which appears (without patronymic) in the archon-lists for the following year and it is probably right for us to follow them. Dover remarks that the form Ἀμυνίας "*does not appear at Athens until the second century B.C.*" (cf. also 51 and 686 note). For what it is worth, the *Βίος Αἰσχύλου* gives the name of Aischylos's younger brother who fought with him at Salamis, in the form Ἀμεινίας, which accords with the evidence of Athenaios (218 δ). See also Appendix 10. Kanavou is a dissenting voice (2011, p.78, note 342).

32-3. **ἐξαλίσας...ἐξήλικας**

The verb, used literally by the son, is taken up by the father metaphorically to describe his own condition. Xenophon (*Οἰκονομικός* 11.18) uses the literal meaning word for word, ὁ παῖς ἐξαλίσας τὸν ἵππον οἴκαδε ἀπάγει), while Alkiphron (1.26) uses the metaphorical sense of 'being fleeced' by usurers. Hickie tried to capture the pun with "*you have rolled me out of my possessions*", which does not work so well in English, though Rogers imitated it, but Sommerstein's "*you've been rolling in my money*" is more successful.

ὦ μέλ(ε)

He uses an overly polite form of address (cf. 1192 note).

34. **δίκας ὤφληκα**

Some creditors have already taken him to court to enforce payment of the monies owed to them. The verb (notionally the perfect tense of ὀφλισκάνω) seems a metrically-convenient variant of ὠφείληκα, implying that he has been condemned to pay up by an arbitration tribunal.

35. **ἐνεχυράσεσθαί**

The codices are agreed on the aorist **ἐνεχυράσασθαί**, but modern editors print the future ἐνεχυράσεσθαί, first found (according to Hall and Geldart's apparatus) in the fourteenth-century Laurentianus codex (Θ). In fact, the future tense only occurs in later copies as a direct result of scholia in Θ and E, which construe the verb as meaning "*they will seize sureties*" (ἐνέχυρα…λήψεσθαι). Dover argues that there would be no point in translating, 'they say that they have had securities taken', but because the procedures for settling financial disputes in the fifth century are not known in any detail, it is open to us to interpret the aorist as, "*they say that they have sought securities*". This would imply that his creditors had not received payment of the interest due and had asked the δήμαρχος to seize his property to the value of the unpaid interest. It is this process which he will refer to as the δήμαρχος 'putting the bite on him' (cf. 37). Furthermore, this may explain why later he uses the present tense (241, ἐνεχυράζομαι), indicating that he is actually subject to the process of distraint, not simply the *threat* of it.

36. **στρέφει τὴν νύχθ' ὅλην**

Evidently, the son's sleep has been interrupted on other occasions, for whenever he wakes he finds that his father is 'pacing up and down' (στρέφεται) or metaphorically 'turning things over in his mind'. The verb relates to the father's name, but the audience does not yet know this.

37. **τις δήμαρχος**

Presumably, the leading magistrate of each local δῆμος was responsible for arbitrating financial disputes involving his δημότες, possibly with powers of enforcing his decision. Harpokration, at any rate, refers to a passage in a lost work of Aristophanes (frg. 500) which seemed to show that a 'demarch' had the power of distraint (ὅτι δὲ ἠνενυχιαρίαζον οἱ δήμαρχοι δηλοῖ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν *Σκηνὰς Καταλαμβανούσαις*). The apposite word for δήμαρχος in English would be 'beak', but that would sound too-dated now.

38. **ὦ δαιμόνιε**

When Aristophanes or any other comic-poet uses this form of address it is abbreviated from ὦ δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν. The adjective δαιμόνιος (derived from δαίμων through δαιμόνιον) was used to describe human behaviour which went beyond normal parameters, causing surprise or dismay. Pheidippides will use it again similarly later (cf. 816).

39. **σὺ δ(ὲ) οὖν**

This phrase expresses weary resignation or acquiescence (cf, *Σφῆκες* 6, 764, and 1154).

40. **εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν...τρέψεται.**

When Strepsiades is no longer around to pay them, the debts (personified for the creditors) will 'turn for settlement' (middle voice) to his son. [The expression should be memorized and quoted regularly by all central bankers to their respective legislative assemblies, who so incautiously load succeeding generations with public debt.]

The variant readings στρέψεται (V) and στρέψαι (R) are disproved by the parallel expression in *Ἀχαρνεῖς*, (833) εἰς κεφαλὴν τράποιτ' ἐμοί – ('let retribution be turned toward my head') "*On my head be it*!"

41. **εἴθ(ε) ὤφελ(ε)**…

At this point a tragedian would clutch his brow melodramatically and wish the past could be undone (e.g. the opening line of Euripides' *Μήδεια*, εἴθ' ὤφελ' *Ἀργοῦς...σκάφος* – "*if only the Argo had not*…"). The gist of his speech is, 'How did I get in this mess?'

ἡ προμνήστρι(α)

Under normal circumstances, Strepsiades would not have had the opportunity to meet his future wife. He would work on his farm, coming into town for the market or to perform his civic duties, but the majority of females with whom he would have had contact would be working women (of one sort or another). If a man wished to marry well, he would require a go-between to introduce him to the marriage-market. This match-maker would know of suitable candidates and would probably negotiate the deal, in much the same way that a marriage is 'arranged' in many parts of the world today. Bride and groom might not even have met beforehand. [Now, dating-agencies and even computer-dating have largely replaced the match-maker in Greece, but an informal system of parental networking, the traditional προξενιά, operates occasionally, even today, and the one who handles the negotiation is known as a προξενήτρα or προξενητής.]

ἀπόλεσθαι κακῶς

He curses her roundly (cf. 726, 899, ἀπολῶ σε κακῶς, *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* 1076, ὦ κακῶς ἀπολούμεναι and *Εἰρήνη* 2, τῷ κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένῳ).

42. **με γῆμ(αι) ἐπῆρε**

The verb ἐπαίρω is used in a double sense. Firstly, it places the blame on the matchmaker for encouraging him to marry Pheidippides' mother (cf. 1457, γέροντα ἐπῄρετε). But, it also conveys his belief that he was raised above his station in life to his wife's social level, "*She raised me up to marry your mother*". The ancient scholiast considered that verb was used metaphorically of his elation at the prospect of a sizeable dowry.

43. **ἐμοὶ...ἄγροικος**

The epithet belongs with the dative pronoun ("*to me <when I was> a farmer*"), but has been transferred to the nominative case of βίος for convenience (cf. 310). It avoids elision and introduces a run of participles which describe him rather than his life.

ἥδιστος βίος

Strepsiades insists that un-married life was bliss, but few farmers would have backed him up. Presumably his urban audience would have had mixed feelings for the joys of country life, but those who had had to abandon their farmsteads may have looked back on their bucolic existence more fondly from the confines of a city in wartime. In another, earlier comic-drama, *Γεωργοί*, the poet had treated the subject of farming folk forced to adapt to city-life.

44. **εὐρωτιῶν**

Dover evidently saw no difficulties in interpreting the line, and passed it by, but such concatenations are often tricky to interpret because Aristophanes is playing with irony or ambiguity (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 192). The first participle suggests that someone or something is 'going off' or 'growing mouldy'. LSJ interpret it to mean that because he never washed, a farmer was always encrusted in mould, which exhibits prejudicial stereotyping (cf. frg. 111, λουσαμένῳ). In an unattributed comic fragment we are given an image of old age, εὐρῶτι γήρως τὰς τρίχας βεβαμμένος (PCG VIII.53) that "*has hair tinged with decay*" ('greying'). Thus, perhaps, the farmer views his former self as growing older naturally (or perhaps maturing like a cheese), rather than being prematurely aged by his current, financial worries.

ἀκόρητος

According to LSJ, the word should be interpreted in the light of his current discomfort (37), as it could be derived from κόρις (a 'bed-bug', cf. 634). They reject as mistaken the view of the scholia and of patriarch Photios that the root of the adjective should be κόρος (according to Hesychios, 'a broom'; cf. *Εἰρήνη* 59, κόρημα). Nevertheless, recent translations have followed the scholiasts and have chosen to translate "*un-swept*", which Sommerstein has sought to justify as "*not caring about…tidiness*".
There is some merit in both points of view and both are probably right, since the verb κορέω ('to sweep') was sometimes used euphemistically (cf. Anakreon frg. 366, ὦ τρῖς κεκορημένε) so that the poet wants us to understand that Strepsiades was "*un-bugg*<er>*ed*".
The poet may have chosen the word to replace ἄκουρος ('unshaven'), an image which suits the other two physical descriptions and so might have been anticipated by the audience (cf. 3).

εἰκῇ κείμενος

Farmers rarely have time to lie around idle, but he may have in mind the enforced inactivity of a shepherd or goatherd watching his flock, or else periods when bad weather kept him indoors (cf. *Εἰρήνη* 1140-3).

45. **βρύων μελίτταις**

For the hard-pressed population of Attika, frequently compelled to take refuge behind protecting walls, the good life was represented by fresh farm-produce. Bees meant honey; sheep produced milk, yoghurt and cheese; while olives, once pressed for their oil, would have to be used promptly before they turned mouldy.

στεμφύλοις

In the fifth century this word is invariably used of olives, although a fragment of Aristotle suggests that it might have been applied later to grapes as well (frg. 107, σταφυλῆς στέμφυλα). It appears to mean olives pitted and pressed into a cake. The author of the comic-drama *Νῆσοι* (Aristophanes frg. 408) wrote that, "*salted olives are not the same as pressed-olives*" (οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστιν ἁλμάδες καὶ στέμφυλα), implying that the pressed-olives were eaten fresh. The comic-poet Phrynichos (frg. 40), makes his audience salivate for, αὐτοπυρίταισί τ' ἄρτοις καὶ λιπῶσι στεμφύλοις – "*loaves of whole-meal bread and pressed-olives oozing with oil*", while in *Ἱππεῖς* (806), 'Demos' will be revived once back on the farm by eating pressed-olives. The reference to "*grated olive-cake*" in fragment 938 is probably taken from a play by Antiphanes.

46-7. **Μεγακλέους**

The name Megakles ('of great renown') was traditionally favoured by the Alkmaionid clan. We can infer from this passage that the mere mention of his name would have been enough to provoke laughter at the very thought of a commoner marrying into the most powerful of the old, aristocratic families. Strepsiades would have been related by marriage to Alkibiades whose mother Deinomache was Megakles' daughter. The name Megakles is mentioned four times in this play, but not subsequently.
One may recall that the 'Sausage-seller' in *Ἱππεῖς* (445-6) was said to be descended from the same family. The poet is insinuating that the aristocratic families were not reluctant to marry daughters off to peasants, if the bride-price was right. This complaint was as old as Theognis (187-8),

οὐδὲ γυνὴ κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίνεται εἶναι ἄκοιτις
πλουσίου, ἀλλ' ἀφνεὸν βούλεται ἀντ' ἀγαθοῦ**.**

"*Nor does a woman turn down the marriage proposal of a base individual if he is rich; she prefers wealth over good stock.*"

ἀδελφιδῆν

This usually means niece, but may mean 'younger sister' as Pheidippides calls Megakles his uncle (124), in which case Megakles (son of Megakles) is claimed as Strepsiades' brother-in law.

ἄγροικος ὢν ἐξ ἄστεως

The contrast of uneducated farmer and sophisticated city-girl is emphasized, because it is so preposterous. Such an unlikely match could only be explained by sky-high prices for agricultural produce in war time. Wilson suggests removing the comma after ἐξ ἄστεως, but it serves to focus attention on the contrast. The same antithesis between rural and urban occurs in *Εἰρήνη* (1185, ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀγροίκους δρῶσι, τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἄστεως). A scholion on this line may have implications for the original version; see Appendix 2 (XI).
Incidentally, the codices read **ἄστεος** which Dindorf has chosen to emend, but the poet may have used the short syllable, since we find that he prefers φύσεος in *Σφῆκες* (1282).

48. **ἐγκεκοισυρωμένην**

In *Ἀχαρνεῖς* Megakles is identified as "*the son of Koisyra*" (614, ὁ Κοισύρας), rather than by the expected patronymic, probably to indicate that his mother was considered a *grand dame*, who reigned over the city (cf. PCG VIII. 847). Here, the verb is fabricated from his mother's name to paint her fictional great-niece as a young woman who puts on airs and graces consistent with her aristocratic background. [You can tell she's a lady of quality; the bags under her eyes are by *Hermès*].
Shear (1963) identifies Megakles' mother as the third of that name. The original Koisyra was from Eretria and married Alkmaion. The second married Peisistratos and gave her name to her niece, wife of Megakles (III) and mother of Megakles (IV) and Deinomache, so the name was associated with powerful figures.

50. **περιουσίας**

Notwithstanding his humble background and lack of education, he feels entitled to point out that he was a competent farmer whose (admittedly slight) efforts produced a περιουσία ('a surplus'). In other words, he had never had to live 'hand to mouth'; instead he had already mounted the first rung of market capitalism. Thucydides says of the primitive inhabitants (1.2.2), "*They had only enough to live on and there was no surplus to be monetized*" (ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες). Xenophon tells us that a good estate-manager would endeavour to show a surplus (*Οἰκονομικός* 1.4, περιουσίαν ποιῶν αὔξειν τὸ οἶκον). His advanced age may be intended to suggest that it had taken him some years to accumulate his agricultural wealth and that consequently he had married when well into middle-age.

51. **ἡ δ(ὲ) αὖ μύρου**

Eupolis' play *Πόλεις* (frg. 222), which must have been produced around this period, possibly at the City Dionysia of 422, makes the same comic comparison between the unwashed peasantry and the perfumed aristocracy.

χἀμυνίας ἐκεῖνος ἀμέλει κλαύσεται
ὅτι <ὢν> ἄγροικος ἵσταται πρὸς τῷ μύρῳ.

"*and Ameinias over there will regret it, you can be sure, because he stands by the perfume-sellers, though he's a yokel…*" Aristophanes' comic-rival may well have been reminding his audience of this portrait of Strepsiades as a country-bumpkin in order to poke fun at the fact that Ameinias the eponymous archon for 423/2 B.C. came from an outlying, country deme (cf. 138, *Σφῆκες* 74, 1267-74).

κρόκου

Saffron is chiefly used nowadays as a flavouring ingredient, but in ancient Athens was prized as a dye for (luxury) garments (cf. *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 253, τὸν κροκωτὸν...ἐνδύου – "*put on this saffron-dyed dress*") It may have been used in perfumery too. It was an extremely expensive commodity then (cf. 70, ξυστίς) and remains so.

52. **Κωλιάδος**, **Γενετυλλίδος**

Pausanias mentions a headland named Kolias just outside Athens (Κωλιάδος δέ ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα καὶ Γενετυλλίδες ὀνομαζόμεναι θεαί, 1.1.5) and Herodotos (8. 96) describes how disabled enemy ships and wreckage were washed ashore there after the sea-battle off Salamis. His reference to the women of Kolias using the flotsam as firewood is presumably an allusion to the celebration of the festival shortly after the battle («Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι»).
It was not unusual to find dedications to the goddess who protected sailors overlooking the sea (Pausanias 1.1.3), but here she was accompanied by other female divinities. These are hailed reverently as, ὦ πότνιαι Γενετυλλίδες (*Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 130). They were evidently fertility goddesses, not so much concerned with childbirth (the special role of Artemis-Eileithyia) as with conception. The singular here suggests that Γενετυλλίς was used as a cult-title of Aphrodite herself, so that Strepsiades means to say "<*Aphrodite*>-*Genetyllis of Kolias*". The situation of her cult was owed to her name which was held to mean 'surf-born'.
The probable location of Kolias is either the small promontory of Aghios Kosmas by the former Olympic Airways terminal buildings, or the headland of Aixone (Πούντα). Plutarch's reference (Σόλων 8.4) to the ambush of Megarians at a cape opposite Salamis, where Demeter was worshipped, seems to be the result of false assumptions. But, his story of cross-dressing youths may derive ultimately from some recondite aspect of religious practice.
Strabo (9.1.21) locates the sanctuary of Aphrodite Kolias in the coastal deme of Anaphlystos (the modern Anavyssos) near cape Sounion (περὶ δὲ Ἀνάφλυστόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ Πανεῖον καὶ τὸ τῆς Κωλιάδος Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν), but this is probably due to a mix-up over deme-names. The fact that he places the sanctuary of Pan

in the same general area as Aphrodite's shrine at Kolias may favour the identification with cape Aixone, because there is a cave of Pan and the Nymphs in the foothills of Hymettos above Vari, which is located in the same modern municipality. Elsewhere, Aristophanes also happens to refer to the worship "*of Pan and <Aphrodite>-Genetyllis at Kolias*" in the same context (*Λυσιστράτη* 2, ἢ ἐς Πανὸς ἢ ἐπὶ Κωλιάδα ἢ ἐς Γενετυλλίδος). [On September 10th 2017 a coasting oil-tanker sank off Psyttaleia Island. A week later I found small slicks of oil washed up on the northern shore of cape Πούντα in almost windless conditions.]

53. **ἀλλ(ὰ) ἐσπάθα**

Aristophanes rounds off the outburst with a joke that plays with the different uses of the verb σπαθάω. Its concrete sense was 'to ply the σπάθη', a long, wooden slat used to press tight each thread when weaving cloth on an upright loom. This sense seems to be utilized by the comic-poet Philyllios (frg. 11), where he says σπαθᾶν τὸν ἱστὸν οὐκ ἔσται σπάθη – "*there will be no batten to compact the woven fabric*". But, the verb acquired a metaphorical sense of 'being extravagant', because the more tightly woven the fabric, the more yarn would be used up. Therefore, initially, Strepsiades seems to be saying that his wife should be called extravagant, but never lazy. However, this ostensible meaning conceals sexual connotations which have already been suggested by the adjective ἀργός. It appears to mean 'lazy', but it was also applied to any thing 'not put to use' and hence it is used of land left 'fallow' and women who remain 'virginal', e.g. Platon (frg.43) says γυνὴ καθεύδουσ' ἐστὶν ἀργόν – "*when she's asleep a woman is an untilled field*". So, Strepsiades is pointing out that despite the disparities in their backgrounds, he and his wife find common ground in the marriage-bed. In fact, he confesses, her industry in this department wears him out. For the vulgar use of σπαθᾶσθαι see J. Henderson (1991) 171-2, and Loukianos *περὶ Πένθους* 17, οὐδὲ σπαθήσεις ...δὶς ἢ τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας – "*nor will you* <wear yourself out> *plying the shuttle two or three times a day*".

54. **θοἰμάτιον δεικνὺς τοδὶ**

Sommerstein and Dover feel that the reason for him holding up his cloak is to point out to the audience how threadbare it is and cause them to laugh because the high quality of his wife's weaving has had the opposite effect to that intended. I doubt that this is the case, because he is wearing a ἱμάτιον not a τρίβων (like old PhiloKleon in *Σφῆκες*). Also, it would detract from the claim that his wife was good at the loom. Rather he is holding it out as if offering to let the audience 'feel the width' and appreciate that such high quality weave has contributed to his impecunious condition. But Sommerstein is surely right to conclude (addenda p. ix) that the words probably indicate the actor's movements, for as he talks about showing his wife the cloak he raises the hem of his cloak to reveal his flaccid phallos; proof of his assertion that she is too keen on 'plying the shuttle' in another sense.

As with so much of Aristophanes' comedy the point of this seeming-casual reference to his outer garment will only become clear later. Here, it serves to show his wife's lack of thrift and to hint at her demands on his fading virility, but in due course it will assume 'philosophical' significance (cf. 857, 1498). One has to keep in mind that the farmer and his son are (for the purpose of this comic-drama) representatives of the Alkmaionid clan and the fact that they wear fine-quality cloaks as protection against the elements will be noted by the audience in contrast with the Sokratics' simple style of dress. Aristophanes' rival Ameipsias, similarly, brought Sokrates on stage wearing only a scanty cloak (frg. 9, Ἀμειψίας δ' ἐν τρίβωνι παράγων αὐτὸν).

56. [**Οἰκέτης**] The codices refer to this speaker as either δοῦ(λος) or θε(ράπων). Dover suggests a third alternative, οἰκέτης. Any one of the three would fit the character of a household slave in the manuscript tradition (cf. W.S. Barrett '*Euripides: Hippolytos*' p. 153), and though we cannot know which term might have been preferred by Aristophanes, we at least have Strepsiades' own preference for the word οἰκέτας (7). When, toward the end of the play (1485), the old man calls for one of his slaves, he uses the common, comic name, Ξανθίας and, although a second slave appears briefly then, nothing prevents from assuming that the slave here is the same Xanthias.

57. **τὸν πότην**...**λύχνον**

The lamp is accused of being an 'oilcoholic' for consuming valuable olive-oil so quickly. Aristophanes is making a joke out of an oil shortage which must have caused real hardship for many city-dwellers during war-time (cf. *Σφῆκες* 252-3). Platon makes a similar jest when a character tells his slave to go easy on the lamp-oil, saying that he is going to buy a lamp from the market, which is not a *heavy-drinker* (frg. 206),

φείδεσθε τοὐλαίου σφόδρ'· ἐξ ἀγορᾶς δ' ἐγὼ

ὠνήσομαι στίλβην τιν', ἥτις μὴ πότις.

59. **τῶν παχειῶν...θρυαλλίδων**

Any mention of 'thick wicks', 'cords' or 'ropes' was the cue for gesticulation with the actor's property-phallos (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 251, 379-80, 1343-4); pathetic really. The genitive is partitive, "*one of the…wicks*".

ἐνετίθεις

The imperfect tense is used here (cf. 57, ἦπτες) to suggest that the slave habitually inserted thick wicks. There may also be an insinuation that his wife's sexual needs are being met by this upstanding household retainer.

62. **περὶ τοὐνόματος**

'What's in a name?' asks Juliet. The answer in all cultures is usually 'Quite a lot'. We find that, because there are two families with an interest in the choice, both parents want to have a say in the matter and the room for negotiation is sometimes very limited. This is especially true among 'old families', who cling to status through name-recognition.

δὴ (ἐ)ντεῦθεν

Reisig suggested reading δὴ (ἐ)νταῦθ(α) instead and Sommerstein concurs. The alteration avoids a split anapaest and could account for the variant δὴ ταῦτ' in some mss. But, the sense is clear and amendment to the text of the codices would have to depend on the judgement of the palaeographer (cf. Wilson p. 62).

63-4. **ἵππον**

The horse was emblematic of wealth and social status and so names which incorporated 'hippo-' were the preserve of aristocratic families. The father of the poet himself was named Phil-ippos.

Ξάνθιππον

Xanthippos ('Bay-horse') was a son of Perikles, named for his paternal grandfather, though according to Plutarch (*Περικλῆς* 36), he had pre-deceased his father in the plague of 430/29. It is worth noting perhaps that Xanthippe, the female form, was the name of Sokrates' wife; an indication that she probably came of noble stock.

Χαίριππον ἢ Καλλιππίδην

Both these names are credible, aristocratic names, but neither occurs elsewhere in the Greek literature of the period. The latter name, however, does crop up in Latin literature. Plutarch (*Ἀλκιβιάδης* 32.2) refers to a tragedian who, according to Douris of Samos, had 'acted' as bosun (κελευστής) to Alkibiades' flagship on his triumphant return in 408 B.C. The unlikely tale is repeated by Athenaios (12.535 δ). The same actor was possibly the subject of an eponymous comic-drama *Καλλιππίδης* by the poet Strattis, which is also mentioned by Athenaios (14.656 β). It is possible that this Kallippides the tragedian was already a public celebrity in 423. Mention of Strattis's tragedian in Aristophanes' own work *Σκηνὰς Καταλαμβάνουσαι* is no help in this respect, since it cannot be dated (cf. frg. 490).

However, Roman writers also preserved a Greek proverb, 'Callippides runs', which is mentioned first by Cicero (*ad Att*. 13.12.3) and later by Suetonius (*Tiberius* 38). If the proverb is taken to apply to someone who exerts himself to no effect (as Cicero suggests), then possibly the tragic-actor may have given rise to the saying when he portrayed a character in motion by running on the spot. But, Suetonius understood it to mean someone who was forever starting things which he never finished, which seems more applicable to an athlete. There is further uncertainty regarding the proverb, because the original Greek is, Κάλλιππος <τρέχει> (see E. Leutsch, *Com.Par.Gr.* Göttingen, 1851). So, it is noteworthy that one ms. (R) of our text actually reads Κάλλιππον here instead of Χαίριππον (V) or Χάριππον (n). It is possible, therefore, that the original text read **Κάλλιππον ἢ Χαριππίδην** and that the first-named was a well-born Athenian who was notorious for having been a perennial runner-up in athletic competitions. His losing record may have led to ridicule in comic-drama which generated a proverbial expression, Κάλλιππος τρέχει, <ἄλλ' οὐ νικᾷ>. However, by the first century B.C., the original athlete had faded from the record and the more celebrated name of the actor was substituted by learned commentators so as to mislead Cicero.

Incidentally, though Dover states "*Chair- is more likely than Char- at the time of this play*", he overlooks the general Charoiades who had led the first assault on Syracuse and lost his life there (Thuc. 3.90). Also, the name Chares appears in Aristophanes' works (*Ἀχαρνεῖς* 604 and possibly *Σφῆκες* 234).

65. **(ἐ)τιθέμην**

The middle imperfect of τίθημι (sc. ὄνομα) translates as "*I was for naming him…*"

Φειδωνίδην
Strepsiades proposes naming his first-born son after his own father Φείδων ('thrifty'), a custom which is still prevalent in Greece today. The practice was particularly strong in aristocratic families since it was of paramount importance to demonstrate the continuity of the blood-line.
67. **κοινῇ ξυνέβημεν**
Happily the parents "*came to an understanding*" over their son's name in time. [I have known a situation where the parents could not agree and the godmother was left with no alternative but to pronounce both names at the baptism (in the parents' absence) and my own Athenian wife owes her name to her mother's impetuous decision to baptize her when her father was away at work.]
ἐθέμεθα
The middle aorist (sc. ὄνομα) shows that "*we named him…*" The child's name would be formally lodged with the deme as a prelude to his later enrolment as δημότης, when he came of age.
Φειδιππίδην
The boy's name is the logical outcome of the parents' compromise, combining as it does the name of his father's father with the noble suffix demanded by his mother. The result might have seemed an awkward fusion of a farmer's 'frugality' (φειδώ) with the symbol of aristocratic wealth (ἵππος), but when combined the latter prevailed. Thus, we find that in mythology the name Pheidippos ('sparing the horse') was given to a warrior who was a suitor for Helen, led a contingent to the attack on Troy and subsequently founded the Greek kingdom of 'horse-loving' Thessaly. So, the mother can be seen to have got the best of the deal after all. Herodotos (6.105) tells the story of a famous Athenian named Philippides, whose name has been emended to Pheidippides by some.
69. **πρὸς πόλιν**
The phrase 'to go into town' (from the coast or countryside) is ἀναβαίνω εἰς <τὸ> ἄστυ. Here, the mother means that she can picture her son driving in splendour πρὸς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν as part of the pan-Athenaian procession. In *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* (811-2), the female chorus asserts that no woman would ever behave as ostentatiously and impiously as some men do and, despite having defrauded the state of a huge sum, "*ride up to the Akropolis in a chariot behind a pair of horses*" (ζεύγει...εἰς πόλιν ἔλθοι).
70. **ξυστίδ(α) ἔχων**
Her point is that he will be suitably-dressed for the occasion in an ankle-length gown such as would be worn by a victorious charioteer (e.g. the bronze charioteer dedicated at Delphi by Polyzalos of Gela) or one taking part in a state procession (e.g. figures standing in chariots depicted on the north frieze of the Parthenon). An ancient scholiast provides the information that such a garment would have been saffron-dyed, which means that only a wealthy aristocrat would have worn it and helps explain his additional information that it was worn by 'kings' on the tragic-stage. The word was used also by Kratinos in *Ὧραι* (frg. 294).
71. **ἐκ τοῦ Φελλέως**
The ancient scholia (followed by LSJ) inferred that there was a specific area of Attika so barren as to be suited only to herding goats and this is suggested by another occurrence of the same phrase in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (273), Θρᾷτταν ἐκ τοῦ Φελλέως. According to the geographer I.S. Sarris, the name Φελλεεῖς used to be given locally to the north-eastern spurs of Mount Parnes (hence Varnalis translates Μπελέτσι, the current name). The area is rocky, but is well-watered and shaded with pine trees. Harpokration, however, cites a passage of Isokrates (8.42) which appears to show that the word φελλεύς could be applied more generally to rocky ground, φελλέα· τὰ πετρώδη καὶ αἰγίβοτα χωρία φελλέας ἐκάλουν. An inscription from the deme Aixone (modern Glyphada, on the slopes of Hymettos) refers to a particular area called Phelleïs, leased to two private individuals (IG II² 2492.1.32, καταδε εμισθωσαν Αιξωνεις την φελλειδα). This led Fauvel to name "*une plaine de roches*" where he dug as "*les champs felléens*".
The fact that Kratinos is said to have used the word φελλεύς (frg. 297) in his *Ὧραι*, with the word ξυστίς (frg. 294) possibly in close proximity, suggests that Aristophanes may be echoing a similar comparison from a passage by the older comic-poet, of a few years before.
74. **ἵππερον**

The poet coins a word to pun on ἵππος-ἔρως ('love of horses'), which sounds conveniently like a medical condition such as ἴκτερος ('jaundice') or ὕδερος ('oedema'). Rogers came up with a neat pun, "*galloping consumption*".
Xenophon's 'Sokrates' probably recalls Strepsiades' condition when he observes that "*some have been reduced to abject poverty by keeping horses*" (*Οἰκονομικός* 3.8, ἀφ' ἱππικῆς...εἰς ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐληλυθότας).

μου

Wilson (p. 63) argues that the μοι of some mss. is more likely to be correct, because a copyist would not have *wilfully* altered μου to μοι. But, a simple error could be faithfully copied and the genitive is perfectly satisfactory here (cf. *Σφῆκες* 6-7).

75. **φροντίζων ὅδου**

His financial plight has kept him awake, and his mind has been actively seeking a "*way-out*". He intended to say ἐξόδου (used metaphorically by Plato in *Πολιτεία* 453e), but it would not scan here. As a theatrical character, however, his words would still be capable of conveying a literal interpretation to the audience. Later, a character as good as admits the physical bounds of the theatre when he points to the members of the chorus lining up at the εἴσοδος (326).

76. **μίαν ηὖρον ἀτραπόν**

If ἀτραπὸς can be taken, perhaps, to imply 'untrodden', he is saying that he has discovered a way-out, a path which is the 'least-travelled' (cf. ἄτριπτον). [Like *Blackadder*'s 'Baldrick', he has come up with a *cunning plan*.]
The manuscripts read εὗρον here; ηὖρον is Dindorf's *correction* (cf. 137).

77. **ἀναπείσω**

He aims to talk his son into doing something he does not wish to do (cf. *Σφῆκες* 116, ἀνέπειθεν αὐτὸν μὴ φορεῖν – "*he was trying to persuade him not to wear…*").

79. **ἥδιστ(α)**

We have already seen how surly his son can become when rudely awoken (38) and as Strepsiades wants to ask a favour of him he hopes to wake him on the right side of the bed, as it were.

80.

At this point, Dover suggests that Strepsiades is getting up and getting dressed. But, the inconvenience of doing this on stage can be avoided by having him come out from the wings ready-dressed at the opening of the play. One is also saved the hindrance of having an extra bed on stage (cf. Dover's note on 91).

81. **κύσον με**

Dover's apparatus notes that the codex Ravennas originally read τί κύσον (before correction). Although this makes no sense, it suggests that we might print **τι** κύσον, so indicating some hesitancy in the father's voice (cf. 90, τι πείσει; 106, τι κήδει). An anapaest would fit the metre here as well as an iamb.
He first seeks an expression of his son's affection for him and then asks for his right hand because he is about to ask a favour. Euripides shows the significance of the action in *Ἱππόλυτος* (333-5) where Phaidra accedes to her nurse's entreaty because the older woman has taken hold of her right hand. The gesture is often an acknowledgement that the other has the upper hand, see e g. Plutarch *Θεμιστοκλέους* 13.2, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος – "*taking Themistokles by the right hand*" and *Σφῆκες* 1237, where someone takes a fellow-symposiast by the right hand to match the tone of the song which he is addressing to him.
The similarity in sound between the word 'kiss' and the Greek aorist forms of κυνέω like κύσον have led some to suppose that our word derives from the ancient verb, whereas they have both evolved separately from a common Indo-European root.

83. **Ποσειδῶ...τὸν ἵππιον**

Poseidon was one of the two protecting deities of Athens. His temple at Sounion, on the cape rounded by ships setting out from or returning to Athens, marked the easternmost point of Attika. He was reputed to be the father of Theseus, the city's legendary founder and his cult was incorporated into the Erechtheion on the Akropolis. It seems likely that τουτονί here is meant to indicate that an equine statue in his honour stood by the door. At Marathon the Medes had been compelled to abandon their horses when they hastily embarked. The leading Athenians kept the captured animals to breed and dedicated statues in their stead;

cf. Pausanias 10.18.1, for a bronze horse at Delphi. It may be that there was an equine statue (or perhaps a statue of the god in human form) in the theatre itself, but we have no evidence for this.

85. **ὁ θεὸς αἰτιός...τῶν κακῶν**

Poseidon is blamed for his troubles because he represents the spirit of horses; the question of whether he has it in for the old man is not relevant. A deity's actions would impact people in different ways, so what benefited one person might harm another. Thus, in a polytheistic system it was possible for a deity to act for good or ill, irrespective of collateral damage; a logical advantage, which monotheism has had to forgo.

87. **πιθοῦ**. **τί οὖν πίθωμαι...σοι**;

The codices write πιθοῦ μοι (R) or πιθοῦμαι (V), with the response τί οὖν πείθομαι, which is unmetrical. Hermann's emendation, πιθοῦ **μοι**…τί **δὲ πίθωμαι** (cf. *Σφῆκες* 761, τί σοι πίθωμαι ;), rebalances the line well, but has not been generally adopted. The expression is tantamount to saying 'tell me what you want me to do'

88. **ἔκστρεψον**

Scholars are fairly evenly divided over the choice here between ἔκστρεψον which is found in the codices and **ἔκτρεψον** which occurs in a fourteenth-century manuscript (E). A similar dilemma arises later (554).

The distinction between τρέπω and στρέφω is sometimes obscured by the ambiguity of the context, and it can be missed by even the most seasoned translator. Emile Rieu, for instance, confuses 'turning horses' to alter course (*Ἰλιάς* 8.157, ἔτραπε...ἵππους) with 'wheeling about' (*Ἰλιάς* 8.168, ἵππους τε στρέψαι), which is easy to do when τρέπω can become στρέφω with a simple modifier (*Ἰλιάς* 8.432, πάλιν τρέπε...ἵππους).

Sommerstein, influenced by a scholion on the later occurrence of the verb (ἐκστρέψας) notes that the root of the verb can be taken as a reflection of the 'twisting' theme inherent in Strepsiades' name and Wilson, albeit reluctantly, backs him up by arguing that ἔκτρεψον could easily have been a simple copying error (p. 63). But, Dover (followed by Henderson) has dismissed the scholion as inappropriate here and adopts the later, corrected reading.

Strepsiades has chosen his metaphor to suit his son's passion for horses, and simply replaced ἵππους with τρόπους. In effect, he is asking Pheidippides to 'make his horses veer or change course'. The alternative of 'turning about competely' would invite 'dislocation' (ἐκστροφή).

The *Σοῦδα* cites this line with the object in the singular, τὸν σαυτοῦ τρόπον, which probably indicates that Byzantine scholars shared our uncertainty over the meaning of ἔκστρεψον. The singular might seem right here, cf. *Σφῆκες* 748-9, μεθιστὰς...τὸν τρόπον, but the plural is also used (e.g. 478, *Σφῆκες* 505, *Πλοῦτος* 36).

90. **καί τι πείσει**;

The indefinite pronoun added to a verb gives the sense "*somewhat*", "*a little*". Strepsiades is doubtful that his son will obey him; rightly so, as it turns out.

91. **νὴ τὸν Διόνυσον**

Pheidippides casts about for a suitable deity to guarantee his oath in lieu of Poseidon, who is viewed by his father as responsible for his indebtedness. He soon finds a convenient substitute to hand in Dionysos, the patron of theatrical competition. The invocation of Dionysos may be prompted by the presence of the god's effigy in the theatre. Similarly, in *Εἰρήνη* (267), the hero Trygaios seeks to ward off an unwelcome plot development by invoking the god's help as if he was present. We are told that in the second century A.D. there were two such statues within the precinct and one of them may have belonged in the original theatre of the fifth century B.C. This was the work of a pupil of Pheidias, named Alkamenes. This ready oath and another possible reference later in the play (cf. 1473), point to the likelihood that a statue of the god adorned the theatre at this date and may be taken to indicate that the statue by Alkamenes was already in situ.

But, though the presiding deity of the theatre may seem an apt enforcer of dramatic promises, Dionysos was also god of wine and somewhat unreliable when inebriated, so unfortunately for Strepsiades the oath, initially at least, will be dishonoured with impunity (108). It will later be used by the 'Scoundrel' (1000).

92. **ὁρᾷς τὸ θύριον τοῦτο**

In *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι*. 26, the identical phrase is used by 'Euripides' to point out the door of 'Agathon's' house. Here, the reading of the codices, θυρίδιον, is merely a gloss which was absorbed to match the form of τ(ὸ) οἰκίδιον. When addressing people, the use of diminutives indicates a wheedling tone of voice, e.g.

Φειδιππίδιον (80), παιδίον (132) or ὦ Σωκρατίδιον (223), but in such instances as these the intention may be to indicate that the house and its door were so ordinary as to have gone unnoticed by the neighbours. It may be meant to suggest the Sokratics' lack of ostentation, which will be satirized throughout the drama as equivalent to a lack of means. On the other hand, the θύριον will soon be shown to be not so little after all, and so οἰκίδιον may also be used ironically of a grand residence which appears quite spacious enough to accommodate the teachers and students. Hereafter, the door is referred to as a θύρα (cf. 132, 133, 136, and 183).

94. **φροντιστήριον**

A word concocted out of the verb φροντίζω and the noun ἐργαστήριον to produce the comical concept of a 'Thought-factory'. It is the secular equivalent of the religious τελεστήριον. Like its modern counterpart the 'Think-tank', it presumed to isolate intellectual enquiry in a particular location set apart from the low-grade brain activity of the common man, but as we shall see, it differed in one important respect (cf. 112). It has been variously translated; '*Reflectory*' (Merry), '*Contemplatory*' (Green), '*Thinkery*' (Henderson). I have elected to translate '*Thinking-shop*', first employed by Hickie. See also Appendix 4.

[Nowadays, the word is used of private institutions that provide supplementary teaching in afternoon and evening to children schooled within the increasingly-inadequate, state education system.]

95-6. **ἐνταῦθ(α) ἐνοικοῦσ(ι) ἄνδρες**

A scholion in the principal codices offers clarification for a word not found in the text, θᾶκος δὲ καλεῖται ἀττικῶς ὁ τόπος ἔνθα πολλοὶ συνέρχονται σκεψόμενοι – "θᾶκος, *is an Attic word used to denote a place where a lot of people gather to cogitate*". Most commentators have chosen to ignore the scholion; indeed Holwerda deletes it as an irrelevant interpolation and Wilson agrees, suggesting that it was an extraneous comment made for readers' edification. But, it could be taken to imply that the scholiast's own text might have read **ἐνταῦθα θακοῦσ**' ἄνδρες a possibility which seems worth considering given that Aristophanes chose his words with care and may have wanted to give a more nuanced image of the Sokratic seminary. Moreover, the definition of the word θᾶκος (θῶκος in epic) given by the scholiast appears to be merely an inference drawn from the 'Thinking-shop' itself, and is actually rather inadequate for, to judge from the few instances we possess, it seems to mean 'a place to sit', especially 'a throne', and is often used of the seat of a divinity (e.g. *Ἰλιάς* 8.439), or an *immortal* poet like Aischylos (*Βάτραχοι* 1522, τὸν θᾶκον τὸν ἐμὸν). Generally, it appears to denote any proper seat with back support that is suitable for older men (cf. 993), similar in sense to ἕδρα (cf. 1507).

It may be, therefore, that Aristophanes has chosen a verb (employed also by Kratinos frg. 239.1) suitable for an uneducated, old man searching for a way to describe the aloof manner in which most intellectuals "*sit around like gods pontificating*". As the *lectio difficilior* such a verb could have been displaced by the trite ἐνοικοῦσι, inserted originally as a gloss, and an inaccurate gloss at that, since the school is more of a meeting place than a permanent residence. See also Appendix 1 (Γ΄).

τὸν οὐρανὸν...πνιγεύς

The πνιγεύς (literally, 'extinguisher') was an earthenware cover placed over live coals to smother them prior to cooking or baking. Its operation is described by Sparkes (1962). The use of the word πνιγεύς to describe the heavens is said by a scholiast to have brought comic derision upon the natural philosopher Hippon (of Rhegion) who was ridiculed for it by Kratinos in *Πανόπται* (frg. 155). A curious phrase from Aristophanes' later play *Ἀνάγυρος* (frg. 64, τὸν πνιγέα ἐπὶ ἵππου) has been thought to conceal a specific reference to the philosopher. Van Leeuwen proposes emending to τὸν πνιγέα ἐπὶ Ἵππωνος – "*the oven cover in the time of Hippo*". Besides, as Aristophanes later attributes the same analogy to the astronomer Meton in *Ὄρνιθες* (1000), the old man's attribution of it here to Sokrates' School should not be taken as a specific criticism of the Sokratics' cosmological theory, but rather as ridicule of the homespun language in which such theories were frequently expressed.

Ancient belief held that the Earth was circular (rather than spherical) so that it would be only natural to assume that the sky formed a dome over it. Thus, Euripides, for instance, speaks of mankind as existing οὐρανοῦ τ' ἔσω – "*within heaven*" (*Ἱππόλυτος* 2).

ἀναπείθουσιν

The intellectuals *try to persuade* <us> *to alter* our conventional view. The verb often connotes some degree of deception or dishonesty, e.g. *Σφῆκες* 101, ἀναπεπεισμένον – "*persuaded to change its habits*."

97. **ἄνθρακες**
Some prefer to aspirate this word to include the definite article (as suggested by Meineke), because they take the grill-cover as an analogy. But just because the original theory was intended as an analogy does not mean that the old farmer takes it so. The natural philosopher might compare the heavens to a πνιγεύς and say that the Earth's surface is the grill in this scenario. Strepsiades, however, does not need to stress '*the* coals', since the sky is a gigantic grill-cover in his mind and possessing the spark of life makes us all lumps of charcoal. Although Attic Greek sometimes used the article where we do not, the article should probably be left out. The Athenian audience would have laughed at the old man's naïve acceptance of the mundane simile at face value and his elaboration of the theory emphasizes his (lack of) understanding. [It is, after all, no more absurd than a bishop of Oxford objecting to Huxley that his ancestors could not have been monkeys, as Darwin claimed.] There is a later example of his literal-mindedness regarding the origin of rain (373), thunder (388-91) and the movement of celestial bodies (1472-3).
98. **ἀργύριον**...**διδῷ**
The old man perceives the School to be an institution 'for-profit', just as he will assume that Sokrates and his acolytes are poor and hungry because of their asceticism. His misconception may derive from the fact that Sokrates was known to charge for his services as a λογογράφος. Later on (245-6), he offers to pay for his son's education and actually lugs a bag of barley to the school gate in payment.
Wilson (citing line 99) seeks to defend Sokrates from seeking commercial gain by interpreting ἀργύριον as "*a silver coin*" given by way of a 'tip'. Thus, instead of charging a fixed fee, the philosopher is merely taking back-handers? But, if Sokrates did accept such payments ex gratia from his wealthy pupils, instead of charging a fee up-front, it would not have differentiated him completely from the mercenary 'sophist'. It would have merely made a distinction similar to that between a courtesan and a prostitute.
The view of money expressed by the Platonic 'Sokrates' (*Ἀπολογία τοῦ Σωκράτους* 30 β) has been re-examined recently by Natoli (2016).
99. **λέγοντα νικᾶν**
He means to "*win an argument*" either in the lawcourts or the Assembly (cf.*Σφῆκες* 594, ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γνώμην...ἐνίκησεν).
101. **μεριμνο-φροντισταὶ**
The phrase is clearly meant to be approbative in the old man's mind, but could be taken in more than one way. He seems to mean that the scholars are intellectuals who *carefully* exercise their intellect and yet he might just be observing that their 'care-worn cogitation' has not been visibly beneficial for them.
καλοί τε κἀγαθοί
Here, Aristophanes is borrowing an expression that aristocratic Athenians might have used of themselves. But, by putting it in the mouth of a simple farmer (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1256, where it is spoken by one who aspires to mix with the upper-class), he seems to be sending up their pretentiousness. Dover (in a judicious note) suggests 'good men and true' as an equivalent, which might translate as 'thoroughly decent types' coming from the artless Strepsiades. The phrase is used frequently in Xenophon's dialogues, where the customary translation is 'gentlemen'.
102. **αἰβοῖ**
This is usually taken to express contempt or disgust (cf. 906), but could also be a mocking laugh, "*hah*!"
πονηροί γ(ε)
Aristophanes likes to use this epithet of people which are chronic 'losers' or things over which too much time and effort has been expended such as 'poor' jokes (542) or 'wicked' schemes (1459), cf. *Σφῆκες* 192, 193 and 466 (cf. 1116, πόνος).
τοὺς ἀλαζόνας
He suggests that the occupants of the 'Thinking-shop' are not all they claim to be; they may be charlatans.
103. **τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους**
Like the word γυμνὸς (cf. 498), "*barefoot*" is probably meant as comic exaggeration. Sokrates is unlikely to have gone shoeless on the uneven, muckstrewn streets of ancient Athens, but probably he would have worn basic ἐμβάδες (cf. 858), which could be slipped on and off easily and not the sturdier boots worn by the upper classes. Even so, the Chorus will later repeat the allegation and Plato (*Φαῖδρος* 229 α) certainly took it literally (ἀνυπόδητος...σὺ μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἀεί) as did Xenophon.

104. **ὁ κακοδαίμων Σωκράτης**
Pheidippides can only judge by appearances, so 'Sokrates' is not 'unlucky' in this instance; he just looks like he is. We would say he is "*sorry-looking*". Sommerstein's "*god-forsaken*" assumed too much, but his later version "*wretched*" is nearer the mark.
Evidently, there was a public perception that Sokrates and Chairephon were leading figures in a group of intellectuals, readily identifiable by their appearance. Their casual attitude to the standards of aristocratic dress and seeming disdain for the usual outdoor pursuits of the nobly-born provide Aristophanes with the opportunity to compare them with corpses for their sallow complexions and bare feet. Chairephon comes in for particular ridicule for his cadaverous look (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1412-4). Thanks to Old Comedy, these traits would become the standard clichés for philosophy-students, e.g. Alkiphron (1.3.2) who imagines having listened to ἑνὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ *Ποικίλῃ* διατριβόντων ἀνυποδήτων καὶ ἐνεροχρώτων – "*one of those pale and shoeless ghosts who haunt the Poikile stoa*".
105. **μηδὲν...νήπιον**
Strepsiades knows his place and expresses dismay at his son's shocking lack of respect toward the city's intellectual elite (cf. 833-5). His injunction to avoid saying something 'childish' may be an indication that his son cultivates an upper-class drawl. Pheidippides will be called νηπύτιος later (868) and ridiculed for his 'childish lisp' (872-3).
106. **τῶν πατρῴων ἀλφίτων**
I have introduced a pause in the text to indicate that the noun would have come as something of a surprise to the auditor. Strepsiades assumes a para-tragic tone which gives the impression that he is about to argue on a higher plane. The adjective refers basically to what is 'ancestral' and can be used by Aristophanes in a straightforward sense, e.g. in *Σφῆκες* (388) where another old man is advised to offer up a precautionary prayer τοῖσι πατρῴοισι θεοῖσιν – "*to your ancestral gods*". But, in tragic-drama it can simply denote τοῦ πατρός (cf. Sophokles *Ἠλέκτρα* 108-9, τῶνδε πατρῴων πρὸ θυρῶν – "*at this, my father's door*"). Clearly, Aristophanes has adopted it for this purpose here, but a different noun would be understood, and in fact the noun χρήματα would be anticipated and did not require stating, as we see in *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* (819), τὰ πατρῷα – "*our patrimony*". The substitution of ἄλφιτα (literally "*your father's barley-groats*") can be taken to mean 'bread and butter', but actually serves to remind us that the farmer's hard-earned *grain* has been used as fodder for his son's horses (cf. 13), instead of stored and sold for cash (cf. 50, περιουσία).
107. **σχασάμενος**
The basic idea of the verb whether active or middle (cf. 740) is 'release' or 'let something go'. So, the son is being urged to let go the horses, i.e. give up his passion for equine matters.
108. **οὐκ ἄν**
This elliptical phrase amounts to, "*I wouldn't do that*…" (cf. 5).
εἰ δοίης γε
For the construction one may compare *Σφῆκες* 298, οὐκ ἄν, μὰ Δί', εἰ κρέμαισθέ γ' ὑμεῖς – "*you could go hang, by Heaven, I would not <give you figs>*".
109. **τοὺς φασιανοὺς**
The adjective is invariably used to describe a type of game-bird (properly φασιανὸς ὄρνις) and so despite the suggestion from ancient commentators that here Pheidippides is actually referring to a special breed of horse (φασιανὸς ἵππος), modern commentators have generally followed the insistence of Aristarchos, the librarian of Alexandria, in accepting Leogoras as a bird-fancier. In fact, there was no such Phasian breed of horse, but neither was the horse-mad youth concerned with tasty birds. He is talking about race-horses, but he uses the metaphor of game-birds, which share the characteristic of 'taking off like rockets'. For the background to this view, see Appendix 5.
110-1. **ὦ φίλτατ(ε)...ἐμοί**
As Dover astutely observes, the old man is using an impassioned form of address typical of tragic-drama, as e.g. Sophokles *Ἠλέκτρα* 1126, ὦ φιλτάτου μνημεῖον ἀνθρώπων ἐμοί – "<all that remains> *to remind me of the person I most cherished*". The pronoun can be taken as, ὦ φίλτατε <μοι> ἀνθρώπων, but it is in fact required with the phrase which follows, ἐμοὶ ἐλθὼν διδάσκου, as is shown by the son's response, σοι μαθήσομαι (cf. 839, ἐλθὼν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μάνθανε).
112. **ἄμφω τὼ λόγω**

The two 'arguments' amount to what we term the *two sides* of an argument. The *Better* argument is like a boxer with a weight or height advantage; it is prima facie stronger, but can still be caught offguard and is sometimes floored by a devious punch. Unlike the so-called 'Think-tanks' of today, the 'Thinking-shop' did not exist to promote a particular agenda, but to school *Opinion* through education and actual research.

113. **ὅστις ἐστί**

Sommerstein could be right to take the remark as indicating the old man's actual ignorance of what goes on in the school, since he is talking from hearsay. But, he can hardly be *dismissive* of an argument which is prima facie superior to anything he can say. On the other hand, Dover interprets the interjection as "*in any given case*", although this would be like saying 'the stronger argument according to the facts of the case' and so ought to qualify the weaker argument too. Logic, supported by the indicative ἐστί, suggests that Strepsiades is feigning ignorance of the stronger argument, because as the habitually-guilty party he cannot avail himself of it. For good measure, he reiterates the remark later (883). Ultimately however, he will find himself unexpectedly arguing the stronger case and he will discover the boot is on the other foot.

114-5. **τὸν ἥττονα νικᾶν**...**λέγοντα**...**τἀδικώτερα**

To begin with (99, λέγοντα νικᾶν), he had pointed out to his son that someone could win either side of the argument through Sokrates' tuition. Now, he acknowledges that it is actually only the unjustified position in a legal dispute which he wants to support. Already he is assuming the position by personifying it as the subject of the infinitive; prefiguring the characterization of the Ἄδικος Λόγος in the Ἀγών.

Sokratic 'scepticism', i.e. the need to examine both sides of an argument, probably differed little from the 'sophistry' of the professional teacher. Commentators have noted that the doyen of the visiting professors, Protagoras of Teos had made a career of eristic argument and was believed to have been the first to treat matters in dispute on an objective basis. (See further Appendix 4).

118. **οὐδ(ὲ)**...**ὀβολὸν**

Equivalent to saying, "*Not even a penny in the pound*". An obol represented less than a day's pay, though even a 'reading' of someone's dream was said to be worth two obols in *Σφῆκες* (52). The old man repeats the phrase word for word later (cf. 1250 for suggested emendation).

120. **τοὺς ἱππέας**

To translate this "*the Knights*" can too easily lead one to mentally associate horse-owning Athenians with the Roman sub-senatorial social order, or the chivalrous class of medieval nobility, neither of which can usefully be compared to the ἱππεῖς of fifth-century Athens, who ranked neither senators nor kings above themselves. Pheidippides, through his mother's family, belongs to a noble clan and as an aristocrat with horses he would be required to serve in 'the cavalry', when of age. But, here, as their military function is secondary, one may think of the ἱππεῖς as simply "*the horse-riding set*" (cf. 554).

121. **μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα**

In his exasperation he swears by the goddess Demeter, since he is thinking of bread, the staple food. But, the phrase τῶν γ' ἐμῶν is not confined to foodstuff.

122. **ὁ ζύγιος**...**ὁ σαμφόρας**

He refers to the 'yoke-horse' as the lead horse in a four-horse chariot team and the 'thoroughbred' which is mounted in a horse-race.

123-7. **ἀλλ(ὰ)**...**ἀλλ(ὰ)**

The constant repetition of ἀλλὰ in these five lines indicates a lively altercation.

125. **ἄνιππον**

Cobet has made an acute emendation here to, **ἄνιππον ὄντα**. **ἀλλὰ εἶμι**…He reasoned that verb περιορᾶν is invariably accompanied by a participle (cf. *Λυσιστράτη* 1019-20, οὔ σε περιόψομαι γυμνὸν ὄντα οὕτως) and the addition of the preposition to εἶμι is only stating the obvious. Dover (lxxiv) is doubtless correct to dismiss the codicological case on the grounds that a manuscript (O7), which contains the participle, is "*of no value*", but the linguistic (and logical) case is not "*feeble*". It was adequate for Blaydes and for Graves.

σοῦ δ(έ) οὐ φροντιῶ

We expect him to say something dismissive like, 'and you can do what you like', but he employs the very verb which underlies the terms used by his father, Φροντιστήριον (94, 'thinking-shop') and φροντισταί (101, thinking-people').

126. **πεσών γε**

He admits his failure with πεσών γε – "*admittedly I've come a cropper*", but he bounces back with οὐδὲ ἐγὼ μέντοι...κείσομαι – "*I certainly won't stay down*". His metaphor is from running, boxing or wrestling.

131. **ἰτητέον**...**στραγγεύομαι**

There is a touch of pantomime about his indecision and this eventual show of determination is likely to have been a parody of some tragic-hero facing a more serious dilemma. The only alteration necessary to the line was probably the verb, which in the original tragic-drama may have been στρατεύομαι ('to serve in the army'), a variant offered by the *Σοῦδα* (ι 744, ἰτητέον). Whatever the source was, Aristophanes had something else in mind and selected the verb στραγγεύομαι because it carried overtones of *strangury* (a condition which is never far from the minds of old men, cf. *Σφῆκες* 809-10, στραγγουρίας). So, one must imagine Strepsiades locking his knees together and whimpering, 'what is stopping me from *going*?' The medical explanation would be 'an enlarged prostate'.

132. **κόπτω τὴν θύραν**

The verb suggests more than just a gentle knock (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1254, θυροκοπῆσαι – "*banging on doors*").

παῖ, **παίδιον**

The usual word to summon a slave, irrespective of age, is παῖ (cf. 18), but Strepsiades is trying to coax whoever is inside to open the door and uses the diminutive which specifically applies to younger slaves, and has passed into modern Greek as the word for a 'child' (παιδί).

133. [**Θυρωρός**]

It has long been thought that the character who opens the door to the Φροντιστήριον must be one of the pupils who just happened to be nearest the door when Strepsiades knocked. He is already referred to as μαθητὴν τοῦ Σωκράτους…τινὰ by the Byzantine author of one of the ancient plot-summaries (Ὑπόθεσις Γ΄ in Appendix 1). In view of his comprehensive knowledge of the school's activities and the emphasis placed upon not divulging the school's *science* to outsiders, modern editors have readily accepted him as one of its students.

But, Strepsiades' curt summons has led one to expect that the door would be opened by the door-keeper (θυρωρός), a slave whose job it is to guard the door and screen visitors. Not surprisingly then, a scholion on line 140 does actually refer to the character that opens the door as 'the door-keeper'. Furthermore, the conventions of Comedy suggest that we should not rush to enrol the speaker in the school. The *pupils* of Sokrates were all aristocrats and it must be borne in mind that the Athenian nobility rarely lifted a finger, if a slave was on hand to do the job. In *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (396), a slave answers the door at Euripides' house and *Ὄρνιθες* (60) a 'serving-bird' appears when the hoopoe is called. In *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* (39) another slave (θεράπων, 37) just happens to emerge from Agathon's house when Euripides is about to knock. Besides, one of the ways in which Aristophanes raises a laugh is to portray the slaves as proxies for their masters, just as we might joke about a pet dog resembling its owner. Thus, Euripides' slave is surly and Agathon's is precious. Here, the fact that the door-keeper is knowledgeable about the school's teachings and takes it personally when scientific enquiry is rudely interrupted (that the φροντίδα was not his own is revealed in 144-152) only goes to confirm his servile status (cf. 195). Moreover, one has to suspect that much of the 'knowledge' he seems to possess is of his own devising. We should not expect a *comic* character (slave or student) to give a reliable account of the school's curriculum. Erbse (1954) at least, understood this.

Strepsiades' words παῖ, παίδιον, raise expectations that the door will be opened by a *young* slave so it is likely that the door-keeper may turn out to be quite elderly, as the position might have been reserved for one of the less physically-able servants. His similarity in age to the farmer would help explain the sudden rapport they strike up (cf. 1145).

βάλλ(ε) ἐς κόρακας

He suggests that whoever is knocking on the door at this ungodly hour (dawn must be breaking) ought to go hang himself so that his body would remain unburied and food for the crows. He does not admit it, but he has actually been woken from his slumbers.

134. **Κικυννόθεν**

How did Aristophanes come to pick this obscure deme as the home of his hero? The location of Kikynna is not known, but it was evidently an outlying district; a circumstance for which he soon feels the need to apologize (138). However, it may have been chosen simply for its sound (cf.156), since it suggests a new-

found part of the verb κινέω. This would introduce a number of pertinent associations, e.g. 'disturbing a wasps-nest', 'rocking the boat', 'waking a sleeper' etc. A specific reason is identified later on (cf. 1219). [The word κίκιννος, 'ringlet', suggests that houses may have had doorbells in his deme to avoid kicking.]

135. **νὴ Δί(α)**

To call upon Zeus' name runs counter to the school's teaching (cf.367), but the doorman probably uses it as an expletive without thinking, as indeed does 'Sokrates' himself later on (331).

136. **ἀπεριμερίμνως**

The unfortunate old man is accused (probably unjustly) of showing too little care and consideration, the quality requisite in an intellectual (cf. 101).

137. **φροντίδ(α) ἐξήμβλωκας**

The usual metaphor of an idea as a foetus formed in the mind is carried to its natural and absurd corollary; the parturition has been interrupted, resulting in a miscarriage. Plato extends the metaphor in *Θεαίτητος* (148-51) where 'Sokrates' describes himself as a midwife to ideas. Later in the play we will find that the poet has 'given birth' to a *new-born* drama (530-2).

138. **τήλου...ἀγρῶν**

According to a scholion these words parodied a Euripidean verse, but it is no longer possible to identify the source. The plagiarism helps us account for the present tense of οἰκῶ. What he means is that he hails from a country deme originally, although he now appears to be living within sight of the school (91-2). The genitive must hide an ellipse (or so it seems to me), for if it depended on τήλου, one would have to translate 'at a distance *from* the fields', whereas what he clearly means is "*I live far off* <as an inhabitant of> *the countryside*".

Strepsiades has already identified himself as a countryman (43, ἄγροικος ὤν) and now he uses his rustic origins to excuse his lack of urban manners, despite the fact that for dramatic purposes he resides across the street from the 'Thinking-shop'.

140. **πλὴν τοῖς μαθηταῖσιν**

Similar words might be spoken by a priest insisting that such information only be divulged to 'initiates'.

It is *not* necessary to assume that the speaker is a student of the 'Thinking-shop'. His comment is merely meant to show that the school charged a fee for imparting knowledge. As a household slave of 'Sokrates' he is in a position to make some general observations about the school's curriculum as a free teaser, but the actual lessons can only follow once the applicant has subscribed to the 'premium service', beyond the pay-wall.

143. **μυστήρια**

Sokratic teaching is to be considered esoteric knowledge on a par with the arcane rites of the Eleusinian underworld cult. The satire of the comparison may be intended to cut both ways.

144. **Χαιρεφῶντα Σωκράτης**

As the text stands, we have an account of a learned discussion between the two leading intellectuals of the school in which 'Sokrates' first asks a question about a flea of his colleague 'Chairephon', who in his turn asks a question about a mosquito (156-8). This arrangement has always satisfied me (as it has most recent commentators), but, there have been reservations and of late, unsettled by Sommerstein's remarks on line 156, I tend to agree with him that the text may be at fault.

The Platonic 'Sokrates' regularly adopts the teaching method of interrogating the pupil. Knowing that the answer requires more thought than the pupil customarily brings to bear, he seeks to stimulate his faculties. But, here, the school's doorman is seeking to impress Strepsiades with his master's ingenuity and this can best be shown by *his* response to the seeming-insoluble questions directed to him by his companions. So I would adopt the suggestion of a sixteenth-century Sienese scholar, Piccolomini (who became Archbishop of Patras), who preferred to reverse the interlocutors to read **Χαιρεφῶν τὸν Σωκράτη** (cf. 831). Thus one can better understand why the doorman will shortly refer to ἕτερον...Σωκράτους φρόντισμα (154-5). The alteration also seems to be justified by the fact that, when Xenophon recycles the joke in his *Συμπόσιον*, the question "*how many feet away from me is a flea*" (6.8, πόσους ψύλλα πόδας ἐμοῦ ἀπέχει ;) is posed to 'Sokrates'.

145. **ὁπόσους...τοὺς αὑτῆς πόδας**

There is no dispute regarding the facts of the incident. No one is suggesting that the flea had landed on the head of 'Sokrates' from anywhere but 'Chairephon's eyebrow and the questioner has no ulterior motive in establishing the distance a flea could jump. He simply wants to learn how a distance can *appropriately* be measured on such a microscopic scale. We can infer from this line of enquiry that a long-jump performed by a human athlete would have been measured in terms of his own foot-length, rather than a standard unit of measurement. This would provide a more level playing field for long-jumpers of slighter physique. So, Chairephon seems to suggest that (pound for pound) this particular flea might have had the makings of a champion.

146-7. **τὴν ὀφρῦν...τὴν κεφαλὴν**

Aristophanes does not pad out his verses with irrelevant details, so one may well imagine that Chairephon really did sport *bushy eyebrows* and Sokrates was already *balding*, as a scholiast claims. It is an intriguing suggestion, but is probably no more than an intelligent inference from these lines as the specific trajectory of the flea's jump from one head to another could simply be intended to hint that these intellectuals roam the city-streets in an unwashed state like stray dogs (proto-*cynics* in fact).

τὴν Σωκράτους

There is no need to repeat the definite article to emphasize κεφαλὴν (an error made in the Ravennas and repeated in the Estensis); instead we require the possessive genitive **τοῦ** to balance the previous line.

148. **διεμέτρησε**

The oldest codices (RV) supply the word τοῦτο as an object to the verb, but later manuscripts restore the ellipse. Dover notes that the verb διαμετρεῖν is suited to measuring a distance in paces (cf. *Ἰλιάς* 3.315). It was noted by Blaydes that Loukianos uses the same verb in evident imitation of this passage (*Προμηθεὺς εἶ* 6, ἄρτι δὲ ψυλλῶν πηδήματα διαμετροῦντας).

150. **τὼ πόδε**

Commentators have objected to the fact that only two of the flea's six feet are dipped in wax. But, to have dipped all the feet in wax would have been time-consuming and, frankly, a little bit silly.

151. **κᾆτα ψυχείσῃ**

Although the principal codices and the *Σοῦδα* offer us κᾆτα ψυγείσῃ and καταψυγείσῃ (R), later hands in the 15th century have accepted the authority of Moiris, the 2nd century Atticist, and corrected γάμμα to χεῖ. The compound verb in the Ravennas is apt, but the conjunction reads better. Meineke objected that the feminine participle means that the flea, rather than the wax, was being cooled, and proposed ψυχέντος to remedy this. But they could hardly blow on the wax without cooling off the flea too.

Περσικαί

These "*Persian* <boots>" were female attire and 'flea' is a feminine noun. As Sommerstein observes, the Περσικαί mentioned in *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* 319 are also called κοθόρνοι in 346. Incidentally, I think Dover errs in stating that the unexpressed noun underlying both Περσικαί and the male equivalent Λακωνικαί is ἐμβάδες, since these seem to be rather more basic items of footwear, 'slip-ons' perhaps (cf. Aristophanes frg. 875 for 'flip-flops').

153. **ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ**

This time the phrase is used to express the old man's awe of contemporary, scientific achievement. For a similar exclamation of amazement cf. 364.

154-5. **ἕτερον...Σωκράτους φρόντισμα**

'The other of two' introduces another notion, this time from a student of 'Sokrates'. The word φρόντισμα may, as Wilson suggests, be a neologism coined by Aristophanes to match his Φροντιστήριον; our 'brain-child' possibly.

156. **Χαιρεφῶν ὁ Σφήττιος**

Since 'Chairephon' has been mentioned twice already, it is rather surprising to find this delayed reference to his deme cropping up now. There is no reason to doubt that Chairephon was a δημότης of Sphettos, but it is not attested by any other source. Nor do we know its precise location, although according to legend it was named for a brother of Anaphlystos and so presumably bordered on the deme of that name. It appears to have been a rural area behind Mount Hymettos in what we call today Mesogeia. Colonel Leake thought that it was in the district now occupied by Athens International Airport, but, the discovery of a stone base inscribed with a dedication to Demetrios of Phaleron by ΣΦΗΤΤΙΟΙ, reported by Kalogeropoulou (1969),

gives us reason to believe that the acropolis of the deme could have been located in the eastern foothills of Hymettos, west of Koropi. If so, the demotic would perhaps portray the urbane intellectual as a country-boy, just like Strepsiades.

Commentators generally assume that the demotic must be included as a poor pun on σφήξ, hinting that he was 'like a wasp' (cf. *Πλοῦτος* 720). In *Σφῆκες*, the following year, Aristophanes compared the Athenian yeomanry to wasps because a poor diet had given them narrow waists and because they were aggressive when riled. So perhaps he wished to suggest here that Chairephon was an ascetic with an acerbic tongue? The poet's punning on place-names is frequently quite abject, witness his earlier effort with another deme (134) and his phrase, "*carried to Gela on gales of laughter*", which so annoyed Plutarch (frg. 629). Even so, it hardly seems sufficient to justify the belated introduction of the demotic for 'Chairephon' and Dover therefore endeavours to explain its use by suggesting that Aristophanes is just "*parodying a contemporary form of oral anecdote*". I cannot claim to fully comprehend his point.

Sommerstein, on the other hand, offers a more promising approach. He translates the text "*Chairephon of Sphettus*", but surmises that the name has been miscopied and that another student is named. He suggests Chairekrates, a close associate of Sokrates who is mentioned by Xenophon (*Ἀπομνημονεύματα* 1.2.48), as a brother of Chairephon, or Kleitophon, a figure in Plato's *Πολιτεία*. Neither name is convincing (even to Sommerstein), and others one might surmise, such as Antiphon the sophist, cannot be considered, as their deme is not recorded. But it is worth entertaining the possibility that the name Χαιρεφῶν has replaced one less familiar, because that would justify the introduction of the demotic.

I wonder whether we are looking at a fictional name that would be apt for someone intrigued by the inner workings of flying insects; a name that would resemble similar words employed by the poet (cf. frg. 753, λεπτόφωνος, βαρύφωνος). Κοιλοφῶν ('resonant-voiced') might have been used to suggest 'high-pitched'. In such case, the demotic might have been intended to suggest the student's combative style of debate or his annoying, pestering habits. In English one might try to capture the effect with the shortened name Nat (*gnat*, get it?) from Has-stings. Yes, really!

Whatever fictional name we supply to fill out the word-play, the leading idea was likely to have been the demotic adjective. It serves as an unreliable bridge between the questioner and the question, but it would have prompted the audience to wonder whether some actual demesman lay behind the name. As we have nothing to support the suggestion that Chairephon hailed from Sphettos, we may surmise that they would have been reminded that a certain Lysanias did. His son, Aischines, would later become one of Sokrates' better-known 'pupils'. If Lysanias's voice broke into a high-pitched whine when he was excited, it would have given the actor opportunity to mimic the sound here (cf. 1162).

157. **ὁπότερα τὴν γνώμην ἔχοι**

The interrogative conjunction has lost its usual force here, so that instead of asking 'which of two views', we have to translate, "*whether he holds the view that*…", for which πότερον or εἴπερ are more commonly used.

The indicative ἔχει is found in some manuscripts, but the optative is usual for such indirect questions (e.g. Herodotos 1.91.4, κότερα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχήν – "*whether <the god> meant his own or Cyrus's realm*".

τὰς ἐμπίδας

The word ἐμπίς (from ἐμπίνω, 'imbibe <blood>') can be used to denote the mosquito or its smaller cousin the gnat. Here, the audible sound shows that the former is meant. In *Ὄρνιθες* (245) the epithet ὀξύστομοι could apply to either of the infernal pests, but the marshy location favours 'mossies'. The degree to which mosquitos made low-lying areas of Greece uninhabitable in the past is too little appreciated nowadays.

158. **ᾄδειν**

The verb 'to sing' is used in Comedy of a cock's 'crowing', a pig's 'squeal' and a mosquito's 'buzzing'.

τοὐρροπύγιον

This is the 'backside' or 'tail' of any bird or insect. It is used here (and 162) of a mosquito and in *Σφῆκες* (1075) of wasp-like men.

160-4. **ἔφασκεν**

The slave expounds a 'Sokratic' theory concerning the source of the mosquito's buzz, which to a layman like me sounds every bit as plausible as the current view that it is produced by the rapidity of the insect's

wing movement. But, the audience would have recognized pseudo-scientific speculation when they heard it. Dover has suggested that the Aristophanes may be parodying some contemporary theories of audition, in which sounds are perceived by the resonance created in air contained in a cavity by the flow of air in an adjacent passage.

161. **τὴν πνοὴν**

The usual meaning of πνοή is 'breath', but it can be used of any air in motion and so can be understood here as colonic flatulence.

163. **κοῖλον**

This flexible adjective denotes anything hollowed out or 'concave'. It is most familiar to us in describing Homer's "*hollow*" ships, but can also be used for anything from a beggar's 'cupped' hand to the 'cavea' of an amphitheatre (cf. 325). Here it refers to the "*inset*" anus and has the added benefit of sounding a bit like the 'colon' of the large intestine (κόλον, cf. *Ἱππεῖς* 455).

πρὸς στένῳ προσκείμενον

The repetition of the preposition in the verb's prefix is superfluous. Moreover, the adjective lacks a noun. The Laurentianus (Θ), a fourteenth-century codex writes the simple participle, so that the missing prefix would leave us room to fit the noun στενωπός. Thus, one could read **πρὸς στενωπῷ κείμενον** – "*located adjacent to a narrow passage*" and avoid having to assume an ellipse. The verb remains compound but in tmesis (cf. 1010).

166. **διεντέρευμα**

Aristophanes has coined this comic word himself for the purpose. There was probably a word δι-έρευμα (cf. διερεύνησις) already, meaning 'thorough examination' (as ἐρεύω is found as an abbreviated form of ἐρευνάω), which he crossed with ἔντερον to give the required sense of "*thorough internal examination*".

167-8. **ῥᾳδίως...ἂν ἀποφύγοι**

Strepsiades is thinking out loud, telling himself that he has made the right move in coming to learn from 'Sokrates', because the philosopher's *inside-knowledge of household pests* would surely make him a most formidable adversary in the courtroom. Naturally, given what we know about Sokrates' later conviction, the comment is bitterly ironic. But at this date, Sokrates would probably have been considered an erudite and skilled advocate.

169-174. **γνώμην...ἀφῃρέθη**

The old man's reference to Sokrates' legal skills makes sense to us and the audience, since we are aware of his financial problems and the resulting litigation which he faces. But, it would seem a non-sequitur to the doorman, *unless* Sokrates was in fact a legal expert. Although the doorman's anecdote is ostensibly an account of a minor disturbance which distracted the philosopher from his study of astronomy, his reply plays on the ambiguity of the word γνώμη ('judgement' / 'decision'). His words suggest that Sokrates had lost some recent court action. In which case, one would like to have known the identity of his adversary, the beady-eyed *reptile* who shitted on him and won the suit (170).

170. **ὑπ(ὸ) ἀσκαλαβώτου**

The interesting point here is not the zoological distinction between the ἀσκαλαβώτης (or ἀσκάλαβος) and the γαλεώτης, as in all likelihood the first is simply a generic name covering the second specific creature. But, since we are dealing with 'a courtroom judgement' as well as 'a mental judgement', it is likely that, while the γαλεώτης is exactly what it appears ("*a gecko*"), the ἀσκαλαβώτης is both 'a lizard' and a party to Sokrates' court-case. Possibly, there is a reference to the name of a well-known figure concealed in the word, but in all probability the term is simply used facetiously, as one might depreciate someone as being a *lounge-lizard* nowadays.

171. **τῆς Σελήνης**

It should be kept in mind that in Greek the Moon has a name and is personified as an aspect of a goddess (cf. 17). This is how the superstitious mind of the old farmer views her, so that when he is told that these intellectuals follow her nocturnal movements intently he is apt to consider them as 'peeping Toms'. That such inappropriate behaviour invites divine retribution is one of the comic morals of the drama (cf. 1507).

173. **ἀπὸ τῆς ὀροφῆς**

We can imagine the philosopher being overtaken by sleep or gawping open-mouthed as he meditates on the Moon's movements from an open portico. For the possible combination of a *ceiling* and the open-air we may compare the imaginary dinner-party in *Σφῆκες* (1215).
Sommerstein aptly adduces a similar anecdote told of the philosopher Thales (cf. 180) being so wrapped up in his study of the night-sky that he stumbles into a cistern (*Θεαίτητος* 174 α, Θαλῆν ἀστρονομοῦντα ...πεσόντα εἰς φρέαρ). Such accounts of absent–minded professors must have had their origin in comic-drama and the timely appearance of a Thracian serving-girl in Plato's anecdote vouches for its comedic setting.

νύκτωρ γαλεώτης

Like the moon, geckoes are best observed by night, preferring to remain hidden by day in door lintels and roof eaves. Their pale bodies can be spotted clinging expertly to walls or ceilings when they are surprised by electric light.
Anderson (1998) has suggested that the word γαλεώτης contains a pun on the Milky Way, ὁ τοῦ γάλακτος κύκλος, abbreviated to τὸ γάλα, which gives us our 'galaxy'. Lech (2002) supports this view. Somehow, I doubt it, but I daresay Sokrates cried 'Good Lord!' (or in Danish 'Gud lort!'), when the gecko defecated.

κατέχεσεν

The prefix is otiose, but we may be surprised that a small, defecating lizard would be found amusing by the audience in any case. The reason must be that vermin and other night visitors were common pests in Athenian houses (cf. *Σφῆκες* 202-5).
[It is argued that one of the reasons canopied, four-poster beds were introduced in medieval times was to avoid the nuisance of such droppings.]

174. **ἥσθην**

The comment "*I was delighted at*…" explains the loud laugh that Strepsiades has just given on hearing of Sokrates' discomforture. His reaction is due not merely to his enjoyment of the scatological incident, but to fulfilment of the divine retribution which he anticipated. Dover notes dialogue at *Εἰρήνη* 1066,

αἰβοιβοῖ.
τί γελᾷς;
ἥσθην χαροποῖσι πιθήκοις

"*Ho, ho*!…*Why do you laugh*?…*I liked the bit about goggle-eyed monkeys*." Here, we might well include the old farmer's laugh in the script (but extra versum).

175. **ἡμῖν**

The pronoun is not a reason to identify the speaker as a student of the school. The slave includes himself as a member of the household, because if there was no food for the students' evening meal, a slave would surely go to bed hungry as well.

δεῖπνον οὐκ ἦν

The doorman suggests that the Φροντιστήριον is poor and meals are irregular, but Aristophanes is merely making fun of the abstemiousness which Sokratic education encouraged.

176. **εἶεν**

The exclamation of surprise is incorporated into the verse here, and later (1075), but could have been left extra versum if it did not fit the metre, e.g. *Ἱππεῖς* 1078, Euripides *Μήδεια* 385). In the Ravennas codex it is usually written with the second syllable aspirated (εἷέν) and ever since Coulon's edition this has been the preferred form, but the aspiration would effectively separate the syllables and does not seem plausible to me. If any accent is required I would as soon support the form **εἰέν**, which in this instance is written in the Ravennas (according to Dover's apparatus).

πρὸς τ(ὰ) ἄλφιτ(α)

This time the meaning is the straightforward "*bread and butter*" (cf. 106).

ἐπαλαμήσατο

The verb παλαμάομαι occurs three times in the extant works of Aristophanes and hardly at all elsewhere. It clearly derives from the noun παλάμη ('*palm* of the hand'), which is used to convey the idea of 'device or artifice'. This gives the verb its meaning of 'to act in a cunning manner'. It is a reasonable assumption that this meaning originates from sleight-of-hand tricks performed by street magicians.

When Aristophanes used it in a passage of *Ἀχαρνεῖς* a scholiast has noted that its use was in imitation of a lyric verse from a work of Euripides (frg. 918).

πρὸς ταῦτα Κλέων καὶ παλαμάσθω
καὶ πᾶν ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ τεκταινέσθω

– "*In this regard let Kleon play his devious tricks and do all he can to formulate* <language> *against me*" (659-60). So, if the verb was drawn from the vocabulary of tragic-drama, one may wonder whether there is a deliberate incongruity here in 'exercising a cunning artifice' in order to get one's 'vittles', similar to the previous instance (106). Although Dover concludes that the verb was probably not "*strikingly poetic*", Aristophanes uses it as a virtual synonym of τεχνάομαι (cf. *Σφῆκες* 176, ᾐσθόμην τεχνωμένου – "*I caught on to him cunningly contriving*"), which was certainly a constituent of tragic-diction.

177. **κατὰ τῆς τραπέζης**

One is probably meant to take this as a "*dining-table*", which 'Sokrates' has put to another use, but it has been thought to stand for the table beside an altar where sacrificial victims (θυμάτια) were cut up, as there would be ashes to hand.

καταπάσας...τέφραν

Perhaps due to a wartime shortage of blackboards, 'Sokrates' is reduced to sprinkling a fine layer of ashes on the table-top, in which to illustrate the results of his (g)astronomical enquiries. His choice of ashes as a medium is probably ironic since normally food would be cooked in hot ashes. Aristophanes' colleague in Comedy, Philonides, spoke of writing oaths in ashes (frg.7, ὅρκους εἰς τέφραν γράφειν), which appears to be parodying a commonplace of tragic-drama, e.g. Sophokles' ὅρκους ἐγὼ γυναικὸς εἰς ὕδωρ γράφω (frg. 811). The expression became proverbial and was later borrowed by Catullus in his *Carmina* (lxx). [Later still, by Andy Fairweather Low, "*don't write me invitations in sand*".]

178. **εἶτα διαβήτην λαβών**,

As Sommerstein observes, Sokrates seems about to draw some 'food for thought' with a makeshift pair of compasses, fashioned from a (meat-less) skewer. But, the text is not a smooth sequence, for "*after having bent the skewer*" we hear "<and> *then having taken a pair of compasses*", whereas what we would expect is 'after having bent the skewer *so as to obtain* a pair of compasses' (ὥστε διαβήτην λαβεῖν). Something seems amiss.

179. **ἐκ τῆς παλαίστρας**

We are abruptly informed that this lesson drawn in ashes is not taking place in the Φροντιστήριον but in a wrestling-school. How did that happen? Sommerstein provides a very plausible rationale. The word used for 'a pair of compasses' derives from the verb διαβαίνω, which as he points out is found in Aristophanic verse to denote *someone* standing with their legs apart (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 688, ὠδὶ διαβάς). Therefore, he thinks that the compasses have undergone a surreal transformation into a wrestler in a wide-legged stance. Kloss (2001, 122-3) has explained how this transformation may have been effected by having 'Sokrates' draw a circle with the compasses and having the students imagine it is a wrestling-ring. In this imagined scenario the bent skewer takes on a second role as the wrestler, whose discarded clothes they are urged to steal. So it seems that the doorman's story was set in the school all along. 'Sokrates' drew a lesson from the ashes and a skewer left over from the previous meal, letting his pupils know that if they expected any food, they would be advised to head for the gym and fend for themselves by theft.

This interpretation of the lesson appears the most likely explanation of the poet's intention, but cannot be extracted from the text. The most one could conclude from lines 177-9 as they stand is that the skewer is intended to be the instrument of the theft. This, in fact, was what the ancient commentators concluded. It is clearly unsatisfactory (as my translation shows).

Therefore, I believe that Guidorizzi's proposal (Sommerstein, addenda p. x) to assume a lacuna is correct. The missing line may have ended with the words …διαβήτην λαβών, while the actual ending of line 178 may have been something like …διαβήτῃ γράφων.

θοἰμάτιον ὑφείλετο

The definite article (omitted by some ancient commentators) is necessary to make the connection between a 'pair of compasses' and a 'crouching wrestler', since it is "*his cloak*", not just any cloak, that is filched. [In Petronius's *Satyricon* (12), set in the first century A.D., the attempt to sell a stolen cloak is an episode in the adventures of Encolpius.] Evidently, there was a ready market for such second-hand garments.

Once again, we have comic intimations of Sokrates' alleged impecunity. The charge of theft was possibly levelled in Comedy because the Sokratics were admirers of the Spartan upbringing (Ἀγωγή), where boys were expected to find their own food by begging or theft. Sokrates' own gymnasium was probably the 'Lyceum', which may have figured in the original finale of the play (see Appendix 2. III).
Hermann's proposal to read θυμάτιον ('a small sacrificial victim') no longer finds favour with scholars, although Winans provided a rationale for it, but the audience may have heard the pun anyway.

180. **ἐκεῖνον τὸν Θαλῆν**

Thales of Miletos, a philosopher of the preceding century, was considered a paragon of practical wisdom whose name bespoke *genius* much as Einstein's does nowadays (cf. *Ὄρνιθες* 1009 – ἄνθρωπος Θαλῆς, "*the man is a <veritable> Thales*"). But, the mention of his name may not be entirely coincidental, since he was an early proponent of the notion that mental strength was predicated on physical health (cf. Diogenes Laërtios 1.37).

182. **τὸν Σωκράτη**

The reading Σωκράτην in the codices (doubtless under the influence of Θαλῆν above) was first corrected in the Aldine edition, as stated by Sommerstein (cf. 355 and Wilson p. 65). The same error recurs in 1465 and 1477.

183. **ἄνοιγε τὴν θύραν**

Until now the doorman has been blocking the door to ensure that Strepsiades cannot see what goes on in the school, but since the old man insists that he wants to join the cult (sorry, school), the doorman moves aside and opens the door. Immediately, the inmates begin to drift out into the street, some still holding the instruments of their study. They are portrayed as stray dogs who wander out of the school when the gate is left ajar (much like the 'Cynics' of Antisthenes' type).
In tragic-drama, the ensuing scene could have been represented by means of an elaborate piece of stage-machinery, the ἐκκύκλημα, which was used to bring an *interior* into view for the audience. Sommerstein proposes loading the students precariously onto a trolley, which can safely accommodate four in number, and which will later double as a bed. He does not specify, but presumably this revolutionary tumbrel was wheeled out by stage-hands disguised as extra students. Dover finds a more modest expedient of a screen, concealing part of the σκηνή, which is drawn back by the students themselves to reveal the school proper. But, though we are said to be viewing an interior scene, the students are still outside, so evidently he must visualize this area behind the screen as a walled courtyard.
The one scene in extant comic-drama in which an attempt was made to imitate the ἐκκύκλημα of tragic-drama is in *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι*. Fittingly it is a scene which represents one tragedian, Euripides, visiting another, Agathon. The latter makes his entrance in a wheel-chair, which sufficiently justifies Euripides' exclamation (96), οὗτος οὐκκυκλούμενος – "*there he is being rolled out*!"

184. **ποδαπὰ τὰ θηρία;**

Sokrates' adherents tended to emulate their teacher's scorn for conventional dress and normal behaviour. Aristophanes lampoons this desire to stand out from the crowd by likening them to the fabulous or exotic creatures with which Herakles was confronted (cf. *Ὄρνιθες* 93, registering shock on seeing the hoopoe).

186. **τοῖς...Λακωνικοῖς**

Two years previously an Athenian force under Kleon's command had trapped and captured 292 Lakonian troops at Pylos in Messenia. These were the survivors who surrendered to Kleon out of the original force of 440. One hundred and twenty of these prisoners were Spartans (Thucydides 4.38.5). The students from the school are likened to these P.O.Ws because they are sallow as a result of long confinement and poor food. The use of Λακωνικοί to describe Λακεδαιμόνιοι may be meant in a derisory sense. They have just been described as wild beasts (θηρία, 184) and a scholiast mentions that they were δεδεμένους ἐν ξύλῳ, which is usually taken to mean that they were confined individually in stocks, but might mean that they were exhibited in wooden cages like animals. Cf. *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* 356, used in same metrical position.
The variant **τῆς Λακωνικῆς** (Θ) may be due simply, as Dover says, to the vowel sounding identical to the dipthong (η/οι) in the scribe's head. But, the additional locative would be a more natural way to introduce the reference to Lakonia (Dover himself cites Thucydides 2.25.1, ἐς Μεθώνην τῆς Λακωνικῆς), which the poet has probably introduced because the Sokratic 'school' were considered to be too sympathetic to the Peloponnesian cause; particularly the 'Lakonizing' extremists like Kritias. In *Ἱππεῖς*, that loyal servant of

the state, the general Demosthenes, is said to have prepared a Lakonian pie in Pylos (55, μᾶζαν...ἐν Πύλῳ Λακωνικήν).

188. **βολβοὺς**

The old man's mind naturally gravitates toward food (cf. 45) and he assumes that the students are hunting for the edible 'tubers' of some wild plants, e.g. squills; here he probably means onions. His words suggest that these were foraged rather than cultivated. They were used to flavour φακῆ or some other dishes, like their smaller relation the γήτειον (cf. *Σφῆκες* 496). As a meal in themselves they were baked in hot ashes and eaten with sauce (cf. Platon frg.189, βολβοὺς μὲν σποδιᾷ δαμάσας καταχύσματι δεύσας ὡς πλείστους διάτρωγε).

189. **τουτογὶ**

The codices read τοῦτό γε or τοῦτ' ἔτι, but neither scans, so Dover adopts Reisig's τοῦτο γ' ἔτι. Hall and Geldart have followed Porson's lead with τουτογὶ (for τουτί γε) which Aristophanes employs elsewhere (cf. *Σφῆκες* 781, *Ἱππεῖς* 721). Either reading is feasible.

192. **ὑπὸ τὸν Τάρταρον**

Tartaros was the dark side of the Earth, poetically personified as the masculine consort of feminine Gaia. Dover asserts that the audience would have found nothing strange about the phrase "*they are scrutinizing Erebos under Tartaros*", but to speak of Erebos as if it represented "*the nether darkness below Tartarus*" (Sommerstein) or "*the murkiness below Tartarus*" (Henderson) would have made as little sense then as it does now. Nothing lay 'beneath Tartaros', because it was held to be 'boundless' (see Xenophanes frg. 28, τὸ κάτω εἰς ἄπειρον ἱκνεῖται – "*the underworld proceeds ad infinitum*"; Aischylos *Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης* 153-4, ἀπέραντον Τάρταρον). Instead, the darkness of Erebos should be understood as being 'under *the control of* Tartaros' (for his son Typhos cf. 336). Theognis calls Erebos the home of Persephone (974, εἴς τ' Ἔρεβος…δώματα Περσεφόνης).

In discussing pre-Sokratic cosmology, Kirk and Raven (1966, p.11) say, "*There was a certain vagueness about the relationships of Hades, Erebos and Tartarus, although Tartarus was certainly the lowest part of the underworld*". Aristophanes appears to be trying to rationalize some irreconcilable elements of the traditional cosmology to fit the intellectual milieu, just as in *Ὄρνιθες* (693-703) he adapts creation-theory similarly to suit his kingdom of the birds.

193. **ὁ πρωκτὸς...βλέπει**

This helps to explain advice given by Mike Siegel's schoolteacher, 'to avoid looking directly at the sun so as not to damage your rectum'.

194. **αὐτὸς καθ' αὑτὸν**

Each anus is considered to be an extra 'eye' capable of surveying the heavens "*independently, on its own*" [perhaps, what is called 'the third eye' in yoga]. The surreal image is crudely comic, although one has to say with Gilbert Gottfried, "*It works like a joke, but it makes no sense*". Perhaps that is why it can still be employed humorously, as in the query, "*Are you reading that newspaper you're sitting on*?"

Broakes (2009) puts forward the idea that Aristophanes may be ridiculing a Sokratic theory of forms from which Plato derived his use of this phrase. A devotee of Platonism may find the suggestion intriguing, but even if Sokrates had employed the phrase with his pupils in the discrete sense, Aristophanes could hardly have expected his audience to cotton on to the special significance of such a mundane phrase (cf. 289).

ἀστρονομεῖν

They are "*studying the stars*". Really? Even the old farmer should have realized that star-gazing is in fact best left to the hours of darkness (cf. 225).

195. **ἀλλ(ὰ) εἶσι(τε)**

This reminder to the students that they are expected to stay within the confines of the school, tells us that we have not just witnessed an *interior* scene. It also invites comparison between the 'Thinking shop' and a British public school, since the doorkeeper paints 'Sokrates' (ἐκεῖνος) as a strict headmaster, who would not look kindly upon any student leaving the school grounds without his express permission (cf. 221).

ὑμῖν

The codices (and the *Σοῦδα*) read **ἡμῖν**, but Bergk, taking his lead from a scholion found in the Ravenna codex, which explained the verb with the gloss μὴ...εὕρῃ ὑμᾶς, suggested that the scholiast was right and all the manuscripts were wrong. Dover says that the change is "*obviously right*" (and recent editors agree

with him). He supports the alteration by maintaining that the speaker is not afraid to be caught outside by the master, and yet we find that he is reluctant to stay outside when his master appears, hurriedly claiming that he has work to do (221), and even now, it is only Strepsiades' persistent questions which detain him. Surely, if we introduce the second-person pronoun, we set the speaker apart as, for instance, a…doorman? Perhaps, Dover saw him as a doctoral student, who just happened to be collecting his mail from the lodge when Strepsiades knocked at the door, because these superior beings are generally a law unto themselves. But, we cannot have it both ways. Bergk's emendation can hardly fit a student who ought to be subject to the very same retstrictions as his fellows. If the speaker is a student, the inclusive first-person pronoun is right, and if the speaker is a slave, the same argument applies (cf. 175). All that has happened is that the scholiast has matched the personal pronoun ὑμᾶς to the plural imperative.

196-7. **μήπω γε**

Repetition usually arouses my suspicion (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 405), but here it seems to be used to show agitation on the part of the old man, "*no…not just yet*!" (cf. 267, 1318).

Dover considers this couplet a mere 'feed', but it serves to emphasize Strepsiades' stubborn determination to find a quick solution to his financial plight. Later, his obstinacy will be a comical source of irritation to his teachers.

αὐτοισι κοινώσω τι

He wisely wishes to discuss his problem with the *students*, not the slave.

198-9.

Throughout the play, Aristophanes frequently mocks the pallor of the intellectuals in comparison with the healthy, ruddy complexion of the traditional aristocrat. There must have been some truth to the jibe, but he is doubtless exaggerating for comic effect.

200. **τί γὰρ τάδ(ε) ἐστίν**;

In their haste to depart the students have left behind some of their instruments. But, since Aristophanes is putting on a comic-drama, one can hardly presume that this equipment would have faithfully represented contemporary 'scientific' instrumentation. Moreover, since Strepsiades' guide is not a student as such, his explanations are not entirely convincing; a case of the blind leading the blind.

For a recent discussion of the implications of the following lines for our understanding of science in fifth-century Athens, see Bromberg (2012).

201. **αὐτηί**

The deictic form found in late-medieval manuscripts (KN) is a correction of the unmetrical αὔτη (RV). A (notionally) short second syllable (- ◡ -) is required to begin the fourth foot (cf. 214).

202-3. **γεωμετρία...γῆν ἀναμετρεῖσθαι**

The doorman has a tenuous grasp of the students' activities and assumes that the tools of 'geometry' must be intended literally for 'land survey'. Once again his off-the-cuff explanation is good enough for the old farmer. This passage and similar jokes in other comic-dramas were taken literally by later commentators (cf. Diogenes Laërtios 2. 32, ἔφασκέ τε δεῖν γεωμετρεῖν μέχρι ἄν τις μέτρῳ δύνηται γῆν παραλαβεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι – "*Sokrates used to assert that one should understand* '*geometry*' *to the extent that one could acquire or dispose of land by measurement*"). Even Herodotos was ready to accept the doorman's simple etymology (2. 109), reasoning that, since the Egyptians were known to have used geometry earlier than the Greeks, they had doubtless had to develop the science in order to remeasure land inundated each year by the Nile. Eudemos of Rhodes concluded that Thales must have introduced geometry to Miletos having seen how the Egyptians used it to measure the height of the pyramids.

203. **κληρουχικήν**;

As the population of Athens had grown after the Persian Wars, the shortage of decent farmland in Attika had become a matter of concern. During the succeeding decades the islands of Skyros, Aigina and Euboia had been annexed and their best agricultural land had been parcelled out by lot to Athenian settlers. Most recently, in 427 B.C., the islanders of Lesbos had tried unsuccessfully to secede from their 'alliance' with Athens and been brought to heel. A thousand and more of the *rebels* had been despatched to Athens and executed on Kleon's motion, while most of the farmland was divided into roughly three thousand parcels and allotted to Athenian citizens. In this case, however, their manpower was needed to maintain control of the subject population and the 'kleruchs' took rent on the land instead of farming it themselves.

204. **τὴν σύμπασαν**
Despite his confusion, the doorman stumbles upon the actual derivation of geometry as 'measurement of the Earth'.
205. **δημοτικὸν καὶ χρήσιμον**
Strepsiades is intrigued by the idea of a scientific method for distributing *all* the known world to Athenian colonists. It strikes him as 'both useful and public-spirited', or "*beneficial to the Demos*", in other words, people like him.
206. **αὕτη δέ σοι**
In our text the whole line is assigned to the doorman, but it seems to me suspicious that he volunteers the information without being asked directly or prompted in any way. Moreover, the personal pronoun seems to serve little purpose ('this is *for you* a map'?). I would suggest that we understand an ellipse and assign the first words to the farmer αὕτη δέ σοι <δοκεῖς>; – "*What do you think this is*?" Perhaps, having heard the audience laughing, Strepsiades has begun to harbour doubts about the doorman's 'explanations'.
γῆς περίοδος πάσης
The doorman declares that they are looking at "*a map of the world*", which was presumably an engraving representing the lands bordering on the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, with Delphi as the central point, although the only parts he can name, perhaps the only parts shown, are Attika, Lakonia and Euboia. In suggesting that Sokrates was an accomplished cartographer, Aristophanes reflects Athenian interest in the science of geography which would have been developing rapidly along with the expansion of overseas trade. We will shortly hear 'Sokrates' display his knowledge, when he summons the Chorus from the five corners of the known world (cf. 269-74).
The geographer Agathemeros (3rd century A.D.) states that the first Greek to draw a map of the inhabited world on a chart was Anaximandros of Miletos, a younger contemporary of Thales (πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν πίνακι γράψαι). The *Σοῦδα* (α 1986) says that he wrote a book with the title γῆς περίοδος. Herodotos records how Aristagoras, the Milesian ambassador to Sparta, brought with him a bronze tablet, to argue his case for Kleomenes support against Persia (5.49.1), ἔχων χάλκεον πίνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἁπάσης περίοδος ἐνετέτμητο καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες.
209. **Ἀττικὸν τὸ χωρίον**
Sommerstein follows Dobree's proposal to read Αττικὴ, but the name Attica is itself an adjective (sc. γῆ) so, since the ruling noun is actually expressed, the adjective should agree with it and therefore the original text is sound.
210. **Κικυννῆς**
The codices agree on **Κικυν(ν)εῖς**, which Triklinios preferred to write as Κικυνῆς, leaving it to Brunck to offer the present spelling.
οὐμοὶ δημόται
Some manuscripts have οἱ 'μοὶ, but editors agree on printing the crasis οὐμοὶ found in the rest. Another possibility would be, οἱ 'μοῦ δημόται.
211. **ἐνταῦθ(α) ἔνεισιν**
He merely points to the area saying that his fellow demesmen "*belong in here*" (cf. *Σφῆκες* 991, 'νταυθ' ἔνι) but Strepsiades probably understands him to be explaining that they are not visible because they are "*indoors*".
213. **οἶδ(α)· ὑπὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν**
The old farmer can recall the campaign against Euboia from personal experience. His deme was enrolled in the tribe Akamantis, of which Perikles would have been phylarch.
παρετάθη
The student's reference to the elongated shape of Euboia suggests to Strepsiades how a slave might be put on the rack and 'stretched' to obtain information in a judicial investigation, or as punishment for having tried to run away. He recalls how as a soldier he had taken part in the campaign under Perikles' leadership to force the Euboians back under the Athenian yoke, when they had tried to secede in 446 B.C. It is a clear indication of how the Athenians soon came to view their 'allies' as subject populations. The account of events given by Thucydides (1.114) suggests that the uprising was coordinated with the Spartans.
Recent commentators, following Dover, prefer to translate 'laid out', as if the metaphor was from boxing.

214. **ποῦ (ἐ)σθ'**;
Dover (followed by Henderson) prefers to print ποῦ (ἐ)στίν; But, it is easy enough to permit the elision of the second syllable and thereby avoid having the foot split between speakers. The same elision is found in a fragment of Eupolis's *Πόλεις* (frg 247), (A) ἡ ὑστάτη ποῦ 'σθ'; (B) ἥδε Κύζικος πλέα στατήρων as well as *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 96. καὶ ποῦ 'σθ'; - <ὅπου>'στιν; (cf. *Σφῆκες* 147, ποῦ 'σθ' ἡ τηλία;).
[Similarly, the split anapaest in *Σφῆκες* 1369 can be remedied with the alteration of κλέψαντα to κλέψας.]
ὅπου (ἐ)στίν; **αὐτηί**.
The doorman is put on the spot, and stalls. "*Where is Sparta*, <you ask>?" Then, realizing his questioner will be none the wiser anyway, he points to a spot on the map. "*This is it, here*". The original reading was probably **τουτογί**, since he is pointing to 'this spot here' (cf. 209, τοῦτο...τὸ χωρίον), but at some point a scholar has altered the pronoun to agree with ἡ Λακεδαίμων, i.e. πόλη. Emending has the additional merit for us of replacing a notional amphimacer with a natural one.
215. **πάνυ φροντίζετε**
Hall and Geldart have printed the reading of the codices, which might be rendered as, "*give* <the matter> *a good deal of thought*", but Bentley proposed the better reading, **μεταφροντίζετε**, based on a paraphrase (μεταβουλεύεσθε) found in a scholion. It shows Strepsiades coining another new word on a familiar stem (cf. 94 Φροντιστήριον, 101 μεριμνοφροντισταί, and 155 φροντίσμα) to convey his advice to "*think it over again*". Bentley's conjecture is supported by the variant μέγα φροντίζετε in the *Σοῦδα* (copied too into a sixteenth-century ms. (Δ) Laurentianus plut.31.16.
217. **νὴ Δί(α)**
In the codices this affirmative oath is still part of the doorman's speech, but Cobet realized that it belongs to the old farmer, because the doorman would have used the negative μὰ Δία.
οἰμώξεσθ(ε) ἄρα
In Dover's view Strepsiades appears to hold the slave personally responsible for this rapprochement with Sparta and turns to "*petulant violence*". Sommerstein too has him raise his stick as if about to strike him. But, to my mind, the plural militates against this interpretation. He is confused, unable to comprehend the scale of a map, and is worried that the Spartans are much too close to Attica *from a scientific perspective*. In using the plural he is simply saying "*you* <intellectuals> *will have cause to regret* <bringing Lakonians so close to home>". Again, the verb is not really a synonym for κλαύσεσθε (cf. 58), which carries a threat of physical abuse, but rather predicts that the students will have reason to strongly regret their actions (cf. *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 278, οἰμώξεται τἄρα εἰ τὸν ἐμὸν πρωκτὸν πλυνεῖ, i.e. 'he'll have his work cut out for him if he tries…'). Once again the poet subtly points the finger at the perception of Lakonizing Sokratics.
218. **φέρε**
The two elderly characters have been getting on famously so far [one might say 'like a house on fire', but that would require a spoiler-alert]. The doorman has quickly forgotten his irritation at being rudely woken up and has been enthusiastically demonstrating his *knowledge* of the school's curriculum to the would-be student. But, now, something has suddenly caught Strepsiades' attention. One of the principal characters has just made his seemingly-unobtrusive entrance.
However one chooses to visualize his entrance, it must be clear that 'Sokrates' had not been visible to the spectators until Strepsiades spoke the previous line. But once he appears, the laughter of the audience will have alerted the old man to his presence. It is likely, therefore, that the master makes his appearance while the two men have their backs turned. The only other detail of which we can be sure is that he appears on a higher plane to them. See Appendix 6.
219. **αὐτός**
The anonymous grammarian Ἀντι-Αττικιστής (78.29, frg. 942) states that the pronoun is used specifically of 'the master' (ὁ δεσπότης) which, if correct here, identifies the doorman as a slave. He cites an example from another work of Aristophanes (which Polydeukes assigns to *Δράματα*, frg. 279) αὐτὸς ἔρχεται – "*the man himself is on his way here*". The poet may be attempting to identify the servant of Sokrates with the typical acolyte of Pythagoras who habitually referred to the sound of 'his master's voice' with the words αὐτὸς ἔφα (cf. Appendix 4, Diogenes Laërtios 8.46).
ὦ Σώκρατες

Strepsiades does not address the master yet; the words that follow make clear that he is in awe of him and reluctant to speak. Instead, one should understand the old man to be expressing his admiration, "*Aha*! *So that's Sokrates*!" and we should write **ὦ Σωκράτης**.
The Aldine editor had recognized that the nominative is required, but omitted ὦ. Bentley saw he was half right and supplied τί; Van Leeuwen restored an exclamatory ὦ**,** and Dover removed the comma. Although he considered that "*attempts to distinguish between and* ὅ…ὦ *are not fruitful*", I would prefer to confine ὦ to the vocative form of address, while ὠ can serve to mark what I consider the crasis of ὅ…ὁ, when the nominative is used (cf. *Σφῆκες* 187, ὠ μιαρώτατος – "*Oh, the utter scoundrel!*").
Our mental image of Sokrates is usually based on the old man of seventy who stood trial nearly a quarter century after this play was first performed. He is often thought of as a man who was prematurely balding (like Aristophanes) with a hyper-thyroid 'exophthalmos' condition. But, here he is in his mid-forties, still vigorous and perhaps rather brusque in manner. On the basis of line 147 we can perhaps infer that his hair -line was receding, which in itself could account for the perception that his eyes stuck out.
[The Canadian comic Jeremy Hotz has shown how by opening one's eyes really wide it is possible for a middle-aged man to minimize the onlooker's perception of the ever-increasing gap between hairline and eye-brows!]

220. **ἴθ(ι) οὗτος**

He calls out to the retreating doorman. The pronoun indicates that they are no longer standing together. [As late as the 1970 reprint the following line is incorrectly numbered 220 in Hall and Geldart's text.]

ἀναβόησον...**μέγα**

Although, in reality, 'Sokrates' is suspended only a foot or two above the old man, he is to be imagined as soaring high overhead, for the old farmer asks the servant to call up "*loudly*" (cf. *Σφῆκες* 963, λέξον μέγα – "*speak up*!", *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 103, λέγε δὴ σὺ μείζον – "*speak louder*!" and 393 μέγα βροντᾶν)

221. **οὐ γάρ μοι σχολή**

The doorkeeper's claim to be busy all of a sudden (the same excuse advanced by 'Euripides' in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 407), conceals the fact that he does not wish to be caught outside the college premises by his master either (cf. 195).

222. **ὦ Σώκρατες**

He calls out, but whatever he shouts is outside the verse structure. It is unlikely to be the whole name and given the diminutive that he is about to use, I would settle for **ὦ ὅ**.

ὦ Σωκρατίδιον

Strepsiades has used the diminutive of his son's name (cf. 80) in order to sweet-talk him. But in this case he is affecting familiarity with the celebrated Sokrates [like calling out 'Hey, Bobby!' to Robert de Niro]. Somewhere the poet even uses a wheedling diminutive of a goddess (cf. frg.788, Ἀφροδιτίδιον).

223. **ὦ (ἐ)φήμερε**;

'Sokrates' speaks from on high in the grave tones used in tragic-drama of an immortal addressing a short-lived mortal. The epithet is scornful (e.g. Aischylos *Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης* 83). But ἐφήμερος also carries a literal distinction between day and night, since these intellectuals were criticized in Comedy as 'night-owls'. In *Ὧραι*, Aristophanes mocks Chairephon as νυκτὸς παῖδα (frg.584) because of his pallor (though in mythology the real Νυκτὸς παῖδες were the primeval Giants and Chairephon was probably taller than average).
A scholion suggests that, since Pindar (frg. 157) once put this form of address in the mouth of a Silenos, Aristophanes was inviting comparison between 'Sokrates' and the elderly satyr. But, unless one accepts the supposed physical resemblance, it is hard to see why the comic-poet would allude to Pindar's verse in quite this way. Like Dover, I found the idea "*far-fetched*", until I gave it more thought (see Appendix 6).
Dover also points out that the metre requires the first syllable of the adjective to be elided and suggests that this lends a colloquial tone to the verse which "*somewhat counteracts the pretentiousness*". On the other hand, the compression may have served merely to indicate a peremptory tone.

225. **περιφρονῶ**

The poet slyly combines the two distinct senses of the verb. On the one hand, 'Sokrates' is "*speculating about*" the sun, while from his airy vantage point he can also be said to "*look down on*" or "*despise*" it.

The ambiguity is somewhat similar to the English use of 'patronize', but cannot be accurately replicated in modern English, so Sommerstein resorts to the fusty verbs 'descry / decry'.
Night has now receded and the fiery chariot drawn by Helios' horses is rising over Mount Hymettos (cf. 741). This is the very chariot, incidentally, from which Medeia looks down scornfully on her pursuers in Euripides' eponymous drama and normally we would espect the Sun to look down on 'Sokrates' not the other way round.

226. **ἀπὸ ταρροῦ**

The word ταρσός (Attic ταρρός) was a general term, applied to a variety of objects, which could represent any kind of interlocking framework; much as nowadays one might use 'mesh' or 'grid'. It has bequeathed us the anatomical term 'metatarsus' for the main bones of the foot. Here it refers to the platform on which 'Sokrates' is supported, but its significance extends beyond what Strepsiades means by it. In antiquity, it was thought to be a bar of some kind. Polydeukes (x. 156) states that ταρρός was used of a 'group-perch' where domestic hens could roost (πέτευρον δέ, οὗ τὰς ἐνοικιδίας ὄρνιθας ἐγκαθεύδειν συμβέβηκεν). This too would have needed to be in an elevated position for the birds' protection. Dover is not happy with the inference that 'Sokrates' stood on a bar or perch, nor that he sat like a cheese on a rack such as that which Homer describes in the cave of Polyphemos (*Ὀδύσσεια* 9. 219, ταρσοὶ μὲν τυρῶν βρῖθον – "*racks <which groaned> under the weight of cheeses*". He prefers to have him sitting on a four-cornered mat suspended in the form of a sling.
Although Ambrosino (1984/5) sought to revive the interpretation of the ταρσός as a cheese-rack and won over Sommerstein (addenda p. x), the fact that cheeses were *dried* on the ταρσοί appears to be at variance with 'Sokrates' justification for his elevated position, namely his wish to avoid having his moist thoughts absorbed by the earth below (232-3). But certainly, a <cheese>-rack would be hoisted high in order to be both out of the way and to be out of the reach of cheese-thieves, such as the dog Labes in *Σφῆκες* (895-6) and, as a goatherd himself, Strepsiades is bound to be thinking about some such domestic use of the word ταρρός.
The codices agree on the Attic spelling ταρροῦ and the atticizing Aristophanes would probably have used that spelling, but Strepsiades is no grammarian. I would suggest we read **ταρσοῦ**, because this is the form with which the old farmer would be familiar (from Herodotos 1.179 – ταρσοὶ καλάμων, Thucydides 2.76 – ἐν ταρσοῖς καλάμου and Homer), but also because I suspect that Aristophanes had a pun in mind which is enabled by the Ionic spelling. Plutarch, in speaking of Athens' most effective public speaker (*Περικλῆς* 5.1), uses a phrase which hints at a possible reason for suspending 'Sokrates' in a wicker-basket to begin with, "*he became gradually inflated with what is called higher philosophy and with lofty abstractions*" – τῆς λεγομένης μετεωρολογίας καὶ μεταρσιολεσχίας ὑποπιμπλάμενος.

τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπερφρονεῖς

One manuscript (V) repeats περιφρονεῖς here and since Strepsiades will be echoing 'Sokrates' words, this is the correct reading. The variant ὑπερφρονεῖς is most likely to have been a gloss seeking to point up the ambiguity, quite adequately contained in περιφρονεῖς. Dover objects on grounds of prosody, but Blaydes had already resolved this by reading **σὺ περιφρονεῖς**. The omission of just two letters would account for the false reading, i.e. (σ)ὺ περ(ι)φρονεῖς.
The ambiguity in the verb sows confusion in the old man's mind and he is anxious on two counts. Firstly, he is perplexed as to why 'Sokrates' needs to be air-borne in order to 'despise the gods', but on the other hand he is also concerned that this intellectual is making enquiries about Helios after previously looking too closely at Selina (171-2). Has the man no shame?
Aristophanes has deliberately hoisted his 'Sokrates' aloft in order to be able to make the double entendre. There were physicists who had begun to 'look down' on the sun before Sokrates, notably Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, who commenced his studies at Athens a decade before Sokrates was born. He claimed to be born to study astronomy (Diogenes Laërtios 2.10). In his cosmology, universal order was brought about by νοῦς ('mind' or 'reason') and he speculated that the sun was a mass of red-hot metal (ibid. 2.8, ἔλεγε τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον) rather than an anthropomorphic deity. He is thought to have died c. 428 B.C., so possibly he was a victim of the plague, like Perikles.

227. **εἴπερ**;

Dover (followed by Henderson) translates, "*if* <that's what you are doing>". But, Strepsiades is unlikely to question the very first statement that 'the master' makes. He understands him to be 'looking over' the god Helios and perhaps also 'looking down' on him; both activities which strike him as highly dubious. Therefore, he seems to be implying, "*If you really think that's quite proper*" (cf. 251).

228. **τὰ μετέωρα πράγματα**

Literally he means 'matters poised or suspended on high', or as we would say "*celestial phenomena*", but the point of the joke is of course that 'Sokrates' himself is suspended on high in order to contemplate the heavens. Xenophon imitates Aristophanes' joke when someone tells 'Sokrates' that "*being perceived as one who contemplates the higher things*" is hardly a compliment (*Συμπόσιον* 6.6, ἐδοκεῖς τῶν μετεώρων φροντιστὴς εἶναι), at which the Master reminds him that "*nothing is higher than the gods*" (μετεωρότερόν τι τῶν θεῶν).

229-30. **εἰ μὴ κρεμάσας**

The unusual participial construction can be explained by assuming an ellipse of ἐξηῦρον (Kock). Blaydes would have emended to read εἰ μὴ (ἐ)κρέμασα...καὶ...κατέμιξα γε.

τὴν φροντίδα λεπτὴν…**τὸν ὅμοιον ἀέρα**

The adjective applies both to his thoughts which are 'subtle' and the air which is 'thin'. Leaving aside the humorous intent, his explanation suggests that the ancients recognized the thinning of the atmosphere at altitude. But the aim here is to poke fun at Sokratic emphasis on subtlety of thought (λεπτότης, cf. 842).

Some scholars consider these lines to be a "*garbled parody*" (Sommerstein) of theories propagated by a certain Diogenes of Apollonia, who held that Air or Space was the fundamental element out of which all other things were formed either by rarefaction or condensation, cf. Laks (2008). Antisthenes called him a 'pupil' of Anaximenes (Diogenes Laërtios 9.57), by which one can understand that his theories had been founded on ideas originally propounded in the third quarter of the sixth century.

καταμείξας

The codices read καταμίξας, but modern editors follow van Leeuwen's orthographic correction.

232-3. **ἡ γῆ βίᾳ ἕλκει πρὸς αὑτὴν**

'Sokrates' adumbrates his theory of gravity with straightforward logic. Mist (ἰκμάς) is observed to gather in valleys and hollows. This must be due to the Earth's gravitational pull. Therefore, thoughts (which are rarefied – λεπτὴν – like the air) would be unable to rise, because they are misty exhalations of the mind.

234. **ταὐτὸ τοῦτο**

At some point ταὐτὸ had been omitted accidentally from the text and then reinserted in the wrong place. The order should be **τοῦτο τ(ὸ)αὐτὸ** – "*this*, *the very same thing*" (cf. *Σφῆκες* 531, ταῦτ(α) αὐτὰ).

τὰ κάρδαμα

His point is not simply that cress can be grown on water, but that it can be said to 'attract moisture', since it makes one *misty-eyed* when it is eaten,. We would have better understood what he was getting at, had he said 'onions' instead. When Aristophanes introduces herbs, he often does so for the visual effect they produce on the face of the person eating them (cf. *Σφῆκες* 455 and note). But, the choice of cress may be due too to the belief that eating it could cause water retention, as mentioned in *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* (616, στραγγουριῶ γάρ· ἐχθὲς ἔφαγον καρδαμα – "*I'm retaining water, you see*; *I was eating cress yesterday*").

235. [**τί φῄς**;]

Lines 235-7 are partly preserved in Π³ one of the earliest manuscript copies, a fragmentary papyrus of the fifth century A.D. In between the lines numbered 234 and 236 in later copies, this papyrus shows us, π - - φῄς, which can probably be restored as πῶς φῄς; Subsequent codices contain the words τί φῄς; in what is now counted as line 235. To my mind, neither interjection formed part of the original text. Some ancient student of dramatic technique has felt the need to emphasize that the following line is an interrogative and not a statement of fact, by interpolating an unmistakable question.

236. **ἡ φροντὶς**...**τὰ κάρδαμα**;

Not surprisingly, given its source, the explanation has 'gone over his head'. He concludes that cress takes up water by a kind of mental process, which accounts for it being a recognized hydrophyte.

237. **ἵνα με διδάξῃς**

I follow Sommerstein in preferring the reading of most of the codices, **ἵνα μ**' **ἐκδιδάξῃς**, over that of the Ravenna codex, which Dover (as well as Hall and Geldart) prints. In this case, it seems logical to assume

that a letter has been omitted accidentally by a copyist, rather than that another scribe deliberately added it, as it makes virtually no difference to the translation, except perhaps to communicate his willingness to learn. The simple verb will be used later for teaching specific subjects, e.g. 382, οὐδέν πω...μ' ἐδίδαξας.

239. **μαθεῖν λέγειν**

He wants to be taught the art of public speaking. The phrase, an ellipse of <δεινὸς> λέγειν (cf. Sophokles *Οἰδίπους Τύραννος* 545), was used of Perikles' forceful oratory (cf. 243, δεινὴ φαγεῖν).

240. **χρήστων τε δυσκολωτάτων**

His creditors are making life difficult, just as he himself had been making it difficult for his son to sleep (cf. 36, δυσκολαίνεις).

241. **ἄγομαι φέρομαι**

In Euripides' *Τρῴαδες* (1310), the Trojan queen Hekabe laments her degradation, ἀγόμεθα φερόμεθα – "*we are led away* <and> *carried* <into slavery>", so Strepsiades chooses to see himself as the victim of his creditors in this overly-dramatic fashion. The verbs are reciprocal and therefore can be juxtaposed in asyndeton, e.g. δάκνειν δάκνεσθαι – "*to bite and be bitten*" (*Βάτραχοι* 861) and πωλεῖν ἀγοράζειν – "*buy and sell*" (*Ἀχαρνεῖς* 625). A conjunction is required for complementary verbs, e.g. λοιδόρεσθαι καὶ δέρειν – "*abuse verbally and physically*" (*Σφῆκες* 485).

τὰ χρήματα ἐνεχυράζομαι

As we heard earlier (35), his creditors have sought securities for the unpaid interest on their loans. Now, he admits that he is having to "*pledge* <my> *property as surety*". Τὸ χρῆμα was anything with a monetary value (including money, cf. 1228, 1243). Unlike the previous occurrence of the verb, this instance would warrant the use of the future tense ἐνεχυράσομαι ('I'm going to have to…'), if metre permitted.

243. **νόσος**...**ἱππικὴ**

He claims to have been afflicted with an "*equine disease*", though since he is not in fact a horse, he must mean a disease 'caused by horses', i.e. "*a plague of horses*".

δεινὴ φαγεῖν

The 'disease' is actually the cost of feeding the "*insatiable appetite*" of his son's string of horses, referred to at the start (13).

244. **τὸν ἕτερον**...**λόγοιν**

As we know (112), the Sokratic method taught the student to see both sides of the argument, but from the outset the old farmer is purely interested in *vocational* studies; his vocation being to defraud his creditors. The addition of τοῖν σοῖν gives a dismissive tone to his words, "*those arguments of yours*".

245-6. **μισθὸν**...**τοὺς θεούς**

He does not expect free tuition, but, as he has just confessed to having financial difficulties, he asserts his readiness to write an I.O.U with the backing of the gods.

247-9.

The offer to pay for lessons is not rejected, but 'Sokrates' seems to question the worth of a promise which is underwritten by the gods. Does this mean that he denies the existence of gods? Or, is he just displaying a healthy scepticism toward the *conventional* divinities and their value as guarantors of oaths? Later in the drama 'Sokrates' will point out that Zeus never seems to mete out divine punishment to the perjurors who most deserve it (399-402). Moreover, as he will shortly make clear, he does consider some entities divine.

247-8. **ποίους θεοὺς**

Recent translators fudge the opening question ("*What do you mean*, *swear by the gods*?"), due to the way they chose to interpret the following phrase. Dover considers it, "*a scornful exclamation, not a question*", stating that a question would require the definite article (cf. 1233, τοὺς ποίους θεοὺς;). He compares 367, ποῖος Ζεύς; and there are certainly many instances where the tone is one of contempt (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 1369, ποίαν αὐλητρίδα; – "*what flute-player*!"). But, then, what is the role of the verb here? Clearly, it attaches to the pronoun and even without a definite article it can only be interrogative. All that is lacking here is a participle, <προσκαλῶν> ποιοὺς θεοὺς ὀμεῖ συ; – "*which gods will you invoke to swear by*?"

In a commercial transaction one party might require a particular oath of the other, but in formal treaties it was usually at the discretion of each contracting state to use whichever form of oath was considered most binding (e.g. Thucydides 5.47.8, ὀμνύντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὅρκον ἕκαστοι τὸν μέγιστον).

πρῶτον γὰρ

It is natural, given its position, to take the phrase adverbially as an abreviation for πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ... But, as Dover realized, 'first of all' would be too emphatic here and he suggests that something less definite is meant. In a note on line 224, he had compared its use in 1172 (where it seems emphatic enough) implying that in both cases it is little more than a line-filler. Sommerstein seems of the same mind since he treats it as mere bluster ("*apart from anything else*").

θεοὶ ἡμῖν νόμισμ(α) οὐκ ἔστι

The way one chooses to interpret this phrase is crucial for understanding the beliefs of 'Sokrates'. In view of the fact that the noun θεοὶ lacks both a definite article and a qualifying adjective such as 'conventional' or 'Olympian', we are faced with a contradiction. It is one which does not seem to bother commentators. Sommerstein agrees with Dover that the initial question was a scornful exclamation, ridiculing the whole idea of supernatural powers. Accordingly he translates, "*we don't credit gods here*", and Henderson in the same vein writes, "*gods aren't legal tender here*". But, if 'Sokrates' is denying the existence of all deities, how can he, almost in his next breath (250), introduce τὰ θεῖα πράγματα? It seems clear, therefore, that he is not denying the existence of the conventional gods, but rather emphasizing that in his school the visible phenomena of the physical world are valued more highly. Consequently, since both sense and the absence of a particle (μὲν) militate against taking πρῶτον adverbially, I suggest that we should treat it as a limiting adjective with νόμισμα, i.e. "*gods* <that *you* might choose to swear by> *are not our* '*primary*' *currency*".

The real complication in this phrase is of course the key word νόμισμα. Commentators are broadly agreed that it has been put into the mouth of 'Sokrates' to create ambiguity, by which to compound Strepsiades' confusion, but Aristophanes has also managed to confuse us.

The underlying idea of νόμισμα is 'an agreed value'. Aristophanes introduces it in the sense of 'a shared belief' in the gods, but since Strepsiades had started by referring to the practical matter of tuition fees, it is also open to the audience to take it concretely of coinage. The word-play is helped by the fact that Greek cities commonly featured a representation of their patron deity on the obverse of their coinage. But, one needs to realize that the poet is utilizing a classic comic-ploy, i.e. misdirection.

τῷ...ὄμνυτ(ε); ἢ

The following line begins with a metrically-redundant ᾗ or ἢ. Hall and Geldart have followed Triklinios's solution to the conundrum and elided the verb to make room for it in this line. But, as Dover rightly says, an elegant poet like Aristophanes would have avoided such a compressed line-ending. It is better to adopt the alternative proposal of Piccolomini and delete the intrusive ἢ altogether, leaving **ὄμνυτε** unelided.

'Sokrates' has just asked Strepsiades to specify which gods he will invoke to witness his promise to pay, and warned him that little credence will be given to an oath made in the name of any Olympian deity. So, the old man is forced to ask for clarification. But whereas the meaning of swearing 'by the gods' has been expressed in the accusative case in the two previous lines, he now switches to the dative case. Although in English one may use the same preposition ('by') to cover both the accusative and the dative objects, there is a distinction to be made between the two cases in Greek. If we expand the phrase, this becomes clearer. For example, ὄμνυμι τοὺς θεοὺς could be written more fully as, ὄμνυμι προσκαλῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ὀνόματι, where the accusative follows the presumed participle ('invoking'), while the dative expresses the means 'by' which the oath is taken. The question here then is, what object is to be understood by the dative of means?

Dover seems to avoid the question, offering his preferred translation without explaining how he arrived at it. But others have tried to come to grips with the elliptical expression. Woodbury (1980, 108-12) thought the change of case signified that Strepsiades is focused on 'Sokrates' use of the word νόμισμα, and that he has taken it in its everyday sense of 'currency'. This, the befuddled old man supposes, must refer back to his initial offer to pay a tuition fee. So, Woodbury translates, "*with what coinage do you* (*in the school*) *swear that you will pay fees*?" Sommerstein puts the same interpretation on the question, since he says that Strepsiades has understood 'Sokrates' to be saying that, "*coins not gods are the essential element in the taking of an oath*".

This interpretation of their conversation is a tenable, even a logical one. But, the result is that the humour depends solely on the old man's misunderstanding of νόμισμα and is dissipated by his own answer for the question he has just posed. Consequently, I would rather leave 'Sokrates' intentional ambiguity and have

the ellipse in Strepsiades' question supplied more simply, τίνι <χρήματι> ὄμνυτε; – "*how do you take an oath*?" (cf. 22).

249. **σιδαρέοισιν**

The Proto-Greek –a– of the second syllable replaces the usual –η– of the Attic adjective σιδήρεος ('made of iron') because it typifies the Doric dialect, which we assume was spoken at Byzantion, since according to legend it was founded by a Megarian (cf. *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 729-835, where a Megarian uses the Doric dialect).

Along with Dover, I believe that Piccolomini was right to excise the interpolated ἦ, since it probably only served to atticize the word σιδαρέοισιν for the benefit of student readers and may simply have originated as a marginal comment.

This line is traditionally assigned to the old farmer. Perplexed as to how oaths are underwritten according to Sokratic doctrine, he appears to venture a guess of his own. This can only be given as an interrogative, although there is no verb or particle to confirm this. Besides, if one question succeeds another we deserve at least a conjunction. In fact, Wilson follows Blaydes and Sommerstein in retaining the ἦ for the ending of 248, in lieu of a conjunction, in order to introduce the follow-on question. But, tarnishing the previous line to justify our interpretation of this one is not a happy solution.

What, then, of the question itself? Commentators agree that Strepsiades has been confused by 'Sokrates' use of the word νόμισμα and is keen to come up with *coins* that would guarantee his promise to pay! All are content to maintain that σιδαρέοισιν must mean "*iron coins*". Doubtless, some members of the ancient audience might have thought the same. "What is the man blathering about? Iron coins, he says…like they have in Byzantion?" Was that true?

In fact, there is no evidence to support the suggestion that iron coinage was ever struck at Byzantion. Ever since the Athenians had brought the city under their effective control, they had imposed their own coinage on their trading partners in the area and no local currency was minted there until after the fall of Athens in 403 B.C. For local mints, consult Kraay (1976, p. 314). In any case, the idea that wrought-iron was used as a store of value belongs to pre-history. According to Spartan legend their *Solon*, an obscure figure named Lykourgos, had invalidated gold and silver coinage as currency, permitting only iron spits as legal tender for exchange (πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκυρώσας πᾶν νόμισμα χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ σιδηρῷ προσέταξε, Plutarch *Λυκοῦργος*, 9). At the time that Lykourgos was supposedly laying down the political and economic foundations of the Spartan state, the Lydians had yet to pioneer the use of their first tokens for trade, so it is anachronistic to claim that he had gold and silver coins withdrawn. Presumably the story of his prohibition was simply invented to provide a specious etymology for the word 'obol' which it was thought may have derived from the similar-sounding word for 'iron spit' (ὀβολός / ὀβελίσκος).

The only support for the iron coinage of classical Byzantion is literary. Fragments from the works of two other comic-dramatists mention these 'iron objects'; one is adduced in a scholion on this line, Platon (frg. 103),

χαλεπῶς ἂν οἰκήσαιμεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ,
ὅπου σιδαρέοισιν <ὀμνύουσι…>

"*We would find it hard to settle at Byzantion, where <they take oaths using objects> of iron*". The other is a corrupt quotation from Polydeukes, all that remains of Strattis's *Μυρμιδόνες* (frg. 37),

ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις προῖκ' ἐλοῦθ' ὁσημέραι
ἀπαξάπασα γῆ…στρατιαὶ σιδαρέων

"*The whole land bathed in the bath-houses all day long for free…hordes of iron things*".

Neither of these fragments actually mentions the word 'coins'. Indeed, the verses of Strattis would appear to preclude this meaning by the mention of προῖκα. All one can say is that the word σιδάρεος in the Doric dialect would have been used at Byzantion and that it was found amusing by Athenian audiences for some reason.

But, in the mouth of Strepsiades the 'question' is hardly amusing, merely bemusing. It seems strange that this old farmer, from the backwoods of Kansas (sorry, I mean Kikynna) has acquired sufficient mercantile experience to know what currency circulates in Byzantion. It is also a little awkward dramatically that his question is ignored altogether by 'Sokrates'. Perhaps, therefore, it is not really a question, nor is it spoken by Strepsiades. Once the ἦ is removed from the text, it is easy to understand that the line could actually be

an answer to Strepsiades' question. It makes better sense for 'Sokrates' to explain what he and his school swear by, since this is the pertinent question, after all.

Στρεψιάδης **τῷ γὰρ ὄμνυτε;**
Σωκράτης **σιδαρέοισιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ.**

'Sokrates' and his students understand geography, so they would be the ones to borrow a foreign practice from Byzantion. Strepsiades may well understand the head of the school to be talking about iron 'coins', but he is probably referring only to 'pieces of iron' ceremonially cast into the Bosporos (i.e. 'cast-iron'?). Since their return to the Athenian fold in 441/0 B.C., (cf. Thucydides 1.117.3), the citizens of Byzantion may have regularly renewed their solemn oath to remain loyal subjects, using 'the conventional formula' (νόμισμα) *until iron floats*. That this was indeed the practice followed in the formal undertakings between Athens and its 'allies' is evidenced by the actions of Aristeides 'the Just', to whom Sokrates was related by marriage (cf. Plutarch *Ἀριστείδης* 25.1, μύδρους ἐμβαλὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀραῖς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν). Although the practice was part of traditional religious belief, a reference to it here could reinforce the impression that the Sokratics put their faith in a physical phenomenon rather than in any divine force imagined to be its cause.

It is, perhaps, worth noting that, whereas the reference to Byzantion in *Σφῆκες* (236) seems to relate to the original capture of the city c. 469 B.C., this mention was most probably occasioned by its resubjugation in the late 440's. This is the period to which a casualty list belongs (IGI³ 1162, col. 2) which commemorates 'those who lost their lives beside the Hellespont' in the Thracian Chersonese and Byzantion. Sokrates was in his mid-twenties then and so could well have seen combat there.

251. **εἴπερ ἔστι γε**

Hall and Geldart print the verb orthotone, whereas recent editors prefer it enclitic **ἐστί**. Dover cites a very useful summary by Spencer Barret (Euripides' *Hippolytos* Appendix II: enclitics), which shows that there was disagreement even among ancient scholars as to how accentuation should be applied in this case. It is worth following an agreed line in this, if only to avoid treating ἔστι as if it were ἔξεστι and translating (as everyone does) "*if it is really possible*". Later, Strepsiades will question the physical boundaries (cf. 322, εἴ πως ἔστιν ἰδεῖν – "*if it's humanly possible to see*"), but here his only concern is whether it is *admissible* for him to do so while uninitiated, for once again, 'Sokrates' teaching is likened to the esoteric knowledge kept by the mystery cults (cf. 143). In all likelihood, the poet would have written εἴπερ δοκεῖ, had it fitted the metre, instead he leaves us to understand εἰ <θέμις> ἐστί γε (cf. 295, 322).

254. **κάθιζε**

These lines help to corroborate some of the salient features of inititiation rites. Plato will refer later to the 'enthronement' (*Εὐθύδημος* 277δ, τὴν θρόνωσιν ποιῶσιν) of initiands in the Korybantic mysteries, during which the celebrants dance around the 'throne'. But, dancing was a particular feature of Korybantic rites (cf. *Σφῆκες* 8 note) and it is not necessary to follow Dover's suggestion that 'Sokrates' "*prances absurdly round Strepsiades*", since the real Sokrates was a proficient dancer.

τὸν ἱερὸν σκίμποδα

At Delphi, Apollo's priestess communed with the god while seated on a sacred tripod (ἱερὸν τρίποδα), a three-legged chair, which appropriately enough given her intoxicated state resembled a modern bar-stool. The σκίμπους, on the other hand, was probably a folding seat, perhaps a forerunner of the *deck-chair*. It will be identified later (633) with a pallet-bed (ἀσκάντης) and Plato says (*Πρωταγόρας* 310ζ) that there was one in Sokrates' bedroom; though whether Sokrates slept on it or it was a stool by his bed is unclear. I have assumed that Pheidippides' fold-up bed is still on stage to serve this second purpose.

256. **τὸν στέφανον**

This garland is one of the unexplained 'props' which suddenly crop up in Aristophanes' text. Dover has it lying conveniently ready on the bed; though why it should be there he does not say. Perhaps 'Sokrates' is already wearing it himself when he appears in the sky like a god. But a more practical explanation would be that it was actually 'borrowed' from a god, from an effigy of Hermes which stands by the door of the 'Thinking-shop'. These 'Herms' were ubiquitous on the streets of Athens and pious people would show their devotion by adorning such sacred images with trinkets or garlands, as the young Hippolytos does in Euripides' *Ἱππόλυτος* (73-4), when he brings a wreath of wildflowers to the effigy of Artemis standing by the palace gate. The theft of this god's garland might serve to explain his lack of sympathy towards the

Sokratic School later. Initially, 'Sokrates' could assume the plaited garland of leaves for himself, to help emphasize his religious role as high priest of the Clouds and could then transfer it to his initiate.

ἐπὶ τί στέφανον;

Strepsiades is immediately suspicious of the garland and reluctant to put it on, perhaps in part because he sees it was stolen from the god, but mainly because it suggests to him that he is about to be consecrated as a sacrificial victim. Dover considers that Strepsiades' apprehension is exaggerated for comic effect, since garlands were worn for a variety of other, public and private, religious ceremonies. Hyperbolos is mocked later, for instance, for having lost his official crown (cf. 625). But, although human sacrifice was thought of as unusual and even barbaric, some older members of the audience would recall cases reported within living memory and, in any case, the secrecy surrounding the Mysteries would sufficiently justify the old man's agitation. See Appendix 7.

257. **ὥσπερ με τὸν Ἀθάμανθ'**

The word order is misleading. Dover notes the same curious usage *Σφῆκες* (363-4, ὥσπερ με γαλῆν κρέα κλέψασαν τηροῦσιν – "*they keep their eyes on me as if I were a rat that had stolen some meat*". In both cases the pronoun με is brought forward and separated from the verb that governs it.

The name of Athamas, a legendary king of Boiotia, occurs to Strepsiades because he was associated with human sacrifice. Like Abraham in Semitic tradition, the king had been commanded by a god (Apollo) to sacrifice his son Phrixos, but is prevented from carrying out the command by the fortuitous appearance of a golden ram. A scholion in the Ravenna codex suggests that Strepsiades is here made to confuse the role of father and son, but other scholia hint that there was a sequel to the story of Phrixos, in which Athamas himself was the sacrificial victim. They maintain that the tragic-poet Sophokles, in the (second?) play he wrote on the myth of Athamas, had depicted the king standing before the altar of Zeus wearing a garland, about to be sacrificed. Perhaps, if this version of the myth had been portrayed on the Attic stage recently, it would have provided a peg for Aristophanes' joke. In which case, it would be an ironic coincidence if his rescuer in that drama had been his wife Nephele.

258-9. **ταῦτα πάντα…ποιοῦμεν**

Hall and Geldart have printed the reading of the main codices (RV), but some later manuscripts improved the order by reversing the words. Either way the result is unnecessary emphasis on "*all* these rites" and an awkward, internal accusative, "*with regard to* our candidate-initiates". Although LSJ refer to this passage in their examples of double accusatives, our poet would not normally employ such a prosaic construction, preferring the dative case for person and thing (e.g. 388, δεινὰ ποιεῖ...μοι). While one could opt to *restore* the dative case here (ποιοῦμεν πάντα ταῦτα <μυστήρια> τοῖς τελουμένοις) and translate, 'we conduct all these <rites> with our candidate-initiates', the reversed order of the words πάντα ταῦτα has suggested to Reiske that the original text could have been **πάντας ταῦτα**. His emendation clearly gives the better sense here, and certifies the accusative τοὺς τελουμένους. Consequently, suspicion must fall on the verb. Dover has chosen to print a short opening syllable πο-οῦμεν, which Aristophanes often favours even when metre does not require. I would print it too. But, it has prompted me to think that a less prosaic verb might serve better. If one was to read ποθοῦμεν, the accusative would be logical and the sense would be, "*we require all our candidates to* <undergo> *these* <rites>". The corruption may have derived from comparison with a later declaration by the Clouds (1458, ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν ταῦτα), which has itself been emended. I wonder, in fact, whether the original text might have been **ποιεῖν ποθοῦμεν**, as the pronoun is less serviceable than the infinitive.

260. **τρῖμμα**, **κρόταλον**, **παιπάλη**.

Aristophanes reels off another chain of mixed meanings (cf. 44). 'Sokrates' promises that Strepsiades will become a τρῖμμα –'something rubbed', i.e. a "*polished speaker*" (but it can apply equally to a *practised con-man*) and a κρόταλον – 'castanet' or 'rattle', i.e. a "*fluent speaker*" (but this can be used to describe a *noisy prattler*). The use of the term παιπάλη is more involved and strains the literal meaning, 'grains of flour' to produce a metaphor for both 'precise' speech (finely-ground) and 'vague' waffle (flour-dust).

261. **ἔχ(ε) ἀτρεμί**

'Sokrates' instruction to his initiand to *keep still* is a reflection of his annoyance at Strepsiades' antics. On hearing the word παιπάλη, the old man misunderstands its metaphorical use and assumes that he is really about to be sprinkled with flour as a precursor to being *sacrificed*.

Recent editors adopt Hermann's proposed emendation ἀτρεμεί, instead of the form ἀτρεμί found in the principal codices, but either is possible. Less likely is the reading in the other copies, ἀτρέμας (cf. 743).

262. **καταπαττόμενος**

A real initiation may have contained an element of mock-sacrifice, but Strepsiades' fear is unfounded, as 'Sokrates' is *not* performing a sacrifice. So, there is no need to suppose that the head of the school carries a bag of flour around on the off-chance that he may be called on to perform a sacrifice, nor does he draw fine meal from "*a receptacle on the bed*" (Dover). The sprinkling of flour is just a suspicion lurking in the mind of the old farmer. He has taken Sokrates' metaphor παιπάλη literally and fearing that he is about to be sacrificed, takes the word to mean that he will become the 'flour' after the grain has been sprinkled on him. Sommerstein confuses the issue by translating "*I shall become sieved meal by being sprinkled with it*", because the sacrificial victim was showered with grain or bran, not flour. West (1977, p.73) suggests that the old man's words are interrogative, "*you mean being sprinkled is the way to turn into flour*?" But, this seems unnecessary.

263-**74**.

'Sokrates' now begins to intone in the manner of a hierophant, invoking those 'Elements' which comprise his pantheon, namely the Atmosphere, the Ether and the Clouds. His invocation has the spirituality of an Orphic hymn; reminiscent, perhaps, of a modernday séance. The metre used is anapaestic, the usual metre of a παράβασις, in which the chorus-leader (κορυφαῖος) addresses the audience directly. So, the change is intended perhaps to include the spectators as 'witnesses' to the ceremony.

263. **εὐφημεῖν**...**τὸν πρεσβύτην**

An address of this type would normally call upon the assembled company to come to order, but since the old farmer is the only one present, he is told to keep quiet. [This call to order is still typical of Orthodox weddings and baptisms today, made by a priest struggling to make himself heard above the din, in spite of having a modern sound system to aid him.]

ἐπακούειν

Strepsiades should "*listen*", i.e. pay attention when 'Sokrates' is speaking. The variant ὑπακούειν is only applicable to the 'Clouds' who will be asked to hear (so as to respond to) the prayer (cf. 274, 360).

264. **ἀμέτρητ(ε) Ἀήρ**...**μετέωρον**

According to Aristotle, the theory that the Earth is held in place on a cushion of air could be traced back to the sixth-century B.C. philosopher Anaximenes of Miletos, "*But, Anaximenes along with Anaxagoras and Demokritos maintain that the reason for the <Earth's> static position is its flatness*" – Ἀναξιμένης δὲ καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Δημόκριτος τὸ πλάτος αἴτιον εἶναί φασι τοῦ μένειν <τὴν γῆν> (294β13). Plato has his 'Sokrates' refer to the idea in a rather off-hand manner, "*another school of thought <says the Earth> is supported like a flat kneading-trough on a pedestal of air*" – ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ καρδόπῳ πλατείᾳ βάθρον τὸν ἀέρα ὑπερείδει (*Φαίδων* 99 β).

265. **λαμπρός τ(ε) Αἰθήρ**

The Titan Prometheus calls upon the Ether (Aischylos *Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης* 88, ὦ δῖος Αἰθὴρ) to witness his constraint at the hands of the Olympian gods. In *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* (271), 'Euripides' is heard to swear an oath by "*Ether where Zeus dwells*", taken from his *Μελανίππη* (frg. 491, ὄμνυμι τοίνυν Αἰθέρα οἴκησιν Διός). It represents the upper atmosphere within the dome of heaven (οὐρανος), later called the Father of the Clouds' (570).

266. **ἄρθητε φάνητ(ε)**

The middle voice of αείρω is often used of birds 'lifting off' or 'rising into the air' (cf. *Ἰλιάς* 13.62, ὥς τ' ἴρηξ...ὦρτο πέτεσθαι, *Σφῆκες* 51, ἀρθεῖς...ἐς κόρακας οἰχήσεται). 'Sokrates' does not simply call them to appear, but to "*arise* (as water vapour) <*and*> *become visible* (as condensation).

τῷ φροντιστῇ

The word can mean both 'one who contemplates' and 'one who takes thought for'. The latter sense could be employed of a "*janitor*" of a sacred precinct. He means it in the first sense; his audience may take it in the second. Dover (note on 94) observes that, like φροντιστήριον, the word φροντιστής does not appear in earlier, *extant* literature and suggests that Aristophanes may have coined both words. We cannot know for certain, but it seems unlikely that the former could have been introduced unless the latter had entered the language already and its regular formation suggests that it ought to have been. The fact that Athenaios can

describe the chorus of Ameipsias's *Κόννος* as φροντισταί (218γ) suggests that he had found the term used in that ancient text too.

268. **μηδὲ κυνῆν**

This was the protective headgear worn by country folk, especially farm-labourers (cf. *Σφῆκες* 445). Made of any animal skin (supposedly dog-skin, but the root suggests a hunted animal, κυνηγέω) with the fur on the inside, so it was both warm and water-proof. It was obligatory headwear for the Spartan *helots*.

The codices read μὴ κυνῆν, which Saumaise proposed should be μὴ κυνέην (so Bentley and Blaydes), but the reading of E (verified by Dover) and Vaticanus Urbinas 141 (cf. 394) is now generally preferred.

270. **ἐπ(ὶ) Ὀλύμπου**

First, he summons them from Olympos, as if they were acknowledged to be authentic 'Olympian' deities.

271. **Ὠκεανοῦ πατρὸς ἐν κήποις**

Then, in recognition that clouds can come from any direction according to the prevailing wind, he calls them from the four corners of the world. I do not share Wilhelm Teuffel's view (1863) that 'Sokrates' turns successively to the four points of the compass, because the bearings are not taken in order (and he would have to turn his back on the audience at some point). He begins with the West, where the sun sets beyond the stream of Okeanos which encircles the Earth. The Νύμφαι are the Ἑσπερίδες, the daughters of Night, who tended the orchards where they grew golden apples (cf. Hesiod *Θεογονία* 215-6, Ἑσπερίδας θ' ᾗς μῆλα πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο / χρύσεα καλὰ μέλουσι φέροντά τε δένδρεα καρπόν).

The recognition of Okeanos as 'Father' reflects the view of the sixth-century natural-philosopher Xenophanes of Kolophon that "*Mighty sea is father of clouds and winds and rivers*" (Diels frg. 30, μέγας πόντος γενέτωρ νεφέων, ἀνέμων τε καὶ ποταμῶν). Herodotos (4.50.4) ἐφ' ἑωυτὸν ὕδωρ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπέλκεται acknowledges evaporation.

272. **Νείλου προχοαῖς ὐδάτων**

'Sokrates' displays his meteorological knowledge of how clouds are formed by evaporation and how the ones which bring the rains to Attika on the southerly winds must have formed off the coast of Africa. The use of the phrase Νείλου προχοὰς by Aischylos (*Ἱκέτιδες* 1024-5) was surmised by Francesco Robortello on the basis of this passage (the codices read Νειλου πρὸς χοὰς).

χρυσέαις...πρόχοισιν

The poet plays on the sound of προχοαῖς for comic as well as poetic effect. Though the πρόχους was used mostly for pouring water over the hands of diners, it could also serve, in time of need, as a chamber pot or ἀμίς (cf. προχοΐς). The result could have been similar to confusing 'ewers' with 'sewers'.

The reading **ἀρύτεσθε** is found in the *Σοῦδα*, while the codices read ἀρύεσθε. LSJ consider the former to be good Attic usage, but either seems to have been admissible.

273. **Μαιῶτιν λίμνην**

To an older generation, Lake Maiotis, the inland 'sea of Azov', had represented, "*the furthest ends of the Earth*" (Aischylos *Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης* 417-9, γᾶς ἔσχατον τόπον...Μαιῶτιν λίμναν), the most northerly penetration of Athenian colonists into the Black Sea, where they must have joined their Milesian cousins in settling the trading post of Pantikapaion on the Kerch peninsula. But, in Aristophanes' day Athens was supplied with wheat by Satyros, king of Cimmerian Bosporos (Crimea) and so the lake would have stood simply for the limit of Athenian influence with the Scythians.

[The Clouds fed the rivers which enter it with their tears; hence the phrase 'Cry me a river'.]

σκόπελον Μίμαντας

The promontory of Mimas (modern, Karaburun) in Asia Minor lies opposite the island of Chios. Homer calls it 'windy', ἠνεμόεντα Μίμαντα (*Ὀδύσσεια* 3.172). Here, it is chosen to represent the eastern Aegean because both Chios and the only towns of any significance on the promontory, Erythrai and Clazomenai, were subject to Athens at the time (having been brought back into the Delian Confederacy by Perikles in 453 B.C.).

274. **δεξάμεναι θυσίαν**

Dover takes these words to be empty formula, but they recollect Strepsiades' initial misgivings that he is to be the sacrificial victim. At this moment, the 'high priest' may be performing some substitute sacrifice, by waving a censer or pouring a libation. Sommerstein suggests that he may be burning incense upon the actual altar of Dionysos in the theatre, although I somehow doubt this (cf. 426, where the three actions are linked, although differentiated.)

τοῖς ἱεροῖσι
This comic comparison of sophistic education to the mystery rites is later copied by Plato in *Εὐθύδημος* 277 ε, τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἱερῶν ἀκούειν τῶν σοφιστικῶν).
χαρεῖσαι
According to our text the Clouds are asked to "*take pleasure in the sacred rites*", which is what would be expected in similar invocations, as Dover's examples show (*Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 981, *Ὄρνιθες* 1743). But, in this case the poet surprises by asking them to "*appear at the sacred rites*", **φανεῖσαι**, the reading in the codex Venetus. After all, these alone of divine beings could safely reveal their *true forms* to mankind.

Choral Song (ὨΙδή) 275-90

The opening choral ode is remarkable for the fact that the chorus have not yet entered! As the actors will make clear, the Clouds are heard but not seen. Dover wonders whether their song would have been clearly audible to the audience from behind the scene. Perhaps, he speculates, a lack of clarity had contributed to play's poor reception? But, the chorus could have made their initial appearance (partially at least) arrayed atop the παρασκήνιον behind the actors who are facing the auditorium and so would not immediately spot them (as in a pantomime).
If one were to divide strophe and antistrophe between the two halves of the chorus, the twelve who mount the παρασκήνιον for this initial ode can disappear again and rejoin their 'sisters' after line 313 to descend through the audience after them, or to enter normally through the εἴσοδος at 326.
275. **ἀέναοι Νεφέλαι**
Sommerstein comments (252) that the Clouds lack the essential characteristic of deities, immortality. Yet, as often as they disappear, they reappear. They also have the superpower of being able to change shape at will like gods. Rivers (cf. 283) were considered divine in the same way and this is emphasized by the use of the epithet normally reserved for rivers, "*ever-fluid*", not just 'eternal' as I translate (cf. also 289).
276. **ἀρθῶμεν φανεραὶ**
The Clouds respond to their priest's invocation (266), ἄρθητε φάνητε, but fittingly perhaps, their syntax is amorphous. The verb is intransitive and there is no question of them 'raising their dewy forms' nor can we extract 'arise and reveal our dewy forms' from the adjective φανεραὶ (and the verb φανερόω is not an option yet). So, we are asked to supply a conjunction and an auxiliary verb (<ὥστε γένεσθαι> φανεραὶ), leaving the description of their water-droplets to drift along as a kind of internal accusative.
εὐάγητον
The epithet εὐάγητος is not found, but there is a similar word εὐαγής which could conceivably be applied to the Clouds' dewy forms. It is used by Euripides, for instance in *Βάκχαι* 662, ἵν' οὔποτε λευκῆς χιόνος ἀνεῖσαν εὐαγεῖς βολαί – "(Mt Kithairon) *where the dazzling gleam of white snow is never absent*". Merry suggested that the long second syllable was the Doric – α – so that the poet intended εὐήγητον ('easily-drawn'). This seems rather recherché, but may hint at the Homeric formula νεφεληγερέτα used for Zeus. Blaydes suggestion εὐάχητον, for εὐήχητον ('loud-sounding'), would describe the thunderous sound of their voices (matching the roar of Okeanos, βαρυηχέος), but is unsuited here to their appearance.
277. **πατρὸς ἀπ(ὸ) Ὠκεανοῦ**
'Ocean', the great expanse of water which encircled the inhabited Earth, was deemed the father (cf. 271) of all water sources, from rivers to streams and springs, which were known collectively as Ὠκεανίδες, (cf, *Ἰλιάς* 21. 195-7, Ὠκεανοῖο, ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα καὶ πᾶσαι κρῆναι καὶ φρείατα μακρὰ νάουσιν.
280. **δενδροκόμους**
If this were a genuine tragic-chorus, we would be looking at a poetic epithet such as 'hirsute with trees' or 'tree-coiffed' (δενδρο-κόμεις). But, here Aristophanes is content with a more prosaic description, perhaps "*forested*". The fact that the *higher* peaks would rise above the tree-line may have been concealed by the cloud cover.
282. **καρπούς τ(ε)**
In most copies of the text the connective particle is postponed until after the participle (and becomes θ' before ἱερὰν), but the transposition seems a copying error. Like Dover, I see no good reason to dispense with καρπούς and read κήπους as Wilamovitz suggested.

283. **ποταμῶν ζαθέων**
Major rivers were revered as immortal gods because they flowed continuously the year round. But, since they were fed by snow and rain-water, the Clouds could be considered as the source of their immortality.
285. **ὄμμα...Αἰθέρος**
The sun is normally imagined to be 'the all-seeing eye' of Apollo; here it is the 'eye' of the Atmosphere or Ether.
286. **μαρμαρέαις ἐν αὐγαῖς**
Dover, I think rightly, prefers the variant reading **μαρμαρέαισιν** αὐγαῖς**.** As he himself admits, the use of the preposition cannot be ruled out, but one may presume here that a scribe simply mistook the paragogic νυ. He also argues for close phonological responsion with the antistrophe (310), but there the case against the preposition is less cogent.
The adjective applies to any object which 'catches the light', e.g. *glistening* marble, a *sparkling* sea or *polished* metal.
289. **ἀθανάτας ἰδέας**
Evidently, Aristophanes had heard Sokrates expounding his metaphysical theory of forms, or 'ideas'!
290.
An ancient commentator suggested that a machine of some sort (a βροντεῖον) was employed to produce a thunderclap at the end of the choral ode, though it might have been more effective dramatically to herald the arrival of the chorus at 275. In any case, there is no call for a theatrical device as 'Sokrates' is about to observe that the rumble of thunder is a natural feature of their voices, suggesting either that the volume of the music surges and falls away on low notes (Dover) or the 'female' chorus sing contralto, accompanied by drums (cf.315).

Conversational Interlude 291-8

In between the strophe and antistrophe of the choral song, the poet reverts to anapaestic tetrameters for a brief exchange of dialogue. 'Sokrates' attempts to point out to Strepsiades (and the audience) how divine and impressive the singing of the Clouds-chorus is, though the old farmer quickly lowers the tone. But, in all likelihood, the passage was needed to cover for the repositioning of the semi-chorus.
292. **φωνῆς...θεοσέπτου**
The difficulty some editors have with θεοσέπτου arises from its postponement (Wilamowitz, for instance, proposed reading θεόσεπτα adverbially with the participle and Wilson supports Dover's θεόσεπτον as an internal accusative), but this is simply because it serves as a lead in for σέβομαι in the following line. The phrase ἅμα...μυκησαμένης should be read in parenthesis, "*mingled together with the rumble of thunder*". It is the voice of the Clouds that is θεοσέπτου, "*requiring reverence as divine*".
294. **τετρεμαίνω**
Uncertainty over the precise spelling of this verb is a legacy from antiquity and the codices contain most of the conceivable combinations. Hall and Geldart print the form –τρεμ- which is preferred by Moeris and Hesychios, while all subsequent editors (since Coulon at least) have chosen -τραμ- which is the form used in the *Σοῦδα*. Dover argues that the latter is more likely to have suffered corruption under the influence of the simple verb τρέμειν, which is true enough. But, the verb must certainly be related to τρέμω, whereas a Byzantine copyist may have taken simple reduplication to be a different kind of intensification i.e. τετρα- 'four times'. Anyhow, there does not seem to be a compelling reason to sever the link with τρέμω and as this translates as 'shake' (from shock or fear), one could interpret τετρεμαίνω (both here and in line 374) as "*have a f-fit of the sh-shakes*". Possibly the verb was coined to describe medical conditions, since it is used by Hippokrates (*περὶ Γυναικείων* 2.171).
296. **οὐ μὴ σκώψει μηδὲ ποιήσεις**
The reading of the codices, σκώψῃς...ποιήσῃς, has been corrected by Elmsley, who realized that the verb σκώπτω used the middle voice, σκώψομαι, for its active, future tense (cf. *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 854).
οἱ τρυγ-οδαίμονες
The poet packs a portmanteau word out of, τρυγ(ῳδόι) 'comic-actors' and (κακ)οδαίμονες 'unfortunates', allowing 'Sokrates' to get his own back on his persecutors. From comments made by his 'pupil' Plato, we

are asked to believe that Sokrates did in fact hold a rather low opinion of comic-dramatists, but these may be based on comedic sources of just this kind.

οὗτοι

We might say 'those', but he is probably looking directly at the area where "*these*" rival poets are seated. The tone is contemptuous. Through the mouth of 'Sokrates' Aristophanes is warning his own character to avoid the coarse buffoonery of his degenerate rivals.

298. **κινεῖται...ἀοιδαῖς**

It is a short step from the 'winged words' (ἔπεα πτερόεντα) of epic to Pindar's 'winged song' (πτερόεις ὕμνος, *Ἴσθμ.* 5.63) which Aristophanes parodies here.

Choral Song (Ὠδή) 299-313

299. **παρθένοι ὀμβροφόροι**

Aristophanes is treading a fine line here between satire and sacrilege. His opening address is reminiscent of the παρθένοι ἀρρηφόροι**,** the two unwed girls who lived on 'the rock of Pallas' to serve the priestess of Athene. Pausanias records (1.27.4) that during the annual festival in honour of the goddess they took part in certain mystic ceremonies; probably the same rites referred to by the female chorus in *Λυσιστράτη* 642. Because they played a central role in the Πλυντήρια ἱερά, when Athene's sacred robes were removed for cleaning, they were referred to as the πλυντρίδες, but Aristophanes jokingly calls them λουτρίδες ('bath-attendants') in an unknown play (frg. 849).

302. **σέβας ἀρρήτων ἱερῶν**

The emphasis placed here on the sanctity in which the Mysteries were held by the Athenians is doubtless an ironic reference to the secrecy with which 'Sokrates' surrounds the cult of the Clouds. There may also be a nod to the fact that Euripides had been accused on occasion of portraying the Mysteries in too much detail on stage. Later, Diagoras of Melos would be accused of profaning the Mysteries through his poetry.

303. **μυστοδόκος δόμος**

The "*house which receives the initiated*" refers to the temple of Demeter at Eleusis; presumably a phrase borrowed from a tragic-drama or lyric hymn (cf. Pindaros *Πυθ.* 61, πάνδοκον ναὸν...Πυθῶνος). The word δόμος here is an abbreviation from ναόδομος.

304. **ἀναδείκνυται**

This verb is usually taken to mean that the temple "*is thrown open*" (Henderson) or has "*its opened gates*" (Sommerstein), but this seems to me to run counter to the tone of the passage. The great τελεστήριον at Eleusis was normally off-limits, but it was accessible to the initiated. This did not apply solely during the festival and the force of the prefix should probably be taken to indicate a repeated action. So, while one could speak of the mystic emblems being 'revealed again', the holy precinct and the initiates themselves could only be "*re-dedicated*" or "*re-consecrated*" during the festival.

305-10.

The Chorus lauds the deep religiosity of the Athenians in terms of the outward forms; dedications offered, temples constructed, statues sculpted, processions and seasonal rituals performed.

306. **ναοί θ' ὑψερεφεῖς**

Athenian pride was displayed in the soaring cella of the temple of Athena Polias ('Parthenon') where the cult statue of the 'Parthenos' stood 39 feet high. The building and its sculptures had been completed less than ten years earlier (432 B.C.).

307. **πρόσοδοι...ἱερώταται**

Religious processions were a feature of Athenian cult, like celebrations at Easter in the Christian tradition nowadays (cf. *Εἰρήνη* 396/7, θυσίαισιν ἱεραῖσι προσόδοις τε μεγάλαισι). The greatest procession of them all, the pan-Athenaia, is portrayed in the Parthenon's frieze.

The codices give us πρόδομοι (sc. τελεταί), but though certain rites were conducted 'in front of houses', such individual, domestic rituals would seem out of place alongside the public ceremonies.

310. **παντοδαπαῖς ἐν ὥραις**

Hall and Geldart print the reading of the codices, which is satisfactory. Dover, however, prefers to follow Blaydes and prints παντοδαπαῖσιν, maintaining that the preposition is hardly ever used with the plural of

ὥρα. While his view of such matters is usually sound, this particular instance looks like another exception to his rule.
Although the adjective ("*all kinds of*") agrees grammatically with *seasons*, it must logically be transferred to *festivals*. The transferred epithet is a common (and often annoying) feature of Euripidean choral lyrics.

311. **Βρομία χάρις**
The "*clamourous rejoicing*" of the festival of Dionysos welcomed in Spring with noisy celebrations; the forerunner of the Orthodox Christian Easter with its bells, fire-crackers and explosive devices.

313. **βαρύβρομος**
The adjective may be intended to mean that the reed instruments produce a dignified 'low tone' (perhaps closer to a bass clarinet than a flute), but, in view of its earlier use to describe the pounding surf (284) and the mention of Dionysos' cult-title, Βρόμιος (the 'noise maker') we should probably take it here to apply to the "*loud volume*" of the flute-music.

Symmetrical Scene 314-456

The metre again becomes anapaestic tetrameters for the ensuing discussion (until 438).

315. **ἠρῷναί τινες**
Since he cannot see the Clouds yet, the old man is anxious to know where the sound of the female choir came from. He is afraid that the voices were those of some legendary 'heroines' (the female counterparts of Ἥρωες), who remained a potent component of ancient folk-lore in the form of often-malignant spirits. They might be considered the equivalent of what the superstitious today call *ghosts*.
The propensity of superstitious Greeks to see ghosts and hear voices is reflected in Herodotos's account (8.84.2) of the preliminaries to the sea battle off Salamis.

316. **ἀνδράσιν ἀργοῖς**
Instead of stating the obvious, that the Clouds are held in great awe by ἀνδράσι ἐν ἀγροῖς, 'men working in the fields', who appreciate the shade from the sun while wishing to avoid being caught out in their rain, he jokes that they are looked up to by ἀνδράσιν ἀργοῖς 'wool-gatherers', men who appear to spend their time 'watching the clouds go by', i.e. 'intellectuals'.

317.
'Sokrates' proceeds to enumerate the many blessings conferred by the Clouds, if one's time is well-spent on mental exercise, e.g. forming opinions, discussing them and sharpening one's intellect.

318.
His list quickly degenerates into examples of the misuse of the Clouds' gifts. Aristophanes supplies a list of his own metaphors.

τερατείαν
This presumably derived from the phrase τέρατα λέγειν used to denote a speaker whose words stretch the limits of credibility.

περίλεξιν
Literally 'circumlocution', or 'beating around the bush' without coming to the point.

κροῦσιν
The precise meaning of the word here is uncertain. Normally, it means 'striking' or 'coming into conflict with' something and it can be used of a potter testing the soundness of a pot by tapping it. Therefore, one may perhaps take it to mean, 'finding fault with, or picking holes in, another's argument'.

κατάληψιν
Again, this is a vague word which is probably being strained to metaphorical breaking point. 'Seizing' or 'grasping' might be an action of the intellect, but I take it here in a pejorative sense.

319. **ταῦτ(α) ἄρα**
This is a common lead in for an interjection, when one speaker wishes to corroborate something the other has just said (cf. 335, 353, 394).

ἡ ψυχή μου πεπότηται

Strepsiades' interest is captivated by the second part of the skill-set conferred by Clouds and he realizes in histrionic style why his '*soul took wing*' at the sound of their voices. The scholiast notes μετέωρα φρονεῖ ἤδη – "*he is already thinking loftily*".

320. **λεπτολογεῖν...περὶ καπνοῦ στενολεσχεῖν**

Commentators, including Dover, usually take στενολεσχεῖν as virtually synonymous with λεπτολογεῖν, as if the poet had written στενολογεῖν, which is how Hesychios glossed the verb, but this misses the point of the neologism. He is inspired to "*talk thin (air)*" and "*engage in idle gossip about inanities*", the sort of vapid chatter to be heard in the στενά ("*corners*") of a λέσχη ("*social club*"). See the comment of Photios (unattributed Comic fragment 572) α 372, ἀδολεσχεῖν.

[He means the kind of conversation heard nowadays in British pubs, American bars, or coffee-houses].

321. **νύξασ(α)**

The reading μίξασ' (from μείγνυμι), found in a single fifteenth-century manuscript (Munich137), is less convincing than the received text νύξασ' (from the rarer verb νύττω).

322-5.

It is clear that the Chorus of Clouds has yet to make their entry. Their voices can be heard, but they can not be seen. Even when 'Sokrates' spots them in the distance, Strepsiades is still unable to discern them. How are we to explain his inability? Firstly, he may be looking the wrong way, since he expects them to enter through the side-passages as a chorus would. Sommerstein suggests that he must be looking up into the sky, and though this would break the theatrical illusion, he will do so later (cf. 342). But, the principal reason is probably that he simply fails to recognise them because they have taken on mortal, female form.

322. **ἰδεῖν...φανερῶς**

'Sokrates' had promised that the divine beings would reveal themselves to his pupil (cf. 266, φάνητε, 269, εἰς ἐπίδειξιν) and the Clouds had responded that they would appear (276, φανεραὶ) in their immortal form (289, ἀθανάτας ἰδέας). Strepsiades is eager to see what goddesses look like, because deities do not usually manifest themselves to human gaze. Normally, the most one can look for is the occasional burning bush. As Hippolytos admits of his consorting with Artemis (Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 86), "*I hear your voice even though I do not see your face*".

323. **πρὸς τὴν Πάρνηθ(α)**

When 'Sokrates', from the vantage-point of the stage in the theatre of Dionysos, is directing the old man's attention specifically "*toward Mount Parnes*", he would appear to be pointing north over the heads of the spectators. In which case, we can reasonably deduce that (some at least of) the members of the chorus are in fact descending through the auditorium toward the orchestra.

This rather obvious conclusion was pointed out comparatively recently by P. von Möllendorff (1995) and is noted by Sommerstein (addenda, 2007). Unfortunately, he rejected this logical inference on the basis of Revermann's argument (2006) that the chorus must enter 'from the side' because the word πλάγιαι cannot be construed in any other way. As he admits, this objection is "*narrow*" but seems "*sufficient*" in view of the subsequent sighting of the chorus by Strepsiades παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον.

However, the argument that πλάγιαι can only refer to the "*sides*" of the σκηνή is not watertight. For if the words used by 'Sokrates' have any relevance at all, they must surely describe some physical movement in the theatre. But the words are deliberately ambiguous. As the many Clouds descend through the hollows (κατιούσας...διὰ τῶν κοίλων), they are moving down through the κοίλη (or 'cavea') of the theatre, with its densely-wooded, steep *slopes* (πλάγιαι). The 'trees' in this case are probably the spectators standing at the back. As to the Clouds' later appearance at the εἴσοδον, see below 326.

324. **ἡσυχῇ αὐτάς**

The codices offer ἡσύχως, which does not scan and probably originated as a gloss. Later scholars (Dover thinks Triklinios; Wilson says not) offered us ἥσυχα ταύτας which scans and avoids the hiatus, but is not good Attic usage. The present solution is due to Elmsley (ἡσυχῇ) with a little help from Kock.

Presumably, the adverb is intended to describe the Clouds descent through the 'slopes' (or mountain-side) of the theatre (Mt Parnes) "*stealthily*" or "*silently*". There is a slight chance, however, that it was meant to qualify the verb ὁρῶ in the sense "*I can just make out*", though this meaning may not have been current in the fifth century and the word order militates against it.

325. **διὰ τῶν κοίλων καὶ τῶν δασέων**

These are not two distinct areas, but "*the wooded ravines*". The figure of speech is familiar from Tragedy e.g. εἶμι πρὸς ὕλαν καὶ παρὰ πεύκας – "*I'll go to the pine-forest*" (Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 215-6).

326. **οὐ καθορῶ**

Mount Parnes lies to the north of the city and though it is the highest peak overlooking Athens, it was not actually visible from the theatre because the Akropolis lies in the way. Strepsiades' continued inability to spot the approach of the Clouds-chorus serves to buy time for their 'descent' and introduces a rather weak joke about his eyesight.

παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον

'Sokrates' seems to be admitting that he is in a theatre, although the word εἴσοδον could perhaps apply to their fictional context. The formal designation πάροδος may not have acquired its specific application to the theatre at this period. Aristophanes uses the term εἴσοδος again in *Νήσοι* where there appears to have been a similar confusion over identifying the chorus (frg. 403), εἰσὶν δὲ ποῦ; αἰδὶ κατ' αὐτὴν ἣν βλέπεις τὴν εἴσοδον – "*where are they? They are those <women> there at the entrance*, *which you are looking at*".

It is difficult to see how the chorus could be spotted in the *entrance-passage* moments after they are seen descending 'from Parnes' through the auditorium. The only explanation I can offer is the possibility that they have split into two groups so as to enter from all directions (cf. 328).

οὕτως

One expects the adverbial phrase "*only just now this instant…*" to conclude with a verb such as "*I have spotted them*". This was certainly the thought which occurred to the medieval copyists who transcribed most of our manuscripts. They have written ὁρῶ (VEKΘ) or ἀθρῶ (A and ammended E). The first gives the sense required, but cannot stand, since the last word in the anapaestic line has to be a spondee (hence perhaps N offers the meaningless οἰρῶ). The alternative ἀθρῶ is not ideal either in sense or prosody, since it would normally scan as an iamb. Therefore, Dover is right to surmise that the verbs are emendations from medieval scholars, who preferred sense over the word οὕτως ('in this manner') which is found only in the oldest codex (R). Modern scholars have been less discriminating and have accepted the translation, "*only just now this instant <by looking> in this manner <I have managed to see them>*".In this case, the extra adverb can only be taken to indicate that Strepsiades is peering at the chorus in some comical way, it cannot, for instance, indicate the direction of his gaze. It appears to me, however, that too much is left unexpressed by this reading. The more likely reading is **ὄντως**, the proposal of Hall and Geldart offered modestly in their apparatus. The verb is still understood, but is underlined, "*only just now this instant* <do I see them> *in fact*".

327. **εἰ μὴ λημᾷς κολοκύνταις**

Schrödinger pointed out that a blurry photo of clouds does not mean that the clouds are blurry; only that the lens has not been properly focused. 'Sokrates' comment, "*Unless you are bleary-eyed with vegetable-marrows*" is evidently a 'joke' (which must have sounded funnier to the ancient audience). It shows that he (and the audience) can see the Chorus of Clouds now, so something must be wrong with Strepsiades' eyesight. Of course, the old farmer can also see the Chorus, but he has not yet realized that 'Sokrates' is referring to the 'women' in his line of vision.

The point of the joke was obvious to Dover, who passes over it without comment, but others have had to assume a simile. Thus Henderson translates, "*unless you have styes like pumpkins*", where the vegetable stands for a temporary swelling on an eyelid, which might obstruct one's vision. Although reminiscent of Theokritos's lively simile (14.38), τὰ σὰ δάκρυα μᾶλα ῥέοντι – "*your tears run <like> apples*", this is not entirely convincing. Sommerstein took the same view initially, but changed his mind later (addenda x-xi) on the basis of a suggestion by J. L. Heller (1985 p.111) that, when dried, the husk of the white-flowered bottle-gourd would have been used as a container for liquids. Thus, he amends his translation to, "*unless your eyes are running bottlefuls of rheum*". This seems to come closer to the truth, for until the twentieth century, when aluminium and plastic became available, the gourd was a cheap, resilient and lightweight container for the carriage of water or olive-oil. A four hundred year old fable shows how the simile may have worked. A novice monk, "*for want of a vessel, put olive-oil in a fresh pumpkin*" (μὴ ἔχων ἀγγεῖον, τὸ <ἔλαιον> ἔβαλεν εἰς καινουγὲς κολοκύνθιον) "*with the result that the pumkin drank half the oil*" (τὸ κολοκύνθιον ἔπιε τὸ μισὸ ἔλαιον) – *Ὁ Μέγας Συναξαριστὴς τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (Αθήναι, 1971)

τόμος ΙΑ΄, p.37. This suggests that Strepsiades' eyes are not yet acclimatised to the Truth and therefore some seepage is probably occurring, i.e. the old man's eyes are 'watering'.

328. **ὦ πολυτίμητοι**

The appearance of the Clouds is greeted with disappointment mingled with disbelief by Strepsiades and with hilarity by the spectators. Their majestic voices (if off-stage, perhaps amplified by loudhailers) and their customary celestial form had led the old man to expect more impressive beings. Instead, the chorus are a motley group of females, of varying shapes and sizes, though generally 'pneumatic' and curvaceous. The chief point of resemblance with actual clouds is probably the diaphanous, multi-layered tutus which billow around them. The fact that the ancient chorus-members were actually male would only have added to the incongruous spectacle. [Perhaps one may compare the swans in the music-video of Annie Lennox's *No more 'I love yous'*.]

Although we naturally take πολυτίμητοι as vocative, it is possible that it was intended sarcastically as "*O* <the> *much-revered ones*!" with the definite article subsumed in ὦ (cf. 219).

329. **οὐκ ᾔδησθ(α)**

The codices agree on ᾔδεις, but most editors adopt the correction proposed by Hirschig. Dover, however, makes a valid argument for retaining the reading of the codices as evidence of earlier Attic usage.

οὐδ(ὲ) ἐνόμιζες;

If the first question was answered in the negative, the second question cannot really be, 'and you did not believe in them'? It would be tautological. His second question must, therefore, be elliptical, "*and you did not even consider <that possibly they might be>*?"

331. **οὐ γὰρ μὰ Δί(α)**

His natural tendency to invoke the name of Zeus is worth keeping in mind to better understand some of his views later (cf. 367).

βόσκουσι σοφιστάς

As goddesses the Clouds are said to "*tend their flock of experts*" just as Selina (cf. 17, ἄγουσαν...εἰκάδας). Like σοφός the term σοφιστής was used to characterize able people who possessed knowledge or skills, particularly in music, with the difference that the 'sophist' made a living from his special knowledge, or gained some other advantage from it. The original use of the term was not necessarily pejorative, but like our use of the word 'expert' it was sometimes applied disparagingly. An early example from a lost work of Aischylos (frg. 314, εἴτ' οὖν σοφιστὴς σκαιὰ παρπαίων χέλυν – "*whether a skilled musician clumsily striking the tortoise-shell* <lyre> *amiss*…") suggests smug satisfaction at a wrong note. Similarly, when Hippolytos uses the word in the eponymous drama of Euripides (921-2) there is a strong hint of sarcasm.

δεινὸν σοφιστὴν εἶπας, ὅστις εὖ φρονεῖν
τοὺς μὴ φρονοῦντας δυνατός ἐστ' ἀναγκάσαι.

"*Someone capable of making a fool see sense, as you say, would be an outstandingly-able teacher*." So here, coming from 'Sokrates' the word is uttered neutrally, though individual members of the audience may greet it with some cynicism. (See also on 1309 and Appendix 4).

332. **Θουριομάντεις**

According to the scholia this mention of "*Thourio-seers*" refers to the 'oraculists' (i.e. people claiming to have second sight') who excited public opinion to support the founding of a colony at Thourioi in S. Italy c.444/3. It was a pan-Hellenic project, but promoted and led by an Athenian *prophet* named Lampon. He now resided at Athens where his pronouncements were still followed with interest by the gullible. As the founding of Thourioi would have been pretty much ancient history by now, it may be that Aristophanes meant his auditors to take the phrase more generally as **θουριομάντεις**, rather than as specific criticism of Lampon. The adjective might have been used to describe their *impassioned* delivery of incomprehensible prophecies. Nonetheless, in *Εἰρήνη* (1046-7) the scrounging oracle-monger who suddenly appears when food has just been cooked is identified as a man whose services had been employed back in 446/5. Again in *Ὄρνιθες* (959), an oracle-monger shows up at the inauguration of the new bird-colony and offers his nonsensical predictions in the hope of being rewarded with a hot meal and a new set of clothes.

ἰατροτέχνας

Sommerstein rightly points out that 'Sokrates' does not mean those *reputable* medical practitioners whose diagnoses 'followed the science', but others who confused irrelevant celestial phenomena with material

weather conditions. Some who introduced astrological readings into their practice of *alternative* medicine were called ἰατρο-μαθηματικοί.

σφραγιδ-ονυχ-αργο-κομήτας

The last two components of the comical compound are clear enough, "*long-haired layabouts*", referring to the idle, upper-class loungers to be seen loitering in the Agora and other public spaces. Dover however, questions the usual interpretation of the first two. He wonders whether the philosopher might be talking about his own down-at-the-heel acolytes who use their *fingernails* (ὄνυχες) to *make their mark* (σφραγίς), instead of those who wear 'signet-rings set with onyx gem-stones'. But, because 'Sokrates' is the speaker this description is most likely directed toward wealthy followers of fashion rather than his own 'students'. Even so, Dover's cautious comment serves to remind us that the normal meaning of ὄνυξ is not the stone, while σφραγίς properly refers to the engraved 'gem-stone' or 'the impression it leaves' (and thus only by metonymy to the ring in which it is set). Consequently, I have kept both *fingernails* and *gemstones* in my translation.

333. **κυκλίων τε χορῶν ἀσματοκάμπτας**

The traditional cyclic-dances known as *dithyrambs* were performed in competition at the City Dionysia and the Lenaia festivals, alongside the tragic and comic-dramas. Choruses of up to fifty men or boys sang to the accompaniment of flutes played in an ecstatic, Phrygian mode. They were led by a κορυφαῖος who might often have been the composer himself and perhaps may be considered the 'lead singer', since their narrative-songs were a vocal exchange with him. This was probably why Aristotle considered that these dithyrambic performers were the forerunners of tragic-choruses.

334. **βόσκουσι ἀργούς**...**μουσοποιοῦσιν**

Evidently, the poet Euripides was one of these "*good-for-nothing idlers*", since he is said to have revered the father of the Clouds, Ether, as his nourisher (ἐμὸν βόσκημα) in *Βάτραχοι* (cf. 570). The assonance of this line is very striking.

335-9. **ταῦτ(α) ἄρ(α)**

Modern editions of the play assign the citations from dithyrambic poets to Strepsiades, on the reasonable grounds that the phrase ταῦτα ἄρα... may often mark a change of speaker. Although this is not always the case (and Dover is prepared to find an exception in 394), I do not consider this a likely exception. But, it strains credulity to have the 'illiterate' farmer quoting these gobbets of high poetry. Therefore, we should probably consider reading **ταῦτα γ(ε)** instead.

ἐποίουν

Translations of this passage tend to treat the dithyrambic quotations as absurdities, but I do not think this reflects Aristophanes' intention (as 'Sokrates' comment in 340 indicates). The poets themselves did not set out to compose nonsense verse, but in attempting to treat meteorological phenomena in high-poetical language, they succeeded in becoming obscure. Thus, the quotations are not so much silly as mystifying. Unsurprising perhaps, since the influence of wine in the composition of the dithyrambs was a recognized fact (e.g. Archilochos frg. 120 West, οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας).

In *Εἰρήνη* (829) we hear of the air-borne hero encountering the souls of διθυραμβοδιδάσκαλοι during his flight and the *Σοῦδα* (δ 1029) explains that these περὶ μετεώρων καὶ περὶ τῶν νεφελῶν λέγουσι πολλὰ καὶ συνθέτους δὲ λέξεις ἐποίουν καὶ ἔλεγον «ἐνδιαεριαιερινηχέτους»· οἷος ἦν Ἴων ὁ Χῖος, ὁ ποιητής. (On the basis of this citation Dindorf suggested emending 337, -αυρινηχέτους). The same entry provides evidence that Sokrates was conversant with the poetry of Ion, stating that there existed a literary dialogue between the two, καὶ Σωκράτους τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἐστὶ λόγος εἰς αὐτόν.

στρεπταιγλᾶν

This first example is a good illustration of dithyrambic opacity, for scholars are puzzled by the compound -noun here.

Triklinios (cf. Wilson p. 66) noted that older manuscripts accented it paroxytone (**στρεπταίγλαν**) making it accusative case, while other texts used the circumflex for the genitive plural; a dichotomy also reflected in the scholia. In either case, the meaning is open to interpretation. Dover adopts the accusative and takes the literal meaning (a 'twisted or plaited bracelet') to be a poetic description of "*lightning*". His analysis meets with Henderson's approval and he translates "*zigzageddly braceleted*". Bentley too, had suggested that the phrase was intended to mean lightning, though he proposed emending the text to στραπταίγλαν,

which he derived from ἀστράπτειν (presumably using its truncated form e.g. Sophokles *Οἰδ. ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ* 1515, στράψαντα). Despite Dover's disapproval, this seems quite as valid as the 'bracelet' theory.
But, although the case for seeing flashes of lightning is plausible, the word αἴγλη itself could just as well describe the 'lurid glint' of sunlight breaking through banks of storm-clouds (cf. Bakch. 12.140). This is the view of Sommerstein who sees a "*gleaming* '*silver lining*' *around the irregular edge of a dark cloud*". But, he would prefer to draw this interpretation from the plural στρεπταιγλᾶν in agreement with νεφελᾶν, and he may be right.
A scholion attributes the compound to the dithyrambic poet Philoxenos of Kythera, though this quotation cannot be from his work, because according to the *Marmor Parium* A69, he was born 435/4 and an entry in the *Σοῦδα* (φ 393 Φιλόξενος) describes him as just a lad when the Athenians had taken his native island the previous year. (n.b. The latter entry is open to doubt since it mistakenly names the captors of Kythera in 424 as the *Lakedaimonians*, but other biographical information indicates that the date of birth is likely to be correct.) The scholiast may have confused this poet with another older namesake, who is derided by Aristophanes as a καταπύγων (*Σφῆκες* 84, see my note) and who may be the dithyrambic poet referred to in Plutarch's *περὶ Μουσικῆς*.

336. **Τυφῶ**

Typhos (contracted from Typhoeos) was the monstrous, youngest son of Gaia and Tartaros, buried alive for rebelling against Zeus. Hesiod's description of him and his conflict with the father of the Olympian gods (*Θεογ.* 820-68) must have been in Milton's mind when he composed '*Paradise Lost*'. He represents everyone's worst nightmare and so his physical features vary; sometimes he has a hundred heads, at other times he has one head and many hands, and often he is winged.
At an early date, however, an eastern storm-god with a similar name seems to have been merged into this gigantic monster. This *Typhon*, a name which occurs in both Persian and Cantonese, was the embodiment of violent winds (hence 'typhoon'). But, in the *Θεογονία* (306 ff.), he is distinct from Typhos and is father of other many-headed monsters, including the fifty-headed Kerberos. This is probably due to the fact that Hesiod identified him with the Hellenized form of the pre-Greek Python at Delphi, who is called Typhon also in the *Hymn to Apollo* and spoken of as the son (by parthenogenesis) of Hera. But, at the same time, Hesiod gives the attributes of the storm-god to Typhoeos (*Θεογ.* 869-80) and as a result the earth-bound monster becomes conflated in later poetry with the wavy-locked father of storm winds.

337. **ἀερίας διεράς, γαμψοὺς οἰωνοὺς ἀερονηχεῖς**

Editors are unsure whether this verse is meant as a single quotation or two separate, adjoining quotations. Dover splits the verse into two phrases; Sommerstein treats them as a continuous expression. Henderson hedges by printing two quotations, but translating them as one. Such bafflement is, after all, precisely the reaction Aristophanes was looking for from his audience.
My own conclusion is that two phrases from a single source have been inelegantly co-joined; in the first, the dithyrambic poet describes clouds in rather prosaic style as "*misty exhalations on high*", but later sees them as a new species of "*birds twisting afloat in the sky*". Not only does each image seem distinct, but it also seems to me unlikely that ἀερίας and ἀερονηχεῖς would be easily accomodated together in the same phrase. But, this interpretation means accepting that the two phrases are grammatically in apposition and some scholars are unwilling to do this. Dover considered that one could only take them separately if some connective particle were to be inserted. He observed that Bentley had proposed adding τ(ε) after γαμψούς and that the hand which copied the late manuscript P9 had already had the same thought. But, I feel that the very urge to insert the particle would have ensured that it did not accidentally drop out of the text in the first place. Besides, a particle has no business intruding upon a quotation.
Others prefer to fuse the two phrases into a coherent image. Sommerstein's initial offering (1982), "*aerial aquifers, crook-taloned birds floating in the air*", reflects a general assumption that the adjective γαμψούς must stand in for γαμψώνυχες, used to describe birds of prey hanging on the wind with hooked talons (cf. Aischylos *Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης* 488, γαμψωνύχων τε πτῆσιν οἰωνῶν σκεθρῶς). But, though this provides a vigorous image of sparrowhawks hovering, almost motionless, in strong winds, it is less suitable for the ever-changing clouds of vapour carried on the wind. The dithyrambic poet could have imagined 'curving, air-borne fliers' passing through the air in flight like birds.

One further suggestion, which Sommerstein adopts in his later translation (cf. addenda p. xi), is Reisig's attempt to hold the two phrases together by taking the adjective διεράς as the noun διερᾶς and translating it as 'the watery element'. This is more ingenious than helpful, since a reference to 'the sea' is obtrusive here, but a number of competent scholars lean toward it (cf. Wilson p. 66).

338-9. **ἀντ(ὶ) αὐτῶν**

The dithyrambic poets competed in musical contests and were rewarded for their compositions at a post-performance party paid for by the sponsor (χορηγός). These lavish 'after-parties' had become such a fixed feature of dithyrambic competitions that the contestants could be mocked for 'singing for their supper'. A similar joke at their expense is Aristophanes' introduction of a 'cyclic' poet in *Ὄρνιθες* 917, who turns up in rags looking for a hand-out. Sommerstein suggests that the comic-poet mentions the lavishness of these banquets out of envy, but his choice of diction maintains the high-flown verbosity of the meteorological descriptions and so he seems to indicate that the reward matches the effort in kind. This must be the point of the satisfied comment, οὐχὶ δικαίως (i.e. the Clouds ensure that an elaborate feast is given for elaborate verse). In *Βάτραχοι* (509-10), κρέα...ὀρνίθεια are included in a lavish meal being readied for 'Herakles'.

κιχηλᾶν

The Doric form of the noun is an indication of its lyric source; the Attic form would be κίχλων (cf. 983).

340. [**Στρεψιάδης**]

Editors interpret the words διὰ μέντοι τάσδε ('on account of these <Clouds>') as 'Sokrates' comment on the quotations made by Strepsiades. But, as I have assigned the quotes to 'Sokrates', these words are the old man's puzzled response, "*all down to these* <goddesses>, *you mean*?"

341. Strepsiades has his doubts that the members of the chorus are actual clouds, because as far as he can judge they resemble mortal women.

342. **ἐκεῖναί γε**

He may be presumed to be pointing out actual clouds in the sky above the theatre.

343. **ἐρίοισιν πεπταμένοισιν**

He likens the Clouds to "*wool-fleeces spread out*" as if to dry on the breeze, but because they are in the sky they are also 'spread out' like winged creatures in flight. As often, the verbs πετάννυμι and πέτομαι have become entwined. Reisig suggested that, because Aristophanes used the verb with the prefix δια- in *Λυσιστράτη* (732-3), he may have preferred to write here ἐρίοις διαπεπταμένοισιν (or not).

344. **ῥῖνας ἔχουσιν**

The 'Clouds' are portrayed by the chorus as anthropomorphic goddesses and therefore resemble females. So, why does Strepsiades specifically object to them having noses? It is unlikely that the members of the chorus had left their faces uncovered so that their actual noses were visible, since the masks were needed (in the absence of make-up) to show that they represented females. A scholiast inferred that, in fact, the chorus wore masks with comically large noses. This could perhaps explain the emphasis on their 'nose-in-the-air' attitude (σεμνότης) later on, the attitude which 'Sokrates' adopts (363).

Sommerstein (addenda xviii, in a note misassigned to line 334) considers that "*much nonsense has been written about this*". He is presumably thinking of articles written by Mark I. Davies (1982, p. 117) and L. Brown (1983), cited by Henderson (1991, p. 247) which theorize that these 'noses' are actually penises. I agree that this explanation is unconvincing. The chorus would hardly wear the property-phallos, while an allusion to their underlying gender would break the dramatic illusion to no purpose. But, Sommerstein's own explanation that the nose is "*the most prominently and distinctively human of all external anatomical features*", also carries no conviction.

It seems more likely that Strepsiades chooses to refer to the women's noses precisely because they are *not* gender-specific parts of their anatomy. He probably does so in order to avoid referring to those parts that *are*, namely the goddesses' over-generous breasts, which denoted their femaleness (cf. *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 143, ἀλλ' ὡς γυνὴ δῆτ', εἶτα ποῦ τὰ τιτθία; and Telekleides frg. 33, ὡς οὖσα θῆλυς εἰκότως οὔθαρ φορῶ) and which it might be thought irreverent and inappropriate to mention (what with them bein' goddesses an' all).

[The peerless Victor Borge demonstrated similar delicacy when describing how a well-endowed soprano 'died' in an opera, "*by stabbing herself between the two big…trees that are on the stage*".]

346-7.

The Clouds can assume any shape that the human mind can imagine. It is probably their constant motion which suggests animal shapes, though Aristophanes is interested too in the characteristics of the animals. This action of the mind in processing perceptions has been given the name *pareidolia*. Shakespeare refers to the same process in *Hamlet* (III.3, 367-73).

[For a modernday flight of fancy, take a break from philology and listen to *America*'s 'Ventura Highway' and their dithyrambic "*alligator lizards in the sky*". For 'wine' read 'weed'.]

347. **ἢ παρδάλει**

The Athenians were not familiar with leopards on a daily basis, nor indeed with centaurs (or whales, as in *Σφῆκες* 35), but they knew from Sophokles' plays that a leopard-skin had been hung outside the house of Antenor at Troy to protect it from the Greek attackers and that it had characteristic, dappled markings. He is probably referring to these typical patches of light and dark here, rather than to the shape of the animal. Cf. Herodotos 7.69.1.

348. γίγνονται

Brunck corrected the γίνονται of the codices.

ὅ τι

Each metamorphosis is particular so ὁσα (V) is less likely.

349. **οἷόνπερ τὸν Ξενοφάντου**

Hieronymos, the son of Xenophantes, was a dithyrambic poet who was mocked previously in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (389) for his characteristic trait of long, thick hair [Kevin Godley of '10cc' is probably his reincarnation or Peter Green of the original 'Fleetwood Mac']. In that play it was said that his hair made him invisible, as if he were wearing "*Hades*' *dog-skin cap of invisibility*" (cf. *Σοῦδα* α 676). Now, the poet suggests that on horseback he would resemble a centaur (like the unkempt horsemen of Thessaly). Hesychios thought that because of its mythical origin, κένταυρος could be used as code for 'a sexual predator' (of women or boys), and the worldly-wise Eustathios suggested the possibility of a pun on κεντεῖ ὄρρον, hinting that he might be "*a sodomite*" (Aristophanes frg. 972). But, though these allusions may well be relevant in other instances, Aristophanes is merely mocking Hieronymos for his bohemian look and any suggestion that he raped women and boys was strictly in the mind of the beholder.

351. **Σίμωνα**

This man was evidently a public official. Eupolis (frg. 235) targets him as an embezzler of public funds. It is possible that he had been challenged over his accounts and his conduct while in office (cf. *Σφῆκες* 571, τῆς εὐθύνης). He is mentioned again later (399) as a man who breaks his word and a scholiast describes him as owing money to the state.

Sommerstein's statement that he "*is known to us only from comedy*" may not be the whole truth, because a scholion (in the Venetus codex) refers to him as a σοφιστής and although Dover thought this was simply a guess, the scholiast may have seen cause to identify him with an intellectual contemporary of Sokrates. Diogenes Laërtios makes brief mention of a certain Simon whom he describes as a σκυτοτόμος ('leather-worker'), who was a familiar of Sokrates and the author of the first Sokratic dialogues (mockingly known as the σκυτινοὺς διαλόγους). We know him as 'Simon the shoemaker', since pseudo-Plutarch (776β) calls him a cobbler. Xenophon seems to allude to him when he refers to Sokrates hanging out with his friends at the shop of a 'bridle-maker' (εἰς ἡνιοποιεῖον) near the market-place. Since Aristophanes does not seem to mention the artisan, he is thought of by some as a fictional character, but if the person pilloried here is the same person, then he was a *real* (as well as fictional) person. Who better than a bridle-maker to lead a cavalry-charge against a tanner, after all?

352. **λύκοι...ἐγένοντο**

The Clouds change to resemble wolves, because Simon is in essence a predator. Strepsiades alleges that as a public official he has misused or embezzled public monies, but 'Sokrates' may simply be admitting that as a 'leather-worker' he preys on sheep.

353. **Κλεώνυμον...τὸν ῥίψασπιν**

This man's name is mentioned in every extant play of Aristophanes from 425 to 411 B.C., which vouches for his prominent political role throughout the period. Apart from two possible mentions in contemporary inscriptions, his place in history rests upon occasional references in comic-dramas. He is mentioned again later in this play (400) as a well-known perjuror, but he is most frequently chaffed for having 'discarded a

shield'. The implications of such cowardice for the man's political career lead Dover to suggest that only prudence or practical considerations could have saved Aristophanes from being prosecuted for character defamation. But, a literal reading of Old Comedy ignores the *poetic* point. I. Storey (*Rheinisches Museum* 1989) rightly questions the superficial allegation and the actual meaning of ῥίψασπιν can be inferred from the details of Xanthias's dream in *Σφῆκες* 15-19.

χθὲς ἰδοῦσαι

The sighting of Kleonymos refers to the past because the action of 'discarding his shield' is likely to have occurred the year before 425/4 B.C.

355. **Κλεισθένη**

I have counted fourteen references to this gentleman in Aristophanes' extant plays (plus another possible mention in *Ὁλκάδες*, cf. frg. 422). It is likely that he was a scion of the influential Alkmaionid clan since he shared his name with the illustrious founder of Athens' democratic institutions. He is first mentioned in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (118) in 425 B.C. and is still the butt of Satire twenty years later in *Βάτραχοι* (43, 58 and 426). The charge against him in the court of Comedy is persistent effeminacy, for which the only evidence ever offered is that he was clean-shaven. As Dover comments, the poor man may have simply have suffered an endocrine disorder. But, anyone who was exempt from military service might also be charged in Comedy with not being 'a real man' (cf. 691-2).

The form Κλεισθένην of the codices is presumably just a scholarly attempt to avoid hiatus (cf. 182).

357. **οὐρανομήκη**...**φωνήν**

Up until now the Clouds have been scattered; at first out of sight, then dispersed throughout the theatre so that they appeared to occupy the whole area (cf. 328, πάντα...κατέχουσιν). This had produced the effect of 'surround sound' on Strepsiades' ears.

358. **ὦ**...**παλαιογενές**

Dover explains this as a hybrid formed of the usual παλαιγενὲς, found in some codices, and the alternative παλαιόγονος used by Platon (frg. 96, χαῖρε παλαιογόνων...ξύλλογε).

359-63.

The Chorus of female deities express their condescension (from on high) towards their acolytes. They act like *divas* who frankly would rather deal with their fan-base on Twitter and Instagram than in person. The only expert in celestial theory whose phone-calls they would return is the intellectual recently come from Keos, while the average, native expert would be ignored. Even 'Sokrates' their local agent only succeeds in getting their attention by aping their supercilious, *lofty* manner in public.

359. **λεπτοτάτων λήρων ἱερεῦ**

'Sokrates' is addressed comically as 'one who officiates over the flimsiest frivolities', those very notions which they, as clouds, represent. Similarly, Eupolis describes a heavy drinker as a ἱερεὺς Διονύσου (frg. 20).

As Dover notes, Aristophanes again targets Sokrates in *Βάτραχοι*, where he mocks him for fine-sounding speeches without substance, ἐπὶ σεμνοῖσιν λόγοισι καὶ σκαριφησμοῖσι λήρων (1496-7).

361. **πλὴν ἢ Προδίκῳ**

Prodikos, an affluent aristocrat from the island of Keos (home to the celebrated lyric poets Bakchyllides and Simonides), was a younger contemporary of Sokrates, who first came to Athens as a diplomat, in his mid-thirties, around the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. By now, he was over forty and had acquired a considerable reputation as an intellectual. He seems to have had a lot in common with Sokrates, both philosophically and politically. Plato claimed that Sokrates was greatly influenced by Prodikos's ideas, and they would certainly have known each other, but whether the two were friends as he suggests is less certain.

362. **βρενθύει τ(ε) ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς**

Aristophanes was a keen observer of affectation and particularly noted the exaggerated, ambling gait by which many well-born Athenians chose to distinguish themselves from the common people. In *Σφῆκες*, he shows us the upwardly-mobile son trying to teach his father how to 'walk like an Egyptian' (1170-3), but the latter only manages to 'bum-swagger' like a horse (1173, σαυλοπρωκτιᾶν). The way some people walked is frequently compared with the awkward strut of birds (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 257) and so here 'Sokrates' "*struts like a βρένθος*" (cf. *Εἰρήνη* 26, βρενθύεται). Strictly-speaking this was some kind of water-fowl,

but my translation acknowledges the fact that many students today are likely to be better acquainted with commercials for whisky than with ornithology.
But, as well as being 'observational comedy', the passage also parodies serious literature e.g. the Homeric poet describes the goddesses Here and Athene as alighting from their chariot drawn by winged horses and strutting like pigeons across the Trojan plain (*Ἰλιάς* 5.778, τὼ δὲ βάτην τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοῖαι).

τὠφθαλμὼ παραβάλλεις

Plato refers to musicologists "*inclining their ears*" as if eavesdropping in order to pick up barely-audible, tonal variations, so here 'Sokrates' is said by Aristophanes to "*incline his gaze*" as he promenades around town. This, along with his strutting, seems to be a rare glimpse of the philosopher's actual behaviour. But, is Aristophanes exaggerating for comic effect and how literally should one take his image of the Master? The comic philosopher may be *moving like Jagger*, with an arrogant swagger and a supercilious look, but the real Sokrates might have been known simply for his unhurried, cautious step and his look of curiosity about everything he saw around him. The comic image stuck, at least, for Plato puts this line in the mouth of 'Alkibiades' (*Συμπόσιον* 221).

363. **κἀνυπόδητος κακὰ πόλλ(α) ἀνέχει**

The philosopher's lack of footwear confirms Pheidippides' description (103) of the school's casual dress code. This asceticism was taken to excess by some Sokratics, notably Antisthenes, feeding into Cynicism later. But, it is introduced here simply to accentuate (or perhaps account for), his careful, bird-like walk.

κἀφ' ἡμῖν σεμνοπροσωπεῖς

'Sokrates' adopts a snooty demeanour, reminiscent of Megakles' daughter (cf. 48, σεμνήν), which he has borrowed from the *ladies* of the chorus with their 'noses-in-the-air' (cf. 344). But, then again, a high brow can easily be mistaken for aloofness.

364. **ὦ Γῆ**

His exclamation, followed by the oath (366, πρὸς τῆς Γῆς), registers his awe and shock at finding that the Earth, which had seemed solid ground, seems to be shaking under his feet. Euripides' Hippolytos shows similar distress (601, ὦ γαῖα μῆτερ) on being told of his *step*mother's feelings for him.

366. **ἡμῖν**

As noted earlier (195) the personal pronouns are frequently mixed up, for they sounded the same in the copyist's head. Here again, the received text is in the first person, but one manuscript reads **ὑμῖν**. Dover argues that the use of the first person would suggest that Strepsiades already identifies himself with the school's viewpoint and that therefore only the second person is appropriate. In this case, I am inclined to follow his lead, although given the position of ἡμῖν we might take it to mean 'Olympian Zeus in whom we all believe'.

367. **οὐδ(ὲ) ἔστι Ζεύς**

Dover justifies the occurrence of οὐδὲ as "Zeus doesn't *even* exist", comparing οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶναι (902). But, without γὰρ, or some precursor to the phrase, I can only see οὐκ ἔστι Ζεύς – "*there is no Zeus*". This, we will subsequently find out (381, 827), is exactly what Strepsiades understands him to be saying. But, such a clear denial of the Olympian father would be patent blasphemy and intolerable to an Athenian audience. I think, therefore, that Aristophanes avoids portraying Sokrates as something he is not, i.e. an out-and-out atheist, but rather suggests that his physical explanations of physical phenomena leave no sphere of action for the traditional deities. I would suggest reading **οὐδέν τι** Ζεύς, and leave the verb ἔστι to be understood – "*Zeus is of no consequence*" (cf. *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* 144, οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶ – "*you're no use at all*". See also Appendix 8). For the view that οὐδὲ can itself stand for οὐ γὰρ, see Verdenius (1954).

368. **ἔμοιγ(ε) ἀπόφηναι πρῶτον ἁπάντων**

He is eager to learn the arcane mysteries of the school; just as in *Σφῆκες* the old juryman recalls the order in which the 'holy' appurtenances of the law-court were revealed (831, πρῶτον ἡμῖν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐφαίνετο). 'Sokrates' is represented as a hierophant who reveals the Truth, rather than a 'scientist'.

369. **αὗται δήπου·**

All editors interpret this as a brusque statement, "*They do, of course*!", but Dover admits that this form of assertion is not usual for δήπου, and 'Sokrates' seems to me to be portrayed as initially haughty, although he later becomes impatient. So, I would prefer **αὗται δή που**; and take him to be answering the question with another question, "*Surely they do, don't they*?"

373. **διὰ κοσκίνου οὐρεῖν**
The simple-minded farmer explains how he has interpreted the information that 'Zeus sends the rain'; his understanding is after all quite consistent with a belief in an anthropomorphic deity. Primitive, animistic ideas that a male sky-god fertilized a female Earth-goddess doubtless helped to engender such a reductio ad absurdum.
374. **ὅστις ὁ βροντῶν ἐστι**
The old man is perplexed. He's heard that, "*Thunder only happens when it's raining…Women…they will come and they will go*."
τετρεμαίνειν
See note on 294.
375. **πάντα...τολμῶν**
Strepsiades is not convinced and remains anxious that 'Sokrates' is recklessly crossing swords with the Father of the gods (cf. *Ἰλιάς* 8 423-4, εἰ...τολμήσεις Διὸς ἄντα ...ἔγχος ἀεῖραι – "*if you make so bold as to raise your spear against Zeus*").
377. **κατακρημνάμεναι**
Dover and subsequent editors have preferred the spelling **κατακριμνάμεναι** in the codex Venetus.
δι(ὰ) ἀνάγκην
The word *Necessity* is used to describe the underlying principle of the universe; the logical framework which constrains the material world. It serves here to express the scientific principle of cause and effect, while later it is applied comically to human physiology (1075, εἰς τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκας).
379. **ὁ δὲ ἀναγκάζων**
Strepsiades clings to his belief that Zeus is the ultimate cause. He would have said, "Evolution is all very well, but *who* designed evolution?"
380. αἰθέριος δῖνος
The consensus view in fifth-century cosmology was that the Earth was stationary. In Plato's *Φαίδων*, his 'Sokrates' alludes to two theories which had been advanced to account for this fixed position. One, as we have already seen (cf. 264), was Anaximenes' hypothesis that the flat Earth rested on a pillar of air. The other sought to take account of the perceived orbits of the planets and the revolutions of the moon, while giving an additional reason for the Earth's static position, by ascribing the phenomena to a cosmic vortex or *rotation* (δίνη). He says, "*One school of thought would fix the Earth in position under the heavens by encircling the Earth with a vortex*" (Plato *Φαίδων* 99β, ὁ μέν τις δίνην περιτιθεὶς τῇ γῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μένειν δὴ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν).
The theory may have been centuries-old (perhaps influenced by the corresponding circulation of Okeanos about the land mass), but its earliest known proponent appears to be Empedokles of Akragas (born c. 490 B.C.) who speaks of the continuous succession of night and day as hemispheres alternating in the heavens. He explains their revolutions as due to a continuation of the circular motion of the elements fire and air in the original formation of the world (see G.S. Kirk and J. Raven *The Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, frg. 434). Although the actual word δίνη does not occur in this passage, it does crop up in an extract from one of his poems (frg. 464) where the context suggests a stage in creation in which countervailing forces of Νεῖκος (repulsion) and Φιλότης (attraction) were acting within a *cosmic rotation*. His theories could have reached Athens through Gorgias, who is called his 'pupil'. They are detectable in the atomicists' writings. Indeed, Demokritos of Abdera (who was just a year older than Sokrates by some accounts) uses the form δῖνος in place of δίνη (frg.167) and Aristophanes probably preferred this form, partly because it will later open the door to word-play on the name of a type of drinking-vessel, but also because it helps him to stir ambiguity into the line here, as the words αἰθέριος δῖνος are reminiscent of Zeus's title in the genitive case (αἰθρίου Διός).
381. **Δῖνος νυνὶ βασιλεύων**
Strepsiades understands that Zeus may have been overthrown by some divine entity called Δῖνος (perhaps a 'descendant of Zeus' – τοῦ Διός), just as Zeus had overthrown *his* father (Κρόνος), who had usurped *his* father (Οὐρανός) before him. Later (1473) he will explain that he thought that 'Sokrates' had been talking about an ordinary household item, a ceramic cup. Their misunderstanding cannot be replicated in English, but the two meanings of a *schooner* provide an analogy. The nearest I can come is 'the *tumbler* effect'.

382. **οὐδέν πω...μ(ε) ἐδίδαξας**
'Sokrates' had just touched on this (378), but the old man could hardly believe that this chorus of women was really responsible for the tremendous noise of a thunderstorm.
περὶ τοῦ πατάγου καὶ τῆς βροντῆς
This sounds as though Strepsiades considers the crash distinct from the thunder, but it is the poetic figure noted earlier (cf. 325), "*concerning the crash of thunder*".
385. **ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ...διδάξω**
'Sokrates' proceeds to explain that the 'internal flatulence' which causes thunder is not unlike that which may cause an old man to 'break wind'. The fart-joke, probably the world's oldest, never seems to go out of fashion (though farts may do).
386. **Παναθηναίοις**
The pan-Athenaia was the principal festival in honour of the city's protecting goddess, held each year in mid-summer, when many animals, chiefly cattle, would be slaughtered at her altars. The sacrificial bull shown in the south frieze of the 'Parthenon' was probably the pick of the herd chosen for the procession to the Akropolis. The animals' meat was later cooked and served up for the whole citizen body. For the 'Great' pan-Athenaia, celebrated every fourth year, the Athenians invited each of their 'allied' states to contribute a cow toward the public feasting.
ζωμοῦ
The celebratory feast included a *greasy broth* rendered from the animal fat in which some of the meat had been boiled (cf. *Ἱππεῖς* 1178, ἐκ ζωμοῦ κρέας) as well as a thick, vegetable soup made from peas or beans. It was more likely the latter (cf. *Ἱππεῖς* 1171, ἔτνος...πίσινον) which had generated the air in Strepsiades.
388. **νὴ τὸν Ἀπόλλω**
At last, Strepsiades finds part of the lesson to which he can relate and his exclamation gives credit to the god of enlightenment.
390. **παππάξ**
The word can hardly do onomatopoeic service for the range of sounds intended. Perhaps it was the form agreed among comic-dramatists for denoting rumbling, akin to the comic-book conventions for wordless noises. Probably the actor was free to make appropriate sounds as he saw fit. This certainly appears to be the case in *Σφῆκες* (618), where PhiloKleon talks of his donkey-head flask "*blowing a royal raspberry*" – στράτιον κατέπαρδεν (lit: blew an almighty fart), at an empty wine-cup. It is possible, however, that the word 'pappax' was used by the man in the street as verbal abuse to denote the *action* of farting.
391. **πα-πα-παππαξ**
This four note motif should be sounded in the key of C minor.
393. **τὸν δ(ὲ) Ἀέρα...ἀπέραντον**
'Sokrates' would use the etymologically correct form of the adjective **ἀπέρατον**, unlike the coarse farmer (cf. 3).
394. **ταῦτ(α) ἄρα**
Most editors have decided, like Hall and Geldart, to follow the codex Venetus and assign these words to Strepsiades. Dover, however, is almost alone (Rogers may have felt the same) in supporting the alternate manuscript tradition. He does admit that where a line opens with the phrase ταῦτα ἄρα it usually denotes a change of speaker, and Strepsiades has interjected with these words twice already in the scene (cf. 319, 335), but he argues that a pronouncement on the etymology of words suits 'Sokrates' better and the fact that the two words, βροντή and πορδή, are not really alike would seem to show that we are being offered another case of sophistical reasoning. However, the accidental similarity of these unrelated words would have no bearing on 'Sokratic', scientific theory. The word πορδή has merely been introduced as a crude analogy of internal 'wind' and so further reference to an alleged assonance would suggest that 'Sokrates' had taken leave of his senses.
In order for the line to make any sense, the words ought to sound more similar. This suspicion prompted Sommerstein to suggest that the actor speaking the line (who for him portrays Strepsiades), pronounced the words "*with a very long, strongly trilled* [*r*]". But, there is a better explanation, which Dover edges toward, but ultimately lacks the confidence to adopt. He surmises that a simple metathesis of βροντή to βορ(ν)τή may have occurred commonly in ordinary speech and he notes that one manuscript (Vaticanus

Urbinas 141) actually contains a variant, βορτή. He shrewdly opines that this reading "*may not be entirely fanciful*". In fact, it points us to a rational explanation of the line. At some point in the transmission of the text, an ancient scholar (somewhat lacking in humour) has failed to understand the point of this line and in consequence it is mistakenly assigned to 'Sokrates' in most manuscript copies. His error is the result of a pedantic intervention by a previous copyist who 'corrected' the original reading **βορντή** into the normal βροντή. Once the 'unusual' spelling is restored, one can readily recognize both the purpose of the line and its speaker.

The old man has struggled to grasp the substance of the lesson and so far failed. The Master's point was that the emission of pent up wind made a similar sound in either case; the difference was one of degree. But, it suddenly dawns on Strepsiades that the comparison between *thunder* and *farts* is not just the sound they make, but the sound of the words themselves. Although he has employed the standard literary forms βροντή (389) and βροντᾷ (391) up until now, he realizes that the country yokel (which he still is at heart) would have pronounced them differently in the local dialect, saying '*thudner*' instead of 'thunder'. This insight is irrelevant to 'Sokratic', meteorological theory, but seems to him to validate the analogy. Such metathesis is similar to a north-countryman saying 'brid' for 'bird'. Coming after ῥῶ, the –ντ– of βορντή is the phonetic equivalent of δέλτα in πορδή, and is still used in Modern Greek to transcribe the sound of a hard 'd', since the letter delta itself has become softened to 'dh'.

The ease with which the celestial thunder could be compared in the popular mind with human flatulence, (since Zeus produces rain, he must also be the one who 'thunders'), could help explain how a courtroom full of jurymen also 'thunders' like Zeus (cf. *Σφῆκες* 623).

395-7. **ὁ κεραυνὸς**...**τοῦτον**...**ὁ Ζεὺς ἵησι**

Strepsiades voices the orthodox, religious view of the phenomenon, a commonplace of tragic-drama, e.g. Euripides *Ἴων* 212-3, κεραυνὸν ἀμφίπυρον ὄβριμον ἐν Διὸς ἐκηβόλοισι χερσίν. According to Demokritos of Abdera, a contemporary of Sokrates, ancient peoples imagined that thunder and lightning were caused by immortal deities to assuage their fear of the natural phenomena (as cited by Sextus Empiricus). This is presumably a reference to his αἰτίαι ἀέριοι.

396. **τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας**

These words form the third metron and are scanned as two spondees (- - - -) since the short second vowel is deemed to be lengthened by the consonant zeta. But, there can be little doubt that Aristophanes meant, "those who *survive* <a lightning bolt>" – τοὺς δ' ἐπιζῶντας. Might the poet have counted the iota as an open vowel despite its position, so that the first foot would scan as a dactyl (- ◡ ◡ - -)? The compound verb is used by Herodotos 1.120.1, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον – "*if he survived and did not die untimely*").

περιφλύει

Blaydes proposed that the verb be written **περιφλεύει**, which recent editors prefer, since the final metron of an anapaestic tetrameter is catalectic and the third syllable scans long. The same applies to καταφρύγει, though no-one has suggested spelling this differently.

398. **Κρονίων ὄζων**

We know next to nothing about the festival of τὰ Κρόνια, other than that it was held at Athens annually in the summer. The particular *fragrance* to which this phrase alludes must be metaphorical, like the earlier mention of the festival of Aphrodite-Genetyllis (50-2, ὄζων...Κωλιάδος Γενετυλλίδος). In later times, the identification of Kronos with the equivalent Roman deity, Saturn, seems to have led to the celebration of τὰ Κρόνια in mid-winter in the week-long revel of *saturnalia* (cf. Loukianos Τὰ πρὸς Κρόνον).

Kronos (father of the 'non-existent' Zeus) represents a pre-historic period before the Olympians brought order and civilization to the world. So, Strepsiades is said to carry the musty smell 'of the age of Kronos', as though he ought to be an exhibit in a museum of natural history.

βεκκεσέληνε

The scholia (incorporated in the *Σοῦδα*, β 228-9, βεκεσέληνε) offer differing interpretations of this unique neologism. The first lays emphasis on the second part of the compound and suggests that the poet intends the word to be taken akin to σεληνόβλητος or σεληνόπληκτος, 'moonstruck'. But criticism of Strepsiades' rationality (calling him in effect a 'Luney-tune') does not seem apposite here. An alternative explanation,

briefly alluded to, is that the word meant ἀνόητος, because there was a word βέκος used by the Lydians or Phrygians, for which they were ridiculed as *simpletons*.
The second entry expands upon this interpretation. It refers to the story told by Herodotos in his Egyptian travelogue (2.2), according to which two newborn infants were kept isolated from human contact in order that their first attempt at speech could be recorded. The sound they uttered was judged to be βέκος, which was found to be the word for 'bread' in the Phrygian language. Herodotos himself seems to have realized that the whole tale was patently absurd, but he insists that he got it from a more reliable source, the priests at Memphis, than the "*many groundless variants*" previously circulated by Greek historians.
Now it may well be that the recitals of Herodotos' *Ἱστορίες* would have been still fresh in the minds of the spectators and that they would have recognized at once that the adjective was intended to compare the old farmer to a mewling infant. But, on the other hand, the scholiasts may have been too fixated on the story as told by Herodotos (who, if he ever actually visited Egypt, never alighted from his tour-bus). The other variants he mentions which other historians had told before him may have been a more traditional version with a hint of comic origin. This is suggested in the second entry (β 229), when the scholiast points to the fact that the infants might have been suckled and raised by goats in lieu of human foster-parents (ὡς αἶγας ὑπέπεμπεν αὐτοῖς, ἃς θηλάζοντα ἐτρέφετο τὰ παιδία) and observes that it would hardly be surprising then if the sound made by the wild-children closely resembled the bleating of goats (κατακούοντα τῆς αἰγὸς μιμήσασθαι τὴν ἐκείνης φωνὴν). The fact that a Phrygian word may have sounded very similar was mere coincidence.
This comment points to a possible clarification of the text, for it will be noted that whereas the head-word in the *Σοῦδα* is spelt βεκεσέληνε in both entries, the codices agree on spelling the word with double kappa (βεκκεσέληνε). This is necessitated by the metre and militates against the likelihood of Herodotos's βέκος being the inspiration for the neologism. Instead, since Strepsiades is a goatherd, 'Sokrates' may be hinting that he has been too greatly influenced by his wards. The usual expression of a goat's bleat in Attic Greek is βῆ βῆ, so that the poet could have written βήζε-. But, I rather suspect that Aristophanes wrote **βε-εκε** here, as similar duplication of sounds occurs elsewhere (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 1527, ὤ-<ω>ζωσιν).
In fragment 878, we are told by Suetonius that the neologism was used like πρωτοσελήνους to reinforce the previous aspersion of "*old fogey*" by describing old men as being as old as the moon, or as we might say 'as old as the hills'. [Steve Martin – "*Not many people know this, but Mickey Rooney is as old as the …Earth*"]
In this context it is more likely that 'Sokrates' is critical of his pupil's childish backwardness combined with advanced age, and so Henderson's "*mooncalf*", though archaic, is conveniently *neat*.
Later Roman writers seem to have understood the term to signify 'primitive thinking'. Pseudo-Plutarch (2.881α, τίς ὁ θεός;) paraphrases this line (ὄζει λήρου βεκκεσελήνου κατά γε τοὺς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιητάς), ironically to mock Plato's suggestion that god created the world in his own nature.

399-400. **βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους**

The problem with *acts of God* is that they are seemingly random and often confound the virtuous instead of sinners. 'Sokrates' points out that a physical phenomenon such as lightning clearly cannot be an act of God, if perjurors get away with their lies. The three examples of A-list liars are all public figures, but we would not have heard of them, were it not for the regular attention paid to them by the comic-poets. The name of Simon is invoked in *Ἱππεῖς* (242) to lead a cavalry charge against Kleon 'the Paphlagonian'. He could be identified with the author of a manual on horsemanship mentioned by Xenophon in his own *περὶ Ἱππικῆς* (1.1), and may have been mocked as a 'bridle-maker' elsewhere. Kleonymos, who was notorious as the 'discarder of shields', has already been mocked for his timidity (353) and now comes in for more stick as a perjuror. Unlike the other two, Theoros appears to have been a crony of Kleon (*Σφῆκες* 42-3).

401. **τὸν αὐτοῦ γε νεῶν**

Temple-precincts of Zeus were usually located in populous areas, and the remaining columns of Athens' temple of Olympian Zeus, south-east of the Akropolis, are still a central landmark for tourists today. The delay in its completion may perhaps have been due to an ill-omened lightning-strike on the building, as at the temple of Aphaia. But, there were also numerous altars and holy shrines consecrated to the rain-god on the mountain-tops where his thunder-clouds were seen to gather and lightning played. One such site has been identified close to the summit of Mt Hymettos (cf. Merle K. Langdon, 'A sanctuary of Zeus on

Mount Hymettos' in *Hesperia* 1976 suppl. xvi). [As Mark Twain observed "*there's more churches struck* (by lightning)…*than any other thing than Sabbath-breakers*". Not surprising really, since spires seem to act as lightning-rods.]

Σούνιον, ἄκρον Ἀθηνέων

Cape Sounion forms the southernmost tip of Attika. An exposed rock between sky and sea, it was the site of two sanctuaries dedicated to Athens' patron deities, Athena and Poseidon. The codices read Ἀθηνῶν or Ἀθηναίων, but Porson saw that the poet is alluding to a line in Homer which an Athenian would have had by heart, ἀλλ' ὅτε Σούνιον ἀφικόμεθ', ἄκρον Ἀθηνέων (*Ὀδύσσεια* 3.278).

402. **τὰς δρῦς**

The oak tree was held to be sacred to Zeus. His sanctuary at Dodona, south of modern Ioannina, enclosed an oak tree through whose leaves the god communicated (cf. Pausanias 1.17.5). The sanctuary of Athena at Phaleron was believed to have been established from Dodona and so may also have had an oak within its precinct (cf. Pausanias 1.36.3).

[On 15th August, 2017, during celebrations of the Assumption at the church of Our Lady of the mountain, Funchal, Madeira, an aged oak tree crashed down on worshippers killing thirteen and injuring forty-nine. No deity has yet claimed responsibility.]

404. **ἄνεμος ξηρὸς**

He seems to have in mind the hot, dry winds which precede summer thunderstorms.

406. **διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα**

Sommerstein takes this phrase to mean "*owing to* <the wind's> *density*", but it seems rather to apply to the clouds' density, which was mentioned earlier (384).

408. **Διασίοισιν**

Festivals held in honour of Zeus were called Διάσια. The Athenians celebrated their 'Diasia' annually in honour of Zeus 'the merciful' (μειλίχιος). It involved the city's population going out into the countryside (cf. Thucydides 1.126.6). To judge from this passage, the celebrations took the form of family barbeques (cf. below, 864), like those traditionally held in Peru still today.

409. **ὀπτῶν...ἔσχων**

The codices read ὤπτων, the imperfect of ὀπτάω, ("*I was roasting / toasting some* <*stuffed*> *tripe*"), but the original reading is likely to have been the present participle, ὀπτῶν, found only in the Ravenna codex. The finite clause which follows, introduced by καὶ εἶτα..., is not really sequential, but is to be understood as explaining the second participle, 'while trying to cook…I was distracted and consequently did not slit the tripe'. The change into the imperfect was doubtless made under the influence of ἔσχων which is the imperfect tense of σχάω (rather than the ἔσχον which is written in the main codices).

411. **προσετίλησεν**

Aristophanes uses a particularly coarse comparison to describe the way the offal bespattered the old man "*like a slurry of excrement*".

After this line I have inserted lines 423-6, see below.

412-9.

In our present version of the play these lines are addressed to Strepsiades, outlining the Sokratic School's manifesto, which he is to follow. But, they are also, in effect, a description of the philosophers' regimen. The passage requires only slight alteration to be transposed into an encomium of Sokrates. This is exactly what happens with lines 412-7 in the biographical notes of Diogenes Laërtios (2.27), in which the leader of the chorus is heard to address 'Sokrates' instead of his prospective pupil. [See Appendix 3, fragments.] The Clouds' leaderene lays emphasis on mental study combined with physical self-control. The aim being to produce a citizen, superior to his countrymen (νικᾶν <τοὺς ἄλλους>) in the way he thinks and acts, and who is, above all, proficient in debating.

413. **καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι**

His renown will extend throughout the Greek-*speaking* world.

414-5. **μνήμων...καὶ φροντιστής**

The primary requirements are intellectual; a good memory (because little material is written down) and a mind that digests the teaching.

τὸ ταλαίπωρον...ψυχῇ

But, alongside the intellectual qualities, the student also needs a strong constitution to put up with a basic lifestyle, stripped of creature comforts.

ἑστὼς...βαδίζων

This is a reminder that teaching was not conducted in a classroom. The students would be on their feet for long hours, as they followed their masters' debates in the shops near the Agora or kept pace with them as they sauntered through the streets. Even when they got to lie down, they would be expected to keep their minds active.

416. **ῥιγῶν…ἀριστᾶν**

According to the comic-poets, the Lakonizers like Sokrates could be spotted in the street by their lack of concern for the elements. Ameipsias brought him onto the stage wearing a thin cloak that would not keep out the cold. In the same passage (frg. 9), he mentions him going hungry. Another aristocratic Athenian is described in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* as, "*always cold and hungry*" (857, ῥιγῶν τε καὶ πεινῶν ἀεὶ). He too was probably an alumnus of the Sokratic School.

417. **οἴνου τ(ε) ἀπέχει**

It is scarcely credible that a comic-hero, an acolyte of Dionysos, would be told to keep clear of wine. Nor does abstinence match the picture of Sokrates in the Platonic dialogues, where he is a guest at symposia, able to hold his drink with the best. Consequently, the reading **ὕπνου τ' ἀπέχει** which is preserved in the Etymologicum Magnum seems more likely to be correct, particularly as Strepsiades picks up the point in his reply (420) and the Clouds remind him later to stay awake (705-6), but also because sleeplessness was required of 'Sokrates' and his pale-faced students (cf. 171-3) when studying the night-sky.

The earlier version (?), quoted by Diogenes Laërtius, may well have read οἴνου, since it is combined with ἀδηφαγίας to show that Sokrates himself avoided "*both drinking and eating excessively*". [Monty Python contradicted this view claiming (without evidence) that "*Sokrates himself was permanently pissed*".]

γυμνασίων

One would imagine that, in view of his advancing years, it would be no hardship for Strepsiades to keep clear of the gymnasia. But, this proviso is not really a warning to him "*to abstain from physical exercise*", rather it is telling him not to waste his time with *Sport*. The real Sokrates would have approved the dictum *mens sana in corpore sano* and was disciplined in his body as well as his mind (cf. Diogenes Laërtios 2. 22, ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ καὶ σωμασκίας, καὶ ἦν εὐέκτης). He would have visited a gym to work out and perhaps to recruit likely students, so that Aristophanes can make out that he is there to pick up good-looking boys for his ménage or to purloin wrestlers' unattended cloaks (cf. 178-9). But, the wrestling-schools were not his usual haunt and he would have shared the Spartan attitude to wrestling, that it was a means to physical discipline. Certainly, today's steroid-backed body-building would have left him unmoved. It is interesting to note, conversely, that his 'pupil' Plato is said by some to have been an accomplished wrestler.

τῶν ἄλλων ἀνοήτην

This phrase draws its sense from the previous exhortation to stay away from the sports ground. It is not so much 'silly' pursuits as "*non-intellectual*" ones that should be avoided.

420. **οὕνεκα**

The preposition refers to the requirements of the school ("*as regards these counts*"), as οὕνεκα τούτων (422) shows, rather than to the benefits conferred ("*for the sake of …*").

The codices read ἕνεκεν, both here and in 422, which Elmsley emended to οὕνεκα. Dover thinks this is a possibility, but prefers to print Bergk's proposed εἵνεκα, as does Henderson. Either form would improve on ἕνεκεν, which Sommerstein retains here, though he prints οὕνεκα in 422.

δυσκολοκοίτου τε μερίμνης

There is irony in the fact that, whereas previously he was deprived of his sleep by anxiety over his debts, he will now be unable to get comfortable in bed, because his mind is wrapped up in his studies.

421. **τρυσιβίου γαστρὸς**

His own stomach is used to putting up with a survival diet; it is his son's horses that eat well (cf. 121-2).

θυμβρεπιδείπνου

He may have in mind his main meal as a goatherd, a salad of bitter, wild herbs, which would have made the eater grimace (cf. *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 254, θυμβροφάγον βλέπειν – "*to look like one has just eaten savory*"). He

would have collected these greens on the mountainside while watching his herd. [They are still gathered by countryfolk today and known as χόρτα του βουνού.]

422. **ἐπιχαλκεύειν παρέχοιμ(ι) ἄν**.

He is ready to put himself in the hands of the metal-beater ('Sokrates') to be moulded into shape. This metaphor is chosen to allude to the original source of Sokrates' personal wealth. His father is described, probably inaccurately, as a λιθουργός ('stone-mason'), since the family business was statue-making. He might as well be termed a χαλκεύς ('metalworker'). Sophilos, the father of the tragedian Sophokles, was also derisively called a χαλκεύς, because he owned an arms-factory.

423-6.

In the addenda to his third edition of the play (2007), Sommerstein notes a suggestion made long ago by F.W. Fritzsche (1851) to transpose these lines to follow 411. His *Penguin* translation (2002) takes account of the transposition, though it was not possible to alter his Greek text for the later 'revised' reprint. As he explains, the original transposition could easily have been due to accidental omission which was corrected by the reinsertion of the lines in a less suitable position. I would follow Fritzshe's proposal too. Not only do these lines seem to round off the preceding exchange better, but their later absence leaves a smoother, more natural transition from 422 to 427, so that the repetition of θαρρῶν then comes in successive lines.

423. **δῆτ(α) οὖν**

In some codices the final νυ has been accidentally dropped and some editors have accepted the possibility that the poet wanted to stress the negation. But, the οὐδὲν (Bentley's perceptive correction of οὐδένα) is sufficient and the combination of δῆτα with οὖν seems right for drawing a conclusion (as e.g. *Ἱππεῖς* 871, ἔγνωκας οὖν δῆτ' αὐτὸν οἷός ἐστιν;)

424. **Γλῶτταν**

The tongue is sometimes endowed with a mind of its own by tragedians, (e.g. Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 395-7, 612) and Euripides is portrayed in *Βάτραχοι* (892) as invoking among 'his own personal deities' γλώττης στρόφιγξ ("*the tongue's twister*"). The comic-dramatist is paying *lip*-service to the idea that the tongue is all-powerful and capable of persuading anyone. This is shown too by his use of ἄγλωττον (frg. 756) of a person 'lost for words'.

τρία ταυτί

This is a key element of the drama and will affect the likely outcome. 'Sokrates' is taken to be advocating the cult of "<just> *these three* <deities>" (cf. frg. 563 from *Τριφάλης*, δέδοικα τὰ τρία ταυτί).

425.

The corollary of paying attention to this Holy Trinity is that Strepsiades will have to snub the other gods. This, as the audience knew from the moral lesson of the *Ἱππόλυτος*, can only end badly for all concerned.

427. **θαρρῶν,**

Commentators generally take θαρρῶν with the imperative ("*take courage and tell us*"), which is in accord with prose usage (e.g. Plato *Φαιδρός* 243ε, λέγε τοίνυν θαρρῶν). But its position here suggests that it was intended to apply rather to the following clause.

428. **ἡμᾶς...θαυμάζων**

One may 'wonder at' or 'admire' someone or something, but where divinity is involved the verb means to "*show respect*" or "*reverence*" (cf. Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 106, οὐδείς...νυκτὶ θαυμαστὸς θεῶν – "*no deity who is worshipped by night*").

429-30. **τουτὶ πάνυ μικρόν**

His request is really no big deal. He just wants to be far and away the finest orator in the Greek language! His tone suggests that, given the standard of the current public-speakers, this was hardly asking too much.

431-2. **ἔσται σοι τοῦτο**

The Clouds' spokesperson agrees that it will be no trouble for them to grant τοῦτο <μικρόν τι>.

ἀπὸ τουδὶ

In the *Σοῦδα* this line is explained as ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν and modern editors translate it accordingly, "*from this moment on*" (Henderson), as if the poet had written ἀπὸ τῆσδε ἡμέρας. But, the chorus-leader is not about to wave a wand to confer the gift of the gab on the geriatric suppliant, like a pantomime fairy-godmother, although Wilson (p. 67) thinks that the deictic pronoun must indicate some such gesture, perhaps the snap of the fingers. But, the Clouds' promise is for the future (n.b. the tense of τεύξει in 435), so unless we are

willing to print ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν (to complement τὸ λοιπόν γε) and admit the tautology of 'for the future, from right now', we ought to consider supplying a different noun. The most likely candidates are ἀνθρώπου or Φροντιστηρίου.

ἐν τῷ δήμῳ

This phrase is sometimes synonymous with the Assembly (ἐκκλησία) as opposed to the Council (βουλή), e.g. ἡ βουλὴ χὠ δῆμος (*Σφῆκες* 590), but can be applied to all public arenas in general.

γνώμας...νικήσει

They promise that his 'opinion will prevail', be it a motion proposed in the Assembly or an argument put to the Council or to a court.

433. **μή ᾽μοι...οὐ γὰρ…ἐπιθυμῶ**

He protests that his ambitions are more modest than the proficiencies on offer. He would gladly exchange the doctorate in Political Science for a diploma in skulduggery. His protest is comically ironic, because he seems to want to negotiate a worse deal (cf. *Σφῆκες* 751-2, μή μοι τούτων μηδὲν ὑπισχνοῦ· κείνων ἔραμαι – "*do not make me such promises, it is those places I am enamoured of*"). With Dover, I would print **μή μοι γε**... and supply the omitted imperative; 'Do not <teach> me to speak…' or 'Do not <bestow the gift> of speaking'. His alternative of taking the infinitive in "*an imperitival sense*" ('do not speak to me of…') is not really an attractive option.

434. **ἀλλ(ὰ) ὅσ(α) ἐμαυτῷ στρεψοδικῆσαι**

The text stretches syntax somewhat. If we retain ὅσ(α), it might be better to read ὅσ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ, "*in matters that concern me personally*" (i.e. not 'the weighty matters of public interest'). But I would prefer to adopt the reading of the Venetus codex **ὡς** ἐμαυτῷ to balance the construction with the previous line. Therefore οὐ γὰρ τούτων ἐπιθυμῶ becomes a parenthesis, and he is telling the Clouds 'Do not teach me to be able to speak in the Assembly…but <to speak> so as to alter a court's decision to my <side>'.

Finally, the verb στρεψοδικῆσαι gives us to understand how he got his name as 'one aiming at perverting justice'.

435. **τεύξει...ὧν ἱμείρεις**

The poet parodies the manner in which Zeus and the other gods give aid to their favourites, e.g. the power of imprecation granted to Theseus by Poseidon in Euripides' *Ἱππόλυτος* and the magic sword provided for Peleus (cf. 1063). But, we know that obtaining our heart's desire is not always an unalloyed blessing.

437. **δράσω ταῦθ᾽ ὑμῖν**

In *Σφῆκες* (385), PhiloKleon summons up the confidence to act using a similar phrase (δράσω τοίνυν ὑμῖν πίσυνος). The plural ταῦτα is more usual than the singular, which has been adopted in fourteenth-century manuscripts. To the examples given by Dover, we can add PhiloKleon's acquiescent ταῦτά νυν in *Σφῆκες* (1008).

438. διὰ τοὺς ἵππους

Evidently, the thoroughbred horse bought with money borrowed from Pasias was only the most recent of a string of such purchases.

439. **νῦν οὖν (χρήσθων)**

Cobet was surely correct to excise the redundant χρήσθων, which has slipped in from the margin where it served to gloss ὅτι βούλονται, but there does seem to be something lacking and, judging from the striking similarity with line 454, it is probably the infinitive **δρᾶν** οὖν ἀτεχνῶς... Sommerstein (addenda xi) gives other suggestions by Hermann, Reisig and Guidorizzi (cf. Wilson p. 67).

ἀτεχνῶς

The adverb is usually read with παρέχω in the sense of 'unreservedly', 'wholeheartedly'. But its position and the subsequent list of possible actions suggest that it should belong rather with ὅτι βούλονται as later in 454.

440. **τουτὶ τοὐμὸν**

The codices agree on **τὸ γ᾽ ἐμὸν**, but Hall and Geldart have adopted Cobet's emendation.

441-2. **τύπτειν πεινῆν**

In the run of verbs transitive is mixed with intransitive indifferently. Strepsiades shows himself aware of the Sokratics' reputation for asceticism, to which the 'Clouds' had already alluded (415-6). Self-discipline would feature prominently in fourth-century accounts of Sokrates' advice for living the excellent life (e.g.

Xenophon *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* 2.1.17, εἴ γε πεινήσουσι καὶ δειψήσουσι καὶ ῥιγώσουσι καὶ ἀγρυπνήσουσι, where Aristippos questions the master's assertion that leaders need to be schooled in hardship).

αὐχμεῖν

The verb could mean 'to become desiccated', but coming after διψῆν that would be repetitious. Instead, he will "*be dry*", perhaps because he goes unwashed (cf. 920).

ἀσκὸν δείρειν

'To be flayed for a hand-bag' was a figure of speech. Dover illustrates it in verses attributed to Solon in which someone suggests that he would be willing to be flayed alive, if he could just hold absolute power in Athens for twenty-four hours (Solon frg. 23.5). The saying originates in the myth of the satyr Marsyas who had accepted a musical challenge from Apollo. So sure was he of his proficiency with the flute that he recklessly proposed this fate for himself, if he should lose (cf. Philostratos the younger, *Imagines* 2). Sure enough, Apollo was adjudged the winner (albeit by trickery) and he exacted the appalling forfeit that Marsyas had so rashly promised. The audience would sense immediately what lies in store for the old man who, though he avoids being turned into a hand-bag, is nonetheless made a punch-bag in due course.

The codices read δέρειν, which Scaliger has emended, although Aristophanes in fact uses δέρειν / δείρειν interchangeably as suits his metre (for the iambic form cf. *Σφῆκες* 485).

444-51.

Having declared himself ready to endure every torment and privation in order to obtain an education and arm himself against his creditors' claims, Strepsiades now launches into a litany of 'forensic skills' which he hopes to perfect. These lines are amusing for the auditor and a useful glossary of such vernacular terms for modern philologists, but besides this they are perhaps an indication of the poet's true feelings. In the torrent of words that pour forth Aristophanes caustically satirizes the training in rhetoric which the upper class in Athens eagerly sought, with a view to exercising their power in the courts and public assemblies. He points out the moral cancer in the Athenian political system produced by the abuse of institutions and the misuse of talent. In *Σφῆκες* (1094-5) he will again claim that the ancient, communal values have been sacrificed to a love of litigation and clever rhetoric.

448. **κύρβις**

A κύρβις was one of the triangular wooden boards joined together to form a pyramid, to which bronze plates, known as ἄξονες, were attached. These δέλται χαλκαῖ were inscribed with the laws ordained by religious belief and hallowed by ancestral custom which were believed to date from the codification of laws in the time of Solon. They had been set up originally on the Akropolis, but as part of the democratic reforms of Ephialtes in 461 B.C. they were put on public display in the Agora, according to Aristotle ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ βασιλείῳ (*Ἀθ. Πολιτεία* 7.1), or as Polydeukes says, εἰς τὸ Πρυτανεῖον (8.128). They are referrred to by Aristophanes (*Ὄρνιθες* 1354), Kratinos (quoted by Plutarch *Σόλων* 25.1) and Lysias (30.20), though it is not certain whether they were still on display in Aristotle's time. In Plutarch's account the distinction between κύρβεις and ἄξονες is muddled.

To call someone a κύρβις would be to intimate that he was better acquainted with the precise letter of the law than a clean-living citizen ought to be.

κρόταλον

A κρόταλον, as we have seen (260), was a rattle used in the ritual dances for Kybele and so could be used metaphorically of someone who '*p*rattled loudly and unceasingly'. The epithet could be taken in isolation, but is probably intended to be taken together with κύρβις to describe a lawyer who is constantly *rattling off* the relevant statutes.

449. **μάσθλης**

Originally, the word <i>μάσθλης was used of 'a strip of leather' and so we might imagine that it applied to someone of a 'leathery' or 'stroppy' character. But, in *Σφῆκες* (231) Aristophanes uses the phrase ἱμὰς κύνειος ("*a dog leash*") to describe the youthful agility that an old soldier had once possessed, so that, if taken together with εἴρων ("*a fox*") μάσθλης could be understood as either 'physical suppleness', which produced εὐρυπρωκτία (cf. 1090), or even 'mental agility' (cf. *Ἱππεῖς* 269).

γλοιός

It is tempting to take this as a synonym for γλοιώδης and to assume that he wishes to become a 'slippery' customer to evade the clutches of his creditors. But, γλοιός is properly the oily layer of dirt which builds up on a wrestler's body and has to be scraped off, so "*slime*" or "*scum*" might be more apposite.

ἀλαζών

Again, this word for a 'braggart', 'someone who pretends to be what he is not', can be taken separately or used to qualify γλοιός.

450. **κέντρων**

A κέντρον was a goad used in the torture of slaves under judicial examination [what we currently refer to as "*extraordinary rendition*"]. Hence, a κέντρων was a slave tortured in this way; possibly 'an unreliable witness' or 'rogue' (Henderson's "*cudgel magnet*", Sommerstein's "*whipping-post*"). A word more suited to the present context might be **κέντωρ**, someone who wields the goad and thus *intimidates witnesses*. It is argued by some scholars that the 'threat' of torture was sufficient to get a slave to talk in most cases. A scholion (to the previous line) supplies a completely different interpretation, a "*patch-work cloth*", whose forensic relevance is obscure, to say the least.

μιαρός

The literal meaning is 'one polluted by blood-guilt, who is to be avoided' and hence in the moral sense, "*a person whose foul character renders them a social outcast*". So Henderson's "*pariah*" is apposite.

451. **ματιολοιχός**

The obscurity of this final epithet seems to have puzzled the earliest commentators. It is explained by the scholiast as akin to κρουσιμέτρης 'one who cheats in measuring corn', an implausible addition to the list, and of uncertain etymology (apparently under the Roman Empire a μάτιον was a unit of measurement for a small quantity of corn in Egypt!). In late-Roman times the word appears as ματαιολοιχός in the lexicon of Hesychios, with the explanation ὁ περὶ τὰ μικρὰ πανοῦργος καὶ λίχνος ('up to no good and grasping over minor matters'), and in some medieval manuscripts we find ματοιολιχός (which could be an attempt to write –λοιχός or –λίχνος).

Eustathios (on *Ἰλιάς* 518.42 - Aristophanes frg. 969) knew the word as ματιολοιχός and surmised that its root related to αἰσχρολοιχός, 'a man whose depraved sexual behaviour prevented his female partners from becoming pregnant'! But, he seems to be basing his view on that of a Roman intermediary who quoted a particular instance of the word βροτολοιγός found in a comic-drama (possibly Aristophanean) involving a poorly-understood, obscene pun.

Bentley made a characteristically erudite conjecture of ματτυο-λοιχός, taking it as a reference to ματτύη, a spicy, Thessalian dish. But this seems wide of the mark, as this is only mentioned during the period of the Macedonian ascendancy (Athenaios 14.662f, referring to the poets of the 'New Comedy'. The mention of Aristophanes' successor, Antiphanes seems incidental).

I wonder, in view of <ἰ>μάσθλης in 449 and Sokrates' theft of a cloak referred to earlier (179), whether the word might have been <ἰ>ματιο-λοιχός, or -λόχος (cf. βωμολόχος, 910) or -λόγος (by analogy with the epithet κοπρολόγος, "*collector of dung*", in *Εἰρήνη* 9), someone who filches other people's clothing while their back is turned?

None of the options available to us, however, gives a sense pertinent to forensic sophistry, so I would be inclined to substitute a word we know, which does, **ματαιολόγος**, "*one who talks for the sake of talking*".

452. **καλοῦσ(ι) ἁπαντῶντες**

The subject is "*the people*" (444) who will "*meet*" him in court (i.e. his creditors).

453. **δρώντων ἀτεχνῶς**

Because he reaffirms the opening words of his pledge, "*Let them do unreservedly…*", it is often assumed that he is speaking of "*Socrates and his associates*" (Dover). But, as he has just mentioned his creditors, it is surely the risk of *their* enmity he is willing to incur in return for getting his own way in court. Later on, he will suggest even more extreme self-sacrifice, just to win a legal battle (cf. 780).

ὅτι χρῄζουσιν

The phrase implies caprice "…*whatever takes their fancy*" (cf. 891).

454. **κ(αί) εἰ βούλουνται**

The subject now becomes οἱ πρόπολοι (436), the αὐτοῖσιν (440); those who will be his teachers.

455. **νὴ τὴν Δήμητρ(α)**

He forgets for the moment that an oath by one of the traditional deities will carry little weight with these new ones. But, Demeter seems to be the goddess who will guarantee an oath concerning food and it's his barley-corn he is anxious about (cf. 121, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα).

χορδὴν

A dish made out of pig's intestines, which we would call a 'sausage' (cf. *Βάτραχοι* 339). Presumably, he was imitating a slang expression used as a threat; perhaps, not unlike our 'I'll make mince-meat of you'.

456. παραθέντων

The verb παρατίθημι is regularly used for 'setting food beside' someone (in dative), e.g. *Ἱππεῖς* 52, βούλει παραθῶ σοι δόρπον; – "*would you like me to serve you supper*?"

Lyric Dialogue 457-75

According to the codices, the following exchange is between Strepsiades and 'Sokrates', but Bentley took the view that the promises are made by the Clouds themselves and modern editors concur. The use of the singulars παρ' ἐμοῦ (459) and μετ' ἐμοῦ (462) do not preclude the lines being spoken by the leader of the chorus on behalf of the group, while ἐν βροτοῖσιν (460) surely ought to be spoken by an immortal.

But, it is possible that the passage was originally written as an exchange with 'Sokrates' and that the poet adapted it for the chorus in the later version in order to reduce the impression of intellectual pretension in the character of 'Sokrates' (cf. 412-7).

In our version, at any rate, the use of lyric metre for the dialogue makes it certain that the chorus-leader is speaking. To me it suggests that Strepsiades may be drifting off into a reverie and is starting to hear what he wants to hear.

Editors do not agree on the colometry of the passage. The basic dactylic metre combines with what Dover sees as ποὺς ἐπίτριτος (a foot of four syllables, of which any one may be short and the remainder long). It is used sparingly, in short passages (e.g. *Ἱππεῖς* 1264-73, 1290-9; *Εἰρήνη* 775-81, 796-802) and sometimes may occur in isolated snatches; perhaps *Σφῆκες* 277-9, for which see Dale (1968) 189-90 and MacDowell (1971) 171, although the context is not naturally suited. Its use in comic-drama seems to beg comparison with the famous lyric poets of the first half of the fifth century; notably Pindar who used it extensively in his odes. The fact that it is employed for lyric dialogue might suggest that Pindar's complex rhythmics is a reflection of part-singing by his choirs.

457. λῆμα

The Chorus affect to be impressed by the candidate for admission.

459. κλέος οὐρανόμηκες

Dover reminds us that the phraseology is 'epic' e.g. Ἰλιάς 8.192, κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει.

462. τί πείσομαι;

The verb πάσχω is used of both good and bad experiences (cf. 816). Here he wants to know what will be the result of his education, i.e. will the lessons be of practical benefit (cf. 648).

463. τὸν πάντα χρόνον

In this context, the words should be taken in apposition to βίον, i.e. "*the whole time*" rather than 'forever'. But, Sommerstein (addenda xix) draws comparison with a passage in Plato's *Φαίδων* (81α) where similar phraseology is said to be used in initiation rites into the Mysteries and, if Aristophanes is indeed essaying a parody of such rites, τὸν πάντα χρόνον would have meant 'forever' in that context.

465. ἆρα γε...

There is something not quite right with this verse. I can only resist the urge to tinker with it by presuming that it comprises two distinct questions. The first ἆρα γε τοῦτ(ο); is elliptical, leaving us to understand the verb <τεύξομαι>, "*So, this is what I will gain, really*?" The second question ἆρ' ἐγώ ποτ' ὄψομαι; "*Am I really going to see it one day*?"

But, it might be better to yield to temptation and emend to **ἄν** ἐγώ...ὄψομαι, as Henderson appears to have done. The poet uses the future indicative in potential clauses, with or without ἄν (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 1223).

Due to differences in colometry this line is 466 in Dover's and subsequent editions.

466-7. ποτ(ε) ὄψομαι;

The *Σοῦδα* writes ἐπόψομαι, but the sense 'to oversee' does not seem to fit so well as the simple verb.

ὥστε γε

I construe this with ζηλωτότατον βίον to mean, "*to such an extent that*…"

ἐπὶ ταῖσι θύραις ἀεὶ καθῆσθαι

Would-be clients would be continually camped out 'on his doorstep' in the hope of meeting him, just like the anxious defendants in *Σφῆκες* (552-3, τηροῦσ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι δρυφάκτοις ἄνδρες μεγάλοι).

Probably Strepsiades' house would have had a single-panel, main door, but it would have a double-gate to the courtyard (which could be barred from the inside) for this is how the house of Philokleon is envisaged in *Σφῆκες* (1482, ἐπ' αὐλέοισι θύραις).

470. **ἀνακοινοῦσθαί τε καὶ εἰς λόγον ἐλθεῖν**

The clients wish to "*consult* <with him>" and to "*converse with him*". This expression seems tautologous, answering to the demands of the metre. But, we may exonerate Aristophanes by interpreting it as meaning 'to state their cases and get his opinion'.

The codices have the more usual plural ἐς λόγους (cf. 252), but a scholion cites the metrist Heliodoros (1st century A.D.) who considered that the singular was required by the metre.

473. **ἀντιγραφὰς**

The basic meaning of the word is 'a plea' made in answer to an indictment (γραφή), but it may sometimes be taken to mean 'a counter-claim'. Here, we can understand both meanings.

πολλῶν ταλάντων

This reference to high-value, legal cases is meant to appeal to the old man's financial motives. Just as any private college nowadays will stress the lucrative career-opportunities opened up by their LLM. or M.B.A the Clouds point to the success of past alumni. In this case, they are alluding to the λογογράφος Antiphon, whose φιλαργυρία was lampooned by the comic-dramatist Platon in his *Πείσανδρος* at around this date. Antiphon, son of Sophilos, was senior to Sokrates by about ten years and is thought to have been the first Athenian to place his debating skills at the service of others. Thucydides (8.68.1) paints a complimentary portrait of him (see Appendix 4).

474-5. **ἄξια σῇ φρενὶ**

The epithet is effectively transferred so that "*matters deserving your intellect*" become "*matters for which your intellect will be worthy*", but Dover prefers to keep the direct meaning which he sees as playing up to Strepsiades' greed.

Exhortation (κατακελευσμός) 476-7

The metre for the instruction briefly reverts to anapaestic tetrameters.

476. **ὅτιπερ μέλλεις προδιδάσκειν**

This phrase should mean 'what you intend to teach beforehand', i.e. 'before he becomes proficient', but there would be little point in saying this. Instead, we could understand the infinitive to mean to "*teach <him> to begin with*" (i.e. teach the foundation course). However, μέλλεις seems almost redundant, as if the poet is saying simply, 'start teaching him what you are going to teach him' (and quick about it). So, I suspect that he wrote parenthetically, ὅτιπερ **μέλλει**, leaving us to understand a verb such as μανθάνειν. The mistake arose because an editor failed to appreciate Aristophanes' elliptical style and assumed that προδιδάσκειν was governed by a part of μέλλω rather than ἐγχείρει. According to Dover's apparatus, the Venetus codex preserves the correct reading. For the ellipse of the infinitive after μέλλει cf. 995. For the use of the compound προδιδάσκειν, cf. frg. 705, καὶ προδιδάσκων τοὺς σοὺς προπόλους.

Episode 478-509

Now the Clouds draw apart to allow 'Sokrates' to evaluate the new pupil. The conversation is carried on in the usual iambic trimeters, despite the fact that the exhortation, which often sets the rhythm for what follows, was in anapaests.

478. **τὸν σαυτοῦ τρόπον**

Pheidippides had earlier been asked to 'change his ways' (88, τοὺς σαυτοῦ τρόπους), whereas the singular here is plainly asking about his 'nature' or 'characteristic traits' (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1002, οὐ τοὐμοῦ τρόπου – "*it was uncharacteristic of me*").

479-81. **μηχανὰς...καινὰς προσφέρω**

The master wants his pupil to evaluate his own abilities, but his casual use of a military metaphor results in the old man taking him literally. In Strepsiades' mind, talk of "*innovative* (*educational*) *techniques*" is confused with "*siege-engines*" and he wonders what he has let himself in for. The poet is pointing out the habit of an educated younger generation; putting words to work in new ways which could easily *lose* their elders (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1190-5). In *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 1130-2, he utilizes the same analogy of siege-engines to represent 'innovative approaches', καινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ...μηχανὴν προσοιστέον. Nowadays, one might create similar misunderstanding by having a desire to 'enhance educational techniques' confused with the sinister euphemism 'enhanced interrogation techniques'.

480. **πρὸς σέ**

Blaydes preferred to print the pronoun as enclitic (**πρός σε**). Sommerstein and Wilson have followed him. The latter (p. 67) discounts objections with the observation that πρός με is found (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 44), where the person is not emphasized.

482. **βραχέα**

It is tempting to take the neuter plural adjective adverbially as if the poet wrote βραχέως ('in a nutshell'), but we should probably understand βραχέα <πράγματα>, "*trifling matters*" instead.

483. **ἦ μνημονικὸς εἶ**

Hall and Geldart follow Dobree's suggestion and start a fresh sentence, printing ἦ rather than the codices' **εἰ**. But, as Dover explains, this is unnecessary, as the conditional serves to exemplify the kind of thing he wishes to ascertain ("<for example> *whether you are*…").

485. **σχέτλιος**

The epithet is added out of self-pity, "*wretched* <fellow that I am>. Dover suggests that it could easily fit with ἐπιλήσμων ('I'm *wicked* forgetful'!), but I find that less likely, since πανυ is added.

486. **μανθάνειν**

All recent editors print σοι λέγειν, because the old man's reply suggests to them that this was the question and they account for the change in the text by maintaining that μανθάνειν was copied inadvertently from 488. But, 'Sokrates' is not likely to ask his pupil whether he is an innately able speaker already, because this is exactly what he is expected to teach him. What concerns him here is whether this old dog can learn new tricks.

487. **λέγειν...οὐκ ἔνεστ(ι)**

Commentators have generally failed to realize that his reply is an abbreviation of <δια>λέγειν and that its significance is rooted in the fact that learning was not book-based, but the product of discussion between master and pupil. What we think of as 'Sokratic dialectic' was actually the generally accepted method of 'higher education'.

ἀποστερεῖν

The verb basically means 'to deprive someone of something' (τινά τινος) and here "*to defraud*" him and throughout the play Strepsiades is intent on 'depriving' his creditors of what is owed them (cf. 728). It is funny here, because it is a non-sequitur. He has no innate ability for *debate*, but *defrauding* others comes naturally to him. Coulon suggested a pun contained in ἀποστ-ερεῖν, but this seems rather convoluted.

488. **πῶς...μανθάνειν**;

'Sokrates' wonders how Strepsiades will be able to absorb his teaching since he has no natural inclination or ability to learn (486).

ἀμέλει καλῶς

Since meeting the Clouds, Strepsiades has developed a breezy self-confidence, for which there seems no logical justification.

489. **προβάλλω σοι**

All codices read the middle voice προβάλλωμαι, to which the Venetus and Ravennas add an unmetrical σοι. From this, Meineke surmised that the pronoun could have been in the original text and so restored the metre by emending to the active προβάλλω (Hirschig proposed προβάλω). Dover (and subsequent editors) observed that since it is not possible to distinguish between senses of active and middle in this compound, we should leave the middle as it stands in the codices (while eliminating σοι as a gloss). He has a point, as the pronoun is not essential. But, on balance, I think the Germans were right to insist on the active. This is

the voice used when 'throwing scraps before dogs' and so better justifies Strepsiades' perplexed response. It also corresponds to the phraseology used later (cf. 757).

τι...σοφὸν

Once again Strepsiades mishears or misunderstands the master's words. He has probably understood the words τι...τροφόν, 'something nourishing' (cf. Plato *Πολιτικός* 289α), that might be cast before a dog.

492. **ἄνθρωπος...οὑτοσὶ**

It is possible to understand the missing verb as εἶ, so that 'Sokrates' is actually addressing Strepsiades to his face, "*You, you are an ignorant fellow* etc." (cf. *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 610, *Σφῆκες* 1, for the use of the deictic pronoun as a contemptuous form of address). But, we probably ought to follow van Leeuven and aspirate **ἅνθρωπος** (sc. ἐστι), treating this phrase as a scornful aside (cf. 8, ὁ χρηστὸς οὑτοσὶ νεανίας).

ἀμαθὴς

This can mean either that he is "*uneducated*" or that he "*cannot be educated*". The former is obvious, so here 'Sokrates' has to suspect the latter.

βάρβαρος

This word covers a multitude of sins. However, only rarely is it used to mean, what we understand by the words 'barbaric' or 'barbarous'. Mostly, it is used to convey the "*naivety*" or "*stupidity*" characteristic of those foreigners (who lacked access to the store of knowledge in the Greek language and its literature), so it was also applicable to Greeks who lacked education (i.e. the working classes).

495. **ἔπειτ(α)**

Hall and Geldart retain the reading of the Ravennas, but the unmetrical variant κᾆτ(α) in the Estensis has suggested to recent editors that we should print **κἄπειτ(α)**.

ἐπισχὼν ὀλίγον

He probably "*waits a bit*" until his assailant has moved off, so as to make sure he does not get hit again. It is his turn to back away as a precaution (cf. 55).

497. ἴθι νυν

'Sokrates' sighs wearily having decided against beating his new pupil; much as he would like to. The old man's reply shows that he thinks he is about to come in for a beating anyway.

κατάθου θοἰμάτιον

Strepsiades still has on the warm cloak with which he entered, but it is not what a 'poor' student would be wearing.

498. **γυμνοὺς**

He does not mean that the students strip naked, but that they dress lightly like Spartans [or trainee Sumo wrestlers], having no regard for the weather conditions, cf. 965, where schoolboys walk 'naked' through the streets (γυμνοὺς) in all weathers.

νομίζεται

"*It is our habit*" (sc. ἡμῖν)

499. **οὐχὶ φωράσων**

In Plato's *Νόμοι* (954 α), it is said that a citizen had the right to enter another's property in order to search for goods stolen, provided that he did so 'naked or lightly-dressed', in order to avoid any accusation, if he found the missing item, that he himself had planted it to falsely incriminate the other. "*If someone wishes to search anyone's premises, he shall take an oath beforehand by the customary gods that he truly expects to find* <the stolen goods> and shall make his search naked or wearing a short tunic with no belt" (φωρᾶν δὲ ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις παρ᾽ ὁτῳοῦν, γυμνὸς ἢ χιτωνίσκον ἔχων ἄζωστος, προομόσας τοὺς νομίμους θεοὺς ἢ μὴν ἐλπίζειν εὑρήσειν, οὕτω φωρᾶν).

500. **τὸ τί**;

Hall and Geldart print Hermann's emendation of the prosaic reading of the codices (εἰπε...μοι τοδί) in line with the reading of the principal codices in a later exchange (cf. 748). Although it enlivens the dialogue, recent editors have chosen to follow Dover's defence of the codices here, but not later.

502.

This is a favourite comic trope in which the pupil undergoing instruction is looking to be complimented on his progress, only to be disappointed by the resulting comparison. See e.g. *Σφῆκες* 1170-2, where the aged PhiloKleon is learning to swagger like a wealthy nobleman. It may have originated as a party-game

at symposia in which the guests competed to come up with outlandish similes for each other (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1308-18), or what we nowadays classify as 'insult comedy'.

503. **τὴν φύσιν**

'Sokrates' means that he will resemble Chairephon in aptitude (as we might say, speaking will become 'second nature' to him), but Strepsiades misunderstands and takes him to mean 'outward appearance'.

504. **ἡμιθνὴς**

Although formed by analogy with ἡμίθεος, with which it ought to be a synonym (and so, complimentary), the epithet is intended to ridicule Chairephon as ἡμιθανής ("*having one foot in the grave*"); another dig at the perennial pallor of the studious intellectual.

506-8. **καταβαίνων...εἰς Τροφωνίου**

The word order has proved deceptive here. The position of the participle καταβαίνων before ὥσπερ gives some the impression that Strepsiades must be descending physically. Dearden (1976 p. 66) speculates that Strepsiades is stepping down from a piece of stage machinery (ἐκκύκλημα). But, stepping off a trolley is a needless distraction from Strepsiades' expression of trepidation. He is speaking metaphorically in his own case. In entering the school-gate he sees himself as 'descending' into an arena, where the students engage in combative debate. This leads in turn to him imagining himself descending under ground into the oracle of Trophonios. The comparison of the Sokratic School with the subterranean oracle has been prepared for by the thought that he might end up "*half-dead*" like Chairephon**.**

The oracle of the chthonic spirit Trophonios was located on a mountain above Lebadeia (mod. Livadhia) in Boiotia. It was an important site and must have been known to the Ionians already in the sixth century B.C., when Kroisos sent to consult the oracle (Herodotos 1.46.2). Like the oracle of Earth at Delphi (only 47 kms away), it may well have existed from pre-Helladic times. Apart from Aristophanes' mention of it here, we know that Kratinos called one of his comedies *Τροφώνιος* (of which ten meagre fragments are extant), as did another lesser-known poet, Kephisodoros, and Euripides alludes to Xouthos consulting the oracle in his *Ἴων* (300).

Christianity has ensured that few traces of the oracle and its associated buildings remain; ancient masonry is to be found incorporated into the chapels of the Virgin and saints Anna and Constantine in its vicinity, as well as in the fourteenth-century Catalan fortifications. But, fortunately, we have a detailed description of the site's lay-out, together with a personal account of the procedures for consulting the oracle from the Roman traveller Pausanias (9.39). The heröon was located above a sacred wood across the river Herkynna from the town, on what is today Mt Aghios Elias. Unsurprisingly, a chapel of Aghios Elias has been built at the summit out of the ruins of a temple to Zeus. A small, subterranean chamber has been found not far away to the south-west which must be related to the ancient oracle in some way. But this cannot be earlier than the third century A.D., when the sanctuary was already in decline [cf. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* (1969) 288].

From Pausanias's account of consulting the oracle we can appreciate possibly why Aristophanes drew the comparison. To begin with, the initiate stayed for some days in a building consecrated to Fortune and the Good Spirit. We have heard the Clouds' spokesperson promise Strepsiades that he will enjoy the best of fortune (427, οὐκ ἀτυχήσεις) if he venerates them, and we know from Plato how Sokrates tried to follow the lead of his own Good Spirit. In the course of his stay, the initiate was expected to provide a number of sacrificial victims at his own expense and to bathe in cold water from the river. Similarly, the old farmer is fully-prepared for the cost and privations involved in his education by Sokrates (cf. 245-6). Before the initiate was permitted to enter the place of the oracle he had to drink firstly *the water of forgetting* to clear his mind, followed by *the water of memory* to help him retain what he was about to experience (cf. 482). Moreover, when it comes to the actual descent to the underground chamber of the oracle, the initiate was dressed only in a light, linen tunic, so that he was as γυμνός as the students.

As Pausanias relates, the complex ritual culminated in a terrifying near-death experience (perhaps similar to water-boarding?). So, on hearing that he will come to resemble Chairephon, the old man feels anxious that he is about to undergo an initiation similar to the *descent to Trophonios*. This had been foreshadowed when 'Sokrates' treated him as an initiand (cf. 254-9) and is emphasized again here by the mention of the honeyed-cakes which each supplicant held in his hands as an offering to the spirit (cf. Pausanias 9.39.11,

μάζας μεμαγμένας μέλιτι), which was believed (like Asklepios and his daughter Hygeia) to take the form of a snake.

509. **χώρει**

Despite his initial confidence, Fear now keeps Strepsiades rooted to the spot.

τί κυπτάζεις...περὶ

The verb signifies 'loitering with intent' (cf. *Εἰρήνη* 730-1, εἰώθασι...περὶ τὰς σκηνὰς...κλέπται κυπτάζειν – "*thieves customarily hang around the stage-building*"). But, Sommerstein (p. xi) prefers to understand 'peering'.

Valediction (κομμάτιον) 510-17

510-1. **ἀλλ(ὰ) ἴθι χαίρων**

These two lines, addressed to the worried student embarking on his first day at college are assigned to the chorus-leader alone by Henderson and I think this is correct (cf. 1113-4), since they are in anapaests, the regular rhythm of the excursus. The initial phrase (which means no more than "*farewell*!") is used as the opening to the παράβασις in *Ἱππεῖς* (498) *Σφῆκες* (1009) *Εἰρήνη* (729) and the similar valedictory song in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (1143).

τῆς ἀνδρείας...ταῦτης

The Cloud's spokesperson admits that the old farmer is displaying manly fortitude in becoming a student of 'Sokrates'.

512-7.

It seems to me that this brief choral prelude, which is not matched later in the second parabasis, may have been introduced for the second version of the play, because the dramatist is about to break with tradition and assign the parabasis proper to 'himself as poet'. Consequently, these lines may serve as a disarmingly familiar introduction to an unconventional *digression*.

512. **εὐτυχία γένοιτο**

Their promise that he will enjoy good fortune as one of their acolytes (cf. 427) will prove just as false as the assurance of latterday tele-evangelists that believers will enjoy worldly riches (for a small donation).

514. **εἰς βαθὺ τῆς ἡλικίας**

'Sokrates' has already addressed him as ὦ πρεσβῦτα (493) as the Clouds had in their opening greeting (ὦ πρεσβῦτα παλαιογενές, 358). We are meant to see Strepsiades as a more-than-mature student.

Excursus (Παράβασις) 518-62

The ancient commentators tell us that this parabasis was a revision of the one in the original performance. Their information may be no more than logical inference from the present text, where, unusually, the poet speaks *in propria persona* rather than in the guise of chorus-leader and refers to his drama's disappointing third place in competition (524-5). They note too that the poet has altered the metre, adopting Eupolidean tetrameters for this version, probably assuming, as we do, that the performed version would have been in anapaests, without actually saying so. Storey (2011, pp. 52-3), in testimonia xxxvii-ix for Eupolis, offers the Roman grammarians' accounts of the Eupolidean metre.

We may surmise that in the original performance the chorus-leader had addressed the audience on behalf of the poet using the third person. The change to the first person in this revised version may have required 'her' to remove her mask in order to make clear to the spectators that 'she' was stepping out of character, or it may indicate that this address was only meant to be made to the reader.

518. **ἐλευθέρως**

In what sense are we to understand him / her as speaking "*without restraint*"? Was the poet *unmasked* as well as speaking *candidly*? Since the following speech plays with the ambiguity of 'her' true gender, there would be some justification for her keeping her 'Cloud'-mask on.

519. **νὴ τὸν Διόνυσον**

As we saw with Pheidippides' oaths (91,108), Dionysos, the patron of dramatic competition and creator of wine, was not always a very reliable guarantor (though not perhaps as patently two-faced as Hermes). Here, it is natural that Aristophanes should invoke him for nurturing theatrical works, but it is especially

relevant when the comic poet enters the real world and 'tells it like it is' for he is reminding his audience that he is acting under the armistice provided by the god's gift of wine (hence 'in vino veritas').

520. **οὕτω νικήσαιμί τ' ἐγώ**

He expects his fellow citizens to recognize that he is 'being up front' with them and to award him the first prize for telling them some home truths. In expressing this hope the identity of the speaker is blurred, as it was the chorus, rather than the poet himself, who were actually the victors in competition.

The codices read νικήσαιμ' ἔγωγε, but the second metron of a Eupolidean should normally be a choriamb (– ◡ ◡ –). Hall and Geldart print Bentley's suggestion for achieving regular scansion.

522. **ταύτην σοφώτατ(α) ἔχειν**

It is more or less clear what the poet is saying, 'I consider you spectators to be pretty clued up and I think of this play as my cleverest' (n.b. present tense, he is not referring to an earlier version), so it is a pity that the received text does not say this. It does not read for instance, σοφωτάτη εἶναι, and therefore, I would prefer to write, καὶ ταύτην **σαφέσταθ'** ἔχειν τῶν ἐμῶν κωμῳδιῶν **πρωτεῖ'**, ἠξίωσ**'**...to obtain the required sense. For the elision before a pause cf. Euripides *Μήδεια* 472, ἀναίδει'· εὖ.

523. **πρώτους ἀναγεῦσ(αι) ὑμᾶς**

This line has attracted considerable comment over the last two centuries. A full discussion is to be found in Wilson's study (2007, pp. 67-70).

The principal source of unease is the verb ἀναγεῦσαι. Although it is found nowhere else, the simple verb γεύω carries the meaning of 'giving a taste', so the compound ought simply to mean 'give *another* taste'. But, Dover has objected that this meaning would not have been readily understood by the audience, and Richards thought that 'giving a taste' of the play is inappropriate here, as it would imply the presentation of part of the work by way of an appetizer. Neither objection need trouble us, for (as Wilson comments) Dover is altogether "*too pessimistic*" on the reception of a word, which may after all only appear to us to be a neologism, and in any case, coining new words was part of the poet's comedic technique. Richards' doubts are just as groundless. His interpretation seems to assume that the verb meant 'to give a foretaste', but even if we were to admit that 'giving a taste' necessarily implies 'giving a taster', it is still open to us to take the poet to be saying that he is giving the audience the present drama as a (further) taste *of one of his comedies*. In *Γηρυτάδης* (frg. 158b), he refers to the insipid taste of verses by a well-known dramatist.

καὶ πῶς ἐγὼ Σθενέλου φάγοιμι ἂν ῥήματα;
εἰς ὄξος ἐμβαπτόμενος ἢ ξηροὺς ἅλας.

"*And how might I consume the verses of* <the poet> *Sthenelos*? *…By dipping them in salt and vinegar*."

At any rate, the suggestion that the verb can be so narrowly defined does not seem to be borne out by the various metaphorical applications. For instance, Aischylos uses ἀνδρὸς γεγευμένη (frg. 243), of a woman whose sexual experience was not necessarily limited to a single 'one-night-stand'.

The real problem, However, seems to lie with the first word, for it is hard to see the point of πρώτους. If the poet is presenting a revised version of his original comedy, why would he tell the spectators that he wanted them to be the *first* to enjoy it, even supposing that there were to be further performances? Welcker seems to me to have been on the right track in spotting that the first word in the line belongs by sense with the previous line and proposing πρώτην (i.e. ἀρίστην, he cannot mean 'the original version'). One can appreciate how unpunctuated text could easily have been misread and 'corrected' to πρώτους by a later hand. This simple emendation gives the previous line a kind of sense, but it leaves us with cause for concern over the infinitive. Pökel made a similar suggestion, πρώην, but this seems less likely as the poet's view of his own work has likely not altered.

A possible solution to the problem was offered by Eric Yorke at a lecture in 1933, and published by his pupil (my own tutor) John Griffith in 1988 (chapter 16. 'Ἀνεκδοτὸν palmare' in *Festinat Senex*, 133-4). Drawing on Welcker's emendation, he suggested that ἀναγεῦσ' ὑμᾶς was the result of the gradual decay of the infinitive ἀναγορεύεσθαι, which was itself a gloss on the original verb, ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, for he had noticed that ἀνεκήρυττεν was glossed by ἀνηγόρευεν elsewhere (*Πλοῦτος* 585). It is an imaginative idea, but Wilson finds it "*less elegant*" than O. Kaehler's suggested ἀναδῆσ' ὑμᾶς.

My own view is that, once the mistake over the first word has been rectified with **πρωτεῖ(α)**, the received text is adequate to our needs. See Appendix 3.

524. **εἶτ(α) ἀνεχώρουν**

He now turns to the fate of his first version of the play and uses a metaphor from the wrestling-school. He could be saying that he "*emerged* (at the end of the competition) *a loser*" or he may be suggesting that he "*retired*" (as if injured). Wilson points out the anomaly of the imperfect tense, where we would prefer to have the aorist for a straightforward translation. As he rightly observes the logic of tenses in Attic Greek did not always match our own, but here I think we might account for the awkwardness of the imperfect by taking it as a past event which continues, so that he seems to be re-living the bitter experience in his mind.

ὑπ(ὸ) ἀνδρῶν φορτικῶν

As in *Σφῆκες* (66), he considers his play, κωμῳδίας δὲ φορτικῆς σοφώτερον "*more sophisticated than the coarse humour*" of his rivals. As the winning play on the earlier occasion was by Kratinos, his comment should not be taken too seriously, perhaps. The tone of the aggrieved loser can be used for comical effect. [It is employed mercilessly by Larry David in his 'tribute' to Steve Martin at the Mark Twain Award.]

525. **ἡττηθεὶς, οὐκ ἄξιος ὤν**

Recent translators have understood the second participial clause as <ἥττης> οὐκ ἄξιος ὤν, judging these words to be a vociferous complaint to the effect that "*I didn't deserve to* <be defeated>" (Henderson), or that his play was "*unworthily defeated*" (Sommerstein), a sentiment which could be expressed simply by <ἡττηθεὶς> ἀδίκως. But the second participle leads me to think that he is (somewhat incredulously) stating a fact, <ὑμιν> οὐκ ἄξιος <τιμῆς> ὤν, and consequently that his tone is less strident and more that of a man who has been inexplicably let down by people whose vote he thought he could rely on.

526-7. **τοῖς σοφοῖς...ὑμων...τοὺς δεξιοὺς**

He seems initially to flatter the entire audience as σοφοὶ (cf. 521) and the reading ὑμᾶς for ὑμῶν (codex Parisinus) would support this interpretation. But, his defeat has disabused him of this preconception, so he is addressing "*those among you who are clever*" and can appreciate his work. [The same tactic employed by Stewart Lee, who criticizes those present, when they are slower to respond than 'his own' audience.]

528. **οἷς ἡδὺ καὶ λέγειν**

Modern commentators have been troubled by the text as it stands and most have accepted the emendation of οἷς to οὓς (Blaydes), which gives a tolerable sense ("*men whom it is a delight even to speak of*"), and Henderson suggests (in '*Fragments*' p. 207) that the comment refers to "*men influential in the theatre*" to whom the young poet had shown his work, and who arranged for it to be produced.

But, rather than assume a copying error in the relative pronoun, I follow Wilson's lead (p. 70) in adopting the shrewd proposal of van Herwerden to emend λέγειν to the less common **ψέγειν**, since this provides a more pertinent remark ("*men who enjoy carping as well*"). This can apply to the whole audience, and not just to "*certain*" men, and underlines his satisfaction in their 'uncharacteristically' generous reception of his work (see ἄριστα in the next line). For the verb, cf. 1045 ψέγεις τὰ θερμὰ λουτρά. It is worth bearing in mind that these words were probably written after his *Νεφέλαι* had failed to win in competition and are a reflection of his annoyance with his fickle audience.

529. **ὁ σώφρων τε χὠ καταπύγων**

This passage is a reference to Aristophanes' first play, *Δαιταλεῖς* ('*Banqueters*'), which had appeared only four years earlier in the archonship of Diotimos (428/7 B.C., cf. frg. 590), around the time when Euripides had taken σωφροσύνη as a leading theme of his *Ἱππόλυτος*. We customarily refer to the ancient comedies by the titles used by later writers, which presumably were those found inscribed on choregic monuments. These would naturally refer to the choruses of each drama and prefer economy. In his own text, however, the dramatist might use the name of a protagonist to indicate the subject matter, where the identity of the chorus did not make this clear, or he may have employed a subtitle for the purpose, as his remark implies. For καταπύγων, see the note on 909.

ἄριστ(α) ἠκουσάτην

It is the two main characters in his play who are the subject of the rare dual form of the verb here. Though the superlative gives the impression that the play won first prize, we are told by the ancient commentator that, in fact, it placed second.

530-2.

He launches into an ambitious, and not totally successful, metaphor to describe how his first-(born) comic -drama was produced by an established theatrical-director, Kallistratos, since he was still too young or too little-known to produce it himself. As an "*unwed*" mother (παρθένος), social customs (οὐκ ἐξῆν) did not

permit *him* to give birth (τεκεῖν) and since abortion was not an approved or a safe option in ancient times, (s)he carried it to term and "*exposed*" (ἐξέθηκα) the newborn. Fortunately, the foundling was taken up by "*some other woman*" (ἑτέρα τις), who "*picked it up and took it on*" (λαβοῦσ' ἀνείλετο).

παῖς δ(ὲ) ἑτέρα τις

It would be absurd for Aristophanes to refer to Kallistratos as a παῖς. We should read **παῖθ' ἑτέρα τις** (for παῖδα 'τέρα τις) and surmise that this was 'corrected' due to the lack of a definite article, which would be required in prose, but can be dropped by Aristophanes.

ὑμεῖς δ(ὲ)

He compliments the perceptive audience for "*rearing and educating*" the child/drama. We can interpret the *rearing* to mean that the work grew in their esteem and the *education* as the audience having come to appreciate the finer nuances of the work as they discussed it afterwards, but the metaphor is beginning to wear thin as it becomes overstretched.

We hear from Byzantine scholars that Aristophanes' contemporary rival, the comic-poet Platon (frg. 106), complained that lack of finances obliged him to give up his plays for adoption. He compared his action to "*imitating the Arcadians*", since others took the glory of his victories (ὁ Πλάτων οὖν διὰ τὸ τὰς κωμῳδίας ποιῶν ἄλλοις παρέχειν διὰ πενίαν Ἀρκάδας μιμεῖσθαι ἔφη).

533. ἐκ τούτου

After the parenthesis, he returns to pick up his initial idea (ἐξ ὅτου) that the favourable reception of his first play encouraged him in the belief that he would always have the *intellectuals*' vote.

πιστὰ...ὅρκια

He uses a Homeric phrase for a formal treaty (cf. *Ἰλιάς* 2.124) to suggest that they should have given him the prize as a debt of honour.

παρ(ὰ) ὑμῖν

The codices give us to understand that the oaths were taken "*in your presence*", but Sauppe's **παρ' ὑμῶν**, "*from your side*" seems to me to make better sense.

μοι...γνώμης ἔστ(ι)

Grammatically, γνώμης depends upon the sworn promises in the sense 'of <your approving> decision', but one senses that the demands of metre have compressed logic and we should perhaps understand, μοι ἔστι γνώμη ὡς ἐχὼ ὅρκια πιστὰ παρ' ὑμῶν.

534. Ἠλέκτραν κατ(ὰ) ἐκείνην

In Aischylos's tragedy *Χοηφόροι*, Elektra, daughter of Agamemnon, comes to the tomb of her murdered father and finds a lock of hair left as a sign of mourning (167). She reasons that it can only belong to her exiled brother Orestes, who is in fact watching and listening in the shadows. The girl's instant recognition of her brother's hair must have seemed quite as far-fetched to the ancient audience, as it does to us today, and probably ensured that the scene was remembered for the wrong reason. Sophokles and Euripides did not repeat the scene in their retellings of the myth.

The main codices read the nominative Ἠλέκτρα, which has been 'corrected' in later manuscripts to agree with ἐκείνην so that the phrase can be translated as "*like that* <mythical heroine> *Elektra*" (ὥσπερ ἐκείνη Ἠλέκτρα). But, as the following line shows, the poet is not emphasizing the analogy between the heroine of Aischylos's play and his own drama *to begin with*. He is misdirecting the audience, aiming his analogy just over their heads. All the audience can feel certain of at the moment is that Aischylos's drama is being referenced for its somewhat unlikely recognition scene. In consequence, we should understand his lead-in to be less tightly-focused and read it as, **Ἠλέκτρας** κατὰ ἐκείνην <τραγῳδίαν> – "*in accordance with that* <tragic-drama> *about Elektra*". One may compare a similar expression in *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 134-5, κατὰ Αἰσχύλον ἐκ τῆς Λυκουργείας – "*according to Aischylos in his Lykourgeia*".

535. ζητοῦσα ἦλθε

Commentators point out that Elektra did not 'go in search of' the lock of hair, she chanced upon it. But, it is no surprise that Aristophanes' κωμ-ῳδία would like to find a *lock* of hair, since the poet had need of it to make up for his own *lack* of hair.

536. γνώσεται γάρ

The point of his comparison is the fact of recognition, for his comic-drama will know an astute audience a mile off, as readily as one would recognize a lock of one's brother's hair! It is open to the members of the

audience to take the hint that the poet will be as elated as the tragic heroine at the unexpected, favourable reception for which he had hardly dared hope.

537. **ὡς δὲ σώφρων**

Finally, he draws together the threads of the net he has been setting. He parallels the two protagonists of the *Δαιταλεῖς*, which he has just mentioned, comparing his own work with the maidenly Elektra, and the crude comedy of others to the licentious καταπύγων. His talk of the Comedy recognizing its audience has been a ploy (to joke about locks of hair). What concerns him more is that, like Orestes in the tragic-drama of Aischylos, the audience should appreciate the essential purity of his Comedy, which he had pre-figured in his metaphor of himself as παρθένος (530).

538. **ῥαψαμένη σκυτίον**

The "*leather thing*" is the property-phallos, which the male players would normally wear. But despite this disavowal, there is no reason to doubt that some actors in this play were so equipped. Most of the codices read σκύτινον, but a couple of latish mss. have σκυτίον, which some editors have preferred. It may be that the word degenerated in the vernacular, but as etymology shows **σκύτινον** to be the original form, there is no compelling reason to replace it (cf. Wilson p.70).

539. **ἐρυθρὸν ἐξ ἄκρου**

Dover's careful study of the male penis concludes that where appropriate (e.g. for slaves) the comic-poets represented the property-phallos as circumcised (cf. *Πλοῦτος* 267). Some spectators would find it amusing as an example of a non-Greek, and therefore bizarre, practice (e.g. *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 158, τίς τῶν Ὀδομάντων τὸ πέος ἀποτεθρίακεν). It might even be notionally extended to the pizzles of animals (*Σφῆκες* 189, ψωλίῳ). The so-called *mutilation* of the Herms (described as περιτομή) may just have involved daubing the ends of the stone phalloi with red paint to simulate such comic travesty.

παχύ

Evidently, his demanding standards in Comedy did not prevent a slave inserting a *thick* wick earlier (59).

τοῖς παιδίοις

I do not believe for a minute that this is intended literally to mean 'children from junior school'. As with the second slave's address to the audience in *Εἰρήνη* (50-3), which the poet uses to break down his male spectators into their *intellectual* age-groups, so here he is referring to those *adults* with a 'childish' sense of humour. A child of school-age would be παιδάριον (cf. 821)

540. **τοὺς φαλακρούς**

Why indeed, would one of Aristophanes' plays mock men for baldness, when he himself was said to have been prematurely bald? On the contrary, he frequently mocks fashionable noblemen for their long tresses (cf. 348-50). But, is he casually ignoring the hint at Sokrates' allegedly smooth pate in 147?

οὐδὲ κόρδαχ' εἵλκυσεν

The 'kordax' was a lewd dance which evidently mimicked the unsteady lurching of drunks (cf. 555). A scholion on 542 asserts that Aristophanes used it in *Σφῆκες*. If so, it was probably used in PhiloKleon's return from the symposion (1326-31) rather than in his capering finale. It may not have been a properly-choreographed dance so much as a pattern of disjointed movements which represented the risible efforts of someone who has drunk too much. [It suggests something like the stylized steps which accompany a modern ζεϊμπέκικος χορός or 'zeïbekiko'].

541. **ὁ λέγων τἄπη**

He deplores the use of slap-stick to cover up an uninspired speech from "*the* <actor> *speaking his lines*".

542. **πονηρὰ σκώμματα**

These are "*laboured*" or "*overworked*" jokes, e.g. atrocious puns or tiresomely elaborated gags.

543. **εἰσῇξε δᾷδας ἔχουσ(α)**

The verb, the aorist of εἰσάττω, is not a common compound, but the simple form is a mainstay of tragic-drama when rapid motion is involved. Strictly speaking his claim can be justified up to this point, because the slave in the opening scene simply fetched a lighted lamp without any fuss.

In tragic-dramas it would be normal for a wedding scene to be portrayed in traditional style with a chorus brandishing torches, so the comic-poets could not be expected to pass up any opportunity to send up such theatrical spectacles. Aristophanes' disclaimer must be firmly tongue-in-cheek, as he had almost certainly made a comic turn out of lit torches on earlier occasions and later on Strepsiades himself will demand that

one be brought out. It is interesting however, that an ancient scholion here (543a), claims that the original finale did not involve torches. This suggests that, once having re-written the closing scene to include cries of dismay and flaming torches, the poet has decided to mislead the spectators. But see Appendix 3.

οὐδ(ὲ) «ἰοὺ, ἰού» βοᾷ

If the play had indeed opened with this very cry, then his claim is a bit rich. But, when later (1170, 1321 and 1493) the cry is actually heard, the audience could not really have been surprised. There is a hint of pantomime to his protestation, "My muse does not cry out *Goodness gracious me*!" for it seems to invite the reply of the wary spectator, 'Oh yes she does!'

544. **αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἔπεσιν**

His play relies on "*itself*", i.e. the plot and characters, and "*its verse*" (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1047, ἔπη...κωμῳδικὰ – "*comic poetry*").

545. **οὐ κομῶ**

The poet makes another ironic reference to his own lack of hair. The basic meaning of the verb is 'to wear one's hair long'. This was a sign of social status, because only the idle rich could look after long hair (like the son, cf. 14), so it could be used to mean 'preen oneself'. Borthwick captured the double meaning with "*give oneself hairs*".

549. **μέγιστον ὄντα**

Aristophanes is clear that the 'mighty men' of Athens are the fit targets of his satire (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1030). In *Ἱππεῖς*, at the Lenaia of 424 B.C., he had mocked Kleon fresh from his success at Pylos

εἰς τὴν γαστέρα

A low belly-punch was the surest way of deflating an overblown bully (cf. *Σφῆκες* 195, ὑπογάστριον) and the comic-poet delivered it metaphorically by means of a belly-laugh (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1020).

550. **αὐτῷ κειμένῳ**

This suggests that Kleon endured a period of disfavour in his brief career, but it may just be Aristophanes being disingenuous. Even supposing that these lines were only written after Kleon's death in battle in 422 and did not form part of the original παράβασις, the comment is hardly supported by the mockery of him in *Εἰρήνη*. Perhaps the poet would have replied that even after his death Kleon was still idolized by some sections of the populace. But, it may be that we should place the emphasis on αὖθις and understand that he continually floors his adversary with low punches, and then waits for him to get his breath back before hitting him *again*.

551. **οὗτοι δ(ὲ)**

In his note on line 83 (τουτονὶ τὸν ἵππιον), Dover notes that the demonstrative pronoun can be employed to denote somebody or something not actually present, as we say 'those people'. But we are not required to make that assumption here. As in 296, where 'Sokrates' is made to speak contemptuously of the rival, comic-poets of Aristophanes, who were present, so here the speaker is simply pointing to 'Poet's corner' in the auditorium (cf. 560, τούτοισι). Had they been absent, he would have used a dismissive ἐκεῖνοι.

παρέδωκεν λαβὴν

The metaphor is probably borrowed from a wrestling hold. The politician had provided the satirists with a pretext for ridicule, which could have been no more significant than him losing his garland of office to a gust of wind (cf. 625).

Ὑπέρβολος

As the leading figure in Athenian politics after Kleon's death in 422/1, Hyperbolos seems to have become the prime target of the comic-poets. As well as being pilloried in the works of Eupolis and Hermippos, he was the subject, and possibly protagonist, of Platon's *Ὑπέρβολος*. Aristophanes mentions him in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (846) as someone who prosecuted regularly at the central courts in the Agora.

552. **τοῦτον δείλαιον**

The adjective is often used to express self-pity, as in the phrase οἴμοι δείλαιος (e.g. *Ἱππεῖς* 139), so here we can understand Aristophanes to be shedding crocodile tears for the 'harsh treatment' of Hyperbolos by his fellow poets. The poet's use of the demonstrative pronoun and not the definite article is a sign that the speaker was meant to point out Hyperbolos to the audience. Grammatically the pronoun belongs with the adjective, but in English it would naturally attach to the proper noun.

κολετρῶσ(ι)

The verb κολετράω is not found elsewhere, but appears to be synonymous with καταπατέω. It may be a metaphor from treading grapes, as an ancient scholiast contends, or else a fishing term derived from the noun κέλετρον, which Hesychios (κ 2164) defines as a 'net'.

καὶ τὴν μητέρα

According to a scholion on *Πλοῦτος* 1037 (Eupolis frg. 209), the poet had likened Hyperbolos's mother to a flat board (not a 'fat broad', but the πλατεῖα σανίς or τηλία, on which breadsellers set out their loaves of bread), perhaps an attempt to trace his lineage to 'a list of indictments' (σανίδες) on the basis of his career in the law-courts. The connection with τηλία could explain how Hermippos too tried to ridicule her in his *Ἀρτοπώλιδες* (cf. 557) and Aristophanes himself would refer to her later on, in *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* (840).

553. **Εὔπολις**

Papyri found over the last century or so buried in the sands of Egypt have provided some insights into the lost works of Eupolis, whose reputation in ancient times came close to matching that of Aristophanes. He was about the same age and similarly precocious; his first work had been produced in 429/8, only a year or two before Aristophanes' *Δαιταλεῖς*. The nearly five hundred extant testimonia and fragments scarcely permit us to judge the quality of his comedies, but his premature death (c. 411) was a considerable loss to the Attic theatre and the absence of his works is probably a loss for our understanding of Old Comedy. It would be of particular interest to know how he had portrayed Sokrates in one of his plays. An analysis of his work is to be found in Ian C. Storey, '*Eupolis*: *poet of Old Comedy*' (Oxford University Press, 2003).

τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρώτιστον

The subject of the comic-drama *Μαρικᾶς* was said to be a foreign slave of that name. But, a commentary of the second / third century A.D. actually names the main character 'Hyperbolos' (cf. Eupolis frg. 192).

The text as it stands is unconvincing. Eupolis is said to have "*dragged his* '*Marikas*' *along* <on stage>" *at the very start*", leaving us to understand that the main character of the eponymous comic-drama portrayed the demagogue, whereas one would reasonably expect the object of the phrase to be Hyperbolos himself. Besides, there seems no need for the emphatic superlative, which only draws attention to the other poet's initiative in satirizing the politician. Cobet's suggestion to read the nominative (πρώτιστος) is open to the same objection, though it reads better than the adverb. At least, the variant πρότερον (R) gives the more pertinent sense, namely that Eupolis was merely leading the pack of scavengers. A further question mark hangs over the form of the foreign name, since it is given as Μαρικᾶντα in a fragment from the play itself (frg. 203, cited by Eustathios).

But, to my mind, Hyperbolos rather than the comic character that represented him should be the object of παρείλκυσεν and so I suggest Aristophanes is more likely to have written, Εὔπολις ἐν τῷ Μαρικᾷ πρῶτος τοῦτον είλκυσεν (cf. Eupolis frg. 202). But, since his rival's name has to be an amphimacer in Eupolidean metre and the compound verb may have been his preference (rather than a later hand's 'filler'), we might consider printing, Εὔπολις μὲν **τῷ *Μαρικᾷ* πρῶτ' αὐτὸν** παρείλκυσεν – "*Eupolis first hauled the fellow along* <like a slave> *in his Marikas*".

Eupolis' play *Μαρικᾶς* was produced two years after the original version of *Νεφέλαι*, at the Lenaia in 421 (though Sommerstein believes that it was presented at the City-Dionysia), so mention of it here confirms that this παράβασις was a revised version, composed after 420 (See Appendix 3).

παρείλκυσεν

The verb ἕλκω gives us the vivid picture of Hyperbolos being led off on the end of a rope like a runaway slave recaptured. According to Hesychios, the name *Marikās* was a non-Greek word, used to designate a κίναιδος, and therefore perhaps the equivalent of *Ganymede* (from which our word 'catamite' derives via Latin 'catamitus').

Portraying the political leaders of Athens as slaves was typical of Old Comedy. Aristophanes depicts the στατηγοί Nikias and Demosthenes as Public servants in *Ἱππεῖς*. Presumably Kallias did something similar in *Πεδήται* (*The Chain-gang*) and his namesake, the wealthy and influential son of Hipponikos, must have been portrayed as a slave in Comedy, because of the tale that he was a στιγματίας, branded like a runaway slave (probably simply due to the fact that he was *registered* as a mortgagee).

554. **ἐκστρέψας**

Unlike the previous occurrence of the verb ἐκστρέφειν (cf. 88), there is near unanimity on the reading and its meaning here. The codices agree on ἐκστρέψας and the commentators are agreed that this translates as

"*distort*" (Rogers) or "*rehash*" (Sommerstein). Unfortunately, both the text and its interpretation are likely to be wrong. The error crept in at an early stage when a scholiast (commenting on line 88) tried to explain the unusual verb in his text as a metaphor from a word that normally meant 'reversing a garment to obtain more wear out of it'. The metaphor did not seem particularly well-chosen for line 88 and, although Dover considered it appropriate here, the scholiast did not in fact make the comment regarding this line. Besides, a plagiarist does not rejig a competitor's work with the aim of breathing new life into it. While it remains possible that the compound of στρέφω was in use and could have been employed of turning clothes inside out, a more regular alternative was available in τρέπω ἔξω (cf. Pindar *Πυθ.* 3.83).

As in the earlier instance, just one manuscript (the late-fourteenth century Neapolitanus) has the corrected reading **ἐκτρέψας**. Aristophanes uses the verb concretely in his *Δράματα* (or *Νίοβος*) of someone, maybe himself, diverting <the river Kykloboros>, perhaps representing the deafening roar of Kleon's rhetoric in full flow (frg. 293, ὁ δ' ἐς τὸ πλινθεῖον γενόμενος ἐξέτρεψε). Strepsiades used the verb metaphorically of his son 'making his *habits* (i.e. horses) change direction' and now the other poet is accused of having sent the *Ἱππεῖς* down a 'side road', i.e. a πάροδος or as we would say of having "*parodied*" the earlier work of Aristophanes.

τοὺς ἡμετέρους «*Ἱππέας*»

The plural of the pronoun may possibly allude to the fact that Aristophanes and Eupolis worked on *Ἱππεῖς* together, an implication which might also be drawn from verses of Eupolis' play *Βάπται* (frg. 89), quoted by a scholiast here. From this, it appears that Aristophanes' rival collaborated with him on *Ἱππεῖς* without taking a credit for it ("*and I co-wrote those* '*Horsemen*' *of his and freely donated <them> to Baldy*"),

†κἀκείνους† τοὺς Ἱππέας
συνεποίησα τῷ φαλακρῷ [...] ἐδωρησάμην

That ancient commentators placed this interpretation on these lines is confirmed by a scholion in Latin on a line of Juvenal (2.92 φ), '*Baptae*'…quo titulo Eupolis et Aristophanes comediam scripserunt ("*Dippers …the title under which Eupolis and Aristophanes wrote a comic play*").

There is talk of other literary collaborations, which seem to indicate that an author was somehow indebted to another. Sokrates is said to have co-written Euripides' plays (see Appendix 2) and Kratinos's use of the name Χοιριλεκφαντίδης (frg. 502) is said by Hesychios to refer to the fact that a servant named Choirilos ghosted the comic-dramas of the poet Ekphantides, Ἐκφαντίδῃ γὰρ τῷ κωμικῷ Χοιρίλος θεράπων ἦν, ὃς συνεποιεῖτο κωμῳδίας (ε 1489). But, probably, it was Sokrates' teachings which contributed to Euripides' realism and Choirilos's tragic interpretations which were mined for comic parody by Ekphantides.

Given that contemporary comedy-writing is more often than not a collaborative effort, one cannot rule out entirely the possibility that the comic-poets contributed to each other's plays in some fashion, but the fact that they can comment on such teamwork in their dramatic digressions shows that they are actually being facetious. In claiming to have co-written *Ἱππεῖς*, Eupolis is surely being sarcastic, suggesting that his own work had been plagiariarized by Aristophanes without acknowledgment. Consequently, although the poet uses the plural here because he is speaking on behalf of the chorus, he may be making playful recognition of the other poet's claim (using the Joe Pasquale defence, 'you can't own a joke').

κακὸς κακῶς

Not only did Eupolis demonstrate his *bad* character by plagiarism, but he did it *badly* anyway. This juxta-position of an adjective with its adverbial form is not uncommon in tragic-verse and Aristophanes uses its opposite καλὴ καλῶς in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (253).

556. **πάλαι πεποίηκε**

Dover notes the unexpected use of the perfect tense, which he explains as evidencing the circulation of a play-script after the drama's original performance. He prefers to print the verb as **πεπόηχ'**, which might have been Aristophanes' preferred form.

ἦν τὸ κῆτος ἤσθιεν

It would appear that Phrynichos, another of Aristophanes' young contemporaries, had produced a parody of Euripides' *Ἀνδρομέδα* where he substituted an old woman for the nubile heroine and that Eupolis then adopted the character for his own play just to introduce a κόρδαξ (or so Aristophanes alleges).

557. **Ἕρμιππος**

The comic-poet Hermippos, son of Lysis, was a slightly older contemporary of Aristophanes. We are told by an ancient commentator that he satirized Hyperbolos in the course of his play *Ἀρτοπώλιδες*, which has been dated c. 420/19 B.C. on the assumption that the extant text of *Νεφέλαι* is a revised version of the play which circulated c. 418/7. But, the extent of the revision is uncertain and it could be that his references to the other poet formed part of the original version produced in 423 at the City-Dionysia. It is just possible that *Ἀρτοπωλίδες* had been produced previously at the same year's Lenaia, although Aristophanes' claim that Eupolis was the first to satirize Hyperbolos (in 421) would rule this out.

558. **ἄλλοι...πάντες**

His claim that *all* the other poets plagiarised his simile is surely comic exaggeration, equivalent to saying 'all and sundry'. Recent editors now print Meineke's suggested reading **ἅλλοι** to incorporate the definite article.

ἐρείδουσιν εἰς Ὑπέρβολον

A scholiast (commenting on *Εἰρήνη* 25) says that the verb was used as a metaphor from rowers 'laying to their oars', and a few lines later (31, ἔρειδε) it is used to encourage a voracious dung-beetle to "*get stuck in*!" to its meal. In tragic-drama it is often employed for physical conflict to describe pushing or thrusting movements, e.g. Sophokles *Ἀντιγόνη* 1236 of sword-thrusts. So, it comes as no surprise that Aristophanes adapts it for lovemaking, e.g. frg. 715, παννυχίζων τὴν δέσποιναν ἐρείδεις – "*you spend the whole night lunging and parrying with the lady of the house*" (cf. *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* 616). Here, one imagines that the comic-poets are "*sticking their…er <daggers> into Hyperbolos*". The emphasis on his rivals acting as a group suggests that 'the whole gang banged him' (and his mother too, 552).

559. **τὰς εἰκοὺς τῶν ἐγχέλεων**

This refers to a passage in *Ἱππεῖς* (864-7) in which the 'Paphlagonian' is criticized for creating suspicion and dissension among the citizens by 'stirring up the mud', as a fisherman might do when trying to catch eels. The particular simile may have been suggested by the verb ἐρείδω and the picture of oars 'churning the water', but the verb's sexual undertones lead one to suspect that his rivals perhaps put the eels to more disreputable use in mocking the demagogue.

561. **τοῖσιν ἐμοῖς...εὑρήμασιν**

This phrase is a call-back to his analogy of his first play being "*exposed and taken up by another*" (531), since the word εὕρημα can be used of a foundling; it hints that, like those other poets of whom he has just complained, he too has 'adopted', or adapted, the work of others.

Choral Hymn (Στροφή) 563-74

The chorus of Clouds re-enters singing a hymn. Despite 'Sokrates' earlier assertion that the conventional gods do not count for anything anymore, they invoke Zeus, Poseidon and Helios together with their own illustrious progenitor, Ether. Only Zeus and Ether are actually addressed by name.

The verse-pattern of these lines is matched by the ἀντιστροφή of lines 595-606. The complex word-order is typical of much lyric poetry and religious hymns, in that the words seem constrained by the dictates of the intricate musical scheme.

564. **εἰς χορὸν**

'Sokrates' had earlier summoned the Chorus to appear from the western bounds of the Earth, where "*you lead your sacred dance*" (271, ἱερὸν χορὸν ἵστατε). Now, they are actually dancers at a dramatic festival, who call upon the immortal gods to bless them with their presence. The invocation admits that the play is being performed out of doors and they require the acquiescence of the rain-god and the god who holds the Earth steady. Most of all, they hope for a sunny day!

568. **μοχλευτήν**

One who physically raises up by levers, as a civil engineer raises a structure by the use of pulleys, blocks and levers. Later, the same word is given a metaphorical meaning (cf. 1398).

569. **ἡμέτερον πατέρ(α)**

They seem to acknowledge two fathers, the Atmosphere and Okeanos (cf. 278), but no mother. Probably, Gaia is to be understood, since she is ultimately mother of all.

570. **Αἰθέρα σεμνότατον**

Dover notes two fragments from Euripidean dramas (839, 941), which recognize Ether as a divine entity, but he overlooks the invocation in Aischylos's play (cf. 265). In *Βάτραχοι* (892), Aristophanes makes fun of Euripides for having 'his own personal Ether' when among his private deities he mentions, Αἰθήρ ἐμὸν βόσκημα ("*Ether, on which I graze*").

571. **τόν θ' ἱππονώμαν**

Lastly, they invoke "*the one who steers the horses*", i.e. the charioteer Helios. The epithet imitates tragic-diction. It is found in Euripidean dialogue (*Ἱππόλυτος* 1399, ἱπονώμας) and Sophoklean lyrics (*Αἴας* 232, where Porson supplied ἱπονώμας for the codices' ἱππο-νόμους). The variants –νόμας in Euripides' text and –νόμαν here, are probably the result of vernacular glosses supplanting the original.

573-4. **μέγας...δαίμων**

Polytheism manages potential conflict between the various 'divine powers' by making each supreme in his or her own sphere of influence. So, here, the sun-god Helios brings daylight for men and gods alike.

Afterword (Ἐπίρρημα) 575-94

The chorus-leader now comes forward to address a separate comment on behalf of herself and her fellow Clouds to the audience. The metre is trochaic tetrameters, as in the corresponding ἐπίρρημα in *Ἱππεῖς* 565 -80.

575. **τὸν νοῦν προσέχετε**

The expression is one customarily used by a chorus to draw the audience's attention (cf. 635 and *Σφῆκες* 1015-6, προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν...μέμψασθαι γὰρ τοῖσι θεαταῖς). It suggests a stern reproof is due for unruly school-boys. But, the final metron of a trochaic tetrameter (being catalectic anyway) would not normally admit resolution of the long syllables, and so a line ending with προσέχετε (◡ ◡ ◡ ◡) is rather dubious. One might consider πρόσχορον ('choruswards'), but dropping the verb altogether would be a drastic remedy. Fortunately, we have Bentley's preferable proposal to emend to the aorist **πρόσσχετε**. Dover considers "*the aorist aspect is inappropriate*", and prefers the continuous present which is usual, but a peremptory tone seems justified here. It is open to us to emend to the aorist in *Σφῆκες* 1015 as well (one manuscript reads πρόσχετε there too). Eupolis used the expanded form of the present in iambics (frg. 381, πρόσισχε τὸν νοῦν τῇδε), but the aorist πρόσεσχε would have been metrically sound also. The phrase translates into idiomatic English as "*Oh, and another thing…*"

576. **ἐναντίον**

The Clouds' spokeswoman begins to reproach the Athenian audience for the slight they have suffered by their negligence. The dative pronoun (ὑμῖν) belongs with the verb (cf. 525), but translators extrapolate the genitive too in order to take ἐναντίον <ὑμῶν> as "*to your face*". This is a possible interpretation, although goddesses would hardly need to reproach mortals *behind their backs*. Alternatively, one might understand <ἄλλων> ἐναντίον (cf. *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* 448, μαρτύρων ἐναντίον), since the original play was performed at the City-Dionysia in the presence of representatives of the allied states. The comic-poet may be inviting his audience to recall Kleon's allegation that he had criticized the Athenians in the presence of foreigners (*Ἀχαρνεῖς* 503, ξένων παρόντων). The speaker probably indicated the missing word with a gesture toward the visitors' section.

578. **οὐ...σπένδετε**

Strepsiades had promised to spurn the other gods (426), but the Clouds are offended by the overall lack of recognition from the audience. Jealousy is an all-too-common trait of omnipotent divine beings, as we see from Euripides' *Ἱππόλυτος* where the goddess of Love feels resentment for the hero's devotion to Artemis (cf. *Ἔξοδος* 20.5 and *Δευτερονόμιον* 5.9).

579. **τις ἔξοδος**

This plays on the ambiguity between a private excursion, which one is wise to postpone when rain-clouds appear, and a military expedition, for which a bit of drizzle or sporadic peal of thunder would not matter. Good luck then to the general who stood up in the Assembly and suggested that a campaign should be put on hold due to the *ill-omen* of the likelihood of rain! The Athenians were superstitious, but not idiots. The motion to suspend the Assembly in response to a drop of rain in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (170-3) is a similar example of comic exaggeration (the baseball-players' raincheck), while *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* (791-2) suggests the kind of portents that might affect the Assembly's deliberations. These are given in declining order of seriousness.

"*There might very well be an earthquake, or a flash of lightning that acts as a deterrent, or a gerbil might dart among <the legislators>*." – σεισμὸς εἰ γένοιτο πολλάκις, ἢ πὺρ ἀπότροπον, ἢ διάξειεν γαλῆ.

581. **βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγόνα**

Following his success at Pylos, Kleon had become Athens' most influential politician and so he naturally became the chief butt of the comic poets. In *Ἱππεῖς*, Aristophanes had seized the most obvious handles for satire; the tanneries which provided his family's wealth and his political or commercial contacts overseas. Now, with the twenty/twenty hindsight of priests and clairvoyants, he has the Clouds remind the audience that at the time of Kleon's election as general there had been some stormy weather, which ought to have been a warning sign. What they do not say is that, for an electoral process which took place in Febuary or March, stormy weather was only to be expected. To suggest that the regular storm activity associated with heavy cloud, which merely obscured sun and moon, might be taken as a sign of the gods' displeasure with Kleon (τὸν θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸν), is trying it on a bit.

582. **ἡνίχ' ᾑρεῖσθε**

Dover notes the use of the imperfect tense with the meaning, "*at the time you were choosing as general*".

τὰς ὀφρῦς ξυνήγομεν

They mean that they adopt a menacing attitude, just as Zeus is said to do when a thunderstorm is about to break (cf. *Σφῆκες* 655).

583. **βροντὴ δ(ὲ) ἐρράγη**

The physical phenomena are ordered correctly, for it is due to the greater speed of light that the sound of thunder is often heard to crash long after a streak of lightning has appeared (just as Ariel tells us in '*The Tempest*', "*Jove's lightning, the precursors o' th' dreadful thunderclaps*").

But, the fact that the Clouds connect the two suggests that they do not support the 'Sokratic' separation of causes. The phrase is said to have been pilfered from Sophokles' tragic-drama *Τεύκρος* (frg. 578), though it looks unremarkable.

584-5. **ἡ Σελήνη**...**τὰς ὁδούς**

Some see this as referring to a lunar eclipse in October 425 B.C., but this was still some months before the elections. Had Artemis sent such an omen when the elections were due, it would probably have caused a postponement. But, the Clouds are merely observing that Selina appeared to have deserted her nocturnal promenades (cf. 172), whereas in fact they themselves had actually hidden her from view.

ὁ δ(ὲ) Ἥλιος...**εὐθέως ξυνελκύσας**

Similarly, there is no reference to the partial solar eclipse of 21st March 424 B.C., recorded by Thucydides (4.52.1), which followed a few weeks after Kleon's appointment. It was thick cloud which caused Helios to "*pull in his wick at once*" (a partial eclipse would have meant him pulling it in *a bit*).

586. **στρατηγήσει**

The earliest evidence for the text is a single leaf from a parchment codex (dating from third century A.D.) which contains lines 577-635. It gives the more grammatically precise optative **στρατηγήσοι**, though the later codices are agreed on the simple future. The optative is certainly what one would expect here from a careful writer (and a scholiast's use of στρατηγοίη in his paraphrase shows that 'great minds think alike'), but Dover cautions that it could be the product of an ancient grammarian's pedantry and he could well be right.

587-9. **εἵλεσθε τοῦτον**

The aorist of the middle voice of αἱρέω ('took for yourself') is used of 'choosing' or "*electing*" an archon.

φασὶ

In *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* 473-5, the source of this expression is given as the old-timers, who have learned from experience that 'all's well that ends well'.

δυσβουλιαν...**προσεῖναι**

Everybody agrees that the politicians get things wrong (δυσβουλία), but they recognize that messing up is a characteristic (προσόν) of policy-making in any state. The Clouds politely hint at the basic disadvantage of direct democracy, namely that responsibility for bad decisions rests with the citizens themselves when they approve the policies on offer (cf. Oxyrhyncus Papyrus 1176, 5-6, κἄπειτα τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατηγορεῖ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν, ἧς ἕκαστος αὐτὸς ἦν).

τοὺς θεοὺς...**τρέπειν**

The scholia explain that Poseidon had cursed the Athenians, because he had been obliged to cede Attika to Athene's primacy, although the goddess responded to his curse with the promise that the gods would make things come right in the end. The political leadership of Athens, and Kleon especially, fostered the idea of Athenian 'exceptionalism', but ultimately this arrogance of power would prove self-destructive. Although it might have seemed simply pious humility to put the head of Athene on one's coinage (or 'In God We Trust'), it would lead to the dangerous belief that one's state, under a god's protection, could do no wrong.

591. **Κλέωνα τὸν λάρον**

Elsewhere, Kleon is compared to an eagle (*Ἱππεῖς* 197-8, *Σφῆκες* 15-7) snatching up snakes in his talons. Here, less flatteringly, he is likened to a seagull which steals what it can and accepts bribes. The analogy may be suggested by a fisherman tossing out offal for gulls in an effort to keep them away from his catch.

ἑλόντες

The Clouds point out that "*by catching him in the act*" (sc. ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, cf. Eur. *Ἴων* 1214), the citizens will be saved the trouble of trying to convict him before a jury in court. Obviously this reference to Kleon was carried over from the original performance, since he was dead by the time of the 'revision'.

592. **φιμώσητε**

This verb always means to "*muzzle*", the point being that Kleon's inflammatory rhetoric must be silenced. This might be achieved by treating him like a slave instead of a politician. The use of a wooden yoke as a punishment (reminiscent of a medieval pillory) was reserved for slaves and here serves as a metaphor. (cf. *Σφῆκες* 897, where Laches is threatened with '*a wooden collar*' like a dog).

593.

Logically, the *city* will revert to it former condition and the *citizenry* will benefit as a result, though the poet chooses to express it the other way round.

594. **ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον**...**ξυνοίσεται**

Cf. *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* 475, ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἡμῖν ξυμφέρειν and Herodotos 7.8, ἡμῖν συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον.

Choral Hymn (**Ἀντιστροφή**) 595-606

These lines follow the same complex metrical pattern of the στροφή (563-74).

595. **ἀμφί μοι αὖτε**,

The chorus invites Apollo to join their dance in words which recall the opening of Terpandros' Hymn to Apollo (frg. 2), ἀμφί μοι αὖτε ἄναχθ' ἑκαταβόλον ἀειδέτω φρήν – "*let my heart hymn in turn the master who shoots from afar*". The *Σοῦδα* (α 1701) explains that these words formed the prelude to his so-called 'high-pitched' (ὄρθιον) melodic style which was so well-known, and so widely-imitated by the later lyric poets, that the comic-poets coined the teasing verb ἀμφιανακτίζειν (cf. Aristophanes frg. 62, Kratinos frg. 72). Presumeably, this choral ode was sung in high-pitched voices to lyre accompaniment.

Terpandros was also credited with composing the first drinking-songs and despite the fact that the address to Apollo is customarily termed a 'hymn' there is nothing to say that it was not sung at symposia (indeed, αὖτε could be an indication that it was). Certainly, in the comparable Dionysian setting of the theatre the distinction between sacred and profane was blurred.

There is also a small grammatical point; where is the verb? Terpandros' original has a verb which makes sense of the opening; the preposition (ἀμφί) *concerns* Apollo and the pronoun (μοι) identifies the owner of the heart. In Aristophanes' version, however, the preposition and the pronoun appear to be left to fend for themselves and cling to each other while we are forced to hunt for a suitable verb. The simplest option is to understand, "<Be present> *in my/our company in your turn*", though it seems rather arbitrary. As our poet had decided to adapt the opening to his own purposes, he might perhaps have introduced a substitute verb. Perhaps, since αὖτε is not an essential element, he might have written ἀμφί μοι αὐγεῖ – "*shine about us*", only to have some stickler 'correct' it?

596-7. **Κυνθίαν**...**πέτραν**

Apollo and his sister Artemis were born on the island of Delos out in the middle of the Aigean Sea. It is a low-lying island dominated by a rocky, round-topped hill called *Mount* Kynthos, which rises 368 ft above sea level and beneath which Leto reputedly gave birth to the twins. The Clouds use a phrase employed by

Pindar (frg. 325), perhaps of Mount Parnassos, which exaggerates the grandeur of Kynthos (surely a case of 'making a mountain out a molehill'). The epithet ὑψικέρατα was probably derived from verses where the god was portrayed as an archer, like ἑκαταβόλον above, because to the lyrical mind of the dithyrambic poet, the pointed mountain peaks suggested the tips of horns from which archers' bows were fashioned. It suggests that Aristophanes was having another poke at high-flown poetic imagery (cf. 335-9).

598-600. **Ἐφέσου μάκαιρα**

The goddess Artemis is the second deity invoked, not as Κύνθια (our 'Cynthia') to correspond to her twin brother, but as the mistress of the great temple of Ephesos. The archaic temple, begun c. 560 B.C., was the largest building in the Greek world until it was reconstructed on an even grander scale during the fourth century. Though the Clouds exaggerate in calling it πάγχρυσον, it was richly endowed by the Lydian king Kroisos, whose wealth was legendary. So, it could be imagined perhaps to match "*the richly-gilded house of Zeus*" – Ζῆνος πολύχρυσον οἶκον (Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 69).

We may be hearing a faint echo of the ancient music here, because Terpandros is said to have devised the high-pitched nome which began the ode, to counter the low-pitched nome of the Lydian lyre, which may be introduced now. Perhaps the change was reflected by splitting the vocal parts between semi-choruses.

601-2. **ἡμετέρα**

One would have expected ὑμετέρα θεὸς, but the first person pronoun may indicate that the Clouds now feel so at home that they consider Athene their own 'domestic goddess' or, as Sommerstein thinks (citing *Ὄρνιθες* 789), that the Athenian chorus are breaching the fourth wall and speaking out of character.

θεὸς αἰγίδος

The "*goddess of the aigis*" refers to the goatskin shawl which the goddess is often shown wearing in early representations. A mask of the snake-haired gorgon Medousa is sometimes attached to the aigis over the goddess's breast (e.g. it probably featured on the statue of her which stood on the pediment of the temple of Aphaia at Aigina, now in Munich), although on the great cult-statue of the Παρθένος on the Akropolis the Γοργόνειον featured as the boss of her shield.

ἡνίοχος

Athene "*the charioteer*" held the reins which guided the course of her city's fortune. The gods were often perceived as controlling human lives, since man's free will played a minor role in determining his fate. In tragic-drama this divine control is conveyed through the metaphor of a charioteer directing horses, as for instance when Io speaks of her father being compelled to act as he did by Διὸς χαλινὸς – "*Zeus's bit and bridle*" (*Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης* 672).

603-4. **Παρνασσίαν...πέτραν**

Mt. Parnassos overlooking Delphi was the winter haunt of Dionysos and his band of nocturnal revellers, (cf. βακχεύουσαν Διονύσῳ Παρνάσιον κορυφάν, Euripides *Ἰφιγένεια ἐν Ταύροις* 1243).

604. **σὺν πεύκαις**

The readings πευκη (Π1) and πεύκηις (V) give grounds for suspecting that the original text contained the singular **πεύκῃ** (the initial sigma of σελαγεῖ being duplicated). It is not possible to be certain, but the poet may have visualized the god "*conspicuous among the Bakchai flashing light with his pine-torch*", rather than among the Bakchai "*with their torches*". The dative plurals in the following line might have caused assimilation.

606. **κωμαστὴς**

Dionysos was celebrated in κωμῳδία as "*leader of the* κῶμος". Twice a year his devotees processed with his torch-lit image through the dark streets to remember his death and celebrate his rebirth. The tradition is maintained with two candle-light processions at the Orthodox Easter celebrations.

Afterword (**Ἀντεπίρρημα**) 607-26

The metre reverts to trochaic tetrameters to match the ἐπίρρημα.

607. **παρεσκευάσμεθα**

The perfect tense of the completed act indicates that they were on the point of setting out. Doubtless, the audience would have greeted the announcement with a degree of scepticism as it comes from a 'female'.

609. **χαίρειν Ἀθηναίοισι**

Loukianos (ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῇ προσαγορεύσει πταίσματος 1) apologizes to Asklepios for a slip of the tongue, ὡς προσείποιμι τὸ ἐωθινόν...καὶ χαίρειν κελεύειν – "*I ought to have used the dawn-greeting and bid you* '*Be of good cheer*!'" The dawn-greeting is appropriate for the Moon since she often appears in the sky at dawn before the Sun has risen fully. It was evidently considered a suitable greeting in the morning, when it still made sense to say 'Have a nice day!'

But, the verb has the general sense 'rejoice' so that it may also be used for specific occasions, irrespective of the hour. So, Loukianos reminds us that the Athenians greeted the Spartans with news of their success at Marathon with the words, χαίρετε νικῶμεν – "*Be of good cheer*, we won!" Although Kleon, reportedly, imitated that historic greeting in his letter announcing the capture of Spartan prisoners at Pylos (Eupolis frg. 331, πρῶτος γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὦ Κλέων, «χαίρειν» προσεῖπας πολλὰ λυπῶν τὴν πόλιν – "*You were the first to tell us 'Be joyful'*, *while bringing the city multiple sorrows*"), there is no reason to suppose that the use of this standard form of greeting (cf. Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 113, πολλὰ…χαίρειν λέγω) by the Moon would have brought to mind Kleon's boastful address. See Storey (1995-6) 141-3.

καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις

The original performance of the play was at the city-Dionysia, to which representatives of the allied states were invited.

612. **τοῦ μηνὸς εἰς δᾷδ(α)**

Of the two nouns, the first would be better for having a preposition, while the second could have done without one it has. In any case the singular δᾷς here stands in a collective sense "*pinewood for torches*", so we understand, "*<In the course> of the month <she benefits you> with regard to torch-wood to the tune of a drachma at least*".

613. **λέγειν ἅπαντας**

They suggest that the audience is comprised entirely of misers (for comic exaggeration cf. 558, πάντες).

614. **φῶς Σεληναίης**

Instead of saying merely 'the moonlight suffices', the poet introduces an epic form of Selina's name as a tragic-dramatist might do, to artificially elevate the command. The effect would be equivalent perhaps to saying loftily, 'that light which is of the Moon'. I have introduced the title of a traditional English carol.

The epic form may be compared with γαληναίη (for γαλήνη, used by Apollonios of Rhodes, 1.1156), or Aristophanes' use of Ἀθηναία (e.g. *Εἰρήνη* 271) for Homer's Ἀθηναίη (cf. also Ἀδωναία for Aphrodite).

615-9.

The Athenians are criticized for not knowing what day of the month it is, as Eupolis (frg. 288 from *Φίλοι*) says, "*No one knows what day it is in Keos*". It is likely that discrepancies arose between the phases of the moon and the official calendars from time to time. Aristophanes jokes that if the gods followed the latter and reckoned on a fixed number of days each month, they would find that their feast-days did not always coincide, because the priests would insist on following the moon and celebrating what we know now as a 'moveable feast'. Sommerstein has a useful note on the official calendar, citing Pritchett (1963).

615. **ἄλλα τ(ε) εὖ δρᾶν**

This allusion to 'other' benefits can be taken parenthetically with a nudge and a wink. The most obvious benefit would be that bright moonlight offers security from thieves for one's property and protection from adulterers for one's female dependants.

ὑμᾶς δ(έ) οὐκ

It is not often I have the temerity to differ with Bentley who has emended the reading of the codices κ(αὶ) οὐκ to the current text. But, in my view, the comma should be placed after ὑμᾶς to provide the first clause with an object. The same word can then be understood as the new subject of the second clause (ἄλλα τ' εὖ δρᾶν φησιν ὑμᾶς, **κ**(αὶ) οὐκ < ὑμᾶς> ἄγειν…"*she says that she confers other benefits on you too*, *and she says you do not* etc.,). Bentley probably felt that δὲ would be an appropriate response to πρῶτα μὲν (609), but Aristophanes can sometimes leave μὲν unanswered (cf. 649).

616. **ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω κυδοιδοπᾶν**

The verb is presumed to derive from epic diction, κυδοιμός 'the noise and confusion of battle' (cf. *Εἰρήνη* 1152, ἐψόφει...κἀκυδοιδόπα – (of a gerbil in the pantry) "*it was certainly rattling the door and making an indescribable commotion in there*". But, on this assumption, we have to construe the phrase here to mean that "<you> *are making a tumult up and down* <with regard dates>". Although I have paraphrased this in

my translation, I do not find it totally convincing. I wonder, in fact, whether having appropriated ὑμᾶς for the parenthetic clause, we could recognize the subject of the remaining clause as *the days*, i.e. τὰς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἄγειν οὐδὲν ὀρθῶς ἀλλὰ... "*The days celebrate nothing correctly*; *instead they make a confused din*". But, as 'the days' would normally be the object of ἄγειν, this seems less likely. Ultimately, we must take the verb to refer to the noisy crowds celebrating their festivals.

618. **ψευσθῶσι δείπνου**

Ancient audiences were evidently amused by the thought that well-to-do citizens like Sokrates (175) and Lysistratos (cf. *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 855-9) might not eat regularly. The notion extends to the hero Herakles (*Σφῆκες* 60, Ἡρακλῆς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐξαπατώμενος) and now even the gods are "*cheated of their meal*".

619. **τῆς ἑορτῆς**

The noun is customarily aspirated, although Sommerstein (followed by Henderson) prints ἑορτῆς because a third-century A.D. papyrus (Π7) omits the breathing altogether. But this hardly justifies contraverting the codices and convention (cf. Wilson p.70).

κατὰ λόγον τὴν ἡμέρων

The problem with dividing the year up into months, in line with the Moon's phases, is that her menstrual cycle does not match an exact number of days. The Moon complains that she gets blamed for this by the other gods, whereas it is 'the days' or the Athenians' arrangement of them that should bear responsibility. The female is never the one out of kilter, is she?

620. **στρεβλοῦτε**

The verb is used of tightening strings (on a lyre) or (ships') sheets and cables and so presumably refers to some method of torture used to extract evidence from slaves. Judicial proceedings (rather than the slaves) would have been suspended on a feast day.

621. **ἀγόντων**...**ἀπαστίαν**

Since they are in mourning for the loss of their mortal children, the gods abstain from public celebrations such as feasting (ἑστίασις), rather than fasting altogether (ἀποσιτία, νηστεία). As Sommerstein points out, when Odysseus suggests a funeral feast for Patroklos, Achilles is anxious to take vengeance for his death and insists that he will only share in a meal once the sun has set, i.e. when the battle is over, which brings to mind Moslem practice during the month of fasting, Ramadan. This is properly determined by sightings of the crescent moon.

622. **πενθῶμεν**

Memnon the Ethiopian and Sarpedon the Lycian each brought an allied contingent to support the Trojans and in an attack on the Greek camp almost succeeded in setting fire to their ships. Sarpedon lost his life when Patroklos counter-attacked and Memnon was killed the next day by Achilles in single combat. Both heroes were the product of the union of mortal with immortal; Memnon had Eos, goddess of the dawn, for his mother, while Sarpedon was fathered by Zeus, hence, it could be said that gods mourned for their loss. Pausanias tells how, at the same time each year, a particular type of bird was to be seen around a tumulus in Mysia, said to be the burial mound of Memnon (10.31.2). So, in his case at least, it seems as though the period of mourning for the dead hero coincided with the arrival of migratory birds from the Near East (i.e. Springtime), an occurrence which obviously would not fall on the same set date every year. The signal of mourning for Sarpedon may have been a regular occurrence which was suggested by Homer, where Zeus sends a shower of red rain, αἱματοέσσας δὲ ψιάδας κατέχευεν ἔραζε παῖδα φίλον τιμῶν (*Ἰλιάς* 16.459-60). I wonder if this passage came to mind when the Athenians experienced the phenomenon of red rain which occurs in Attika today, precipitated by strong southerly winds bearing dust from North Africa. Again, this natural occurrence does not follow a fixed timetable (it is usual around the end of April), so it would have found the Athenians going about their usual business (i.e. drinking wine and *chilling*).

623-5. **σπένδεθ' ὑμεῖς καὶ γελᾶτ(ε)**

Although the verb σπένδω is rarely used in a non-religious sense, the emphasis here is not on the libations which are poured first, but on the drinking which ensues.

λαχὼν Ὑπέρβολος

The high offices of the state, many of which were ostensibly religious, were only open to members of the 'best' families. To prevent friction, the offices were divvied up annually among the leading contenders by lot. It appears that Hyperbolos had been selected in this way to act as the diplomatic representative to the

Amphictyonic Council, which met twice a year, at Delphi and Anthela (near Thermopylai), to deal with inter-state relations.

τὸ στέφανον ἀφῃρέθη

Starkie thought that this might have referred to a specific incident when the wind blew off the chaplet he was wearing. But, though such an occurrence might well have been amusing at the time, it would hardly be considered a laughing matter by the more religious in the audience, or, retrospectively, even by the less pious. Consequently, in the context, it is more likely that the Clouds are referring to a dispute over dates which led to the annulment of Hyperbolos's appointment by the priesthood. The coincidence of important events with inauspicious dates was taken seriously by the superstitious Athenians, as we can see from the story that the goddess Athena did not receive Alkibiades propitiously because he brought the fleet home on the day of her concealment, τὰ Πλυντήρια ἱερά (cf. Plutarch *Ἀλκιβιάδης* 34).

Ἐπεισόδιον 627-99

627. **Ἀναπνοήν...Χάος...Ἀέρα**

'Sokrates' re-enters from the school. He has conducted an initial assessment of his pupil's capabilities and is bitterly regretting having accepted his application. As he cannot call the Olympian deities to witness his frustration, he invokes the 'Breath of Life', the 'Primeval Void' and the 'Air'.

It has been noted (Diogenes Laërtios 8.6) that a Pythagorean treatise *περὶ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ* began with an oath taken "*on the air I breathe*" (οὐ μὰ τὸν ἀέρα, τὸν ἀναπνέω), but as Dover cautions, it may not have been a work of Pythagoras himself (as some said he left no written texts) and it may in any case have been a later composition.

628. **οὐδένα**

Hall and Geldart have retained the reading found in most manuscripts, but recent editors follow Dover in preferring οὐδαμοῦ, the reading of the codex Venetus. Although this is found earlier in the third-century A.D. papyrus fragment ΠΙ, the translation "*nowhere*" would require us to believe that 'Sokrates' has been actively searching for idiots. It is probably no more than a copyist's 'correction' of **οὐδαμόν**, which was glossed elsewhere by the more usual οὐδένα. It is used here for assonance, as well as indicating perhaps a superior tone of voice (compare 'Sokrates' use of οὐδαμῶς γε in 688). See also 754.

629. **οὐδὲ σκαιὸν**

In general, σκαιός means 'left-handed', 'gauche', but here, since it applies to one long past his prime, it may be a hint that his intellectual sun is setting. The assonance ου...-ον, ου...-ον is only diffused with the last word.

630. **σκαλαθυρμάτι(α)**

The general sense of the line is clear. Strepsiades is unteachable, because his short-term memory lets him down. But the precise meaning of this word is uncertain. All modern editors print it because they note that it appears already in the lexicon of Hesychios (σ 805) defined by the equally-obscure word σκαριφήματα. The variants σκαθύρματα and σκαρυφίσματα do little to enlighten us, merely hinting at some connection with the σκαριφησμοῖσι λήρων ('quibbling over trivialities') of *Βάτραχοι* 1497. But, since the definition is seconded by the patriarch of Constantinople (Photios σ 267), this vague explanation has satisfied later scholars. As it gives us little to go on, Dover intimates the possibility that the noun could be cognate with σκάλλειν or σκαλεύειν ('hoe' or 'scratch') and tosses into the mix the observation that a similar-sounding word σκαλαθῦραι, which he terms "*a slang word for sexual intercourse*" is found (*Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* 611). The resulting translations include, "*a few dinky snippets*" (Henderson) and "*some little hen-scratches of knowledge*" (Sommerstein).

A similar mist seems to have enveloped the entry in the *Σοῦδα* (σ 522), Σκαλαθυρμάτια: σκιάς τινας. καὶ σκαλεύματα. ἔγκειται δὲ τὸ ἄθυρμα, οἷον παίγνιον καὶ οὐδὲν ἀξιόπιστον. τουτέστι λεπτὰ καὶ παντάπασι μικρὰ νοήματα, καὶ μαθήματα, σκαριφεύματα. But, here at least, a ray of light penetrates the gloom when the scholia have a stab at etymology. In isolating τὸ ἄθυρμα (defined as 'a plaything' and 'something not to be taken on trust') one of the scholia in the entry gives us grounds on which to reconstruct the original text, for it allows us to make sense of a separate strand of the textual tradition. The principal codices (RV) are supported by the oldest papyrus (ΠΙ –PSI 1171) in writing καλαθυρμάτι'. This papyrus also has αυτα for ἄττα. So, as the evidence of the papyrus (3rd century A.D.) predates Hesychios, I propose reading,

ὅστις **καλ(ὰ) ἀθυρμάτι(α), αὐτὰ** μικρά, μανθάνων
"*a person who*, *when trying to learn <some> nice versicles, small enough in themselves*…(has forgotten them before he has learned them)".
The word ἄθυρμα generally occurs in metaphorical phrases where its precise meaning is discovered from its qualification, e.g. Bakchyllides 173, αθύρματα Μουσᾶν – "*songs*" (analogous to our 'divertissements' or 'scherzi' perhaps). 'Sokrates' would probably substitute Γλώττας for Μουσᾶν, but I take him to mean that he has tried to teach Strepsiades some vocal exercises, perhaps even tongue-twisters, to limber up his tongue and sharpen his mental faculties. Aristotle (*Ῥητορική* 3.3.2) quotes Alkidamas, ἄθυρμα τῇ ποιήσει – "*plaything in poetry*" and Eupolis (frg. 46) uses ἀνδρογύνων ἄθυρμα – "*a plaything of transsexuals*".
Since ἀθυρμάτια is already a diminutive of ἄθυρμα, the addition of αὐτὰ μικρά serves to emphasize that the old man's attention span is 'less than exiguous'.

632. **καλῶ...δευρὶ**
Dover and Henderson print δεῦρο, but Hall and Geldart (followed by Sommerstein) employ the emphatic form which was used earlier by 'Sokrates' (323, βλέπε...δευρὶ and 506, ἀνύσας τι δευρὶ) and which is also to be found in the same early papyrus (Πι). The verb is often treated as a contracted future tense, but is in fact present. There are other instances where it is natural for us to use the future, although Attic may have preferred the present (e.g. Xenophon *Συμπόσιον* 1.15).

πρὸς τὸ φῶς
These words serve as a reminder that, on entering the Φροντιστήριον, Strepsiades had expressed the fear that he would become ἠμιθνής (504) and that he was about to descend into the darkness of Trophonios's subterranean sanctum (507-8). 'Sokrates' now summons him into the light of day like a necromancer who calls upon the spirit of the dead man.

633. **ἔξει**
'Sokrates' addresses his unseen pupil in the third person. Although editors treat the phrase interrogatively, the statement "*He will come out*" is equivalent to an imperative, as the Master is nothing if not imperious.

τὸν ἀσκάντην λαβών
Compare words employed later by the Evangelists, spoken to a paralytic at the pool of Bethesda, e.g. *κατὰ Ἰωάννην* 5.8, ἔγειρε, ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ περιπάτει.
Phrynichos (the second-century A.D. Atticizing philologist) included the word among his misunderstood terms. Cf. Loukianos *Λεξιφάνης* 6.

634. **οἱ κόρεις**
This is not his first complaint about bed bugs (cf. 10, 37, 44), nor will it be his last (cf. 699, 710-5, 719). To a modern audience the problem may seem overstated, but until comparatively recently a bar of wetted soap was the prerequisite for sleeping (or trying to) in some student-hostels in Greece. Scientists believe that the bugs have been around since the age of the dinosaurs, some 115 million years, so they are clearly quite tenacious little creatures.

635. **κατάθου**
In spite of the resistance put up by the bed bugs Strepsiades does manage to drag the bed outside, but the order to put it down by 'Sokrates' must be taken to indicate that he leaves it for the time being at the back of the stage where it will shortly be put to use (cf. 694, δευρὶ).

636. **ἄγε δή**
Although the initial assessment has not been encouraging, he is not yet ready to give up on his pupil.

637. **οὐδέν**
In the principal codices this word is treated as an ineffectual interjection by Strepsiades, but it belongs to 'Sokrates', who is making a weary affirmation of his pupil's complete ignorance of what matters. For the combination of negatives in comic emphasis cf. *Σφῆκες* 631-3, οὐ πώποτε...οὐδενὸς ἠκούσαμεν.

638. **περὶ ἐπῶν ἢ ῥυθμῶν**
There is some variation in the manuscript tradition (see Dover's apparatus or Sommerstein's addenda pp. xi-xii). The present reading, transmitted in some of the earlier mss. (REK), is seen to align roughly with comments by Longinus (περὶ ἐπῶν ἢ περὶ ῥυθμῶν), while the Venetus follows Choeroboscus in moving the preposition (ἐπῶν ἢ περὶ ῥυθμῶν). A later tradition (ΝΘ), however, reverses the order (περὶ ῥυθμῶν ἢ ἐπῶν) and produces a logical progression. Dover objects to this on the grounds of the inadmissible hiatus

ἢ / ἐπ- , but overlooks Hermann's suggested solution **ἢ ῥυθμῶν ἢ περὶ ἐπῶν**. This was resurrected by E. Degani (1988) and subsequently accepted by Sommerstein and Henderson. The continuing debate among scholars is outlined by Wilson (p.71).
'Sokrates' assumes that the subject with which an old farmer would have least familiarity will be musical theory, for this was an essential element of the aristocrat's education. The constituent parts of the subject, which he gives as, μέτρα ('quantities' or 'measures'), ῥυθμοῖ ('metres' or 'scansion') and ἔπεα ('words' or 'lyrics'), are also subject to scholarly dissension. I understand him to be distinguishing between three elements of poetry (a) the verse-form, i.e. trimeter or tetrameter, (b) the metre, e.g. iamb or trochee and (c) the individual words. Accordingly, the list is a progression from the largest element to the smallest and, as we shall now see, is the same order in which 'Sokrates' tests his pupil.

639. **περὶ τῶν μέτρων**
The ancients spoke of lines of poetry in terms of *quantity*, which is as confusing to us as it seems to be to the old farmer. 'Sokrates' will explain (642) that quantity relates to the length of the line (κῶλα), whereas Strepsiades thinks of the word in terms of quantities of ἄλφιτα.

640. **ὑπ(ὸ) ἀλφιτ-αμοιβοῦ**
The poor man is constantly worrying about his husked barleycorn, which, if he can save it from his son's horses, he sells to the "*corn-dealer*" for cash to pay his debts (cf. *Ὄρνιθες* 491).

παρεκόπην διχοινίκῳ
The χοῖνιξ was a dry measure used for grain (a little more than a liter by volume). In the case of barley it was taken to be equivalent to a man's daily portion. In time of famine it was the amount doled out by the state as the 'recommended daily allowance' necessary to sustain life.
Blaydes has proposed reading the genitive διχοινίκου on the basis of a comparable verse in *Ἱππεῖς* (807).
γνώσεται οἵων ἀγαθῶν αὐτὸν τῇ μισθοφορᾷ παρεκόπτου
"*He will realize the benefits which you have cheated him out of through hiring himself out for payment*".
The verb παρακόπτω is used in a metaphorical sense derived from striking short-weight coinage (rather than actual counterfeiting), or 'shaving' coins (since they lacked milling). The genitive represents what has been lost, while the dative covers the means by which it was lost. Thus, here, although Sommerstein adopts Blaydes' proposal and translates "*cheated me out of two quarts*", the dative in the codices shows that Strepsiades is likely to have been cheated "*through the two-quart* <measure>". In other words, the merchant had been taking barley from him using a larger measure, so that his loss could have been much more than just the two quarts which the genitive would denote.
Aristophanes makes other references to the sharp trading-practices of bread-sellers (*Σφῆκες* 1391) and of fishmongers (frg. 409, 8-10)

641. **κάλλιστον μέτρον**
He is not enquiring about Strepsiades' musical appreciation, but asking whether he recognizes which type of verse is best-suited to express the finer sentiments, i.e. tragic-verse. In his *Ῥητορική* Aristotle criticizes sophists like Gorgias who had used the poetical style of Tragedy to impress the uneducated crowd, (3.1.9) οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων τοὺς τοιούτους οἴονται διαλέγεσθαι κάλλιστα.

642. **τρίμετρον...τετράμετρον**
The distinction being made is probably that between the iambic-*trimeter*, which is typical of comic-verse, and so closest to everyday speech, and the trochaic-*tetrameter*, a basic verse-form in tragic-drama.

643. **ἡμιεκτέου**
Dover, while admitting that the difference would not have been apparent in the poet's original manuscript text, argues (from fourth-century epigraphy) for **ἡμιέκτεω** as the more historically-accurate genitive form (from ἡμιέκτεων). Sommerstein and Henderson have adopted his suggestion. Placed at the end of the line, the word comes as a surprise to the audience (and 'Sokrates'), who expected him to try to guess between the two verse-forms. Instead, still thinking of 'quantities' in terms of grain, he offers a unit of measure for grain, because it has four parts.
The ἑκτεύς was so-called because it was *a sixth part* of a μέδιμνος (not, because it contained *six* χοίνικες, as the poet states in frg. 647, ἑκτεὺς δέ <γε> ἐστὶν ἑξαχοίνικον μέτρον, which is probably meant to be an attempt to deceive). Accordingly, a half-ἑκτεύς was 1/12 of a μέδιμνος and comprised four χοίνικες.

644. **οὐδὲν λέγεις**

The response baffles 'Sokrates' until the *logic* is pointed out to him.

645. **ἡμιεκτέον**

I have chosen to translate "*half-peck*", not because the two measures correspond but because, like the half -ἑκτεύς, the half-peck comprises four parts.

Dover prints **ἡμιέκτεων** in agreement with his preferred spelling in 643.

646-7. **ταχύ γ(ε) ἂν δύναιο**

If only out of dramatic necessity, Aristophanes seems to characterize 'Sokrates' as a high-minded, even somewhat genial school master with considerable reserves of patience. In the first line the teacher shows his exasperation at the old man's obtuseness, but he intends to persevere nonetheless. Consequently, I do not share the common perception that his initial response should be treated as a violent outburst, e.g. "*To hell with you*! *You're a stupid clod*" (Henderson). It seems to me rather a burst of irritation, which fizzles out into rational despair. But, if one takes the words as passionate denunciation, then the adverbial ταχύ unavoidably produces a sort of sarcastic 'harrumph!' from 'Sokrates'. This would be more convincing, if it were the superlative, τάχιστα. But, even so, as Blaydes observed, Strepsiades' response does not allow for such dismissive sarcasm, though Wilson disagrees (p. 71).

My instinctive reaction was to read **τάχα** instead, and assume that 'Sokrates' is displaying his sang froid. So, I am glad to learn that Thomas Magister felt the same way, though he read τάχα δ', (so Sommerstein), while I would prefer to retain **γ(ε)**, "*perhaps anyhow*…".

648. **πρὸς τ(ὰ) ἄλφιτα**

Strepsiades has no difficulty with 'Sokrates' proposal (or ignores his sarcasm), but is anxious that his goal of mending his economic situation (cf. 106) is being approached by a rather too-roundabout route. He was not expecting to have to undergo a course in the Humanities befor embarking on Legal Practice.

649. **πρῶτον μὲν...κομψὸν**

'Sokrates' begins to explain how the ability to speak in refined cadences would get him a hearing "*in the first place*", either because the stately rhythms of tragic-diction will have their effect on his listeners (as the poet's continual recourse to para-tragic tones seems to demonstrate) or simply because his words will be easy on the ear. Aristophanes may be having a dig at Sokrates' own polished speech, using the epithet κομψὸς to suggest 'glibness' (cf. κομψολόγος).

ἐν συνουσίᾳ

The phrase can be used of any social exchange of views, but particularly intellectual discussions between master and pupil. With Sommerstein, I would prefer the spelling ἐν **ξυνουσίᾳ**, found only in the Venetus.

650-1. **ἐπαΐονθ'**

These two lines are not explanatory of the previous line, but serve to further exemplify the advantages of understanding metrics. Therefore, a conjunction is required and the main manuscripts agree in supplying one, all except one reading εἶτ' ἐπαΐειν. This does not scan however. The correct conjunction is τε which is contained in a gloss to the Ravenna manuscript and suggested by scholia (RV). Consequently, Blaydes has printed the most likely reading **ἐπαΐειν θ'**. Dover, on the other hand, followed Hall and Geldart and preferred Hermann's emendation to the participal ἐπαΐοντα.

κατ(ὰ) ἐνόπλιον

'Sokrates' is not posing a trick question, but the distinction between the rhythm of the war-dance and the basic 'dactylic' dance-rhythm was probably a fine one. Aristophanes has only introduced it, at any rate, to expose the old man's limited knowledge of dancing. The ἐνόπλιος <ῥυθμός> was presumably employed as an aid to synchronizing movements of military formations. Its basic form is given by later metrists as (– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –).

κατὰ δάκτυλον

The 'dactylic' metre (– ⏑ ⏑) was so-called by analogy of its quantities with the anatomy of a finger. It was the basic component of dance rhythms, including the ἐνόπλιος.

653-4. **τίς ἄλλος...οὑτοσί**

The joke seems to be that the old man has failed to appreciate the meaning of κατὰ δάκτυλον <ῥυθμόν>, and, taking the word δάκτυλος literally, appears to be making a crude gesture and showing 'Sokrates' the middle finger (or what I believe is termed 'flipping him the bird' in the American colonies). The basis of this interpretation is Aristophanes' previous use of the unique adjective καταδακτυλικός in *Ἱππεῖς* (1381).

This adjective, reasonably enough, is taken to be cognate with a verb καταδακτυλίζω which appears in a scholion to *Εἰρήνη*, where it is used to gloss another obscure verb ἐσκιμάλισεν (549).
Leaving aside the question (note ad loc.) of whether the Roman grammarian Moeris was right to explain σκιμαλίζω this way and whether the σκίμαλλος was in fact the middle finger, the assumption that the verb καταδακτυλίζω (and Sommerstein's noun καταδακτυλισμός) in fifth-century B.C. Athens cannot be safely inferred from the later scholia.
The problem with this interpretation, as Dover saw, is that these two lines appear repetitive; at least, line 654 seems to add an unnecessary qualification. Accordingly, Dover (in an article in 1977) suggested that the two lines were alternatives mistakenly left in and that we should dispense with the former and weaker of the two. Sommerstein duly did so. But, the problem does not arise, if we look at the matter in daylight, free of scholarly obfuscation. Strepsiades has just claimed to know the κατὰ δάκτυλον <ῥυθμόν>, and so he may simply be proving his claim by doing the sort of dance-movement that he thinks appropriate to it. In the first line he makes a brief attempt to demonstrate it, while the second shows his speedy recognition that at his age he is not quite up to it. The dance-movement may still involve obscene gestures on his part, but it is not insulting to his teacher. As we shall see later, he is aghast when his son insults the master (cf. 871) and he always cautions Pheidippides against speaking disrespectfully of the School (cf. 105, 833-4). Besides, there is nothing in 'Sokrates' reaction to suggest outrage at an insult; rather, his attitude appears one of prim condescension.

πρὸ τοῦ μέν

The phrase is elliptical (ἦν μοι πρὸ τοῦ), cf. *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 418, ἦν ἡμῖν πρὸ τοῦ (cf. also 5).

παιδὸς ὄντος

He means "*in my youth* (before the onset of arthritis and hernias)".

655. **ἀγρεῖος**

The variant readings ἄγροικος and ἀχρεῖος are probably only the result of glosses on the far less common word, which Aristophanes has also used in *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* (160).

σκαιός

This means "*clumsy*", or literally "*left-footed*" (the opposite of δεξιός), cf. 629.

ὦζυρέ

This phrase, contracted from ὦ οἰζυρέ, can be employed when ὦ πονηρέ would be too coarse. It signifies that the speaker has had his patience tried once too often. The epithet may be applied to 'Sokrates' here, because it was used as the name of one of Night's daughters by Hesiod and Chairephon had been derided as a child of Night in *Ὧραι* (frg. 584). In *Σφῆκες* (1504), it is used despairingly by a slave addressing the incorrigible PhiloKleon, who has been up all night dancing.
Strepsiades is frustrated. He is unable to comprehend that forensic oratory rests on a broad foundation of general education, i.e. μουσική. Indeed, some modern commentators have also failed to appreciate the relevance of rhythm and cadences. This is largely what makes him comic. One recalls the impatient plaint of Shaw's Miss Doolittle in *Pygmalion*, "*I don't want to talk grammar*; *I want to talk like a lady*!"

657. **ἐκεῖν(ο) ἐκεῖνο**

The repetition appears to represent an almost childish petulance (cf. 788, 818).

658. **ἀλλ(ὰ) ἕτερα...πρότερα**

'Sokrates' will not be distracted from his study programme as outlined at the start (638). He fully intends to ensure that his pupil can use words correctly, as he had suggested at the outset by ἔπεα. Since ἕτερα is not used to differentiate one of a pair, it might be better to accent **ἄλλα** ἕτερα...πρότερα – "*various other things before that*") cf. frg. 347, ἄλλα τε τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα μυρία – "*and masses of other different things like that*".

659. **ὀρθῶς ἄρρενα**

The prerequisite for rational debate is a common language with mutually understood terms. So 'Sokrates' stresses the *correct* use of grammatical gender to avoid misunderstanding. But, in comic-drama the 'real' reason for such niceties is simply to avoid grammatical errors which would expose one to the ridicule of the educated section of the audience. Aristotle, in listing his rules for speaking Greek properly, insists on the need to distinguish between the genders and mentions Protagoras as a proponent of the rule (*Ῥητορική* 3.5.5, ὡς Πρωταγόρας, τὰ γένη τῶν ὀνομάτων διήρει, ἄρρενα καὶ θήλεα καὶ σκεύη· δεῖ γὰρ ἀποδιδόναι

καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς – "*he distinguished the gender of nouns, masculine, feminine and stuff*"). He would have been acquainted with Plato's characterization of the sophist in his eponymous dialogue where he informs 'Sokrates', "*In my view, the most important constituent of a man's education is that concerning <poets'> words…so that he can recognize what has been said correctly and what not*". (*Πρωταγόρας* 338 ε -339 α, ἡγοῦμαι...ἐγὼ ἀνδρὶ παιδείας μέγιστον μέρος εἶναι περὶ ἐπῶν...συνιέναι ἅ τε ὀρθῶς πεποίηται καὶ ἃ μή).
The importance of getting your words right in public is illustrated by a careless line of Euripides, who in his *Ὀρέστης* had written (279), ἐκ κυμάτων...γαλήν(α) ὁρῶ, since he could not fit γαλήνην. Consequently, the actor tripped over the line and the audience heard γαλῆν ὁρῶ (lit: 'I see a gerbil') – "*I see a **clam** after the storm*". He was pilloried by the comic-poets ever after (cf. *Βάτραχοι* 303-4, Sannyrion frg. 8, Strattis frgs. 1, 63).

660-1. **οἶδ(α)...τἄρρενα**

Strepsiades is only able to differentiate gender in animals, not in common nouns. He even includes κύων, which depends on a definite article or an epithet for its gender. The inclusion of ἀλεκτρυών should not be taken as evidence that cockerels had four legs in ancient times. 'Sokrates' had specified "*quadrupeds*"; the old man has simply imagined that having two legs and two wings meant that poultry was four-legged!

662-3.

Many readers will have felt, with Bentley, that there is a logical gap between these lines and Strepsiades' list of male critters. We might expect a comparable list of female animals repeating the word ἀλεκτρυών at the end and it is certainly easy to see how such a line could have dropped out in careless transmission. Sommerstein (1982) has offered a possible reconstruction of the missing line, but his list shows why the poet would have avoided it. All his feminine nouns are actually *ambigendrous* (I forget the proper term), which rather detracts from the point of the lesson. It seems, therefore, that the poet has compressed logic in the interest of maintaining pace. As Dover puts it, "*Aristophanes cuts a corner deftly*".

κατὰ τ(ὸ) αὐτὸ

Hermann's suggested reading καὶ ταὐτὸ, which Sommerstein elects to print, duplicates the conjunction to no benefit. The sense is clear (even if the word order is not): καλεῖς κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ <ὄνομα> «ἀλεκτρυόνα» τήν τε θήλειαν καὶ τὸν ἄρρενα.

665. **νὴ τὸν Ποσειδῶ**

So impressed (i.e. shaken) is he with 'Sokrates' lesson in basic grammar that he forgets his grudge against the god of horses and earthquakes (cf. 83-5). Compare BdelyKleon's alarm at the rumbling sound coming from his chimney in *Σφῆκες* (143, ἄναξ Πόσειδον...ἡ κάπνη ψοφεῖ).

666. **ἀλεκτρύαιναν**

The male chicken ἀλέκτωρ ('cock'), had as its female counterpart ἀλεκτορίς ('hen'). But, the ἀλεκτρυών ('chanticleer') which disturbed the Athenian nights (cf. 4) had no female equivalent and so, "*the ancients used ἀλεκτρυών of the female as well*" (Athenaios 9.373 ε, τὸν δ' ἀλεκτρυόνα...οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ θηλυκῶς εἰρήκασι) and Aristophanes himself uses ἀλεκτρυών of the female fowl which lays eggs (frgs. 193, 194). But here, he invents a feminine equivalent, the 'cockerelle' (or 'cockette'), modelled on λέων / λέαινα, in order to send up Sokratic pedantry.

668-9.

These two lines have the appearance of an irrelevant interjection from Strepsiades, but they form a bridge into the next piece of comic business and prepare us for a later development which would otherwise have been obscure (1146-7).

κάρδοπον

Aristophanes uses the word elsewhere (*Βάτραχοι* 1159) as a synonym for μάκτρα ('kneading trough'). Its appearance in literature is surprisingly rare, considering how common such an essential item would have been. Its use by cosmologists as a commonplace analogy for the flat Earth is cited by Plato (cf. 264). The vernacular term was σκάφη, which was sometimes used as a crude euphemism for the female genitalia, so κάρδοπος probably had suggestive connotations too.

670-80.

'Sokrates' is portrayed as being a stickler for precise language. Because the word κάρδοπος is feminine, as its definite article shows, he maintains that it should have a distinctively feminine ending. Obviously, this is comic exaggeration on the part of Aristophanes, for just as he had no problem utilizing ἀλεκτρυών

for a male or female chicken, so no-one would have been misled by the ending of κάρδοπος into thinking that it could be masculine. But, the poet is about to take advantage of this grammatical ambiguity to cast doubt on the gender of a leading politician.

674. **ταὐτὸν δύναται**

The phrase (in which ταὐτὸν stands for the neuter ταὐτὸ) could be expressed as, τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχει, where δύναμις is the 'force' or 'meaning' of the noun (cf. Plato *Κρατύλος* 394β, ἡ τοῦ ὀνόματος δύναμις).

«**κάρδοπος**» **Κλεωνύμῳ**

The quotation marks are mine. They serve to indicate that we are meant to understand κάρδοπος as "*the word* '*kneading-trough*'…"

It is a little surprising to find the proper noun in the dative case, since equivalence is normally expressed in the nominative, <ὡς> **Κλεώνυμος** (cf. the double nominatives of the codices in 680). It may simply be a miscopy under the influence of the following line.

675. **οὐδ(ὲ) ἦν κάρδοπος Κλεωνύμῳ**

Strepsiades is about to make a predictable, crude comment on the politician's sexuality, but the text is not entirely convincing. The use of ουδὲ is open to the same objection as in 367, since one has to supply other objects that Kleonymos lacked for, in order to say that 'he did *not even* have a kneading trough'. But also, the imperfect tense leads us to infer one of two possible circumstances; either he never had a κάρδοπον or he was no longer among the living. Neither seems likely. While political figures were still fair game even after their demise, Kleonymos seems to have been very much alive when he was mentioned in *Ὄρνιθες* (414 B.C.). Moreover, the most likely interpretation of his 'kneading-trough' suggests that it was a thing which he had once had but lost; that which is archly referred to elsewhere as his 'ὅπλα' or 'equipment'. Accordingly, I propose reading, **οὐδένα κάρδοπον** <sc. ἔχει> **Κλεώνυμος**.

676. **ἐν θυείᾳ στρογγύλῃ**

Strepsiades claims that, because he has no kneading-trough, Kleonymos has had to do his kneading "*in a round mortar*". This implies that the politician was known for some abnormal sexual proclivity or that he may actually have been sexually handicapped in some way. The latter seems possible.

ἂν ἐμάττετο

Hall and Geldart have elected to print the reading of the sixteenth-century codex Laurentianus, preferring the simple verb μάττεσθαι ('to knead dough', cf. 788) over the compound **ἀνεμάττετο**, which is found in most codices, but is not attested elsewhere in the same sense, and does not occur in the middle voice. The ambiguous reading *νεμάττετο (in the fourteenth-century codex Laurentianus) gave Dobree grounds for suggesting ἐνεμάττετο which is found later in the middle voice, but again not in the required sense. Dover and subsequent editors, however, are prepared to accept the compound with the sense of "*he kneaded his dough*" as a euphemism for self-stimulation, which could reasonably be inferred anyway from the regular translation 'rubbing oneself off' (or 'waxing his carrot' as George Carlin has it). The only question which arises is, why does the poet not say ἀναμάττεται? What significance does the past tense have? My feeling is that Aristophanes wrote the present tense, but that this was altered to the imperfect tense by a later hand to match the recollection of the passage (788). A similar call-back occurs in *Σφῆκες* (1190 / 1383), where a change in tense from imperfect to aorist has divided scholars over the need to harmonize.

678. **τὴν καρδόπην**

Aristophanes imagines 'Sokrates' insisting on another concocted form like his 'cockette', in order to keep words in conformity with his strict, linguistic rules. My translation carelessly confuses the winnowing-fan used in threshing with the female 'fanny', in a strained attempt to combine the two elements of the poet's pun. 'Fanny' is used in the English rather than the American sense.

τὴν Σωστράτην

Sommerstein opines that this is "*just a typical woman's name*" and certainly it has fictional connotations in *Σφῆκες* (1397) and other plays. But, Aristophanes would have expected to get a laugh from it, so there may have been a well-known public figure named Sostrat**os**, whom some might have thought deserved to have a more 'accurate' gender suffix? This may also account for the appearance of a *female* orator named Sostrate who tables a motion in the Assembly in *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* (375).

679. **ὀρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις**

The codices give the whole line to Strepsiades. We have Hermann to thank for spotting that the last three words are actually a comment from 'Sokrates'.

680. **ἐκεῖνο δ(ὲ) ἦν ἄν·**

This line represents Strepsiades' realization that, if one is to apply the Master's gender-rules strictly, then one should probably include proper nouns as well as common nouns. So, since κάρδοπος is *corrected* to καρδόπη, it stands to reason that the possξessor of 'a round mortar' should have a gender-specific ending appropriate to 'her' condition. Although the words are assigned to 'Sokrates' in the codices, they do not form part of the lesson. It is the dim-witted pupil who speculates on Kleonymos's sexuality; just as in the following year's play it is the slaves who voice similar suspicions about the same politician, and not their master.

Along with Dover, I very much doubt that the opening words are correct. West (1977) proposed reading, ἐκεῖνο δύναμαι· taking the line to be Strepsiades' attempt at correcting his own words (675). But, I think that Blaydes was nearer the truth, when he suggested that ἐκεῖνο τἄρ' ἦν (or ἐκεῖν' ἄρ' ἂν εἴη) would be a better reading. In fact, the poet seems to me to have been even more economical with words. Better sense can be obtained from a conditional clause, **ἐκεῖνος**, **ἦν** <κάρδοπος εἴη> **ἂν** καρδόπη, Κλεωνύμη <εἴη ἄν> – "*Well, if* κάρδοπος *should be* καρδόπη*, that chap* <*we mentioned*>*would be Kleonymi*". We are hearing an echo of 674, in which the Master introduced the idea that a masculine suffix to a name like Kleonymos did not belong on a feminine noun like κάρδοπος. But, the old man has misunderstood and now *realizes* that he was meant to identify Kleonymos himself as feminine.

Κλεωνύμη

The codices agree on the nominative and, since this is a call-back to the words of Sokrates in 674, we are justified in emending the dative there. Sommerstein, on the other hand, takes Strepsiades to be rephrasing his words of 675, "*and what I said would then have been* 'Cleonymé never had a cardopé'"? Accordingly, he adopts the dative Κλεωνύμῃ, which he has found in a fifteenth-century manuscript copy in Cambridge. Wilson (p. 71) approves, but this 'simple solution' labours a much simpler point.

681. **ἔτι δή γε**

The codices read either ἔτι γε or ἔτ' ἔτι, but neither provides adequate scansion. Demetrios Triklinios, the fourteenth-century Thessalonican scholar, seems to have been the first to spot that a syllable was missing. It is probably his hand which annotated the codex Laurentianus with the reading which was later adopted by Mousouros in the Aldine edition and which Hall and Geldart have elected to print.

Dover, however, questions whether Aristophanes would have used this combination and prefers ἔτι δέ γε (which subsequent editors print). Hall and Geldart, too, have suggested ἔτι δέ τι as an alternative solution. But, on the one hand, Dover's objection is not indisputable, for similar combinations do occur (cf. *Σφῆκες* 235, ὃ δὴ λοιπόν γε ἔτι ἐστίν) and in any case both these modern solutions produce a metrical anomaly of successive feet scanning (◡ ◡ ◡). I wonder whether the gap might have been due simply to a word dropping from the beginning of the line, **ἀλλ(ὰ) ἔτι γε** περὶ....

περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων

'Sokrates' does not contradict the conclusion drawn by his obtuse student, but takes his cue to address the matter of proper names. Plato suggested that he was merely following Prodikos (*Εὐθύδημος* 277ε, πρῶτον γὰρ, ὥς φησι Πρόδικος, περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος μαθεῖν δεῖ), but Sokrates himself would have followed the fault-lines in language as keenly as any comic-poet (albeit for the opposite reason).

683. ἃ θήλε(α) ἐστίν

Female names, at least, are unambiguously feminine in form.

684. **Λύσιλλα**

The name is casually dropped again by Aristophanes (*Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 375) as putative Recorder in the women's parliament. It is a fair guess that, like two of the other three women, this name too belonged to a well-known courtesan.

Φίλιννα

There was a comic-play of this name by Hegemon of Thasos, created around the eponymous heroine who was a courtesan.

Κλειταγόρα

The name could be taken as 'illustrious speaker' or misconstrued perhaps as 'notorious in the Agora'. She reappears the following year (*Σφῆκες* 1246) in a snatch of a drinking-song, where the scholiast supposed that she was a Thessalian poetess, but her appearance here as a representative of her sex suggests that she was a well-educated courtesan who gave poetry recitals at symposia. Her name has been found on a grave -stele, a bronze πύξις and a red-figured κάλπις (see note on *Σφῆκες* 1246).

686. **Φιλόξενος**

Aristophanes follows up on the list of notorious females with three leading citizens who might be thought their male equivalents (in comic-theatre, at any rate). The first is mentioned disparagingly in *Σφῆκες* (84) and described as a καταπύγων in *Βάτραχοι* (934).

Μελησίας

This man could be the son of Perikles' political rival Thucydides (son of Melesias), mentioned twice by Plato. But, we have no inkling why his name should have been deemed suitable for the list of 'notorious' males, other than the fact that it becomes bi-sexual in declension.

Ἀμυνίας

This must surely be the same **Ἀμεινίας** who was said to have advanced money earlier (cf. 31).

688. **ὑμῖν**

The codices read **ἡμῖν**, but editors have judged this to be an example of the common confusion met with in manuscripts and emended to ὑμῖν. However, Strepsiades is now *in statu pupillari* so he might well be asking, "do *we* not consider them masculine?"

οὐδαμῶς γε

The Ionicism suggests a rather fusty tone (cf. 628 and *Σφῆκες* 79)

690. Ἀμυνία

The vocative form of the man's name takes on a feminine appearance which Sommerstein captures neatly by translating, "*Hello, Minnie*!"

691. **τὴν Ἀμυνίαν**

Logically the definite article should be τὸν, but the metre demands that it too is feminised.

692. **οὐ στρατεύεται**

In *Σφῆκες*, the marine corps veteran Philokleon expresses his resentment over anyone who gets jury-pay without having served his country in one of the armed services (1117, τις ἀστράτευτος). As all adult male citizens were liable for military duty, we can only surmise why Ameinias was exempted. In comic-drama anyone who escaped the call-up was labelled a draft-dodger and it was assumed that their exemption was due to their 'unsuitability'. It was inferred that if someone did not serve in the military, then he belonged to one of the lower social classes or *he* was in fact a woman. Unlike Sparta, where females and the helots received some military training, the Athenians did not call up even their lowest social class, the θῆτες. In *Δαιταλεῖς* (frg. 248), Aristophanes let it be understood that his victim had not served his country, because he was of low class (θῆτες...οὐκ ἐστρατεύοντο). Eupolis's play, *Ἀστράτευτοι* appears to have been based on the premise that men exempted from military service were actually women in disguise, to judge from its alternative title *Ἀνδρόγυνοι*.

Here, Aristophanes appears to base his accusation against Ameinias on the flimsy evidence of a feminine ending in the declension of his name. But, we can guess that there must have been a genuine reason why a high-ranking Athenian male was exempt from overseas service. It might have been on grounds of old age or ill-health or he may simply have been in a reserved occupation such as a religious or civil office. There is possibility that a recent injury rendered him unfit for campaigning (cf. 1259 f.).

One such exemption was that granted to members of tragic-choruses, which probably extended to actors as well. It would have been especially easy to suggest that they had been rejected by the military for being 'transgender', since they were regularly called upon to assume female roles. This may provide a clue as to why Ameinias was exempt. In a speech delivered in 419 B.C. the orator Antiphon (περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ, 13) mentions a certain Ameinias of the tribe Erechtheïs, who was in charge of his tribe's choruses at various festivals.

Is Aristophanes sailing a bit close to the wind here? We have no record of *his* military career or any deeds of valour. Could it be that comic-poets were also in a reserved occupation? Cf. *Σοῦδα* ε 3657.

694. **οὐδέν**, **μὰ Δί(α)**

The answer to the question, 'what is the point of…?' must be the admission that 'there is no point as far as you are concerned', so we can assume an ellipse such as οὐδὲν <ἐστι σοι ὄφελος>. 'Sokrates' begins to acknowledge that he is flogging a dead horse here and his oath *by Zeus* indicates his mental anguish.

κατακλινεὶς δευρὶ

The instruction to lie down on the pallet-bed suggests incubation in the riual healing of Asklepios, but he is not to sleep (cf. 705-6), instead he must leave his mind open to divine revelation. Blaydes sees a nod to Pythagorean initiation rites, particularly in the instruction to him to cover his head.

696. **ἱκετεύω σ(ε), ἐνγεταυθ(ί)**

The manuscripts offer a choice between ἐνταῦθ', ἐνταῦθά γ' and ἐνθάδ'. The variants may simply be due to a rather unusual tmesis which Aristophanes has used elsewhere (*Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 646), as Hall and Geldart surmised. The thirteen syllables produced can be reduced by removing σ' ἐ as Dobree suggested.

697. **αὐτὰ ταῦτ**(α)

Something is not right here. Blaydes thought that ταὐτα ταῦτα was necessary, while Wilson suggests that αὐτὰ πάντα would be an improvement. Both are possible solutions, but the simplest emendation would be αὐτὰ **ταὐτὰ** ("*them, the same things*").

698. **οὐκ...ἄλλα**.

This response appears to reflect Sokrates' unwillingness to compromise his methods; a case of my way or the highway (cf. 799). He withdraws into the school. Sommerstein suggests that as he leaves the stage he carries Strepsiades' shoes with him, because later the old man will complain that he is missing his ἐμβάς (719), but such a menial task befits a slave.

699. **δίκην...δώσω**

While he still hopes to avoid further legal bites from the δήμαρχος (cf. 37), he admits that the bed-bugs' bites are unavoidable and he will soon have to "*give them satisfaction*".

Choral Song (**Ὠδή**) 700-706 (Strophe)

These instructions, together with the subsequent question (708) and the admonition (716) are assigned to 'Sokrates' in the codices. But, Bentley recognized that they must belong to the Chorus and Hermann gave his stamp of approval. The corresponding antistrophe (804-13) is certainly sung by the Chorus. Moreover, the words of 'Sokrates' in 723 clearly indicate that he has been absent for a time and re-enters then.

The metre is predominantly iambo-choriambic (see Dover's in-depth analysis) and incorporates elements of the ἐνόπλιος ῥυθμός (cf. 650-1). It is reasonable to suppose that the mental contortions recommended by the Chorus are matched by the physical contortions of Strepsiades on the bed, but they may also hint at how their own dance-movements might have been cordinated.

700. **διάθρει**

Aristophanes uses both the simple verb (731, *Ὄρνιθες* 1196, ἄθρει…πᾶς – "*keep an eye out everybody*!") and the compounds ἀναθρέω (frg. 322, κἀναθροῦντες τοὺς ἀδίκους – "*keeping a look out for evildoers too*") and διαθρέω in much the same sense (*Ἱππεῖς* 543, καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διαθρῆσαι – "*to keep an eye on the winds*", and *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 658, καὶ τὰς διόδους διαθρῆσαι – "*to check out the passes*"). So here, the instruction seems to be 'to look into', 'focus on <your dilemma>'.

702. **στρόβει**

This verb is understood to be cognate with στρέφω so that our translations invariably involve 'twirling' or 'whirling' (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1529), but here it may have more to do with the action of a fuller 'compressing' or 'squeezing' garments.

703. **εἰς ἄπορον πέσῃς**

The metaphor is from a natural obstacle like a river which affords *no passage*. We might say a 'dead end'.

705-6. **ὕπνος δ(ὲ) ἀπέστω**

The notion of 'sleeping on a problem' was not endorsed by the Sokratics (cf. 417, ὕπνου τ' ἀπέχει) but in his case Strepsiades had already passed sleepless nights through worrying about his financial plight, and so he is overdue for a bit of shut-eye.

Ἐπεισόδιον 707-803

707. **ἀτταταῖ**

When Sophokles' hero Philoktetes utters this cry (*Φιλοκτήτης* 790), he is, like the wounded Lamachos in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (1190), in real pain. But here, like Dikaiopolis (*Ἀχαρνεῖς* 1198), Strepsiades is exaggerating the tragedy in his situation, so that his 'ouch' becomes a rather histrionic one.
Like most exclamations in drama the orthography is sometimes in doubt. A scholion in the codex Estensis describes the sound as a choriambic foot of four syllables (- ◡ ◡ -). The comment suggested to Dover that one might perhaps read ἀτταταταῖ here. But, to my mind, a more likely form would be **ἀτατταῖ**, a variant found in the Paris codex (2711) of *Φιλοκτήτης*. This would result in two bacchiac metra corresponding to the response of the Chorus.

708.
The two bacchiacs (◡ - -) may have been borrowed from a scene in tragic-drama in which a chorus shows concern for the suffering of a protagonist.

709-15.
Strepsiades' exchange with the Chorus is similar to that of PhiloKleon in *Σφῆκες*, when he takes the role of the tragic-heroine Danaë imprisoned by her father (317-33).

709. **ἐκ τοῦ σκίμποδος**
The claim that bed-bugs are crawling out of the 'holy' σκίμπους (cf. 254) suggests that it must have had a mattress of straw or hair. Cf. Loukianos, Asinus 3 σκιμπόδιον.

710. **Κορίνθιοι**
After the old man's earlier complaints, the spectator anticipates that his cries are due to the bed-bugs (οἱ κόρεις), but he surprises with a pun (the 'Bugarians') which suggests that whatever has been biting him is carrying on a war with him, since at the time Corinth was still at war with Athens. In order to capture the pun I have substituted the Corinthians' next-door neighbours from Phlya, the Phlyasians. Presumably, the mention of the Corinthians would have brought to mind a parallel, mythological scene from tragic-drama in which a hero lamented the destruction wrought by invaders from Corinth.

711. **τὰς πλευρὰς δαρδάπτουσιν**
As often (cf. *Σφῆκες* 3) the rib-cage refers primarily to the back, but can be understood to mean the whole torso. The verb was used in epic verse and suggests the grandiloquence of tragic-drama, (cf. *Βάτραχοι* 66, με δαρδάπτει πόθος *Εὐριπίδου* – "*I am consumèd by desire for Euripides*").

712. **τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκπίνουσιν**
The bed-bugs are "*draining my life-blood*" (i.e. τὸ αἷμα τῆς ψυχῆς). Compare Sophokles *Ἠλέκτρα* 784-6, βλάβη...τοὐμὸν ἐκπίνουσα ἀεὶ ψυχῆς ἄκρατον αἷμα – "*a running wound draining my pure life-blood*".

713-4. **τοὺς ὄρχεις...διορύττουσιν**
He proceeds to give us rather more information than was necessary. The action of "*digging through*" was typical of besiegers undermining a city-wall or thieves tunnelling through a house-wall. The comparison with these invaders suggests that logically the order of the two lines should be reversed, and in fact in the oldest codices (RV) line 713 precedes 712, suggesting that it has been omitted and reinserted incorrectly.

718-9. **φροῦδα...φροῦδος γεγένημαι**
The 'tragic-hero' bemoans his desperate plight in a litany that a tragic-poet might have written (Euripides *Ἰφιγένεια ἐν Ταύροις* 154, οἴμοι...φροῦδος γέννα – "*my family is gone, alas*") or *Ἑκάβη* 159-61, φροῦδος πρέσβυς, φροῦδοι παῖδες – "*my husband and my sons gone*". Strepsiades' losses are, for the time being, imaginary. His money is in escrow, his ruddy complexion is not yet 'rubbed off' and his shoes must have been left inside the school.

ἐμβάς
Although he uses the singular, he surely means that he is missing his 'pair of shoes', or 'footwear'.
Sommerstein imagines that 'Sokrates' had taken Strepsiades' ἐμβάδες (and his cloak) with him on exiting at 509, since the old man enters the school γυμνός. But the shoes and cloak were left on the bed when he entered the 'Thinking-shop' barefoot at the start of his education.

721. **φρουρᾶς ἄδων**
A 'look-out' or 'watch' would be kept during the day as well as by night (νυκτερινή) and Strepsiades is on the look-out for a good idea. But, even beneath his cloak, he is not 'whistling in the dark', for that is meant to keep one's courage up. He is humming or singing to himself to stay awake; after all, he was up most of the night. It is tiredness and boredom not Fear that is stalking him.

722. **ὀλίγου**
The candlelight was dim when the copyist of the codex Venetus mistakenly wrote ὀλίγον. The full phrase is ὀλίγου <δέον>, equivalent to "*virtually*".
723. **οὗτος**, **τί ποιεῖς**;
Expressions such as this represent an exclamation of annoyance when a newly-arrived character reacts to the activity (or lack thereof) of someone on stage (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1), or vice versa (cf. *Σφῆκες* 144). So, it is clear that 'Sokrates' has not been present to speak lines 708 and 716 as the codices would have it, but has just put his head out the door to check on his pupil (cf. 732).
724. **νὴ τὸν Ποσειδῶ**
His oath is ironic. It is not that he has suddenly become reconciled with the god responsible for his plight, but that he has been forced to think about how his debts were incurred.
726. ἀπολεῖ κάκιστα
The Master is losing patience and curses in irritation as he ducks back inside, (cf. 41, ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς).
727-9. [**Κορυφαῖα**]
Dover accepted the suggestion of Willems (1906, pp. 33-5) to assign these words of encouragement to the Chorus, instead of to 'Sokrates' as indicated in the codices. Like Henderson I assign them to the leader of the chorus alone.
727. **οὐ μαλθακιστέ(α)...περικαλυπτέα**
The Clouds (or their spokesperson) exhort the tormented old man to wrap himself up in his cloak and be tough. This will keep off the mosquitoes, but he must simply ignore the annoyance of the bed bugs. There is irony in their instruction, because although he is enveloped in his cloak, he must not become enveloped by sleep. There seems to be an associative allusion here to a famous passage where another female deity, Hera, reveals that she has put Zeus into a restful coma, ἐγὼ μαλακὸν περὶ κῶμα κάλυψα (*Ἰλιάς* 14. 359).
728. **ἐξευρετέος γὰρ νοῦς**
Conceivably, the epic tone is maintained throughout the speech, but otherwise it is hard to see why νοῦς is used here to mean νόημα, a unique instance outside the poetry of Homer. One's suspicions are aroused by the many textual variations of this line and we might get better sense by reading, εὑρητεα γὰρ νόησις ἀποστερητικὴ κἀπαιόλημ(α).
ἀποστερητικὸς
The verb from which this adjective derives had a narrower sense than the general concept of fraud, (as is shown by Demosthenes 30.5, ἐπ' ἀποστερήσει – "*intent on avoiding payment*").
729-30. **τίς ἂν...ἐπιβάλοι**
Recent scholars appear to agree that these words are interrogative, despite translating them as a potential wish. The indefinite pronoun τις is accentuated oxytone here only because it opens the wish, not because it asks 'who'? It stands for <εἴθε> τις – "*if only someone would…*" (cf. *Λυσιστράτη* 1086, τίς ἂν φράσειε – "*I wish someone would explain to me*"). For the sake of clarity I would accentuate barytone. The poet's elliptical style is further evidenced by the fact that two wishes are combined in a single phrase. He makes the verb do double duty by sleight of mind, or this at least is how I interpret the second line.
ἐξ ἀρνακίδων γνώμην
Commentators have noted that, when γνώμην is used again a little later, it is understood to mean 'plan' or 'idea' (cf. 747). Accordingly, they try to interpret it in the same way here. Dover suggests that 'Sokrates' has laid a lambskin coverlet over him and Strepsiades wishes that, "*someone would put an idea into my head…instead of* <covering me with> *lambskins*". But, who said anything about any lambskins covering him before now? Why would 'Sokrates' have laid the bedclothes on him, when that would be more likely to warm him and send him off to sleep, which is the opposite of what he intended.
The situation is reminiscent of the old man's earlier anxiety that a local magistrate would decide against him; a form of mental torture which he compared to the physical discomfort of his bug-infested mattress with the phrase, τις δήμαρχος ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων (37). So, rather than having to look for 'an idea to avoid paying his creditors' himself, he wishes that "*someone would lay a* γνώμην *on*" him, as if it were a warm blanket "*made out of lambskins*".
The thought uppermost in his mind is how much he would like to close his eyes now and sleep, if it were not for the threat of τις <δήμαρχος> hanging over him and the everpresent irritation of bed-bugs. It occurs

to him that some warmer bedclothes would not go amiss in any case, but the advantage of lambskins, like the σισύραι his son wraps round himself, is that they can be washed regularly and cleansed of infestation (cf. 343). His comment shows that his earlier promise to endure discomfort and forgo sleep has reached its limit already.

ἀποστερητρίδα

This unique form appears to be the feminine equivalent (to agree with γνώμην) of the noun ἀποστερητής. Although the regular form would be ἀποστερητρία (cf. ὀρχηστής / ὀρχήστρια), the poet evidently prefers the epic form (cf. ὀρχηστήρ / ὀρχηστρίς) as he has elsewhere (cf. 996). The oldest codex (R) in fact reads ἀποστερητικήν, but this is probably an attempt to explain what the unexpected word means, rather than a corrected reading.

Translators treat the noun in apposition as if it were adjectival, e.g. "*a lovely bit of…fraudulent ingenuity*" (Sommerstein) and Dover adds that, "*Strepsiades thinks of γνώμην ἀποστερητρίδα as a personable young woman materializing in his embrace under the bedclothes*". Apart from the fact that there are actually no bedclothes, he is correct in noting that this best explains why he is soon found playing with himself (734). But, Aristophanes is making the verb do double duty, so that each of the nouns is governed by ἐπιβάλοι in a distinct sense. Strepsiades has two different thoughts. Firstly, he longs for "*some <local magistrate> to impose a judgement* that allows him *to withhold payment*". Secondly, he hopes that a favourable decision, like a warm, fleece-blanket will allow him to forget his financial problems (and the bed bugs) and so drift off into sleep. In his mind, such a decision would possess the <deceptive> charms of a young female with whom he would rather be sharing his bed.

But, how does the poet get away with using a noun instead of the straightforward adjective ἀποστερητική in the first place? He not only manages to suggest that the magistrate's decision is like a female 'deceiver' but also envisages that she will resemble a warm, sheepskin blanket. He is enabled to achieve this surreal effect, because certain feminine adjectives could be used (in comic-parlance at least) to describe a woman coming from a locality, or a particular local product. For instance, in *Σφῆκες* (1137-8), PhiloKleon objects to being cloaked in what appears to him to be a sheepskin *rug* (cf. LSJ addenda, καυνάκης), or Περσίδα. It is actually a thick, woollen cape, but he thinks it looks like a locally-made σισύραν Θυμαιτίδα. Perhaps such ambiguity existed in vernacular speech to be exploited by the comic-poet, although it might possibly have been the result of conflating the thought of warm blankets with that of female bed-companions in the first place, as in the case of the little-known comic-drama *Θερμοφοριάζουσαι* ('*Women as bed-warmers*').

731. **φέρε νυν**

'Sokrates' wanders out from the 'Thinking shop'. He does not *bustle* (pace Dover), but rather βρενθύεται.

ἀθρήσω πρῶτον

He has other things to do, but first he means to cast an eye over his new pupil. He uses the simple form of the compound verb διαθρέω (cf. 700), "*I'll check out*".

ὅτι δρᾷ

I follow Dover in punctuating these words parenthetically to show that the accusative depends directly on the preceding verb ἀθρήσω.

732. **οὗτος**, **καθεύδεις**;

'Sokrates' suspects Strepsiades of falling asleep under the cloak, but the old man insists that he cannot be asleep during the daytime, which is symbolized by Apollo, the god of the sun, cf. Kratinos frg. 55, οὗτος, καθεύδεις; – "*you there, are you asleep*?"

733. **ἔχεις τι**;

In view of what follows, the scholiast suggests that this phrase means 'have you caught anything?' taking it to be a reference to hunting or fishing. But, it may simply refer to 'getting hold of <an idea>' (γνώμην, cf. 747).

μὰ Δί(α), οὐ δῆτ(α) ἔγωγ(ε)

Despite unanimity among modern editors, the better reading would be **μὰ τὸν Δία, οὐδὲν ἔγωγε** as found in the Σοῦδα. At some point, the accidental omission of τὸν necessitated that οὐδὲν become a spondee.

734. **οὐδέν γε**

This implies a finality (and a full stop, cf. *Ὄρνιθες* 1360), which the rest of the line negates. I suggest that οὐδέν **τι**, πλὴν ἢ... answers 'Sokrates' original question more neatly.

ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ
Dover suggests that the position of Strepsiades' right hand may be due to his mind having been distracted by sexual thoughts, for which he cites the feminine ending of ἀποστερητρίδα in 730 as evidence. Whether or not we explain the old man's testosterone rush in this way, we might recall how profoundly moved he was by the Clouds' thunder (293-5) and how ecstatic at the sound of their singing (319). The same type of joke is found recycled in *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* (382, οὐδὲν ἄλλο γ' ἢ τὸν θύλακον).
735. **οὐκ ἐγκαλυψάμενος**
He does not suggest that he envelop himself (περικαλύψειν), but merely hide his property-phallos out of a sense of propriety, in the same way that a 'decent' woman might veil part of her face.
736. **περὶ τοῦ**;
He wants to know what particular study is relevant to his problem. Philosophical treatises invariably bear a title, *Περὶ <τινος>* – 'concerning such and such'. For the contracted form cf. 22.
737. **πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν**
John Tzetzes wanted to read the adverb πρῶτον, but most of the manuscripts read πρῶτος and I think that the pronoun is preferable since we can take it closely with the imperative (λέγε σὺ πρῶτος). This seems to match the customary reluctance of Plato's 'Sokrates' to give an opinion on any topic, always preferring to demolish the misconceptions of other people's beliefs. Dover's assertion that αὐτὸς...πρῶτος constituted "*an established expression*" is not wholly convincing, however.
The codices are divided between the participle ἐξευρὼν (RV) and the infinitive **ἐξευρεῖν** (ΕΚΝΘ). If one were to read πρῶτον, then the participle is more likely to be correct. But, because I take 'Sokrates' to be urging his pupil to speak first, rather than 'to explore first of all', I prefer the infinitive over the participle. Wilson (p.72) makes the valid point that it is harder to account for the infinitive arising as a corruption of the participle than vice versa, since it was attracted to the verb βούλει, but I would suggest conversely that if a manuscript text already contained the pronoun πρῶτον, there would have been a strong temptation to alter the infinitive to the participle.
738. ἃ ᾽γὼ βούλομαι
We understand the infinitive ἐξεύρειν from the previous line.
740-**45**.
Except for Strepsiades' yelp of discomfort at the end of 742, these words of advice have been assigned to the Master. Even if they are reassigned to the chorus-leader, as Haslam (1976) has suggested, 'Sokrates' must remain present.
740. **καλύπτου**
The teaching method involves the pupil removing himself from the distractions of the world about him.
σχάσας...**λεπτὴν**
He urges the pupil to 'release the pressure' on his mind (cf. 409-11), so that his thoughts become rarefied (cf. 229-30). Aristophanes' insistence on this theory of thoughts as gaseous emanations suggests that the audience were aware of similar contemporary descriptions, though not necessarily 'Sokratic' ones.
744. **<καὶ> κατὰ τὴν γνώμην**
The reading <καὶ> κατὰ is Bergk's emendation of the codices' κᾶτα on the basis of the exceptional κατα found in the Ravennas. It seems satisfactory to me, but Sommerstein and Henderson have adopted the reading preferred by Dover κᾶτα τῇ γνώμῃ. Dover maintains that Bergk's reading does not make sense, but in order to justify the codices' κᾶτα he assumes with Reiske that the correct reading must have been τῇ γνώμῃ ('in / with your mind'). However, Bergk's simple correction should not be dismissed without closer examination. According to current thinking Strepsiades is being advised to set in motion τι νόημα τῇ γνώμῃ ('some thought in his intellect'), but this stretches the meaning of γνώμην, since thoughts would normally occupy the mind (cf. 705, νόημα φρενός). At best, it leaves γνώμην a little redundant. On the other hand, the expression κατὰ τὴν γνώμην is a normal one for "*exercising your judgement*" and supplies an additional consideration, albeit elliptically (i.e. when you are ready). There is, thus, no need to suppose with Dover that κίνησον governs τὴν γνώμην as well as αὐτὸ.
745. **ζυγωθρίσον**
The verb ζυγωθρίζω occurs nowhere else, so commentators have been free to supply its meaning from the context. The grammarian Polydeukes suggested that it means to "*lock up*" the idea (cf. ζύγωθρον a variant

of ζυγώθρωμα, 'a door bar'). An anonymous, ancient scholiast derived the verb from ζυγόν, the 'beam of a pair of scales' and stated that it means to "*weigh*" or "*examine*". But, I wonder whether we might get a more satisfactory meaning by taking the underlying metaphor from chariot-driving. Though this would be annoying for the old man, it provides a consistent pattern. He is told that, if he cannot make headway (ἂν ἀπορῇς τι), he should dismount (ἄπελθε) and let the thought run on (ἀφεὶς). Then, later on, when it's back in his mind again, he is to spur it or whip it on, only this time he is to keep his footing and 'keep the yoke drawn tight'.

746.

After his last piece of advice 'Sokrates' gives his attention to whatever object of meditation had brought him out originally, while keeping a wary eye on his pupil lest he fall asleep again. After a brief interlude Strepsiades calls out to him plaintively.

747. **τόκου...ἀποστερητικήν**

He has not figured out how to avoid his debts yet, but he might be able to avoid paying interest on them.

748. **τὸ τί**;

As in the earlier instance (cf. 500), one copyist has understood Strepsiades to be saying εἰπὲ δή νύν μοι τοδί (N), but the poet's preference for verbal exchange is indicated by line 775, where τοδί would not fit.

749. **γυναῖκα φαρμακίδ(α)...Θετταλὴν**

The idea that a Thessalian witch could charm down the Moon most probably has its roots in the myth of Medeia who brought her magic spells and box of tricks to Iolkos (near modern Volos) from her Black Sea home. As the Alexandrian poet Apollonios has it, the Moon-goddess complained that the witch Medeia had often taken away her radiance by incantations so as to be able to practice her witchcraft undisturbed (*Ἀργοναυτικά* 4.50-60). The φάρμακα in her medicine chest (cf. *Ἀργοναυτικά* 4.20) comprised the normal equipment of a φαρμακίς (a 'wise woman').

Strepsiades has heard stories about Medeia and supposes that the contemporary women of Thessaly had inherited her skill in the dark arts. However, far from being the exclusive preserve of Thessalian women, sorcery was a widespread practice (cf. *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 534, πεφάρμαχθε – "*are you bewitched*?" and 561, φαρμάκοις...ἔμηνεν – "*she drove him mad with potions*"). Plato takes the old man's misapprehension at face value, however, claiming that *Thessalian* witches could obscure the moon (*Γόργιας* 513α), so that it becomes a literary tenet later. For instance, a Thessalian inn-keeper in Apuleius's 'Tale of Aristomenes' would have the power to "*pull down the heavens*" or "*extinguish starlight*" (*Metamorphoses* I.viii, potens caelum deponere…sidera extinguere). She may have been modeled on the eponymous *Θετταλή* in a lost work of Menandros.

πριάμενος

As Dover observes, the verb is used of 'buying' rather than 'hiring', although the fact that the Thessalians were traditional allies and trading partners of the Athenians suggests that she would probably have been a metic selling her skills rather than a foreign woman trafficked by the notorious slave-dealers of Thessaly (cf. *Πλοῦτος* 520-1), so one could interpret it here as "*buying* <the services of> *a Thessalian woman*".

750. **καθέλοιμι νύκτωρ**

The use of καθαιρέω (rather than καθέλκοιμι as cited in the *Σοῦδα*) is vouched for by Plato's imitation in *Γόργιας*. The theft, like most nefarious deeds, takes place at night when everyone else is asleep.

751. **λοφεῖον στρογγύλον**

The crest-case (if such a thing actually existed outside comic-drama) is an important clue to what he has in mind. Polydeukes (10. 126) thought that it was an article of womens' toiletry (hence Starkie translates "*dressing-case*"), but his statement that it was intended to protect a (metallic) mirror is probably just an extrapolation from this passage. Certainly, in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (1109) it actually serves to keep the helmet-crests of the vainglorious general, Lamachos.

We might have assumed from the adjective that he wanted to put the round moon in a round case. But, his aim is to capture the moon in its last quarter, before it wanes completely and increases his financial plight. The evidence of his eyes tells him that it describes an arc or bow, like a helmet-crest, so it will require "*a rounded crest-case*" to contain it.

752. ὥσπερ κάτοπτρον

Recent editors have preferred the form κάτροπτον, which is found in a fourth-century inscription, but the manuscript tradition is unambiguous, both here and in Euripides' *Ἱππόλυτος* 429, and in Plato's *Κράτυλος* 414 γ. The reference to a mirror has proved confusing, because mirrors were usually round, but the point here may be that the moon itself is a reflecting mirror. Klearchos of Soli would later refer to the full moon as 'the finest and clearest of all mirrors' (cited in Plutarch *τὰ Ἠθικά* 921 α, ἥ τε πανσέληνος αὐτὴ πάντων ἐσόπτρων...κάλλιστον ἐστι καὶ καθαρώτατον).

754. **μηδαμοῦ**

There does not seem to be any need to stress that the moon will not rise 'anywhere'; it would be sufficient that she did not rise "*at all*", "*ever*", so we can read **μηδαμά**. Elsewhere (e.g. frg. 868), Aristophanes uses οὐδαμά for οὐδέποτε. A similar error, where οὐδαμοῦ has displaced οὐδαμόν, occurs at 628.

757. **εὖ γ(ε)**

'Sokrates' approves his pupil's reasoned (though irrational) argument (cf. 773).

σοι προβαλῶ

This phrase supports the view that the active voice should be restored in 489.

758. **πεντετάλαντός...δίκη**

I suspect some overzealous, ancient commentator has corrected the text here to correspond with line 774. We have already heard 'Sokrates' speak of ἀντιγραφὰς πολλῶν ταλάντων (472-3) and so here one would expect him to say **πέντε ταλάντων** τις δίκη. The amount is far more than would normally be involved in a civil case. It has surely been introduced only in order to give Strepsiades an opportunity to misunderstand it. There may, however, be some reference to the compensation paid by Kleon, mentioned in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (6, τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις οἷς Κλέων ἐξήμεσεν), which is also the amount of the fine allegedly imposed on the natural philosopher Anaxagoras (according to Sotion of Alexandria excerpted by Diogenes Laërtios 2.12).

760.

[In Hall & Geldart's edition the line numbers 760 and 765 are misplaced on 759 and 764 respectively.]

761-3. [**Κορυφαῖα**]

This speech is normally assigned to 'Sokrates', but seems too whimsical for him, and like 740-5 fits the spokesperson of the Clouds.

761. εἴλλε τὴν γνώμην

LSJ cite this line under the verb εἴλω (D) with the comment, "*some passages are doubtful in meaning*".

The sense required must be the opposite of ἀποχάλα τὴν φροντίδα, e.g. "*do not constrain your intellect to revolve around yourself* (i.e. your own immediate concerns) *continuously*".

We have no way of knowing whether Aristophanes would have preferred **εἴλλε** or ἴλλε, as Sommerstein prints (the reading in EKN).

763. **μηλολόνθην**

This curious word, a cross between an apple and a wild fig, is explained as a kind of winged beetle. It was easy to catch and sufficiently large for a restraining leash of fine thread to be passed around one of its legs to prevent it from flying away (cf. Herodas 12, where Saumaise restored μηλολόνθης). How Strepsiades is expected to keep his thoughts tethered, thereby preventing them from evaporating into Atmosphere, she does not explain (cf. 229-30). This logical omission is curious, but would not arise if we realign the simile so that the tethered beetle actually illustrates what *not* to do, by reversing the order of lines 762 and 763.

Her point is that his thoughts should not remain Earthbound. Instead, they must be set free to mingle with the Atmosphere, cf. 'Sokrates' words, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα λεπτὴν καταμείξας εἰς τὸν ὅμοιον ἀέρα (229-30). Whereas 'Sokrates' had spoken of the air with the colloquial masculine, the Clouds' leader uses the more elevated feminine found in epic poetry. She turns out to be an ageing Hippy, who probably wears a flower in her hair and has been smoking some good weed (which helps explain the cloud around her). Her advice is 'don't be so up tight, chill out man!' Nowadays, one would simply suggest that Strepsiades should try to think *outside the box*.

766. **παρὰ τοῖσι φαρμακοπώλαις**

Pharmacology was still in its infancy and relied, to an even greater extent than today, on faith-based cures involving magic (spells and incantations) or homeopathy (herbal infusions). Minerals were invested with imagined healing properties (crystal healing, charm-bracelets) and so Strepsiades assumes that one would find *glass* along with such (pseudo-)scientific merchandise.

768. **τὴν ὕαλον λέγεις**
Everybody think this is a question, but is it? 'Sokrates' knows perfectly well what the old man means and (unless we assume sarcasm) he simply states the 'technical name' for *the pretty stone*.
Despite their love of technology, the ancient Greeks paid little attention to the potential of glassware until the Alexandrians began experimenting. Perhaps the availability of fine potters-clay and their export trade in ceramics prevented the Athenians from turning to middle-Eastern sources with the same ardour as the Romans later. Therefore, the *glass* here likely refers to polished rock-crystal (or perhaps even obsidian, a silicate sourced from Melos).
769. **ἔγωγε**;
This *is* a question. The poet, as usual, draws a knowing laugh from his audience by (unkindly) mocking the inability of the older generation to keep up with developments in high technology, in this case laser optics.
φέρε τί δῆτ(α) ἄν;
In the codices this phrase is interrogative and assigned to 'Sokrates', but Reisig has persuaded subsequent editors that the whole line is spoken by Strepsiades. This is certainly a possible interpretation, given that the same phrase introduced a conditional clause earlier (cf. 154). But, here, I am inclined to agree with the codices' attribution for dramatic effect. 'Sokrates' has clarified that the old man is talking about a burning -glass, yet he is unable to guess what his pupil would want it for. There is clearly a pause between ἔγωγε; and φέρε, which seems best explained by a change of speaker. In effect, 'Sokrates' repeats himself (753).
770. **ὁπότε γράφοιτο**
The list of current indictments before the court were inscribed on wooden boards for the public to inspect, but here we must assume that the clerk of the court initially made a temporary record of the complaint on a γραμματεῖον coated with wax on one side (cf. 19).
Sommerstein prints Cobet's improved reading **ὁπότ(ε) ἐγγράφοιτο**. The emphasis here is on the scribe's incision on the wax-coated γραμματεῖον or δέλτον.
Dover astutely observes that the clerk of the court does not write down the indictments himself, he has a slave to do this for him. Hence the the middle voice is used to express the fact that "*he was in the process of having the case inscribed*". We may compare Bdelykleon's announcement in *Σφῆκες* that he will have a slave take notes during the debate with his father (538, γράψομαι ἐγώ).
771. **ἀπωτέρω στὰς**
The old man acts out his imagined role. He probably stands some way away from 'Sokrates', representing the clerk of the court and his scribe, placing himself between them and the sun, and holds out his piece of glass to catch the sunlight. Unfortunately, he fails to realize that he is too far away from the waxed-tablet for his plan to be effectual.
This may well be the earliest reference to the use of a convex glass lens to concentrate the sun's rays so as to achieve combustion. The fact that Strepsiades is standing apart from the scribe shows that he is using the 'glass' as a reflecting mirror rather than a magnifier. This is how the Olympic torch is still lit to begin the modern Olympic Games.
ὧδε πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον
Presumably, he interposes himself between 'Sokrates' and the actual sun shining on the orchestra, if one can presume a daytime performance on a sunny day.
773. **σοφῶς γε**
'Sokrates' is briefly impressed by Strepsiades' resort to practical physics.
νὴ τὰς Χάριτας
The cult of the Graces at Athens was a mystery cult, which helps to explain why we know so little about their worship there. They were often depicted in company with the Seasons and, though associated with various divinities, they are most frequently described as attending upon Aphrodite (cf. *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 988-9). Their number varied, but the poet of the *Θεογονία* tells how (907-11), "*Euronyme, the lovely daughter of Okeanos, bore three daughters to <Zeus>, the fair-cheeked Graces, Aglaïa, Euphrosyne, and Thalia*". A statue-group which stood by the entrance to the Akropolis showed the three in company with Hermes. According to Pausanias

(1.22.8, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν Ἑρμῆν ὃν Προπύλαιον ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Χάριτας Σωκράτην ποιῆσαι τὸν Σωφρονίσκου λέγουσιν) it was said to be the work of Sokrates' workshop, which prompted an ancient scholiast to suggest that this was the reason that Aristophanes mentions them here. It would seem likely, if the attribution of such a prominent public work is true. It might even have been his private dedication.

A further reason may be inferred from the earlier poet's added comment that, "*from their sparkling eyes trickled disarming Love*" (or what we might term their 'melting gaze'?). It is the kind of erudite allusion which a sophisticated audience might have been expected to spot. But, it may simply be acknowledgment that the old codger's wheeze is an elegant and inspired solution from a scientific standpoint. Aristophanes observes that the Graces are the source of beauty, e.g. the fragrance of fine perfume, in *Εἰρήνη* 40-1.

οἶμ(οι)

In tragedy, this exclamation denotes anger or grief, but in comic drama it is sometimes introduced as an expression of shock or surprise.

774. **πεντετάλαντος**

'Sokrates' had suggested that the case brought against the old man might be worth an enormous sum of money. If he had used the word πεντετάλαντος in line 758, Strepsiades' comment would lose its humour. He is not concerned with the potential cost of the court-case; instead, we understand that he is relieved to have avoided the crushing *weight* of the trial (cf. 876).

διαγέγραπταί μοι δίκη

This was the legal term for having a case struck off before it comes to trial. Normally, it would mean that the plaintiff had withdrawn the complaint (possibly as a result of prior settlement) or failed to appear, but it could also result from the case being frustrated if his witnesses had not come forward on time (cf. 782). Records of lawsuits were stored in part of the Βουλευτήριον known as the Μητρῷον (a word still used in state offices for their records department). Athenaios (9.407 β-γ) tells a tall tale about Alkibiades going to the public records office there to expunge a written record of a suit brought against Hegemon the comic-poet, by wetting his finger and smearing the ink. That story may have originated in another comic scene.

775. **ταχέως**

The instructor turns up the pressure on his student, telling him to answer without lengthy consideration.

776. **ἀποστρέψαι(ο) ἂν**

Hall and Geldart print Meineke's elided middle verb found in the late codex Neapolitanus, but Dover and subsequent editors accept the reading of the principal codices **ἀποστρέψαις ἂν**. This is a contracted form of the regular optative –ειας (cf. 759, ἀφανίσειας), which Aristophanes seems to employ when metrically convenient (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 572, ἐλεήσαις 726, οὐκ ἂν δικάσαις). There is something to be said, nevertheless, for ἀποτρέψαις ('deflect'), printed in the Aldine edition.

ἀντιδικῶν

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the nominative present participle of a verb and a genitive plural of a noun, ἀντιδίκων (V), as e.g. in *Σφῆκες* 1537, τρυγῳδῶν. Here the consensus is that the old man is to imagine that he is "*answering a charge*".

777. **μέλλων ὀφλήσειν**

Understand ὀφλήσειν <δίκην>, i.e. he is "*about to lose the case*" (cf. 34).

μὴ παρόντων μαρτύρων

The negative μή is used because the genitive absolute is causal, "*since the witnesses have not shown up*". [Prostitutes at seaports are notorious thieves. They could rob their seafaring clients knowing full well that by the time the charge of theft came up in court the plaintiff would be back at sea and unable to appear as witness. Court cases in presentday Athens often seem to be drawn out by delaying tactics in the hope that key witnesses will be unavailable in the end.] Here, 'Sokrates' proposes a case in which Strepsiades is the respondent who relies on witnesses to rebut the plaintiff's claim.

778. **εἰπὲ δή**

'Sokrates' shows his impatience.

καὶ δὴ λέγω

Strepsiades plays for time.

780. **πρὶν**...**καλεῖσθ(αι)**

He will hang himself before the archon gets round to calling his case (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1441, ἕως ἂν τὴν δίκην ἄρχων καλῇ).

τρέχων

Dover notes that, although a past participle would be logical here, common usage seems to have allowed a present participle. He compares 1212 εἰσάγων σε...ἑστιᾶσαι (where late-Byzantine texts have introduced εἰσαγαγὼν) and *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 828, συκοφαντήσεις τρέχων (cf. 845).

783. **ὑθλεῖς**

After his benign reception of Strepsiades' previous schemes, εὖ γε (757) and σοφῶς γε (773), 'Sokrates' dismissive response is unexpected The explanation for this seems to be that, although the resort to magic and the burning-glass were impractical, they showed lateral thinking and theoretically attained the desired result. Indeed, 'Sokrates' own σοφίσματα were shown to be of this kind. The final problem, however, was not solved 'scientifically', because it meant simply 'cutting off his nose to spite his face'.

διδάξαιμ(ι) ἄν

Many editors have chosen to retain the reading of the codices here, διδαξαίμην, to avoid the repetition of ἄν. However, it requires us to ignore the force of the middle voice ("*I would not have you taught*") and as the only sense possible here is the active voice, Elmsley rightly concluded, that the codices' reading was a 'correction' of διδάξαιμ' ἄν. In fact, Aristophanes does sometimes repeat ἄν within a clause for emphasis or for metrical convenience (cf. 977).

784. **ναί, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν**

Hermann noticed that the Ravenna ms. has a sigma after ναι, which led him to surmise that the text might originally have read ναί **σε** (ἱκετεύω), **πρὸς θεῶν** and that when the pronoun fell out, the definite article was inserted to make up for the missing syllable. As one needs to understand σε ἱκετεύω in any case, he may well be right. But, compare 696 where the pronoun is sacrificed and 1102.

788. **τίς ἦν ἐν ᾗ ᾽ματτόμεθα**

The received text makes adequate sense, "*what was that feminine object in which we were grinding away at our barley*?" But, it seems unlikely that a countryman would have forgotten the word for a utensil in daily use (although, some of us oldsters do!). To be sure, the present tense, "*what was it we customarily use*…" seems even less likely than the imperfect for just this reason. Moreover, later on (1247) he has no difficulty recalling the common, household object (cf. 1248). Consequently, instead of portraying the sad, mental fumbling of the old man, the dramatist may have been aiming at reviving a jibe at one of his main, contemporary targets, Kleonymos. Recalling what had been said earlier, he might have written **τίς ἦν**; **τίς ἀνεμάττετο μέντοι τα ἄλφιτα**; "*Who was it*? *Who was the one kneading his barley-corns*?"

790. **γερόντιον**

The diminutive form could be taken derisively ("*little, old man*"), but as 'Sokrates' does not exit at once, it may be rather an expression of weary resignation.

791. **τί οὖν...πείσομαι;**

His question, "*To what shall I succumb*?" invites the answer, 'Old age and death'. But, he imagines 'a fate worse than death', i.e. poverty (cf. Theognis 173-80).

792. **μὴ μαθὼν**

This phrase seems to me causal rather than conditional ("*since I have not learned*…"), cf. 777.

γλωττοστροφεῖν

Strepsiades coins a verb which, according to Hesychios, had a more pejorative sense than just 'working the tongue'. He defined it as περιλαλεῖν καὶ στωμύλλεσθαι – 'to chatter and twitter'.

793-8.

Strepsiades is at his wit's end. He implores the Chorus to help him and they suggest that his best hope is to enrol his son in the school. Their response is oracular, since like practised clairvoyants, they know that he has an adolescent son.

While this consultation takes place 'Sokrates' remains on stage. Dover visualizes him drawing attention to himself with various comic gestures, since he considers that Aristophanes portrays him as a clown (at 803, he would have him "*jigging with pleasure*"). However, the text offers no support for his conjecture, so I see him rather as standing apart in imitation of the Clouds aloof demeanour as their high priest.

799. **σὺ δ(ὲ) ἐπιτρέπεις;**

The opening of the line is traditionally assigned to the Chorus (or its leader). But it is clear from the next speech of Strepsiades that 'Sokrates' is still on stage, and as we have seen, he is a strict disciplinarian. So, it seems logical to give this incredulous comment to him.

εὐσωματεῖ...σφριγᾷ

Not only does Pheidippides "*have a good physique*" but now "*he is in peak condition*". The latter verb is used of well-developed muscles (and pneumatic female breasts) that bulge. This information will take on particular relevance later.

800. εὐπτέρων τῶν Κοισύρας

This appears to be a unique instance of the adjective ("*having fine feathers*") being used metaphorically of women. Aristophanes frequently compares aristocratic Athenians to birds, either for their mannered gait (cf. 362) or their stuck-up poses. Later on, in *Ὄρνιθες* (285-6) the women who pluck out Kallias's feathers are presumably just reducing his wealth, but here the women's *plumage* seems to address their extravagant attire (51, κρόκου). The adjective may have been chosen to suggest that he was about to say, ruefully, εὐπατείρων.

The father's comment is probably intended as a reminder that Pheidippides' education would have had a non-intellectual bias. The traditional upbringing of the sons of the nobility laid emphasis on social skills for participation in symposia, and physical fitness necessary for military service and athletic games. The mention of Koisyra may suggest too that he was μαμμό- (or μαμμή-) θρεπτος, 'mollycoddled', under his mother's thumb.

Dover has preferred the reading of the codex Venetus, καὶ Κοισύρας (the Ravennas has neither τῶν nor καὶ), but most manuscripts give the reasonable sense "*those women who take after or are descended from Koisyra*". The Ambrosianus (K) actually includes an explanatory τῶν ἀπὸ. Dover's insistence on the boy being the progeny 'of snooty women *like* Koisyra', based on the analogies he offers, would require us to assume the ellipse of the definite article καὶ <τῆς> Κοισύρας (cf. 325); possible but unlikely.

802. οὐκ ἐσθ' ὅπως οὐκ

The doubled negative makes for a vehement asseveration (cf. 123).

803. εἰσελθὼν

An imperative in the singular must be addressed to 'Sokrates', telling him "*give me a moment, I won't be long*". The addition of the participle suggesting that he go inside to wait is tantamount to a stage-direction in a script (cf. 843).

Choral Song (Ὠδή) 804-13 (Antistrophe)

At this point, the Chorus strike up the second part of their choral ode, the *antistrophe* which complements initially (804-9) their earlier *strophe* (700-6). The lack of lines in the strophe corresponding with 810-13 may be due, as Dover suggests (p. 187) to the intentional deletion of the strophe's original ending during revision without it being replaced. But its omission through damage or copyist's error seems more likely than the poet's own oversight.

804-7.

According to Sommerstein (and Henderson concurs) the opening lines are again addressed to the old man as he hurriedly leaves the stage. This is the interpretation of Landfester (1975). But, although the Chorus often imitate tragic-convention in addressing protagonists as they enter or leave the stage, they do not try to interrogate them in their absence, even rhetorically. Instead, they generally reflect on the absentee in a way intended to steer the audience's response (cf. 510-1, i.e. 'Brave, isn't he?'). But, if Strepsiades is the addressee is to begin with, then the ὅδ(ε) of 806 could only be 'Sokrates', who is certainly in no mood to do *whatever he is told* by the old man. Therefore, I take the traditional view that the Chorus is speaking to the silent figure of 'Sokrates' throughout the ode. They are warning him that what is going to happen will be entirely their doing, so he need not blame the other gods. The one who, due to his desperate situation, is willing to comply with any instruction is surely the aged farmer.

'Sokrates' is on stage gazing after Strepsiades as he goes to fetch Pheidippides, doubtless hoping that he has seen the last of a pest. The audience is left to wonder whether the son will yield to his father's threats and about the likelihood of 'Sokrates' succeeding with a more malleable student if he does.

804. ἆρ(α) αἰσθάνει;

A rhetorical question equivalent to saying, "*you do appreciate, of course*…"

πλεῖστα...ἀγάθ(α)

It is the gods who confer ἀγάθα ('blessings') on mankind, leaving aside the less welcome 'acts of God'.

806. ἕτοιμος…ὅδε

The Chorus have used the same adjective to characterize Strepsiades earlier (458). The demonstrative is used to indicate the departing figure.

808. ἐκπεπληγμένου

The participle is indicative of mental turmoil and can cover a range of feelings from shock to admiration. As the old man has made it clear that he fears imminent bankruptcy, we may safely interpret his state of mind as one of desperation, and translate "*overcome by anxieties*".

809. φανερῶς ἐπηρμένου

Strepsiades has demonstrated that he is in awe of his teacher.

810. ἀπολάψεις

The *Σοῦδα* reads ἀπολέψεις and though the reading ἀπολαύσεις is found in some inferior mss., the ancient commentators accepted this unique instance of the verb ἀπολάπτω, used of an animal 'lapping up' water with its tongue. It is a coarse image which reflects harshly on 'Sokrates', who up till now has appeared to be in good standing with the Clouds. Either it is a mistake, or the Clouds are threatening to turn stormy.

813. ἑτέρᾳ τρέπεσθαι

Situations such as this "*are turned in a different direction*" i.e. go awry.

Επεισοδιον 814-888

814. μὰ τὴν Ὁμίχλην

Strepsiades applies his own logic to a half-remembered detail of 'Sokrates' instruction and decides that ground-mist must share in the Clouds' divine nature (cf. 323).

The line is copied in *Σφῆκες* (1442) with only the deity changed, which suggests that it may be parodying a line from tragic-drama.

ἐνταυθοῖ

Scribes regularly write ἐνταυθοῖ as a metrically-convenient synonym for ἐνταῦθα (e.g. Kratinos frg. 39). But, where direction is lacking, it would be tempting to write ἐνταυθί.

815. τοὺς Μεγακλέους κίονας

Pheidippides had boasted that his grandfather would look after him if necessary, so Strepsiades takes him up on the idea and tells him to go and bring about the economic downfall of his wife's relatives through his expenditure, as, if "*the roof-supports of Megakles*" were to be eroded, then his house would collapse. The comic dramatists would often suggest that lavish spending was impoverishing some of the greatest families, but their mockery seems exaggerated, becasue there is little evidence that the wealthy ever *ran aground on the reef of luxury* as later writers often supposed. Though the phrase ἔσθιε...τοὺς...κίονας is clearly metaphorical, the reference to columns suggests that Megakles' town house was quite imposing. Internal columns were normally only found in the temples of the gods or public stoas. The reference may have been occasioned by some recent addition to it, perhaps a grandiose portico, inspired by the recently completed Propylaia. On the other hand, it may simply be a playful allusion to the Ἡρακλέους κίονες, or what Herodotos (4.42) calls the Ἡρακλέας στήλας.

816. ὦ δαιμόνιε

He had used the same exclamation of polite annoyance when he was rudely awoken earlier (cf.38).

819. τὸν Δία νομίζειν

Opinion is divided regarding Valckenaer's proposal to replace the accusative τὸν of the codices with the neuter τὸ. Sommerstein deduces from the scholia that the text used by Symmachos may have lacked an article altogether and this prompts him to adopt the emendation. Although Δία could stand alone without a definite article, it is a little surprising that the poet saw fit to dispense with the pronoun altogether. The straightforward indicative (τὸν Δία νομίζεις…τηλικουτοσί) might have been better. But, as the traditional reading is not obviously weaker than the proposed emendation, I would be tempted to insert the pronoun, at least, i.e. τὸν Δία <εἶναι> νομίζειν, **σ**(ε) ὄντα τηλικουτονί (as Thomas Magister appears to have done).

821. φρονεῖς ἀρχαϊϊκά

As Dover notes, the second syllable must scan long whether we print –αι– or –α–. The old man mocks the younger man for being 'an old fuddy-duddy'.

823-4. **ὃ μαθὼν...μηδένα**

'Sokrates' (and his doorman) have succeeded in impressing upon Strepsiades the arcane nature of the new cosmological-theological science, so that in maintaining that this knowledge "*will make a man of*" his son he invites comparison with the Mysteries where the initiands 'came of age' through their ritual initiation. Furthermore, the information acquired in secret must be kept secret (in case anyone is tempted to ridicule it).

The codices read ὃ σὺ μαθὼν, but Hermann recognized that the personal pronoun was a gloss included in error.

827. **οὐκ ἔστιν...Ζεύς**

He seems to be saying, "*Zeus doesn't exist*", because this is what 'Sokrates' had taught him (cf. 367), but from what follows it will become clear that, although he accepts the new divine order, he still clings to an entrenched belief in the existence of Zeus (cf. 2). So, we have to take him to be saying οὐ βασιλεύει Ζεύς, or perhaps just, οὐκ(ἔτι) ἐστιν Ζεύς, "*Zeus is not around anymore*". The Ravenna codex has οὐκένεστιν.

ἀλλὰ τίς;

Pheidippides' response implies that his father has just stated that 'Zeus does not rule us anymore', rather than simply denied the god's very existence. "*Well, who does exist*?" (Sommerstein, Henderson) is not the likely come back to 'Zeus doesn't exist'. Hermann recognized the awkwardness of the reply and proposed having the whole line spoken by the father with the indefinite pronoun τις, i.e. "*but some* <deity> *exists*". The result may be 'frigid' (Dover), but it shows attention to the text.

828. ἐξεληλακώς

The sense of ἐξελαύνειν here is 'to banish' or 'to send into exile'.

830. **Σωκράτης ὁ Μήλιος**

The interpretation offered by the ancient commentators was that the old farmer conflates Sokrates' views on religion with the doctrines of another contemporary teacher, Diagoras of Melos, a reputed atheist. This assumption is universally accepted and, according to Dover, there can be "*little doubt*" about its accuracy. But, it is surprising that the old man is sufficiently up-to-speed on current theological debate, when up till now we have had no reason to suspect such intellectual ability. It is possible that Aristophanes wanted to equate the Sokratics' questioning of a traditional divine order with the more extreme views of the Melian philosopher, but if so Strepsiades makes an unlikely mouthpiece. Moreover, since this off-hand comment seems to be the first reference to Diagoras in extant literature, it is also questionable whether he was yet sufficiently notorious for the audience to automatically make the connection with him. For an alternative view, see Appendix 8.

831. **Χαιρεφῶν, ὃς οἶδε...ἴχνη**

This line gives us an explanation for the alteration to the text of 143. Some ancient editor considered that, since Chairephon 'knows about fleas', it must have been Sokrates who had asked him the question earlier. But, the questions coming from Chairephon reveal his interest in and knowledge of insects. It is Sokrates, however, who has shown him how practical physics can underpin his entomological studies. Strepsiades has got it right for once.

833. **ἀνδράσιν...χολῶσιν**

Pheidippides should probably be thought of as expressing not only the opinion of upper-class youth, but also possibly that of conservatively-religious spectators. He does not vilify the 'Sokratic' circle for their "*bilious*" teaching or their "*bile-sickness*". In fact, 'Sokrates' demeanour so far, apart from sending the old nuisance 'to the Devil' on occasion, has been remarkably restrained and although Sokrates' real-life pupils Antisthenes and Aischines were certainly very caustic in their writings later on, the comment here is critical of the Sokratics for 'arousing the bile' of others. It is a reaction all-too-easy to comprehend, for who has not felt the urge to toss a book at 'Sokrates' at some point, while attempting to make sense of a Platonic dialogue?

εὐστόμει

Strepsiades will not hear a bad word said against his alma mater (cf. 105).

835. **ὑπὸ τῆς φειδωλίας**

The 'country bumpkin' Strepsiades, son of Φείδων, ('Thrifty') makes a virtue out of the anti-social habits of the philosophers. But, what they would call 'asceticism', he attributes to 'frugality' and the audience to 'tight-fistedness'.

836. **ἀπεκείρατ(ο)**

Members of the horse-riding fraternity like Pheidippides let their hair grow quite long but kept it trimmed and tidy, whereas intellectuals like the Sokratics and the poet Hieronymos (349) never saw the inside of a barber's shop.

838. **καταλόει...τὸν βίον**

The verb seems to be a contracted form of καταλούει, second person singular of the middle voice, which Sommerstein, taking reflexively, translates "*you squander my livelihood by washing yourself as if I were dead*". This interpretation goes back at least to Hickie, "*you squander my property in bathing as if I were already dead*". Their idea seems to be that, as a countryman Strepsiades is accusing his city-dwelling son of washing too much. This suggests to him that he wants him dead, because when someone died relatives undertook ritual purification to avoid μίασμα. It's an interesting view, but overburdens the text, requiring us to take τὸν βίον in apposition, i.e. 'you are washing yourself in respect of my livelihood'. In any case, it is the corpse which is ritually washed against the spread of death's pollution.

But, we may be trying to read too much into of the verb just because Strepsiades has been speaking of the Sokratics lack of bathing. The participle λουσόμενος is used concretely but καταλόει may be used only in a metaphorical sense. If we give the middle voice an active meaning we can dispense with the whole idea of 'washing yourself', which was not an expensive pastime anyway, and keep the metaphor (Blaydes has, in fact, proposed emending to the active καταλόεις) which gives good sense, "*you are completely washing away my livelihood*". The expression is reminiscent of his earlier play on 'rubbing down a horse' (33) and being 'cleaned out'. We might say that his son is 'pouring money down the drain', as if he had come into his inheritance already. There are frequent references in comedy to heirs running through their inheritance by prodigal expenditure.

840. **τί δ(ὲ) ἂν...τις ἄν**;

Not, 'what could anyone learn?' but "*could one learn anything*?" In the comparatively rare instances that the indefinite pronoun is the initial word in a phrase it is accentuated. As was the case in 729, I would be inclined to accentuate barytone (**τὶ**).

841. **ἄληθες;**

If this is a question, it can be taken ironically (as Henderson) "*Are you serious*?" But, I would treat it here as an affirmation (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1223, which is usually assumed to be interrogative too). Although there may be instances which justify a question mark (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 1412), such irony will usually follow a statement (e.g. *Βάτραχοι* 840), not another question. Here, at least, I would print **ἀληθές·**

ὅσαπέρ ἐστ(ι) ἐν

Sommerstein records the many variants, including this reading (E, Θ) and ὅσα πάρεστιν (R), but like him I would follow Dover in printing **ὅσαπέρ ἐστιν** (as corrected in E), which Dover supports with reference to *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 873 and *Πλοῦτος* 144-5, εἴ τί γ' ἐστὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ καλὸν ἢ χαρίεν ἀνθρώποισι.

842. **γνώσει δὲ σαυτὸν**

His admonition is probably intended to reflect actual Sokratic teaching. According to Pausanias (10.24.1), the dictum «Γνῶθι σαυτὸν» was inscribed on the porch of Apollo's temple at Delphi (ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς). It was plainly a piece of traditional wisdom which was ascribed to almost every pre-Sokratic sage. That Sokrates considered it to be a fundamental axiom is evident from the number of references to it by Xenophon and Plato. This line may be taken as evidence that he used it to expand on his view that one knows nothing about a subject until it has been examined with 'learning and subtle thought' (μάθησις καὶ λεπτότης, cf. 153, 230, 359, 741) and that little of what we choose to believe has been properly examined.

ἀμαθὴς εἶ καὶ παχύς

Strepsiades is endeavouring to persuade his son that he will benefit from studying under 'Sokrates' and so calling him 'ignorant and thick' would hardly be tactful. Instead, he tells him that he "*lacks both learning and subtlety*" (παχύς being for him the opposite of λεπτός).

843.

He repeats himself almost verbatim, cf. 803.

ἐνταυθοῖ
As in 814, one would be tempted to write ἐνταυθί, since no motion is indicated.
844-6.
Pheidippides wonders aloud what to make of his father's new-found beliefs. His speech serves to occupy the time needed for Strepsiades to leave the stage and re-emerge with a slave holding the two caged birds.
845. παρανοίας...εἰσαγαγὼν ἕλω
He considers whether he should "*bring him up <before the authorities> on a charge of insanity and have him sectioned*" (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1207, εἶλον διώκων λοιδορίας – "*I pursued him on a charge of abuse and won <the case>*").
The aorist participle is logical but may be the result of 'correction'. In 1212 the present participle εἰσάγων found in common usage has been altered to the aorist εἰσαγαγὼν in later Byzantine manuscripts (ΕΚΝΘ) and the Aldine edition. Here the alteration appears to have been made earlier. For the sake of consistency, perhaps one should read the present participle **εἰσάγων** here too. See also note on 780.
846. **τοῖς σοροπηγοῖς**
He is thinking ahead. His father's μανία, like that of Ajax, could lead to suicide, in which case he should be attending to the funeral arrangements. The σοροπηγοῖ were those who interred (πήγνυμι) the funerary urn or coffin (σορός). The allusion to the great warrior through the word μανία is casual but relevant, as the spectators were well-aware that 'the madness of Ajax' arose from his rejection of the Olympian gods. Sophokles, in one of his earlier works, had pointed the moral that the insanity of Ajax was due to Athena, as punishment for his refusal of her help (*Αἰάς* 762-77).
847. **τοῦτον τί ὀνομάζεις**;
Hall and Geldart have rightly adopted the reading suggested by Meineke, instead of τοῦτον τίνα νομὶζεις; the reading of the Laurentianus which Dover and subsequent editors have preferred. The majority of the codices actually have the deictic form τουτονὶ which led Reisig to suggest that the original text may have read τουτονὶ τί νομίζεις. But, the question being asked is not whether Pheidippides knows what a chicken is, only what name he gives it (cf. 681, περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων). Thus, Meineke's emendation to τί ὀνομάζεις seems necessary. I wonder, though, whether the confusion might simply have been caused by an unelided vowel in the first place and if perhaps the reading of the codices had derived from, **τουτονὶ τί** '**νομάζεις**?
In Comedy hiatus was permissible after the interrogative, but not mandatory. The emphatic, deictic form τουτονὶ appears preferable considering the antithesis with the next line.
848. **ταυτηνὶ δὲ τί**;
He indicates the hen in the other cage. The use of τί here militates against τίνα in 847.
849. ἄμφω ταὐτό;
Whether we read ὀνομάζεις or νομίζεις, the underlying question is τί ὄνομα ἔχει? To which it is logical to reply with the neuter singular, "*the same <noun>*". But most codices actually read ταὐτὸν, which appears to be responding with 'the same masculine <creature>' i.e. ἀλεκτρυόνα. This is certainly less satisfactory to our ears and has been readily dismissed as a false reading by modern editors (along with ταὐτὰ, found in K). However, it is worth noting that ταὐτό occurs only in two fourteenth-century manuscripts (Vs1, Θ) and it could be that ταὐτὸν was not seen as the masculine pronoun, but as the neuter, to which a paragogic νυ had been added before a kappa. This, admittedly rare, practice could perhaps justify the reading of the codices, but for the fact that the lengthened second syllable would turn the tribrach into a dactyl, which is inadmissible in the fourth foot of an iambic trimeter.
851.
He had trouble remembering the politician's name (788), but the renaming of farmyard animals has stuck.
853. **τοὺς γηγενεῖς**
As with the similar term Νυκτὸς παῖδα used in *Ὧραι* of Chairephon (frg. 584), the phrase "*sons of the Earth*" is ambiguous. Prima facie, it relates to the students' physical appearance, disshevelled and unshod like primitive people, just as Chairephon's paleness is attributed to his nocturnal habits. In fact, it may be aimed primarily at mocking the same pallor, as Plato (*Πρωταγ*. 2.18) uses it to mean 'ghosts of the dead'. On another level, however, the phrase points to the school's revolt against divine authority, as the actual 'Earth-born' were the race of Giants and the 'children of Night' were the Titans.
857. **καταπεφρόντικα**

The verb καταφροντίζω is not certainly attested elsewhere and so one cannot know for sure how it would have been understood by the audience. But, it seems likely that Aristophanes was attempting to play upon the use of the cloak in incubating thoughts. When Strepsiades was covered by the cloak he was being kept artificially in the dark in order to avoid distractions. Although he came up with some ideas eventually, the cloak was left back in the school. Pheidippides naturally assumes that it was stolen by other students, who had a reputation for helping themselves to unattended cloaks (cf. 179). But, as an acolyte of 'Sokrates' the ascetic he was ordered to enter the school γυμνός (cf. 497) and would be expected to switch from wearing his thick ἱμάτιον (cf. 54-5) to a threadbare τρίβων. He explains the change by saying that his concentrated thinking must have worn it away completely. Later, he will claim that it had in fact been stolen (cf. 1498).

858. **τὰς δ(ὲ) ἐμβάδας**

He implies that his father's hard-up fellow-students have stolen the old man's shoes.

859. **ὥσπερ Περικλέης**

Plutarch (*Περικλέους* 23) explains how, in the course their earlier campaign against Euboia (cf. 213), the Athenians had been forced to recall their troops hurriedly when the Spartan king Pleistoanax brought up an army of Peloponnesians to threaten Attika. On that occasion Perikles managed to avoid clash of arms by 'diplomatic' means, which involved the transfer of a sizable sum of public money to the king and his chief counsellor. In rendering his accounts for the year Perikles entered an amount to cover "*necessary expenditure*" and under such critical circumstances, no questions were asked.

861. **πιθόμενος**

The codices read **πειθόμενος** which is unobjectionable metrically and which Dover prints. But in the next line the same form would not scan. So, as Strepsiades is correlating two parallel actions, he is presumably using the same form in both lines and we should read πιθόμενος as found in the *Σοῦδα* and recommended by Bentley. But, while the aorist is suitable for the imperative it is not ideal for the participle.

ἐξάμαρτε

As we understand from Teiresias' observation in Sophokles' *Ἀντιγόνη* (1023-4, ἀνθρώποισι γὰρ τοῖς πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστι τοὐξαμαρτάνειν) "*all have sinned…*" The verb applied primarily to a contravention of divine ordinance, but, in urging Pheidippides to "*commit a sin*", Strepsiades is only asking him to break his own principles, saying in effect 'I'm not asking you to sin against the gods!' But, at the same time, his choice of words does not reflect well on the school's religious piety.

κἀγώ τοί ποτε

Dover cites the same opening phrase from Sophokles' *Φιλοκτήτης* (801), which suggests that the old man is making an impassioned plea in the style of a tragic-hero, elevating the tone perhaps [as in Blake's line, "*And did those feet in ancient time*."] But his plea actually descends into bathos, so that instead of καίτοι ἐγώ ποτε we might read καὶ ἐγώ **σοί** ποτε, since the pronoun may have been misplaced (see next line).

862. **οἶδ(α)**

This word seems to have little bearing on sense and syntax and, despite efforts to absorb it into the text by a kind of asyndeton, it really only plays a supporting role as a grammatical parenthesis equivalent perhaps to, 'I recall how'.

ἐξέτει

The adjective ἐξέτης is in the dative to agree with σοί. Chionides (frg. 3) used ἑπτέτης ('seven-year old').

τραυλίσαντι

The participle is not mere padding. It is the key to much of the subsequent humour of the scene as well as being a subtle link to ridicule of an aristocratic affectation (cf. 872, and *Σφῆκες* 44, εἶπε...τραυλίσας).

πιθόμενος

Here, the codices (and the *Σοῦδα* and Zonaras) agree on the present participle which gives neither the best sense nor good scansion. Accordingly, all modern editors adopt the emendation πιθόμενος, found only in the codex Laurentianus. This mends the metre but does little for the sense, since a main verb only appears in 864. I am unwilling to wait that long. Consequently, I suggest that we remedy the dislocation and mend the sense by reading κἀγώ **σοί** ποτε / **οὐδ(ὲ)** ἐξέτει **πω**, τραυλίσαντι (**ἐ**)**πειθόμην** – "*And I once*, *when you were not yet even six years old*, *used to hearken to your lisping plea*". In this way, we retain the assonance of the dipthong (πειθόμενος / ἐπειθόμην) in the correlation, while emphasizing the present and past tenses that the antithesis requires.

Xenophon expresses the fact that Ischomachos's wife was "*just fourteen*" when she joined his household, ἢ ἔτη μὲν οὔπω πεντεκαίδεκα γεγονυῖα (*Οἰκονομικός* 7.5).

863. **πρῶτον ὀβολὸν**

As Sommerstein correctly notes, this does not mean that his pay as a juryman had formerly been only one obol, nor does it imply that the ἁμαξίς cost him that amount. He simply means that once he had a little bit of disposable income from jury service (at three obols per diem) he disbursed his first pay liberally on his child. Furthermore, if we assume that Pheidippides was five years-old some thirteen years before, then we can infer that Strepsiades had ceased farming at that time in order to devote himself to juryservice.

ἡλιαστικόν

The adjective, which should be unaspirated (**ἡλιαστικόν**), is mostly used, like ἐκκλησιαστικός, to denote pay for a member of the Eliaia for attending a law-court.

864. **τούτου (ἐ)πριάμην σοι**

The genitive represents value, which translates as, "*with this I bought for you*" (cf. 758, πέντε ταλάντων).

Διασίοις

Perhaps, this was the occasion of his accident with the stuffed tripe (408)?

ἁμαξίδα

So Pheidippides' love of racing chariots started at an early age; perhaps his father should have ignored his request and given him a chemistry-set instead? The gift here may have been a little cart in which he could 'race' with a young friend to provide the horse-power, or it may have been a model (with a model horse). A scholiast thought that it could have been a cake shaped like a chariot, but this may be merely an attempt to make a connection with the feast associated with the 'Diasia'. In fact, a tradition of giving gifts to small children could have been the solution found to the problem of keeping the bothersome brats occupied and away from the dangers of the barbeque and exploding tripe.

865. **ἦ μὴν σὺ**

Pheidippides gives in with bad grace, but suggests that his father's current elation will sour in due course (cf. 1242).

866. **ὅτι ἐπείσθης**

Strepsiades is relieved that his son has caved (albeit reluctantly). The poet repeats the assonance between indicative verb and participle with ἀναπείσας (868).

868. **νηπύτιος**

The interview gets off on the wrong foot, when 'Sokrates' notes the immaturity of the prospective pupil. Aristophanes does not use the word elsewhere and it is not clear whether it implies anything more than νήπιος. The context suggests that it may have meant "*practically a minor*" (or 'he's young for his age').

869-70. **τῶν κρεμαθρῶν οὔπω τρίβων**

The obscurity of the first line has raised doubts about the text. Having made a slighting comment on the son's immaturity, 'Sokrates' attempts to justify his remark, but he draws a bad-tempered retort from the unhappy Pheidippides. One feels that the explanation offered by 'Sokrates' has been fashioned simply to justify an elaborate pun; that it is no more than an irrelevant lead-in to the word-play. Accordingly, there is a consensus recently to read κρεμαστῶν for κρεμαθρῶν and to take 'Sokrates' to be making a nautical reference to 'ships' rigging'. Certainly, one could expect that the audience would be well-acquainted with naval jargon, but there seems no good reason why 'Sokrates' would use it here, other than to facilitate the translation of the pun into English. It is tempting to assume that he is objecting to Pheidippides' ignorance of *the ropes*, because that works well for us, but it makes for a rather feeble justification of his comment. Consequently, we should perhaps be looking to find more relevance from the κρεμαθρῶν of the codices. Rogers' translation attempts to do so and although "*suspension-wonders*" is not quite what we need, he points us in the direction of the basket (τῆς κρεμάθρας, in which 'Sokrates' first appeared) as the source of this disquiet (cf. 218), and a metaphor for the school's μετεωρολογία.

Incidentally, Bentley is responsible for replacing οὐ with οὔπω which would hint at 'Sokrates' intention to take the young man as his pupil. But, the simple negative is quite adequate because we have ἔτι in the previous line already.

αὐτὸς τρίβων

The word-play here arises from the ambiguity of τρίβων which in the first line was an adjectival participle meaning "*well-versed in*" or "*well-practised*", but now as a noun refers to "*a thin (or threadbare) cloak*". As we have seen, 'Sokrates' and his students are 'Spartan' in their habits. They eat frugally (if at all) and dress plainly, in thin cloaks, regardless of the weather (cf. Demosthenes 54.34, Λακωνίζειν καὶ τρίβωνας ἔχειν). Sokrates' attire is confirmed by Plato (*Συμπόσιον* 219β) and the tendency of Antisthenes to carry his master's example to extremes is illustrated by a comic anecdote preserved by Diogenes Laërtios (6.8) which parallels this passage (στρέψαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ διερρωγὸς τοῦ τρίβωνος εἰς τὸ προφανές, Σωκράτης ἴδών φησιν, « ὁρῶ σου διὰ τοῦ τρίβωνος τὴν φιλοδοξίαν »).

The pun which at first strikes us as somewhat forced can now be seen as carefully-engineered by the poet, for it makes clear the connection between the thin fabric of the 'γυμνοί' philosophers and the close-weave fabric of Strepsiades' own ἱμάτιον (cf. 54), which he imagined as having become more 'philosophical' as a result of his thorough cogitation (857).

εἰ κρέμαιό γε

He is suggesting that if 'Sokrates' were to be hung up, i.e. 'held up to the light', people would see him for what he really was, like his own cloak (hung up to dry), which was almost thin enough to see through (cf. the "*poseurs*" or "*charlatans*" in 102).

871. **καταρᾷ σὺ**

Aristophanes felt that Strepsiades' intervention was important enough to interrupt the wordplay and it will in fact give the young man an opportunity later (1467) to make good on his promise (865).

872. **ἰδοὺ κρέμαι(ο)**, **ὡς**

'Sokrates' responds to the boy's mockery by mocking his childish pronunciation. According to the text of the codices he repeats Pheidippides' words ἰδοὺ «κρέμαιό γε», ὡς…which would be fine if it scanned, but there is one syllable too many. So, editors adopt Bentley's truncated version, dropping the particle γε. The possible alternative of writing ἰδού γε κρέμαι' would make sense (cf. 818), but would not mimic the boy's words, whereas transposing the imperative would do, i.e. **κρέμαιό γ(ε)**, **ἰδοὺ** (ὅ)**πως** ἠλίθιον ἐφθέγξατο. In fact, if the poet had written **ἰδού γ(ε) ὡς**, it would help account for the transposition.

As the form of the verb appears regular, one must assume that the actors' delivery produced the necessary affectation. But, in other cases of mispronunciation, there are usually good grounds for suspecting that the spelling of the text was altered to reflect the wordplay (cf. 394, 881). In *Σφῆκες*, where a parallel instance of lisping occurs (see below), it is signified by the change of -ρ- to -λ- (despite the efforts of some ancient editors to correct it). So, here, one may surmise that the word κρέμαιό would have been written originally as **κλέμαιό**, both here and in 870.

Why does Aristophanes decide to portray the son as a lisping teenager? After all, he is not five-years-old any more and the pun in the previous lines works well enough without the additional speech impediment. It appears that the idea was introduced merely to justify the Master's original comment on the boy's lack of maturity. But, the poet probably had an ulterior motive. In fact, the 'lisp' may well have been the spark which ignited the whole comic scene, for there was another young man with a pronounced 'lisp' who was prominent in Athenian society and the butt of Aristophanes the following year in *Σφῆκες*. Alkibiades was notorious for affecting an arrogant 'drawl' and it was the comedian's mockery of this affectation (*Σφῆκες* 44-6) which misled later commentators (cf. Plutarch *Ἀλκιβιάδης* 1) into treating it as a speech impediment (one inherited by his son!). The audience would recall that Alkibiades' mother Deinomache was cousin to Pheidippides' mother.

873. **χείλεσιν διερρυηκόσιν**

The verb διαρρέω is taken to mean 'slacken' and 'to gape', but the idea of total flux which the compound literally implies (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1156, πρὶν διερρυηκέναι – "*before I have dissolved completely*") could better be conveyed in this instance perhaps by "*slobbering lips*".

874. **ποθ' οὗτος**

One might have expected τοιοῦτος, meaning "*someone who blubbers like he does*" (to point the finger at Alkibiades, perhaps), but 'Sokrates' tone is made to seem less strident.

ἀπόφυξιν

For all we know Aristophanes may have preferred the single vowel of the Ravenna codex, which Hall and Geldart retain. But, the word is formed from ἀποφεύγω and is better understood as **ἀπόφευξιν**, found in a speech of Antiphon (*περὶ τοῦ Ἡρῴδου φόνου* 66)

875. **κλῆσιν**

In a legal context the verb καλέω and its derivatives relate to "*initiating a prosecution*" or "*summoning a witness*".

χαύνωσιν ἀναπειστηρίαν

If the noun were used here in an anatomical sense (and the actor's gesture may suggest that it is), it would be translated as 'detumescence', but the context lends it a metaphorical sense which I understand to mean 'a gradual reduction in the hostility of the jury (through persuasion)'. A similarly ambiguous metaphor is used by the aged PhiloKleon in *Σφῆκες* 574, χἠμεῖς αὐτῷ τότε τῆς ὀργῆς ὀλίγον τὸν κόλλοπα ἀνεῖμεν, to describe the jury softening its stance against a defendant after a plea for leniency. There too, the metaphor seems to me to carry sexual overtones.

876. **καίτοι γε...τοῦτ(ο)**

This is the text found in the principal codices (RV), and the *Σοῦδα* seems to corroborate it, but manages to omit γε. Perhaps the particle does not belong, because it gives a foot in which there is a break between the first two short syllables (◡ | ◡ –). Accordingly, Dover and Henderson follow where the *Σοῦδα* led and drop γε altogether. It might, after all (as Wilson surmises), be merely an interloper from 878. Reisig, however, considered that the particle had been misplaced. He suggested emending τοῦτ(ο) to γ(ε) αὖτ(α), a solution which has won Sommerstein's support. In my view, the position of γε after ταλάντου is less attractive and it fulfils a useful purpose after καίτοι, so despite the slight metrical anomaly, I would stick with the main codices. On the other hand, Reisig's doubts about τοῦτ(ο) are reasonable and suggest to me that we could perhaps print **ταῦτ(α)** instead. See also 901.

ταλάντου

This is a very considerable fee and as Sommerstein's note leads one to conclude, a gross exaggeration. It helps make the point, however, that 'Sokrates' is mulling the thought that *at a price* one can achieve even the impossible. Dover takes the remark as a psychological tactic on the part of 'Sokrates', who is thinking about raising his fee, but I agree with Wilson's view that it is intended rather as a slighting comparison of Hyperbolos with the intellectually-challenged Pheidippides. As we shall find out, Strepsiades is not fazed at all by the fee that was required to train Hyperbolos for the courts, he is just intent on showing his son's unappreciated potential (cf. 774). The poet wishes us to understand that Hyperbolos had no natural gift for forensic speech, a point made again by Eupolis in *Μαρικᾶς* according to Quintilian, "*Maricas, qui est Hyperbolus, nihil se ex musice scire nisi litteras*" (1.10.18, "*Marikas, i.e. Hyperbolos, confesses that he is ignorant of literature except fot the letters of the alphabet*").

Sommerstein supposes that the comment can be taken to suggest that Hyperbolos was a pupil of Sokrates. But, it is merely an afterthought, tacked on to emphasize the poet's opinion that Hyperbolos's current pre-eminence in public speaking was the product of an expensive, private education. Sokrates, who was later reviled as the mentor of the oligarchic reactionaries would have been an unlikely tutor to a leading figure of the democratic opposition, who would become one of the junta's first victims in 411 B.C.

877. **δίδασκε**

The present tense is used when a process is involved, "*go ahead and teach <him>*" (cf. 18, 1107). The use of the aorist imperative for a complete action is shown in *Σφῆκες* 519, δίδαξον ἡμᾶς – "*explain to us*").

θυμόσοφός...φύσει

His son is "*naturally intelligent*", he insists. Like the tragic-actor Ariphrades in *Σφῆκες* who was (1280-2, θυμοσοφικώτατον...ἀπὸ σοφῆς φύσεος), he is self-taught; in other words, no teacher can be blamed.

878. **παιδάριον ὂν**

In a similar phrase in *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι*, the subject of the participle is neuter, μου τὸ παιδίον τυννοῦτον ὄν (744-5), but here the rightful participle ὢν has been assimilated to the neuter noun, perhaps by mistake. The most likely explanation is that we are meant to understand, <ὡς> παιδάριον, τυννουτονὶ ὄν.

τυννουτονὶ

Pheidippides is a strapping lad, so his father has to indicate with his hand how small he was (cf. 392, ἀπὸ γαστριδίου τυννουτουὶ).

879-81.
These childish activities are intended to demonstrate his son's precocious talents, but as they are confined to handicraft skills, the lack of any intellectual component to his upbringing is evident.
ἔπλαττεν ἔνδον οἰκίας
Recent translators have taken these words to mean that "*he moulded houses indoors*", but would he have moulded only houses, not horses? Any other child would have modelled snakes. If we were meant to see him as a budding architect, surely the poet would have written οἰκίδια? Rather, the genitive case shows us that ἔνδον is used as a preposition and the phrase signifies that, while he was still at home, even before he was sent away to school, Pheidippides was playing with plasticine. The verb itself contains the object, i.e. "*he used to make <clay> models*".
ναῦς τ(ε) ἔγλυφεν
'He also used to carve <wooden> boats', is a bold claim for a five-year-old. Viscount Hardinge of Lahore had carved a wooden boat for a friend as a first-year schoolboy of eleven or twelve, but leaving an infant alone with a chisel would not end well. What he probably has in mind is 'engraving the outline of a ship' on wood or soft stone with any sharp object to hand (cf. Herodotos 7.69.1, λίθος ὀξὺς πεποιημένος τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγῖδας γλύφουσι). Such ship graffiti are common among seafaring peoples, especially when they find themselves incarcerated with time on their hands.
880. **ἁμαξίδας τε σκυτίνας**
"*Little carts made of leather*" is the reading of the codices, which Naber suggested should read "*made of fig-wood*" (συκίνας). Neither material seems ideal for the purpose, and one wonders why he would refer to this particular kind of wood when carving carts and not for ships? So, I would retain the received text on the assumption that the child was turning leather <shoes> to new uses, for I can recall a time when my own tiny tots appropriated my slippers to serve as domestic steam trains. Besides, συκίνας would not have been altered to a less obvious adjective except by a very inept scribe. But West (1977) suggests the scribe had hastily written ἁμαξίδας (cf. 864) for the leather ἀναξυρίδας, trousers worn by oriental horsemen that are referred to by Herodotos (1.71.1). It certainly displays precocious talent in so young a child, but given Pheidippides' passion for all things equine, it cannot be altogether ruled out.
881. **κἀκ**...**βατράχους ἐποίει**
A child's imagination often seems boundless, but has anyone ever visualized exactly how frogs might be fashioned from pomegranates? Sommerstein supposes that the husk is meant, although the colour would be wrong unless it was unripe; and without head or legs the frog would not convince. But, in any case, τὰ σίδια must refer to the pomegranate's seeds, not its peel. Admittedly, my imagination dulled by the years cannot match that of a child, so the best I could fashion from its seeds would be **βοτρύχους**. The word is found in a fragment of the comic-poet Pherekrates (frg. 202, ὦ ξανθοτάτοις βοτρύχοισιν κομῶν – "*look at you with your ever-so blonde curls*!"), in place of βόστρυχος, which initially meant a 'vine-tendril', but here must mean a cluster of grapes. It is presumably used here because it is a child's way of pronouncing the awkward cluster of consonants. One would translate, "*he used to form bunches of 'gwapes' out of pomegranate seeds*". The regular spelling is used in 536 of a curl of hair. It is not possible to tell whether Pherekrates was plagiarising his fellow-poet or parodying Euripides, who dropped the σίγμα in this and related words when it suited his metre.
882. **ὅπως δ(ὲ)**...**μαθήσεται**
The usual construction of ὅπως with a future indicative in the second person, standing in place of a mild imperative, is illustrated later (1464). Here, the verb in the third person invites us to supply an imperative such as δίδασκε ("*teach <him> so he learns*…") from 877 or μέμνησο ("*mind that he learns*") from 887. At this point in the speech the ellipse is slightly awkward, but not out of the question for the inarticulate farmer. However, the particle δὲ makes me wonder whether we should perhaps consider writing **ὅμως** δὲ ...μαθήσεται ("*but all the same*, even if he is not academic material, *he shall learn*". The use of ὅμως can be seen at 587 (ἀλλ' ὅμως) and 1369 (ὅμως δὲ...ἔφην). Strepsiades may realize that his fond recollections have not impressed the stern teacher, and so he hurriedly tries another tack.
883. **ὅστις ἐστί**

This repetition of 113, coming just before the appearance of the two 'Arguments', is a reminder to us that Strepsiades sees little point in learning to put the *stronger* side of the argument (generally, that put by the plaintiff), because he will always be the one taken to court. Dover is right to make this phrase parenthetic.

884-5.

These two lines read better in reverse order,

ἐὰν δὲ μή, τὸν γοῦν ἄδικον πάσῃ τέχνῃ,
ὃς τ' ἄδικα λέγων ἀνατρέπει τὸν κρείττονα.

πάσῃ τέχνῃ

His voice becomes desperate as he insists that his son will learn forensic skill "*by any means necessary*" (cf. 1325). The couplet will prove to be prophetic.

τ(ὰ) ἄδικα λέγων

Recalling his words earlier (115, λέγοντά...τἀδικώτερα), he expresses optimism that the stronger side of the argument can be beaten.

Some scholars are unhappy with the break in the tribrach, to the extent that Reisig has even proposed that λέγων be transposed from its natural position, τ(ὰ) ἄδικ(α) ἀνατρέπει λέγων. But the slight anomaly does not justify the drastic cure.

886-7.

'Sokrates' gives way to the old man's pleas, but does not wish to get involved with another new pupil and abruptly takes his leave. His departure is as sudden and unexpected as his first appearance. We still have two-fifths of the drama remaining, but this is virtually the last we see of his character. His exit, like that of the doorman earlier, is probably due to the fact that the actor playing 'Sokrates' will shortly be required to assume another role (probably that of of the Ἄδικος Λόγος).

It has been noted by Gelzer (1960 p.15n.) that Pheidippides is admitted into the School without any of the ritual which was considered essential for his father's admission. Might this omission be a consequence of the poet's revision? Dover (xciv) is right to observe that the poet did not need to labour the joke and hold up the action (cf. note 662-3).

887-8. **τὰ δίκαι(α) ἀντιλέγειν**

As 'Sokrates' disappears back into the 'Thinking-shop' Strepsiades calls after him to remind him of the exact purpose for which he is sending his son to the school. His words will come back to haunt him later and he will understand the wisdom of the old adage 'Be careful what you wish for'. Then, he also exits the stage. It is generally assumed that, because he is addressed at the end of the debate (1105-6), he must have been on stage throughout the intervening period. But, whereas Pheidippides is required to remain to witness the debate, he is not, and the play's choregos would not have supported two 'unemployed' actors.

Choral Song (ὨΙδή)

With 'Sokrates' and Strepsiades gone, Pheidippides is left holding the stage, surrounded by the Clouds. In our texts the Ἀγών begins at once with the entry of the Δίκαιος Λόγος and, although exits and entries can be quite rapid in comic-drama, it has been surmised since antiquity that there was some kind of choral ode beforehand. A scholion to the main codices (RVE) comments that the text here included the word χοροῦ. It is inherently likely in any case that the Chorus would have wanted to clear their throats and stretch their legs before the debate proper began. We find just such a choral interlude in a comparable scene in *Σφῆκες* (526-47), in which just prior to the actual debate between Father and Son, the Chorus briefly considers the implications of a possible defeat. Like that scene, the choral ode here could have involved some exchange of remarks with the pessimistic Pheidippides; a short word of encouragement perhaps, before anticipating what kind of contest we are about to witness. Furthermore, there is a good, practical reason for expecting a choral intervention; that, since one at least of the two departing actors will have been needed to assume a role in the debate, the Chorus would have had to buy time for a costume or mask change. It is my view that the actors playing both 'Sokrates' and the old farmer re-emerge directly to undertake their new roles as the two opposing sides of the argument.

Dover argues (introduction, xciii) that there was indeed a choral ode, but it belonged to the first version of the play and that when Aristophanes revised the play he made radical changes to the nature of the debate, so that the ode was no longer pertinent. He says that since the ode, "*was unsuitable to the revised version*;

it was…removed…and…nothing was substituted." He bases his view on an ancient scholion which refers to the portrayal of the antagonists on stage as fighting cockerels in wicker cages (VE). This description is clearly at odds with the text we have and one explanation would be that it applied to the earlier version of the play. He holds too that the notation χοροῦ was customarily written in texts of Menandros to signify an interlude of song and dance, which was not composed by the poet himself, but could have been a kind of musical voluntary, extemporized to fill a technical break.

Although he takes the 'fighting cocks scholion' as evidence for the earlier version, Dover does also allow for the possibility that the reference to cockerels originated in the form of a metaphor used by the Chorus in the original version. This is surely a more likely explanation than having the duelling teachers brought on stage dressed as fowls. As Sommerstein notes (addenda p. xxii), the suggestion that they were carried on in wicker cages is probably just an inference from the caged birds brought on for Strepsiades (847). He adds that Revermann (2006, 213-7) has since argued that the scholion must derive from metaphorical use of fighting cocks in a choral ode, but that regardless of whether this occurred in the first version, it would certainly have been mentioned in some copy of our present text for the scholion to have been included. It is also worth considering the fact that *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* lacks many of the customary choral parts, but that the notation χοροῦ which occurs throughout the text may well indicate the deliberate omission of odes in copying rather than their absence from the original performance. After all, the main appeal of choral odes was their music and choreography and these were lost later to the ancient reader, just as much as they are to us.

Debate Preliminaries (Προ-αγών) 889-948

The metaphor of fighting cocks is amply justified by the entry of the antagonists, who are shown to be at loggerheads even before the debate is underway. They enter separately and dispense with civilities. There is no suggestion, however, that they are costumed (any more than the Chorus of jurors in *Σφῆκες* actually wears wasp-costumes). The Δίκαιος Λόγος is an older man, grey-haired and irascible. He is not unlike the old farmer himself and, in fact, he is wearing a cloak that looks suspiciously like the one Strepsiades left behind in the school. The Ἄδικος Λόγος is a younger man, but may be imagined as much the same age as 'Sokrates', although he is more fashionably-dressed and coiffed. I visualize that the reference to fighting cocks by the Chorus may have been reinforced by the actors' masks, giving them beaky noses perhaps or exaggerated crests of hair. [A modern performance might give the older man a 'Presidential *comb*-over' and the younger one a typical cox*comb* or hipster look.]

It is worth noting that both participants in the debate have come from the 'Thinking-shop'. Neither is the sole mouthpiece of 'Sokrates' or his teaching (cf. 112-3). They are figures representing the two opposing sides of every argument. From their names we understand that the poet himself takes the view that, while Right and Wrong may be considered in absolute terms by traditional religion, one often finds that making moral decisions is a matter of assessing the relative strength of two viewpoints (κρείττων / ἥττων). This appears to have been the Sokratic position. In the dialogues of Plato 'Sokrates' often seems ambivalent on a topic, since he encourages his interlocutors to look at both sides. But, for Aristophanes to have tried to imitate Sokratic dialectic on the stage would have been tedious, so he has found a neat solution, dividing the debate between two representative figures.

Translators have found various names for the antagonists. Rogers opted for 'Right Logic / Wrong Logic', Sommerstein and Henderson agree on 'Better / Worse Argument', as suggested by the text (883). But as it remains to be seen which side will prevail, I have preferred to emphasize the dichotomy of the debate into Δίκαιος and Ἄδικος, pitting "*the speaker with right on his side*" (ὁ Δίκαιος) against the one *without* right to support him, i.e. "*the speaker in the wrong*" (ὁ Ἄδικος).

The debate is conducted in anapaests, the same metre that is used in the poet's combative παράβασις.

889-90. χώρει δευρί

The first of two speakers bustles out of the school-gate with an air of confidence and turns to summon his adversary, who lags behind. The part could be undertaken by the actor who has been playing Strepsiades.

δεῖξον σαυτὸν τοῖσι θεαταῖς

His initial words suggest that his opponent is too ashamed to face the court of public opinion, represented by the audience. In this way, the real spectators are enlisted to judge between them, in place of the Chorus as would be the case in Tragedy (imitated in *Σφῆκες*).

καίπερ θρασὺς ὤν

Either this clause contains an error or something is missing. After hearing, "*come out and show yourself*", one expects something like "*if you have the guts*" (εἴπερ θρασὺς εἶ), and not, "*although you're as bold as brass*". If we accept the text as it stands, we have to supply an exegesis, as Dover does ("*and do not need to be told*"). Even for Aristophanes the ellipse is striking, though not more than that in 227, perhaps. But, I suspect a lacuna, a line to the effect that, 'and you will not hesitate anyway to parade your vice in front of these witnesses'. For the construction, one might compare Prometheus's scornful words in Aischylos's *Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης* 907-8, καίπερ αὐθάδης φρενῶν (or codices φρονῶν), ἔσται ταπεινός – "*even though unrelenting in his purpose now*, *he will be brought down*".

891. **ἴθ(ι) ὅποι χρῄζεις**

His antagonist in the debate struts onto the stage at his leisure. He is equally confident that the *jury* can be made to see things his way…eventually. But, his opening phrase is not the spirited rebuttal we might have expected. An ancient commentator informs us that Aristophanes has borrowed the phrase from Euripides' *Τήλεφος* (frg. 722), ἴθ', ὅποι χρῄζεις· οὐκ ἀπολοῦμαι τῆς Ἑλένης οὕνεκα. This might reasonably translate as, "*You go where you like*; *I will not give my life for Helen's sake*". Consequently, the opening phrase is always rendered the same way, in a sour, truculent tone.

However, the context here is rather different from Euripides' original. The second speaker is not refusing to follow the older man; instead he insists that he can out-do him *in any forum*. Aristophanes had already made extensive use of material from the same play (first performed in 438 B.C.) in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (cf. 8, 440-1, 446, 454, 497-8, 540, 543, 555-6) and in *Ἱππεῖς* (cf. 813, 1240). Sometimes, he appropriates a verse in the same sense, but in some cases it is fair to assume that in utilizing the Euripidean line for his own purpose he transforms it in the process.

Although he employs χρῄζω (as he does elsewhere, cf. 359, 453) in the same way as Euripides, to express a wish that could be a whim (for all the speaker cares), he uses ἴθι (much like φέρε or ἄγε), as a lead-in to another imperative, which in his colloquial style is often left unexpressed, e.g. *Σφῆκες* 1154, σὺ δὲ οὖν ἴθι (where one has to understand the omission of πειροῦ). Here, the newcomer is not at all reluctant to follow the other, so I take him to be saying, ἴθι <σὺ φράζε>, ὅποι χρῄζεις, <εἶμι>, "*Just say where you want me*, *I'll go anywhere you like…and finish you*". The tone is brazenly confident.

[Listen to the Canadian comedian Russell Peters imitating his father's sarcastic tone, 'C-o-ome', which gives a fair idea of how ἴθι must have sounded here.]

894. **ἀλλά σε νικῶ**

Wilson notes the unexpected use of the present tense. It seems it might be be a 'potential' present such as we find in Anaxandrides (frg. 16, from his *Ἡρακλῆς*), καὶ σὺ νικᾷς τοὺς σοφιστάς, ὦ φίλε – "*and you, my friend, can beat the sophists*". This is the view of Sommerstein (addenda p. xii and his edition of *Πλοῦτος* 2001, 256), although he preferred to use the future tense in both his translations. There is something to be said, however, for Wilson's thought that he means 'I do <regularly> beat…' since the speaker is replying, 'I may represent the weaker argument but I frequently come out on top'. My concern is rather the way his reply is structured. Why do we have the pronoun *and* a participial noun? The definite article is redundant. The poet would not write, even with a hangover, 'I usually beat you, the man who…'. He might leave out the word λόγον and be saying, '…though you claim to be the stronger argument than me', but it seems to me unavoidable that if we retain τὸν...φάσκοντα, we must be prepared to dispense with the pronoun. The logical alternative would be ἀλλ' οὖν, but the consensus of the codices leaves us the more likely option of **ἄλλοσε**, νικῶ τὸν...φάσκοντα – "*wherever I go*, *I am accustomed to prevail over the one who claims to be superior to me*" (i.e. anyone at all, not just you).

897. διὰ τουτουσὶ…

The older man, convinced that he is in the right, makes no effort to flatter the audience / jury.

899. **ἀπολῶ σε κακῶς**

Cf. 41.

900. **τὰ δίκαια**...

"*That which accords with Δίκη*" is more simply expressed in English as "*what is right*".

901. **γ(ε) αὖτ(α)**

Most codices have ταῦτα, but the Ravenna reads γ' αὐτὰ, which suggested to Reisig that we should print γ' αὖτα (as he emended 876). Sommerstein concurs and Wilson (2007 p. 73) cites Denniston in support. Dover and Henderson elect to follow the codices, while Hermann's (ἐ)γὼ αὖτ(α) has not been favoured. The only possibility not yet considered seems to be inserting the pronoun, σ(ε) αὖτ(α).

902. **οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶναι...Δίκην**

If there is no Right, there can be no Wrong, so 'Justice' (the usual translation of the word **Δ**ίκη) has no meaning. In contrast with line 367, the presence of γὰρ makes οὐδὲ credible.

904-5. **ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ἀπόλωλεν**

Note that this leading figure in the 'School' admits that Zeus does still exist.

906-7. **τουτὶ...τὸ κακόν**

Aristophanes uses the identical phrase again in *Σφῆκες* (1483), so presumably it had got a laugh here. He probably borrowed it from a well-known tragic-drama, and so we in turn might borrow from *Macbeth* to translate it.

δότε μοι λεκάνην

This is obviously a 'rhetorical' imperative; nobody rushes on with a basin. But, why does he call for one? Perhaps, he is so *sickened* by the other's argument (as indicated by αἰβοῖ) that, feeling nauseous, he wants to throw up. To be sure, we find that Plato uses a λεκάνη for exactly this purpose (Diogenes Laërtios 6.7) and ancient commentators agree that he is asking the spectators for a bowl ἵνα ἐξεμέσω. This seems to be the view of Polydeukes (10.76), although he adds that Aristophanes speaks of someone using a σκάφη or a ἡμισκάφη for the purpose in *Ἀνάγυρος* (frg. 49).

But, the idea that he is about to vomit is undermined by the lack of urgency. The queasy feeling cannot be very strong, if he can wait for someone to fetch a bowl. In *Σφῆκες* (600), however, a λεκάνη serves as a handbasin, and that might be used by the sanctimonious teacher to wash away the stain of blasphemy (τὸ κακόν).

908. **τυφογέρων εἶ**

The Righteous man may not be like Strepsiades, a 'γεροντιον', but he is getting on in years. He is mocked here for having a sickness of which he seems unaware. One of the leading symptoms of τῦφος, in its later stages, is a tendency to hallucinate and so he is described as self-deluding. Plutarch tells us that Perikles' lofty demeanor was criticized by some as a front composed of ambition and self-delusion, τὴν σεμνότητα δοξοκοπίαν καὶ τῦφον ἀποκαλοῦντας (*Περικλῆς* 5.4). In his case, ironically, it may have been typhus that killed him.

κ(αὶ) ἀνάρμοστος

The *amoral* person here ridicules his *moralizing* opponent for being 'out of tune' with the times.

909. **καταπύγων**

Although the Righteous man may be prudish, he is not homophobic, nor is he resorting to outright abuse. This phrase is actually a good illustration of the basic meaning of the word. It is the middle finger, which Strepsiades was alleged to be holding up to his teacher in an act of καταδακτυλισμός (652-3). The point is that the Scoundrel *gives the finger* to morality, i.e. he holds nothing sacred.

910. **ῥόδα μ(οι) εἴρηκας**

The expression is an abbreviated way of saying 'you have scattered aspersions like rose-petals' (cf. 1330). [The custom of strewing flowers or petals in the path of dignitaries or beauties as a sign of admiration has continued to this day in Athenian night-clubs, where a woman stands ready with a basket of carnations for the clientele to strew over a popular singer by way of complimenting the performance. One also sees rose -petals mixed in with grains of rice to throw as confetti at weddings.]

βωμολόχος

There appears to be a basic confusion over this and related words owing to a (possibly misguided) attempt among ancient commentators to reconcile literal and metaphorical instances of their use.

In a fragment from his *Τυραννίς* (150), the comic-poet Pherekrates gives his etymology of the substantive,

κἄπειθ' ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τοῖσι βωμοῖς πανταχοῦ
αεὶ λοχῶντες «βωμολόχοι» καλώμεθα,

ἐποίησεν ὁ Ζεὺς καπνοδόκην μεγάλην πάνυ.

The speaker, perhaps an immortal acting as spokesperson for the other gods, maintains that Zeus created a huge flue to funnel the savours of sacrifices heavenwards, "*so that we would not get the name* βωμολόχοι *from continually haunting altars everywhere*". However, as Pherekrates is writing comedy, his etymology of the word is probably spurious. It certainly does nothing to help us understand Aristophanes' meaning. Another example of a literal interpretation is indicated by one of a number of entries on the subject in the *Σοῦδα* (β 486, abridged from Harpokration), "*the proper sense of* '*altar-haunters*' *applied to those who*, *in the course of the sacrifices*, *sat below the altars and begged* <for a share> *using flattery*" – βωμολόχοι κυρίως ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς βωμοὺς καθίζοντες καὶ μετὰ κολακείας προσαιτοῦντες. The entry proceeds to give by way of example, "*the flute-players and seers who were invited to participate in the sacrifices*" – οἱ παραλαμβανόμενοι ταῖς θυσίαις αὐληταὶ καὶ μάντεις. The mention of these particular participants suggests that the scholiast's interpretation has again been drawn from comic-poetry, for they are reminiscent of the poet and the oracle-monger, who show up unannounced at the sacrifice in *Ὄρνιθες* (903-91). It suggests that a comic-poet may have ridiculed the performers of dithyrambs of hanging about altars in the hope of a free meal, because their cyclic dances were performed around the altar of Dionysos and were celebrated with feasting afterwards (cf. 331-9).

One might suppose that the 'Scoundrel' is likened to an opportunist who hangs around at sacrifices in the hope of filching some meat from the altar (a 'jackdaw', in fact); so unscrupulous that he is ready to steal even from the gods. But, such a literal sense does not seem apposite to other instances of this and related forms e.g. *Ἱππεῖς* 1358, βωμολόχος ξυνήγορος, in which a prosecutor of this type tries to intimidate a jury into condemning a defendant by suggesting that they will not get their pay otherwise; *Βάτραχοι* 1520-1, ὁ πανοῦργος ἀνὴρ καὶ ψευδολόγος καὶ βωμολόχος (Aischylos's ghost speaking of Euripides); and *Βάτραχοι* 1085, βωμολόχων δημοπιθήκων, used to describe political speakers who lie to the Assembly. Clearly the word is meant to apply pejoratively to a mode of speech which ranks alongside lying.

The ancient commentators found a connection between the literal sense of 'altar-haunters' and the style of speaking in the alleged κολακεία ('flattery') used by those who begged a share of the sacrificial meat. But this explanation looks circumstantial and the real etymology may lie elsewhere. While it may be that the epithet could have been applied to a speaker like Theoros who sought to ingratiate himself with the rabble (cf. *Σφῆκες* 42-3), it may have derived from a comedic pun on a word βωμολόγος, meaning someone who talks in high-sounding, hieratic language that no-one truly understands, (cf. 451, ματαιολόγος). We might take it to convey something like "*bluster*" or 'irrelevant ranting'. See also note on 969, βωμολοχεύσαιτο.

Plutarch describes Perikles as the opposite of a βωμολόχος in *Περικλῆς* 5.1, τὸ φρόνημα σοβαρὸν καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑψηλὸν εἶχε καὶ καθαρὸν ὀχλικῆς καὶ πανούργου βωμολοχίας – "*he was high-minded and spoke in an aloof manner, entirely free of crowd-pleasing and deceptive bluster*".

911. **κρίνεσι στεφανοῖς**

The Scoundrel tells his opponent that his hard-hitting words are not only ineffective as punches, they are actually massaging his ego; it is as if he were "*garlanding him with lilies*". The relevance of these flowers may be that they are symbols of funerary rites, and allude to the encomia (ευλογία) spoken over the tomb. Dover notes that roses and lilies are listed together in Kratinos (frg. 105) as being suitable for garlands.

καὶ πατραλοίας

"*The kind of person who would raise his hand against his own father*" is promised a place in Hades along with those who break oaths taken in the gods' names (cf. *Βάτραχοι* 274-5). The charge is one of sacrilege. It will become especially relevant later.

912. **χρυσῷ πάττων μ(ε)**

Far from being stung by the accusation that he beats his father, the Scoundrel takes it as a compliment, as though it is only proper to repay ones parent for the beatings one was given as a child. After the imagery of the previous line, one may suspect the metaphor of sprinkling someone with gold-dust is derived from a ritual practice. [In the Indian sub-continent, gold is an essential part of wedding attire and perhaps the sprinkling of gold-dust featured in the more lavish weddings in ancient Athens, replacing our confetti as a symbol of good fortune. It is still the custom among the Vlachs of Central Greece to affix bank-notes to the bride's dress when she dances at the wedding feast. Ἀειμνηστη, κουμπαρα μου]

Sommerstein draws attention to the metaphorical use of καταχρυσόω in *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* (826),

913. **μολύβδῳ**
Lead is used as the metaphorical opposite of gold. The Righteous man appears to be accusing his rival of alchemy, in that by managing to turn opprobrium into praise, he has turned base into precious metal.
915. **θρασὺς εἶ πολλοῦ**
In a contemporary movie-script, this would read "*You've got some balls*!"
ἀρχαῖος
He suggests that, because he represents Morality the old man 'belongs to the past' (cf. 821).
916. **διὰ σὲ δὲ**...
In anapaests it is quite unusual to meet a run of four short syllables; Aristophanes seems to ration himself to just one per play. Although metrists will try to break up the run by emendation, most scholars consider that the exceptions are sufficient to justify leaving the text unaltered. Porson proposed emending *Σφῆκες* 397, ὦ μιαρώτατε τί ποιεῖς; το μιάρ(ε) ἀνδρῶν, and here, Hermann has suggested διὰ σ(ε) οὐ φοιτᾶν (as R omits δὲ anyway). Both show that the poet could have easily avoided the short syllables had he felt it was necessary to do so.
The variant reading διὰ σὲ δὴ (ΕΚΝΘ) may have been an early attempt at emendation, but does not scan.
φοιτᾶν οὐδεὶς...**τῶν μειρακίων**
The Scoundrel is criticized for being responsible for 'corrupting youth' (μειράκια were 'youths' of about nineteen or twenty) by making them reluctant to be schooled by traditional διδάσκαλοι like himself, who taught the basic components of an aristocratic education, music and physical training. In fact, if we take Pheidippides as representative of this class (cf. 990), those young men "*who do not wish to attend school*" are being enrolled at the school by their parents, in any case.
919. **τοὺς ἀνοήτους**
He again describes the Athenian youths as "*unthinking*" (898); ironically, the same pejorative term used of those other "*non-intellectual*" pursuits to be avoided by students of 'Sokrates' (417).
920. **αὐχμεῖς**
One might take the verb to mean 'dried up', suggesting that the old man has become shrivelled with age, but given the earlier instance (442) when Strepsiades had agreed to go without a bath for the sake of his education, translators take it in a literal sense. They call the older man "*dirty*" (Sommerstein) or "*seedy*" Henderson), because he is 'unwashed'. This interpretation chimes well enough with the response of the Righteous man.
According to Polydeukes, the form αὐχμᾷς was used by the comic-poet Phrynichos, but our texts use only αὐχμεῖς.
αἰσχρῶς
He is saying, 'you should be ashamed to be seen in public in that state'.
εὖ πράττεις
The comment is a reflection on the other's affluent appearance, "*you do alright for yourself*".
922. **Τήλεφος**...**Μυσὸς**
Telephos, whom Auge, priestess of Athena, bore to Herakles, became king of Mysia in succession to his stepfather Teuthras. In defending his kingdom from Greek raiders he received a wound from the spear of Achilles, which would have killed a lesser man. There are some parallels with the myth of Philoktetes, for both men required a Greek doctor to regain their health, while according to prophecies they were needed to ensure the capture of Troy. The story of how Telephos came disguised as a beggar to seek medical aid when the Greeks were mustering their forces at Aulis was the subject of Euripides' play *Τήλεφος* as well as a feature of Sophokles' *Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος*. Neither play has survived, but details may be gleaned from later Roman narratives. In *Ἀχαρνεῖς*, Aristophanes had introduced 'Euripides' to act as dresser to his hero Dikaiopolis, who asks him for the beggar's rags worn by the actor playing Telephos (428-32).
The clue to why the hero is mentioned here is the word φάσκων. Telephos was a king pretending to be a beggar, whereas the Scoundrel is an indigent pretending to be more than he is. Aristophanes' words in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* describing Telephos as στωμύλος, δεινὸς λέγειν – "*a smooth-talking, forceful speaker*" (429), suggest another possible reason for the comparison with the beggar-king.
923. **ἐκ πηριδίου**

A small, leather pouch or wallet (πήρα) might be used by a symposiast for carrying a snack (cf. *Πλοῦτος* 298), or by a beggar collecting alms. According to sources cited by Diogenes Laërtios (6.13. cf. *Σοῦδα* κ. 64), the first 'philosopher' to carry a πήρα and βάκτρον like a beggar (or like a mendicant friar) was the Sokratic Antisthenes who, as a frequenter of Kynosarges, presumably referred ro his pouch as a 'doggy-bag'.

924. **Πανδελετείους**

This epithet is said by a scholiast to derive from Pandeletos (cf. Kratinos frg. 260), an Athenian who had made a name for himself as a prosecutor in the courts and may have held political office. But, nothing is known about him. It is a curious word to use as a name, since it sounds so similar to πανδάλητος, 'rascal' or 'villain'. The *Σοῦδα* (π. 171) actually spells the name Παν**δ**έλητος, but the 'η' would not scan in these anapaests. Perhaps, this was partly why the name was chosen here. The main reason, however, must have been the rhetor's penchant for spicing his speeches wth proverbs, as we might say 'taken off the shelf'.

Kratinos mentioned him in a play called *Χείρωνες* (named for the learned Centaur who tutored Achilles and Jason), which may have drawn comparison between the precepts of Solon and his lesser successors such as Pandeletos.

925. **ὤμοι σοφίας-----**

The barbed repartee of these lines is evidently meant to be quick-fire and Dover suggests that possibly we are to understand the two parts as being spoken simultaneously. He also questions whether the spelling of ὤμοι is correct, since the vernacular would be οἴμοι (as V). But we would expect these erudite teachers to prefer the more literary form.

ὤμοι μανίας

The Righteous man too thinks that his adversary is deluding himself (cf. 350, 846, 1476).

926. **ἧς ἐμνήσθης**

This phrase raises two questions. Firstly, regarding its position in the text; and secondly, what it ought to mean. Plainly it belongs to the speaker of ὤμοι σοφίας----- and in the majority of codices it follows after these words directly. But, the principal codices (RV) postpone it until after the other replies ὤμοι μανίας. Modern editors have all adopted the latter arrangement, perhaps considering that it enlivens the exchange. In performance, I would prefer each speaker to make his point sequentially, but there are certainly cases in other dramas where one speaker can only complete his thought after an interruption, e.g. *Σφῆκες* 528-31 (cf. also 1221-2).

More importantly, I wonder whether we have the right verb. Recent editors have no difficulty accepting ἐμνήσθης and Henderson fluently translates "*My*, *the cleverness…of your allusion*!" Meineke, however, found the verb weak and proposed ἧς ἐμυήθης ("*in which you have been initiated*"), but this offers very little improvement and the genitive pronoun (instead of accusative) can only be explained as assimilation to σοφίας. More attractive is Hall and Geldart's suggestion ᾗ σεμνύει, "*the cleverness with which you pontificate*".

If we accept the text as it stands, the phrase means "*of which you reminded* <me>". This, it seems to me, can hardly refer to the wit of his opponent's analogy, as recent translators take it. Instead of sarcasm, it is self-congratulation. He never misses an opportunity to preen himself on those characteristics on which the other pours scorn and so, when the Righteous man brings up his use of Pandeleteian rhetorical flourishes, he accepts the compliment and validates the charge of self-delusion made by the other.

929. **Κρόνος ὤν**

This is a compendious insult, including 'antiquated', 'out-dated', 'uncivilized' etc. It might even be meant to remind the audience of what became of Zeus's predecessor, and I have translated it accordingly.

930. **εἴπερ γ(ε) αὐτὸν...χρὴ**

Anyone translating the conditional will appreciate the need for an apodosis. Dover considers that one can stretch the particle to provide it ("*Oh yes I will…*!"), but this ignores the poet's penchant for ellipse. It is χρὴ (hiding in full view) which provides the apodosis. What seems to have happened is that a Byzantine scholar has been misled by the word-order into making χρὴ govern the conditional protasis, when it was meant parenthetically. I think that the poet's intention was for us to understand, εἴπερ γε **αὐτὸς** σωθῆναι <ἐστιν, ἐμὲ διδάσκειν> χρή, καὶ μὴ... – "*If he is to be saved at all and not…it is for me to teach him*". For εἴπερ γε ἐστι, cf. 251.

931. **λαλίαν...ἀσκῆσαι**
Eupolis exemplifies the periphrasis (frg.95), λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν – "*as a chatterbox he's first-rate*, <but he's> *absolutely hopeless at public speaking*" (cf. 1077).
932. **δεῦρ(ο) ἴθι**
This line is clearly addressed to the young man who is the bone of contention. Commentators have always taken it as an intervention by the Scoundrel, but the Righteous man had insisted that his opponent was out of his mind (925, ὤμοι μανίας) and so consistency requires that μαίνεσθαι is spoken by him (cf. 1476).
933. [**Ἄδικος Λόγος**]
Because the previous line has always been assigned to the Scoundrel, the threat is presumed to come from the Righteous man (κλαύσει, "*you'll cry*", i.e. I'll make you howl, cf. 58). But, it is the younger of the two who threatens the other with physical violence, if he tries to do as he pleases.
ἐπιβάλλῃς
Almost all manuscripts write ἐπιβάλῃς, which does not scan; one (N) writes ἐπιβάλλεις, which scans, but the indicative is less likely than the subjunctive grammatically.
934. **μάχης καὶ λοιδορίας**
The two nouns can be treated separately to give the sense 'physical and verbal conflict', but here combine into "*a battle of insults*" (cf. 325).
935-8.
The Chorus call time on the adversaries' squabbling before they come to blows.
937. **ὅπως ἂν**...
The subject of this clause is not expressed, but must be Pheidippides.
938. **κρίνας φοιτᾷ**
I am not quite convinced by this second participle, which lacks a conjunction. As things stand we have to translate "*having listened to both* <and> *having made up his mind, he can attend school with* <whichever teacher he prefers>". The main idea, however, ought to be his *decision* (κρίνειν) on which teacher he will follow; his attending school is not in question. The fact that the infinitive φοιτᾶν appears to be assumed in the scholia (RV) encourages me to suggest that the main verb should be the future optative of κρίνειν, so that we read **κρινοῖ φοιτᾶν** – "*so he might decide to be taught* <accordingly>". This would help explain why the conjunction is missing in our text.
940. **πρότερος**
The chorus leader assumes the role of moderator in the debate.
Two of our codices read the adverbial πρότερον (RN), but the adjectival form found in most manuscripts is preferable (although an explanatory ὑμῶν has been incorporated by mistake). Dover notes *Σφῆκες* 15, σὺ λέξον πρότερος.
941. **τούτῳ δώσω**
The Scoundrel adopts the 'Sokratic' approach. He appears to show magnanimity in letting the other have the floor, but only so that he can snipe at what he is going to say. His modus operandi is to disparage his opponent (the ever-popular 'negative campaign'). The full phrase would be τούτῳ δώσω <πρωτολογίαν>.
944. **κατατοξεύσω**
The Athenians usually had to rely on auxiliaries to provide archers as they affected to despise the tactic of Persian archers shooting arrows from a distance and withdrawing out of javelin range. So, the Scoundrel is shown as the kind of rhetor who denigrates his opponent with irrelevant jibes. Aristophanes singled out a young prosecutor named Euathlos as a *Scythian* because of his shameful, courtroom behaviour (cf. note on *Σφῆκες* 592). In *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (703-18), the Chorus complains that letting a vigorous, young prosecutor set upon an elderly defendant is tantamount to using archers against infantry and Euathlos's prosecution of an aged politician (Thucydides son of Milesias, in 433 B.C.) was hardly a fair match, although in his younger days, the same defendant would have seen off Εὐάθλους δέκα and τοξότας τρισχιλίους – "*ten Euathloses …three thousand archers* (710-1). Then, in *Ὀλκάδες* (frg. 424), a certain συνήγορος is described as being πονηρὸς…τοξότης…ὥσπερ Εὔαθλος – "*an underhanded bowman; just like your Euathlos*". Therefore, it is probable that the verb 'shoot down' was again intended to equate the Scoundrel to Euathlos and similar prosecutors.

Euripides *Ἡρακλῆς*, Lykos derides Herakles' use of the bow (160-1, τόξ' ἔχων, κάκιστον ὅπλον, τῇ φυγῇ πρόχειρος ἦν).

945. **ἢν ἀναγρύζῃ**

He anticipates that his opponent will be dumb-struck by his barrage and unable to make a coherent reply, but "*if he should <so much as> mutter under his breath again*", he will make a final devastating assault. The phrase is used elsewhere with a future indicative, *Ἱππεῖς* 294, εἰ τι γρύξει – "*if you so much as grunt*" or an aorist subjunctive, *Σφῆκες* 374, ἐὰν γρύξῃ τι, so (like Sommerstein) I would print **ἀναγρύξῃ** here, as found in EKN and Θ.

946-8.

The hornet-stings are a metaphor for his barbed wit. In *Σφῆκες*, the sting of wasps symbolizes the damage that the Athenians wreaked on their enemies at Marathon (1088) and the harm they can still inflict in the courtroom.

Choral Song (Στροφή) 949-58

The sparring and name-calling is over and the Chorus, acting like a fight-referee, calls on the contenders to remember that this is a title-fight and so they need to put on a good show. Their intent is clear, but their words are not. Moreover, the metre does not respond to that of the antistrophe (1024-31). Efforts to offer a more coherent text in responsion with the antistrophe have not resulted in unanimity. Wilamowitz took exception to the dual pronoun αὐτοῖν (953-4). Hall and Geldart sought to meet the objection with αὐτοῖν ὁπότερος. Wilson (p.73), though not quite convinced that αὐτοῖν is the problem, thinks it could be a gloss. Suspicion has also fallen upon λέγων ἀμείνων (codd.), which Dover reverses and Sommerstein would like to delete altogether. He argues that a word meaning 'superior' (for which he suggests περιὼν) would give better responsion to the antistrophe and suggests that ἀμείνων λέγων was just inserted to explain it.

But, with attention focused on the metrical responsion, nobody, it seems, has voiced any objection to the construction of δείξετον...ὁπότερος...φανήσεται. Blaydes did at one time have doubts about the participle and suggested altering λέγων to λέγειν (only to change his mind later). But, the basic incongruity between the two verbs has gone unchallenged. The Chorus declares that the two opponents 'will show…which of them…will show himself (the better)'. One could live with the dual δείξετον alone, but I cannot persuade myself that Aristophanes followed the active verb with its reflexive equivalent. Moreover, not only is the middle voice of the verb φαίνω a mirror image of δείκνυμι (as we see from Herodotos 8.108.3, τις κομιδὴ τὸ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, "*some chance of withdrawal will present itself*"), but it can also convey the notion of speciousness which would diminish any victory from the outset. Accordingly, I would prefer the reading of the Venetus, γενήσεται. Another ms. (Θ²) is undecided and reads γε *φα*νήσεται, which I choose to see as support for V, though Wilson (p.73) disagrees. The resulting phrase ἀμείνων…γενήσεται provides the relevant sense "*will prove to be superior*" (i.e. κρείττων), which Sommerstein extracts from φανήσεται. I think things could be improved further by emending δείξετον to the gerundive δεικτέον. The prevalence of dual forms might have induced a scribe to make the change.

I have translated: νῦν **δεικτέον**, τῶ πισύνω...μερίμναις, ὁπότερος αὐτοῖν **ἀμείνων λέγων γενήσεται**. Any perceived metrical disparity with the antistrophe could as well stem from misreadings there, as Dover also believed.

περιδεξίοισιν

The prefix may be used in place of the superlative, i.e. 'exceedingly clever'. But, since the literal meaning is 'ambidextrous', it may have been intended to mean "*equally clever on both sides*".

γνωμοτύποις μερίμναις

Aristophanes imitates Euripidean locution in homage to the poet whose popularity was partly due to the γνώμαι which pepper his plays and which would have been among those bon mots quoted by Pandeletos (cf. 924). In *Βάτραχοι* the same words are used in one line (877), again in a choral ode.

955-6. **ἅπας...κίνδυνος ἀνεῖται σοφίας**

LSJ have a separate entry for this phrase as if it somehow exemplified a distinct usage of κίνδυνος. In fact the word simply acknowledges the workings of fate, pointing out that 'risk exists', without presuming the result. In this respect, Henderson's choice of "*wisdom is wagered on one roll of the dice*" is a happy one.

957. **τοῖς ἐμοῖς φίλοις**

Dover takes the phrase "*for my friends*" to refer to 'Sokrates' and his students, the servants of the Clouds. But, Sommerstein notes to his 'revised' translation (2002) that, "*the phrase could just as well denote the* <other> *gods*", who will be most affected, for the two speakers are about to debate whether or not Justice exists. In fact, the phrase could also encompass their devotee Strepsiades and his son who are hoping that the outcome will provide the ammunition needed for them to resist their creditors' demands.

958. **ἀγὼν μέγιστος**

It was customary for the Chorus to try to raise the tension by stressing the importance of the outcome, cf. *Σφῆκες* 532, μέγας ἐστὶν ἀγών.

Debate (Ἀγών) 959-1104

Exhortation (κατακελευσμός) 959-60

The Chorus employs anapaestic tetrameters (cf. 476-7) in calling upon the Righteous man to speak first.

ὦ...στεφανώσας

The old-school crowned its pupils with virtue, i.e. formed their characters so as to make them stand out in society. Crowns were awarded to citizens for exemplary service to their city in the same way that winners at the Olympic Games were crowned. Miltiades, for instance, reputedly asked for a crown of wild olive in recognition of his contribution to the victory at Marathon (cf. Plutarch *Κίμων* 8.1).

960. **ᾗτινι χαίρεις**

I take her to be saying, "*the way in which you enjoy* <*speaking*>", intimating ironically that the older man does not need any encouragement to hold forth.

First Speaker 961-1023

961-83.

The Righteous man opens the debate proper by expounding the virtues of his traditional education. As he mentions at the outset, the primary aim of his method was to instil in his charges a sense of what is right, by showing them what is wrong and to induce self-discipline by generous amounts of physical discipline.

962. **σωφροσύνη (ἐ)νενόμιστο**

The passive pluperfect of the verb (cf. 498, νομίζεται – "*it is customary*") amounts to "*it had become the custom*". The particular area of 'self-discipline' which he has in mind is sexual self-restraint or chastity. Sommerstein (addenda xii) infers from the scholia that this line might have been omitted in some copies of the text, but the comment by Aristophanes of Byzantium quoted there may just mean that he approved of the verse, or its sentiment.

963. **παιδὸς...γρύξαντος**

The child was not supposed to make a sound (cf. *Σφῆκες* 374, ἐὰν γρύξῃ τι – "*if there's a peep out of him*"). Here we have to understand <μηδὲ> γρύξαντος – "*not even a squeak*".

μηδὲν ἀκοῦσαι

Hall and Geldart print the reading of the codices, which translates as 'to hear not at all'. But probably the better reading would be **μηδέν(α)** ἀκοῦσαι – "*no-one heard*", for which Dover adduces *Σφῆκες* 1047, μὴ πώποτε ἀμείνονα ἔπη...μηδένα ἀκοῦσαι – "*no-one ever yet heard better verse*".

965. **τοὺς κωμήτας...ἀθρόους**

I recollect a Monty Python sketch in which workmen from the same neighbourhood are seen leaving their homes in the morning, and each individual falling into lockstep with a single file of his workmates as they pass his door. In *Σφῆκες* too we see the group of jurors call to collect their fellow-juryman from his home. So, one cannot rule out the possibility that the neighbourhood boys formed a crocodile to process to their music teacher as a group, but I am inclined to believe that the poet may have written a less common word, **ἀθρόους** (for ἀθορύβους) which would permit the boys license to converge on their teacher's house from their respective homes from different directions. Sommerstein (2002) may have toyed with the idea, since he seems to combine the meanings of both words, "*together…quietly*".

966. **προμαθεῖν ᾄσμ(α)**

To 'learn beforehand' is to "*learn by heart*". The music teacher might have had a song-sheet, but students would have had to commit the verse to memory.

τὼ μηρὼ μὴ ξυνέχοντας
The interpretation placed on this phrase by the scholia frankly says more about the ancient commentators than educational practice in fifth-century Athens. I am not convinced that boys were told to sit with knees apart to avoid the possibility of their becoming sexually aroused, but merely that they should sit or stand properly with their legs straight. Hickie's, admittedly slightly Bowdlerized, version had reached the same position.
967. **Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινὰν (ἀείδω)**
The scholiasts are divided over which poet composed this song. This is perhaps due to the fact that there were two versions. The original composition may have been a hymn to the goddess written by the sixth-century poet Stesichoros of Himera, who seems to have been responsible for pro-Athenian elaborations of the Trojan myths. His hymn would have been a paean in epic style to Athene as the goddess who brought about the downfall of Troy. But, the sack of the Lydian capital of Sardis by Athenian troops at the turn of the fifth-century may have inspired a native Athenian composer, Lamprokles, son of Meidon (whom the scholiasts mention here, but is otherwise unknown), to compose an up-dated version. Notwithstanding the sack of her own Akropolis by Persian troops in 480, Athene's imperial forces had carried out a number of successful sieges since to justify the singing of the hymn. It hardly matters which version is being alluded to by the proponent of traditional education, but the epic form περσέπτολιν found in the codices suggests that the earlier poem is intended and a character in *Εἴλωτες* by Eupolis confirms that, "*singing the verse of Stesichoros is old hat*" (frg. 148, τὰ Στησιχόρου…ἀρχαῖον ἀείδειν).
968. **ἐντειναμένους τὴν ἁρμονίαν**
Recent translators follow Dover in interpreting this phrase as a reference to the traditional "*mode*" for any particular song. Moreover, LSJ (perhaps influenced by Aristotle) consider that this phrase indicates 'high-pitched' singing. Although this would certainly apply to boy-choristers, the poet's point seems somewhat different. He appears to mean the 'musical balance', essential for male-voice choirs (cf. Euripides' use of ἁρμονία as a metaphor for mental balance in *Ἱππόλυτος* 162), which requires that, just like the strings on a lyre, *various* voices have to be kept in tune. A stringed instrument might be said to be *well-tempered* with each string being tuned appropriately for whatever mode is to be played. So Plato, in his strained effort to argue for the immortality of the soul, compares the equilibrium of the elements in a *toned* body to a *tuned* lyre and supposes that souls must be constituted similarly, "*when these elements are combined correctly and in the right proportion to one another*" – (*Φαίδων* 86 α-γ) ὥσπερ ἐντεταμένου τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν... κρᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ ἁρμονίαν αὐτῶν τούτων τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὰν ταῦτα καλῶς καὶ μετρίως κραθῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα.
Plutarch provides a variation on the theme when he employs a musical simile to describe the change that came over Perikles when he abandoned his former rhetorical style "*which had resembled an ornate and soothing arrangement*" and "*attuned his political style*" to a noble or regal mode, (*Περικλῆς* 15.2, ὥσπερ ἀνθηρᾶς καὶ μαλακῆς ἁρμονίας...ἐντεινάμενος πολιτείαν).
969. **βωμολοχεύσαιτ(ο)**
As we have seen with the substantive βωμολόχος (910), the real meaning of the verb is somewhat hard to pin down. The *Σοῦδα* contains a number of entries (β 484-90, χ 296, κ 2647) which relate to the verb and its cognates with differing interpretations. One entry (β 486, Βωμολοχεύεσθαι), drawn from Harpokration (p. 76.9), refers to "*certain easy-going and not so bright individuals, who put up with absolutely anything for the sake of a game or a joke*; *their aim being to profit by it*" – τινες εὔκολοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ κέρδει διὰ τοῦ παίζειν τε καὶ σκώπτειν. Accordingly, we may take the verb to mean that the boy "*played the clown*" (Sommerstein) to impress his classmates. Or, since it could refer to the *way* he fooled around (β 488, βωμολοχεύσαιτο: ἀντὶ τοῦ «ἀγόραιόν τι εἴποι ἢ εὐτελές» – "*equivalent to*, <if any boy> *were to say something vulgar or cheap*") we may interpret the verb as "*singing off-key to show off*".
κάμψειέν τινα καμπὴν
Surprisingly enough, given their attitude to boys' thighs, ancient commentators saw nothing suspicious in the phrase 'bending a caterpillar', so we can take the poet to be focused here on the musical metaphor, or not.
[**970**]

The *Σοῦδα* (χ 296) offers what appears to be a gloss exemplifying how such a boy larked about instead of singing in the straightforward harmony. But Valckenaer noted from the rhythm that the words might have formed a verse, so that Brunck incorporated them as part of the text. This is a possibility to be considered, although as Dover points out, the words are absent from our earliest papyri. Could it be, perhaps, that they had been cited from the original version accidentally, whereas the poet had dropped them from his revised version?

The text (included as Aristophanes' frg. 930) begins with a parphrase of line 969, ὑποτείνει δέ «τις αὐτῶν βωμολοχεῦσαι» αὐτὸς δείξας ἐν ἁρμονίαις (or ἐναρμονίως) χιάζων ἢ σιφνιάζων. "*One of them proposes to show off by demonstrating the Chian or the Siphnian style in the harmonies*."

The *Σοῦδα* entry explains that the Chian and Siphnian styles referred to a 'colouring of the harmonies' by Demokritos of Chios and Theoxenides of Siphnos respectively.

971. **οἵας**...**δυσκολοκάμπτους**

Even if we omit [970], we still require ἁρμονίαι as the plural subject of this verse, rather than the singular καμπὴν of 969.

κατὰ Φρῦνιν

Phrynis the κιθαραοιδός (a singer who accompanied himself on the lyre) was a popular musician who had won the Athens' Song Contest in 456 or, according to Sommerstein (2002) 446, or Storey (2011) 406. He came originally from Mytilene or, according to Henderson, from Mantineia. His name is linked with that of Terpandros, though whether their connection was stylistic (cf. pseudo-Plutarch *περὶ Μουσικῆς* 1133 β, 1141f.), or they merely stood out as innovators, is not certain. It does strongly suggest at least that he was a singer who performed his own compositions. But, one should treat such later informants circumspectly, because the little that they can tell us may be sourced from passages like this, which are making fun of his innovations. A passage from the poet Pherekrates (frg. 155.14-5) shows that some 'purist', musical critics found his new techniques more than a little annoying. '*Music*' or '*Poetic Composition*' is speaking.

Φρῦνις δ' ἴδιον στρόβιλον ἐμβαλών τινα
κάμπτων με καὶ στρέφων ὅλην διέφθορεν.

"*Then Phrynis forced me to spin around, making me back-track and twist about and totally wore me out*".

972. **ἐπετρίβετο τυπτόμενος πολλὰς** (**πληγάς**)

The main verb seems rather brutal, "*he was erased by being whipped repeatedly*". Possibly, one should consider **ἀ**πετρίβετο "*he was rubbed down*" as an ironic comparison with the gentle treatment of a horse (cf. Xenophon *περὶ Ἱππικῆς*, 6.2). It could have been altered to ἐπετρίβετο to bring it into line with 1408.

ὡς τὰς Μούσας ἀφανίζων

The new style of music hardly deserved to be called 'music' at all, because it 'disfigured' the Muses, or perhaps even 'shocked them into leaving'.

973. **ἐν παιδοτρίβου**

Cf. 964, εἰς κιθαριστοῦ. Here, "*at the <school> of the gymnastics-trainer*", the principal training would have been in wrestling techniques, but probably also covered the various other events which featured in athletic competitions. The games at Olympia, for instance, commenced with the boys' events, wrestling, running and boxing. Unlike the Spartan tradition of wrestling which relied on physical strength (and did not call for trainers), Athenian schools trained boys in the *art* of wrestling.

τὸν μηρὸν...**προβαλέσθαι**

The military command προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα –"*Level arms*!" at which the hoplite held his shield straight in front of him and braced his spear against it (cf. Xenophon *Ἀνάβασις* 1.2.17) – is put to another purpose. The word ὅπλα would have suggested the exact opposite of what is intended here, so the poet substitutes "*thighs*". Note that the singular here (for the dual of 966) is simply dictated by the following vowel, but a poet might use the singular for plural anyway (cf. 24, τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν). We are invited to listen to the gym-master giving the command 'Thighs front!' and to see the seated boys keep their 'equipment' concealed between straight thighs, rather than drawing their legs up and hugging their knees, a position which might put temptation in the way of any passing paederast.

974. **τοῖς ἔξωθεν**

This vague classification of people who had 'wandered in from the street', includes the casual passer-by, and the dedicated sports-lover, as well as those unnamed individuals who would be especially susceptible to homoerotic stimulation.

μηδὲν δείξειαν ἀπηνές

The unexpected adjective "*cruel*" (used adverbially here) can be understood to denote the sexual torment inflicted on certain onlookers (himself included, evidently). Sommerstein refers to a phrase of Herodotos, ἀλγηδόνας σφισι ὀφθαλμῶν, used to describe how some Persian envoys at a Macedonian dinner-party are titillated beyond endurance by the presence of their hosts' womenfolk, who are tantalisingly alluring, but unavailable (5.18.4).

An ostrakon from the first century B.C. (now in Oxford's Bodleian library) appears to offer us the earliest, original evidence for Aristophanes' text. N. Litinas (2002) has suggested that the eight words it contains represent part of a schoolboy's attempt to recollect this passage from *Νεφέλαι*. What survives could be the second half of this line and the beginning of 975. Unfortunately, the schoolboy was paying little attention to his teacher.

975-6. **εἶτ(α) αὖ πάλιν αὖθις**

This grouping of adverbs in epic style is perhaps intended to indicate bombast.

ἀνισταμένον

For no good reason the codices change into the singular, but he is still referring to τοὺς παῖδας, so I agree with Sommerstein that the better reading is **ἀνισταμένους** which is quoted by Stobaeus (and followed by the *Σοῦδα*). The προνοῆσαι is the result of careless copying, under the influence of the previous infinitive. For what it is worth, the 'Oxford' ostrakon reads ἀντεταμένους.

συμψῆσαι

The old schoolmaster's version of events betrays his own fevered imaginings. The boys would have been taught to smooth out the sand after their activities in the wrestling-pit for the benefit of those who came after them (as a considerate golfer is supposed to do in a sand-trap), not so as to eliminate traces of their young bodies in the sand, as he claims. But, Aristophanes is placing his own mischievous interpretation on one of the obscurer precepts of Pythagoras, "*do not leave the imprint of the cooking-pot in the ashes*" (Diogenes Laërtios 8.17, copied into *Σοῦδα* π 3124, χύτρας ἴχνος συγχεῖν ἐν τῇ τέφρᾳ). Unless, of course, this is what Pythagoras actually meant, because raking the ashes together is not done in order to erase the pot's imprint either. See 982 for another likely 'misinterpretation' of a Pythagorean precept.

τοῖσιν ἐρασταῖσιν

The temptation to translate these words as, 'their lovers', should be resisted, because it would imply that paederasty was acceptable rather than accepted as a distasteful fact of life. The teacher is referring to the "*admirers*", other boys and men, who might (like him) be aroused by the sight of immature, nude bodies.

977. **οὐδεὶς παῖς**

Having recounted in brief the kind of instruction given, he turns to list the many prohibitions (οὐδ' ἂν…), which formed the basis of most traditional (especially religious) education. The first example, however, is clearly one he has made up for himself.

978. **μήλοισιν**

Apples were not always apples, e.g. the *apples* of the Hesperides were probably not *Golden* Delicious, but oranges or tangerines, and these *furry apples* are either apricots or peaches.

979. **μαλακὴν...φωνὴν**

The metaphor is not easy to assimilate. The idea of mixing flour and water into a paste is perhaps used to suggest 'smoothness'. Sommerstein suggests 'watering down his voice'. Plutarch applies the adjective to Perikles' "*emollient tone of voice*" in addressing the Assembly (*Περικλῆς* 15.1, μαλακῆς ἁρμονίας).

980. **τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς**

A later papyrus of the 5th or 6th century A.D. (Π4) contains the dual, **τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν**, which is logical and has rightly been adopted by Dover and Henderson.

981-2. **οὐδ(ὲ) ἀνελέσθαι**

All recent editors follow Hall and Geldart and print ἀνελέσθαι, the reading of the later codices (ΚΜΝΘ), but the earlier codices (RVE) have the correct reading **οὐδ(ὲ) ἂν ἐλέσθαι**.

Despite Dover's defence of the compound verb, it seems less suitable than the simple verb in this case. In the parallel he draws with *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (810, ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτᾶν τάνδε μίαν ἀνειλόμαν), the meaning of the verb is 'to pick up <from the ground>'. The difference between ἑλέσθαι and ἀνελέσθαι can be illustrated from a passage in the *Ἰλιάς*, where the Greeks first "*took their meal*" (2.399, δεῖπνον ἕλοντο) and then "*took up the sacrificial grains*" (2.410, οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο). Dover's argument is not strengthened by reference to the following line where ἂν is again omitted in error.

The sense of the simple verb is that a boy would not be allowed "*to make a grab for*" or "*take for himself*" any of the 'vegetables' on offer during a meal.

καὶ κεφάλαιον

One has to ask why the poet thought fit to specify three particular items and not simply refer to 'the food on the table'. The fact that these items *belonged to their elders* should give us a sufficient clue as to their symbolism.

In the codices the three items are, a κεφάλαιον **τῆς** ῥαφανῖδος, σέλινο and ἄνηθον, but the definite article troubled Blaydes who emended to καὶ φυλλεῖον. Hall and Geldart compromise by reading καὶ κεφάλαιον. However, although the article does look superfluous, the conjunction in this position is no improvement. Wilson (p. 74) says 'the radish <on the table>' is meant, but 'a bulb of radish' (along with dill and celery) has to be sought *under* the table (cf. 539, ἐρυθρὸν ἐξ ἄκρου).

A similar piece of advice appears to be contained in a fragment from Aristophanes *Ἥρωες* (frg.320), μηδὲ γεύεσθε ἄττ' ἂν ἐντὸς τῆς τραπέζης καταπέσῃ – "*do not taste anything that falls under the table*", because ἐντὸς implies morsels that end up in the diner's lap. It is said by Diogenes Laërtios (8.34) to be based on a rule of Pythagoras against eating things off the floor.

Photios (500.2) lists σέλινον among euphemisms used by comic-poets to denote the *female* sex organ, but he probably misremembered the gender.

οὐδ(ὲ) ἄννηθον

Although the manuscripts read **ἄνηθον**, the short first syllable would not scan, if one assumes the elision of the previous word. Consequently, Dindorf proposed a spelling to lengthen the alpha. This solution has met with general approval, although as Dover notes, the herb is usually spelled with a single νυ, since the doubled νυ risks confusion with the flavouring ἄννησον ('anise'). This, in fact, appears to have happened in *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* (486) where Dindorf again emends ἄνηθον, the reading of the text, to ἄννηθον so as to scan. Although both instances of ἄνηθον merit emendation and Dindorf's suggestion of ἄννηθον is neat and economic, it is hard to ignore the fact that the usual spelling for dill elsewhere is ἄνηθον. Therefore, I would prefer to adopt the solution mentioned in Dover's note (but discounted by him) of altering ἄνηθον to ἄννησον (the medicinal herb) in *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* and printing **οὐδ(ὲ) ἂν ἄνηθον** (ΕΚΝΘ) here.

The introduction of dill may be due to the fact that its fine, hair-like leaves were a complement to the stiff celery-stick and bulbous radish-head. Also, the similarity of its sound with ἔννιον may have been a factor.

ἁρπάζειν οὐδὲ σέλινον

Athenaios (14. 629 ε), records a rhyme which accompanied a dance he calls ἄνθεμα ('flowers'), but more likely ἄνθημα ('bursting into flower'), since the dance movements incorporated suitable gesture. Though the words appear innocent enough, he specifies that the dance was not performed in public.

ποῦ μοι τὰ ῥόδα, ποῦ μοι τὰ ἴα, ποῦ μοι τὰ καλὰ σέλινα;
ταδὶ τὰ ῥόδα, ταδὶ τὰ ἴα, ταδὶ τὰ καλὰ σέλινα.

"*Where are my roses*? *Where are my violets*? *Where are my fine celery-sticks*?
Here are my roses! *Here are my violets*! *Here are my fine celery-sticks*!"

[For what it's worth, violets and celery grew together in the fields near Kalypso's cave in *Ὀδύσσεια* 5.72]

983. **οὐδ(ὲ) ὀψοφαγεῖν**

The 'Righteous man' rattles off the final prohibitions at the end of his list without bothering to express the grammatically necessary ἂν ἐξῆν.

Prima facie, he is boasting that the properly-educated youth of yesteryear was content with a staple diet of corn-bread and wine without the additional trimmings (ὄψα) available to contemporary youth. Such foods as meat and fish would have been a rarity and even farm-products such as 'honey, cheese and olives' (39) could not be taken for granted in all households. But, in Comedy the ὀψοφάγος is treated with disdain as a sort of libertine (cf. *Εἰρήνη* 810). This may be due to the subliminal connection made between fish, the

ὄψον par excellence, and prostitutes; in part because some flute-girls were named for fishes due to their sinuous movements, and partly from the perception that an unbridled appetite for the one was likely to be accompanied by a weakness for the other. See Davidson (1997) 10-11.
The prohibition against eating for pleasure is characteristically Pythagorean (cf. Diogenes Laërtios 8.19), ὄψῳ τε τὰ πολλὰ λαχάνοις, ἐφθοῖς τε καὶ ὠμοῖς, τοῖς δὲ θαλαττίοις σπανίως – "*for relish he* (*Pythagoras*) *generally ate cabbage*, *boiled or raw*, *and only occasionally seafood*".

κιχλίζειν
Thrushes (κίχλαι) were a delicacy appropriate to a banquet (cf. 339), and so the scholiast deduces that the verb here must be an interdiction of gourmet eating. We could extrapolate from his thought and conclude that, perhaps, the boys were being warned to avoid predatory admirers bearing tasty gifts (although these tended to be hares or roosters in grooming scenes depicted on vases). But, modern commentators prefer to see an allusion to some bird-like behaviour and suggest 'tittering' or 'giggling'. I have adopted this as the easy solution, although the pedant in me moans that no thrush I have known has ever tittered or giggled. I think another species of bird may be meant, a variety of tit or chat perhaps?

ἴσχειν τὼ πόδ(α) ἐναλλάξ
The prohibition against the position of "*sitting <on the ground> cross-legged*" (not 'with legs crossed'), has been explained already by the instruction to keep their thighs straight (975).

984-5. **ἀρχαῖα**
The Scoundrel immediately condemns his opponent's "*old-fashioned*" ideas.

Διιπολιώδη
The Roman writer Pausanias is our principal source for this recondite aspect of ancient Athenian religion. Prior to his description of the temple of Athena Πολιάς ('Guardian of the city'), which we know as the Parthenon, he briefly mentions an altar of Zeus Πολιεύς (1.24.4). It was said to date from the reign of the mythical king Erechtheus in whose sacred precinct it was located. Each summer the arcane ceremony of the Diipolieia (Διιπολίεια cf. *Εἰρήνη* 420) was held there. Modern editors follow Brunck in preferring the contracted form Dipolieia.

τεττίγων ἀνάμεστα
The phrase "*full of cicadas*" is generally taken to relate to the passage in *Ἱππεῖς* (1331) in which ὁ Δῆμος emerges rejuvenated, τεττιγοφόρας, τἀρχαίῳ σχήματι, "*in old-fashioned style, wearing a <hair-pin in the form of> a cicada*". However, here, it may mean no more than "*full of old fogeys*", because like cicadas (some) old men tend to sit in one spot and drone on interminably.

Κηκείδου
The scholia inform us (*Σοῦδα* κ 1500) that 'Kikeides' was a πάνυ ἀρχαῖος dithyrambic poet, mentioned in Kratinos's *Πανόπται*. Although the manuscripts agree (more or less) on the poet's name, Nauck noted that the name Κηκείδης is unattested outside Comedy, whereas epigraphical evidence exists for a διδάσκαλος of a chorus late in the fifth century named Κηδείδης (IG i² 770). Wilson (p.74) adds that the latter name is found six times from the late-sixth to the early-fourth centuries. It seems fair to assume, therefore, that the butt of the humour here was a contemporary composer of traditional cyclic dances named Kideides whose style was consciously archaizing, and so both Sommerstein and Henderson choose to emend to Κηδείδου. Dover is more cautious, retaining the received text on the grounds that Kratinos might have made it clear that a genuinely ancient (but otherwise unknown) poet was being mocked. My view is that Aristophanes and Kratinos had a contemporary target in mind, whose real name probably was Κηδείδης, but that they both referred to him as 'Ki-keides', either because he stuttered, or because they wished to suggest that he was an abusive person (cf. κηκάς, *Σοῦδα* κ 1499). The editors of *Suda-on-line* suggest a connection with a yellow dye or ink made from oak-gall (κηκίς, κ 1501), so perhaps he happened to be a dyer, just as Kleon was called a tanner, from the business he operated.

Βουφονίων
The ancient ritual of the Ox-sacrifice contained faint traces of its origins in human sacrifice. Nominally, an ox was slaughtered at the altar of Zeus Πολιεύς each year at the Diipoleia, but the priest who carried out the sacrifice immediately dropped the knife and fled the scene. In his absence the ritual knife was put on trial for the ox's murder (Pausanias 1.28.11). It may be relevant that Zeus himself had metamorphosed

into an ox to seduce Europa, so that the animal was held to be sacred to him thereafter. Evidently, there was a similar sacrifice held annually at Delos (Kallimachos *Αἰτίων* 3.67.6) during the month named for it.

986-7.

The old man makes the point, which the younger generation grow tired of hearing from their elders, that 'back in the day' hardship forged real men. The men who fought at Marathon did not have the fine, thick cloaks of today to protect them from the elements, but they were tough. In *Σφῆκες* (1122-4), a veteran of the Persian Wars is shown reluctant to part with the thin fabric which was all that had protected him from the North wind. [Or, to paraphrase Monty Python's *Yorkshiremen*, "Tho 't were only a thin rag, 't were a cloak to us".]

εὐθὺς

We should understand a figure of speech such as, εὐθὺς <ἐκ παιδὸς>.

988-9. **ὥστε μ(ε) ἀπάγχεσθ(αι)**

Being strangled produces a flushed face simulating anger. Thus, one can translate, "*so that I am choked* <with rage>…"

Παναθηναίοις

The so-called 'Little' pan-Athenaia festival was an annual event and featured a war-dance performed in honour of the goddess Athena by the young men who had just reached military age. They danced with a light shield on one arm, but wore no protective armour.

τὴν ἀσπίδα τῆς κωλῆς προέχων

Aristophanes plays a trick on his audience, which the slower-witted, and modern commentators, fall for. Having just told us that 'the youth of today' are soft by comparison with the generation which repulsed the 'Hun' (I mean, the 'Medes'), because they wrap themselves in warm cloaks like cissies. He quickly switches to picturing a scene in which a young man appears to be too shy to dance in honour of Athena.

If we take the old man's words literally, his anger appears to be due to the self-conscious attitude of one of the young men who is holding his shield in front of his κωλῆ. The standard interpretation of the phrase assumes that the 'upper thigh' or 'thigh-bone' is to be taken as a euphemism, and that his annoyance is actually due to the young man's failure to display his genitals for the older man's voyeuristic satisfaction. By this token, his complaint that the goddess will be affronted serves merely to cover for his own lechery. But, while we have been given good reason to suspect the old schoolmaster's weakness for young boys, this interpretation of the phrase produces an image at odds with the rest of the passage. For him to openly encourage exhibitionism in older boys, against which he was inveighing so vehemently previously, does not match his prudish nature. Up till now, he was passionate that his young men always sit modestly (cf. 972, 983) and avoid touching themselves below the navel (cf. 977). Moreover, in the following lines he particularly praises Modesty. So, if the young warrior were indeed trying to cover his shame, how could the 'Puritan' in him object? I would suggest, therefore, that the euphemism in Aristophanes' phrase is not κωλῆ, but ἀσπίδα. Ostensibly, it denotes the shield he is holding but, in fact, it means his ὅπλο which he is thrusting forward beyond his thigh-bone in a manner offensive to the goddess and decency. A similarly aweful pun is found in *Σφῆκες*, where he jokes that when the 'heroic' Kleonymos threw away his shield (ἀπέβαλεν...τὴν ἀσπίδα, 22-3) he was effectively "*jettisoning his armament*" (ἀποβαλὼν ὅπλα, 27) which, he hints, could be seen as tantamount to losing his manhood. In both passages, the poet shrewedly leaves a door open to escape criticism from the censorious.

The comic-poets liked to suggest that their audience were hypocrites, secretly harbouring lewd thoughts when confronted by nude bodies (cf. *Σφῆκες* 578). Here, Aristophanes is hinting that the elderly school-master 'doth protest too much'. Eupolis seems to have treated the same situation in his *Αἶγες*, in which a teacher instructs a farmer who is performing the dance for Athena in a crude fashion to do it in a gentler, more seemly way (frg. 18, from a commentary, in Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2738).

ἀμελῇ τῆς Τριτογενείας

I agree with Henderson that we need a subject more than we need the definite article, so we should read ἀμελῇ **τις**. But, I am not sure that the Τριτογενείης of the codices, which recent editors prefer, is essential, since the same papyrus cites Aristophanes' use of the form Τριτογενεία**.** The title 'Born on the third' can be taken to mean that she had the martial qualities of a man, as any female child born on the third of the

month was thought likely to turn out to be a 'tomboy'. The appellation is probably chosen to emphasize her unmarried, hence virginal status.

991. **κα(ὶ) (ἐ)πιστήσει**

The conjunction is a little awkward, but it is in the text, so one may take it to mean either "*as well as <the lessons I mentioned>*" or "*<the following things> as well*".

μισεῖν ἀγορὰν

Aristophanes, who spent much of his time haunting the Agora's colonnades, imitates the sanctimonious tone of the religious conservative who sees corruption in the secular stoas and places of commerce. The principal law courts were located in the Agora and bars, barbershops and brothels filled the neighbouring sidestreets.

992. **κ(αὶ) ἂν σκώπτῃ**...

Aristophanes gets in a dig at the type of humourless man who is readily affronted and cannot take a joke. [Such individuals should never be permitted to hold high office, as they have learned to react, but not to think.]

993. **τῶν θάκων**

Young men would be expected to sit on benches and yield the better seats to their elders who had need of support for their backs (cf. 95). The variant readings in Dover's apparatus are θακῶν, θωκῶν and θώκων.

994-9.

The Righteous man proceeds to lay down traditional moral precepts which he urges young men to follow. They are cited (albeit in a different order) in an entry of the *Σοῦδα* (α 4716) under the heading Ἄχρηστα. The relevance of the headword is clarified in another similar entry (μ 877) with the phrase παραινεῖ μὴ εἰς ἄχρηστα ἀναλίσκειν – "*it advises* <one> *not to spend time on pointless exercises*" (cf. ἀνόνητον below).

994-5. **μὴ περὶ τοὺς σαυτοῦ γονέας σκαιουργεῖν**

In the *Σοῦδα* entry these two lines follow on from 999, and in my translation I have decided to experiment by transposing them there. It may be argued that the quotation includes two less likely readings, παρὰ for περὶ and κακουργεῖν instead of this unique instance of σκαιουργεῖν, which undermine the reliability of the citation. But, it will be noted that the main codices (RVKΘ) also read παρὰ, and κακουργεῖν was probably a gloss. To my mind, the later position improves the sequence, since the emphasis on "*your own parents*" seems to me to follow the thought of 'those who have reared you' at the end of 999. It also finishes the speech on a typically precious, or para-tragic, note.

The unique verb σκαιουργεῖν, i.e. 'acting in an ill-mannered or ill-omened way' toward ones mother and father, is much less harsh than the variant κακουργεῖν ('to mistreat'). Dover shows that περὶ is preferable to παρὰ for cases of making one's parents look foolish.

995. **ὅτι**...**μέλλεις**...**ἀναπλάττειν**

The *Σοῦδα* entry reads, ὅτι τῆς αἰδοῦς μέλλεις ἄγαλμ' ἀναπλήσειν, which is said to mean, ὅπερ μέλλει τῆς αἰδοῦς τὰ ἀγάλματα πληρῶσαι – "*which would fill up images of modesty*". This agrees with the reading of the principal codices (RVΘ) but requires a keen imagination to arrive at a logical interpretation. The verb ἀναπίμπλημι does occur metaphorically with the sense 'infect <with a disease>', but as Dover cautions, it would hardly be able on its own to signify 'infect with immorality', nor is it easy to see how this infecting of a statue might occur. The only possible interpretation which I can see is the literal one suggested by the synonym πληρόω which could be taken to mean 'fill up' in the sense of 'impregnate'. Again, this offers a rather too lively image for a statue.

Modern commentators have followed their ancient predecessors in focusing on the infinitive ἀναπλήσειν and have sought either to extract the meaning 'infect' or 'defile' on the basis of a scholion μολύνειν (E), or to transform it via one of the variants (ἀναπλάσειν / ἀναπλάσσειν) into some more apposite verb. Hall and Geldart have taken the latter course, but their proposal ἀναπλάττειν suggests 'restoration' rather than 'defacement'. Dover obelises the verb and suggests a most suitable replacement, ἀμαλάπτειν, a synonym for ἀμαλδύνω (*Εἰρήνη* 380), which is found in a Sophoklean fragment and could mean 'efface'. However, the rarity of this verb would surely have invited comment in ancient copies of the text and it would have been less likely to have been simply miscopied.

Wilson has difficulty accepting the infinitive in the codices, but like Henderson, considers that the ellipse of <τῆς νόσου> (Van Leeuwen) is sufficient defence. Nonetheless, he considers that *"the verb may well*

be corrupt" and suggests at any rate that the loose syntax could be improved if one replaces ὅ τι with οὗ, the genitive after ἀναπίμπλημι (Henderson), or with the dative ᾧ, as he proposes (p.74). Alternatively, he approves Sommerstein's decision to print the third person, ὅ τι...μέλλει, as suggested by the *Σοῦδα* entry and a scholion (E), having despaired of emending the infinitive. The sense then becomes 'a shameful act which is going to <defile> the statue of Modesty'.

If, however, we cease trying to 'infect', 'defile' or otherwise besmirch the resplendent statue and jettison the infinitive, another solution is prompted by Wilson's intervention. His suggestion to amend the relative pronoun to ᾧ could admit a change of subject, such that τὸ ἄγαλμα itself governs the third person μέλλει and opens up fresh options in place of the infinitive. My thought is that the infinitive need not have been expressed at all and a different meaning might be considered. I propose reading μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν, **ᾧ** τῆς Αἰδοῦς **μέλλει** τἄγαλμα **ἀνόνητον** <εἶναι> – "*do nothing shameful, by which the statue of Modesty is going to become <a> pointless <decoration>*". This change would show Aristophanes drawing on tragic-drama (cf. Euripides frg. 386 and *Ἱππόλυτος* 1144-5) to exploit the secondary meaning of τ(ὸ) ἄγαλμ(α) as a 'decorative accessory' (cf. *Σφῆκες* 314).

τῆς Αἰδοῦς...

Fifth-century tragic drama tended to personify certain facets of the human psyche. Euripides, for instance, in *Ἱππόλυτος* pictures *Purity* watering a grassy meadow in springtime with streams of fresh water, Αἰδὼς δὲ ποταμίαισι κηπεύει δρόσοις (78). In Xenophon's *Συμπόσιον* 'Sokrates' declares that the Spartans hold *Shame* to be a deity (8.35, θεὰν γὰρ...τὴν Αἰδῶ νομίζουσι). Possibly, there was an actual statue dedicated to the spirit of modesty, decency etc., in Athens, as Pausanias mentions that in his time there was an altar to Αἰδώς (1.17.1).

This is the third example of the deified female, after Μούσας (972) and Τριτογενείας (989), whom the old prude reveres. These imaginary paragons of femaleness are set on a pedestal to be admired while the less-edifying exemplars of real women are disdained. Religion ever eschews reality.

996. **μηδ(ὲ)...εἰσάττειν**

The verb (the Attic form of –αΐσσειν) denotes the eagerness with which young males may enter a place of entertainment; not unlike one where Polish or Lapp dancing is practised nowadays, perhaps. I speak from hearsay.

997. **μήλῳ βληθεὶς ὑπὸ πορνιδίου**

He warns Pheidippides of an unforeseen danger, that of being "*hit with an apple <thrown> by a young slut*", while pursuing this form of recreation. For all I know, flying fruit may still be a risk to be avoided nowadays in places where erotic dances are performed by young ladies, but one wonders how this might compromise one's virtuous reputation beyond one's very presence there. Commentators have explained that in ancient Athens the apples were tossed as tokens of love, but I doubt that Aristophanes had that in mind here. Instead, I take the apple as a metaphor for 'sex-appeal', equivalent to saying that he might be *Love-struck* (See Appendix 9). Apparently, certain females would present themselves in such a way as to arouse a sexual response in the males. Happily this is now a thing of the past and the males must take responsibility for their own lustful nature, notwithstanding any misconceived perception of feminine provocation they may allege. For further advice regarding apples and nightspots, see James Acaster (New Zealand Comedy Gala, 2013).

τῆς εὐκλείας ἀποθραυσθῇς

Rather than speak of 'shattered reputation', we commonly employ the metaphor of 'tarnishing one's good name'. Reputation or 'what other people think about you' has no bearing on ethics, but is a potent weapon in the armoury of religion. In Euripides' *Ἱππόλυτος*, for instance, Phaidra agonizes over the effect scandal might have on her sons' future (cf. 423) and ultimately takes her own life rather than put her 'good name' at risk.

998. **Ἰαπετὸν καλέσαντα**

Along with Okeanos, Iapetos was an older brother of Kronos. He was the father of Prometheus, who was accounted the creator of mankind. So, calling someone 'Iapetos' would be like saying he was old enough to be Adam's grandfather.

Wilson calls attention to the accusative case of the participle, which shows us that we need to understand σε throughout with each infinitive, as is usual for injunctions.

999. **μνησικακῆσαι τὴν ἡλικίαν**
The normal meaning of the verb is 'to bring to mind past wrongs' with the particular injuries expressed in the genitive (if at all). However, the presence of the accusative here has led commentators to interpret the verb uniquely in the sense, 'to remind <him> of his age to his detriment' (or as Sommerstein, in line with LSJ, translates, "*to cast his years in his teeth*". I would suggest that instead of trying to shoehorn meaning into yet another accusative, we would do better to read μνησικακῆσαι, **τῆς ἡλικίας** – "*do not remind him of his age out of spite by calling him Old Father Time*". The shift in sense can be justified by the idea of a son seeking to repay a parent for past injuries (a theme developed later), but the accusative can not be (as Blaydes had already pointed out).
ἐξ ἧς ἐνεοττοτροφήθης
Editors have accepted the relative pronoun and convinced themselves that the poet meant us to understand "<his age> *that time of his life when…*" (Dover) or "<his years>, *those years which were spent in rearing you*" (Sommerstein). This involves some mental gymnastics whereby the father has to become the subject of the verb, e.g. "<his years>, *many of which he spent on your fledging*" (Henderson). This construction is not convincing.
It seems probable that the original reading ἐξ **οὗ σὺ** 'νεοττοτροφήθης was corrected, because it was taken in the temporal sense commonly found, e.g. *Ἱππεῖς* 644, ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος κατερράγη – "*from the time when war broke upon us*" or *Πλοῦτος* 85, ἐξ ὅτουπερ ἐγένετο – "*ever since he was born*". But, here, the preposition must surely denote parentage and not age. The sense is **τῆς ἡλικίας** <τοῦ πατρὸς>, ἐξ **οὗ σὺ** 'νεοττοτροφήθης – "*by whose parenting you were raised from a chick*". The emphasis of the personal pronoun is echoed in σαυτοῦ of the following line (i.e. 994).
1000. **νὴ τὸν Διόνυσον**
His oath acknowledges that the debate is taking place in the theatre, before a jury of spectators (cf. 890).
1001. **τοῖς Ἱπποκράτους υἱέσιν**
Hippokrates, son of (Perikles' brother) Ariphron, had played a leading part in the military campaigns of 425/4. He had been in joint-command of the forces trying to capture Megara and later led the incursion into Boiotia to seize and fortify Delion. In the ensuing battle, however, he was out-manoevered by the Boiotian Pagondas and was among the nearly one thousand Athenians who lost their lives in the debacle. He was probably in his mid-thirties. His three sons (Telesippos, Perikles and Demophon), were satirized in comic-drama, according to a scholion on this line (frgs. 116 and 568), ὡς ὑώδεις τινὲς καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι, "*as porcine* (*boorish*) *and uneducated individuals*", a description which, given their pedigree, is unlikely to reflect reality. Similarly, the scholiast's report that Aristophanes mocked them for having their uncle's prominent forehead (in his previous work *Γεωργοί* and again in *Τριφάλης*) cannot be taken to indicate any actual physical deformity. A few years later Eupolis still refers to those "*whingeing infants, unworthy of their ancestry*" in *Δήμοι* (frg. 112). This criticism may derive from their having adopted the affected lisp of Alkibiades.
It is worth keeping in mind that Alkibiades was brought up in the shadow of Hippokrates as he had been adopted by Ariphron (his mother's cousin) when he lost his own father in battle. According to Plato, he served as a young trooper at Delion and was able to help cover the retreat of the infantry, which included Sokrates and Laches (cf. *Συμπόσιον* 220). We may presume that he took the orphaned sons of his 'half-brother' into his care afterwards.
βλιτομάμμαν
This characterization invites comparison with Eupolis's "*whingeing infants*" as it signifies children who refuse to grow up and still ask mummy to put their food through the blender. We can translate "*weaned on pureed greens*". The name βλίτα is still frequently heard in Greek tavernas, usually as a generic term for local 'horta', although it can be applied properly to amaranthus blitum (*notch-weed*). While it is true that the taste of βλίτα is rather bland, (hence the need for additional salt and / or lemon), the point here is likely to be that it can be consumed without the intervention of teeth. Hence, Sommerstein's "*milksop*" is sufficient without the addition of 'insipid'. See also Sommerstein addenda p. xxiv.
1002. **λιπαρὸς**
He pictures the young man ready to wrestle, his body oiled and gleaming.
1003. **στωμύλλων κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν**

In *Βάτραχοι* (1069-71), another old timer 'Aischylos' complains that Euripides cleared out the wrestling-grounds "*of young men who chattered among themselves*" (τῶν μειρακίων στωμυλλομένων). The verb is used to describe kingfishers' 'twittering' in the same play (1310). It could be applied to those politicians who publicize their views through social media nowadays.

τριβολ-εκτράπελ(α)

The cause signifies the effect. A 'prickly plant' and '<words> that divert or pervert' convey the image of "*vexatious arguments about irrelevant matters*".

1004. ἑλκόμενος περὶ πραγματίου

The verb is used of compelling someone to appear in court either as defendant or witness (cf. 1218, ἕλκω σε). The old teacher warns that he could end up being dragged <into court> "*over some trifling matter*".

γλισχραντιλογεξεπιτρίπτου

The view that the disparate parts were intended to form one word is as old as the *Σοῦδα* (γ 290), although it does not seem to have been in daily use, despite its obvious worth. The first element γλίσχρα, however, seems to be an epithet attached adverbially to the participle ἑλκόμενος rather than qualifying πραγμάτιον. This one infers from the phrase in *Εἰρήνη*, ἕλκουσιν δ' ὅμως γλισχρότατα (482), "*though they tug <at it> without let up*". So, it could mean here that he is 'hauled *resolutely* into court'. In order to transfer it onto the legal case the scholiasts (γ 288) have had to invert the meaning to δυσαπάλλακτος 'hard to get out of'. In English, 'sticky' can have the same ambiguity and, as the sense is sound, this interpretation is possible. But, the other elements of the compound do not cohere very well. It seems to me that the only reason that the second part ἀντίλογ' has been glued to the rest is because it has no syntactical relation as a standalone word. Nevertheless, the principal codex (R) writes σχλισχραντίλογ' ἐξεπιτρίπτου. Evidently, the copyist considered that γλιστρα-αντιλογα combined to express a coherent idea, 'stickily-disputatious' perhaps. In so doing, however, he isolated the final element and highlighted its implausibility. Prima facie, the prefix ἐξ serves to reinforce the epithet and, although the combination is not employed elsewhere, the parallel of ἐξ-επίτηδες suggests it could have been. But, why place emphasis on the minor court-case being 'totally' damnable?

The combination is far from convincing and I would prefer to print **γλίσχρ(α) ἀντιλογεῖν ἐπιτρίπτου** – "*being hauled doggedly* <before a magistrate> *to answer for some damnable triviality*" (cf. 321).

1005-6. εἰς Ἀκαδήμειαν

A contemporary analysis and interpretation of these lines is reflected in the translation of Jouanna (1994), "*Mais descendant à l' Académie, tu courras sur la piste à l'ombre des oliviers sacrés, après avoir ceint la tête d'un mince roseau en rivalisant avec une camarade bien sage*".

The area known as the Academy would later become famous as the place where Sokrates' *pupil* Plato set up his 'school'. It was situated some six stadia north-west of the Agora, beside the tree-lined banks of the Kephisos River. In Pausanias' time it was used as a sports-ground (1.29.2), but in the sixth century it was walled by Hipparchos and seems to have functioned as a private park, which by Aristophanes' day was open to the public. Plutarch (*Κίμων* 13.8) claims that Kimon created a shady, well-watered, recreational area out of the previously "*arid and waterless*" land. But, it is probable that he restored already-existing facilities, for the trees, river and "*cleared tracks*" were already there. This can be deduced from a stone marking its boundary which dates from c. 500, and an altar which was noted by Pausanias in front of the entrance (1.30.1). The latter bore a dedicatory inscription dating from the Peisistratid dictatorship, which Athenaios (609 δ) quotes:

ποικιλομήχαν' Ἔρως, σοὶ τόνδ' ἱδρύσατο βωμὸν
Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου.

It is this altar which provides us with the clearest hint as to why the old schoolmaster refers to this area rather than a local gym. As Pausanias's account makes clear 'multi-faceted Love' is a circumlocution for homosexual affection and the shady walks along the river-bank were more suited to secretive trysts than to regular athletic training. But, that such meetings might be carried out under the pretext of training runs is supported by a line of Eupolis's *Ἀποστρατεύτοι* (frg. 36) which refers to, "*the shaded* (*running*)*-tracks of the divine Hekademos*" (ἐν εὐσκίοις δρόμοισιν Ἑκαδήμου θεοῦ). cf. Diogenes Laërtios 3.8. An elegy of Theognis shows that the association with paederasty was already established in the sixth century (993-6),

εἰ θείης, Ἀκάδημε, ἐφήμερον ὕμνον ἀείδειν,
ἆθλον δ' ἐν μέσσῳ παῖς καλὸν ἄνθος ἔχων
σοί τ' εἴη καὶ ἐμοὶ σοφίης πέρι δηρισάντοιν,
γνοίης χ' ὅσσον ὄνων κρέσσονες ἡμίονοι.

κατιὼν

An Athenian spoke of "*going down*" from the city to the surrounding districts and *coming up* to the city from the outlying demes (especially from the coast), e.g. εἰς ἄστυ...ἀνιὼν Φαληρόθεν, Plato *Συμπόσιον* 172 α).

ὑπὸ ταῖς μορίαις

One of the reasons that the Academy was still frequented in war-time was the fact that the Lakedaimonian invaders had abstained from felling its trees on religious grounds (although their piety may have been due to the reputed role of Kimon in restoring the area). Pausanias mentions that an aged olive tree stood near an altar of Athene and Herakles, the sole survivor of the twelve planted originally, from off-shoots of the sacred olive in the Erechtheion. But I do not believe Aristophanes is referring to these trees. Besides the fact that they were part of a sacred precinct, they would have offered little in the way of shade (Plutarch talks of συσκίοις περιπάτοις), and barefoot athletes would have been wary of running near them. A more likely deduction would be that they were a variety of mulberry whose leaves are soft and give generous shade.

In later times, mulberry trees became so widespread in Greece due to sericulture that the Peloponnese was renamed from them, the *Morea*.

ἀποθρέξει

What will the young man do at the grove of Akademeia? The compound verb appears to be formed from an irregular future tense of τρέχω, used by Aristophanes in *Εἰρήνη* (261**,** μεταθρέξει ταχὺ, "*you will run quickly to fetch*"), and possibly by Platon (frg. 260, ἀποθρέξεις). If the preposition is to carry its normal force, the compound ought to mean, 'run away' or 'run home'. Dover says it means, "'*Run off*'; *where to, is immaterial*". There is consensus, however, that it means to 'practice running for a race' or to 'run hard'. But, the only support for the idea seems to come from the unattributed verse, ἐβάδιζέ μοι τὸ μειράκιον ἐξ ἀποτρόχων (frg. 645), quoted by a scholiast on Euripides' *Μήδεια* 46 (where a similar phrase ἐκ τρόχων is used) and said to mean "*the lad came over to me from the running track*" (Henderson). Blaydes was not convinced and proposed altering the preposition to δια-.

It is certainly pleasant to have company when training and a well-matched companion could be useful as a pace-maker. But, if the scene pictured by the schoolmaster is just two chums going for a jog together in a quiet spot, what humour does the poet expect to extract from it? It is an innocent situation that would raise no concerns in the minds of the spectators. But, I believe that the verb conceals a different activity, one for which the assistance of a close friend of one's own age would prove necessary rather than simply advantageous. I suspect that the poet has fashioned a verb **ἀποθρίξει**, based upon the adjective ἀπόθριξ ('hairless'). He is describing how the young man "*will remove the hairs from <his> body with the help of <his> young friend*". Such was the opprobrium which surrounded the practice of male depilation that the meaning of the verb was obscured. In fifth-century Athens, it was considered unmanly to shave and, even those men like Kleisthenes who were naturally hairless (perhaps due to hormonal imbalance), became the subject of comic ridicule. Smooth-skinned males in other cultures were viewed with suspicion due to their 'feminine' appearance and Athenaios, believed that homosexuality was rife among the Etruscans, because their young men were πάνυ καλοὶ τὰς ὄψεις...λεαινόμενοι τὰ σώματα – "*very good-looking…since they smoothed* (*i.e. removed the hair from*) *their bodies*" (12.518 α). For depilation as a punishment cf. 1083.

καλάμῳ λευκῷ

On the assumption that these words attach to the participle, it has puzzled many commentators that the boy should plait a garland of "*white reed*". Accordingly, to begin with, Sommerstein adopted Cantarella's proposed reading γλαυκῷ, which was taken to mean 'green'. But, it is not really a very suitable adjective for a reed, being used mostly of *ripe* olives and grapes and though applied typically to the leaves of olive trees, it describes their glossy sheen rather than their green colour. So, Sommerstein reverted to "*white reeds*" in his later translation. Van Leeuven had already suggested that λεπτῷ would be a more suitable word (cf. frg. 53, κερκώπην θηρευσαμένη καλάμῳ λεπτῷ - "*hunting a grasshopper with a thin reed*".)

and Wilson (p. 75) recently found support for the adjective in a scholion which he considered may have been misplaced some ten lines later.

This all seems to amount to clutching at *straws*. But, what if the reed (singular) was not for the garland? The one instance of reeds forming a crown that I recall is the description by the younger Philostratos of an allegorical figure in a painting (*Imagines* 1) said to have represented the island of Skyros "*crowned with reeds*", but this is a metaphorical reference to the lines of tall καλάμια which serve as wind-breaks on the wind-swept island. One may suppose instead that the boy was already wearing a typical garland of pliant olive, or seasonal flowers, such as the one young Hippolytos brings to crown the effigy of chaste Artemis (cf. Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 73-4). In which case, he had been directed to the shady river-bank for a different reason; because there he would find a dried, *white* reed stem which could be split to produce a serviceable razor (cf. Theokritos 8. 23-4, where a sharp-edged split reed in a set of pipes has cut a shepherd's finger). So, while I think that Aristophanes did in fact write λευκῷ, it remains possibile this was just written under the influence of λεύκης in the next line and that he might have written γλαφυρῷ ('hollow' or 'neat').

μετὰ σώφρονος ἡλικιώτου

If there is to be a foot-race, the requirement for a co-eval is logical, but why does he need to be 'chaste'? The schoolmaster obviously hopes that the epithet will remove suspicion of hanky-panky from the minds of his auditors, but Aristophanes knew his audience better than that.

1007. **μίλακος ὄζων**

Whether we write σμίλακος or not, the same plant which wreathes the heads of sleeping Bacchants must be meant (Euripides *Βάκχαι* 703, 107). The name is used of the Mediterranean Smilax (*smilax aspera*) or prickly ivy. The significance of this particular plant lies not in its smell (ὄζων is metaphorical as usual), but in its botanical character and mythical associations. A Spartan youth named Krokos was admired by Hermes, who changed him into a flowering crocus to save him from the attentions of Smilax, a woodland nymph. She in her turn was changed by Aphrodite into the briar which is found in the same habitats. The scientific basis for the myth is that the smilax is dioecious (δι-οικεία), i.e. male and female flowers do not co-habit on the same plant. [Those interested in Greek (especially Cretan) flora should visit the excellent site of the botanical artist Hans de Vries, www. flowersofchania.com. for superb illustrations and detailed information. This is an unpaid testimonial.]

ἀπραγμοσύνης

According to a scholion, the Alexandrian scholar Aristophanes of Byzantion took this to mean a kind of weed which grew like smilax in the Academy. Was he being deliberately obtuse? As an abstract noun it reinforces the metaphorical use of ὄζων, but also, given the context, it supports the message of σώφρονος, namely that there's 'nothing going on here'.

It is also possible that the word was chosen for its political connotations. Ehrenbeg (1947, 54-5) points to the possibility that, as the antonym of πολυπραγμοσύνη, it could have sent out the message that a prudent boy keeps himself to himself and does not get caught up in discussing everyday issues, living "*free from the accusations and the litigations caused by sycophants and demagogues*" just mentioned (1004). See also *Σφῆκες* 1040.

λεύκης φυλλοβολούσης

Two out of the three things giving off a scent in this line do actually reside in parks and so one is tempted to try to identify and classify the respective plants. In which case, it might be thought that my shamefully comprehensive ignorance of botany would put me at a disadvantage. Not so, because a close acquaintance with Attic tragic-drama teaches that the poetic significance of trees or plants goes beyond their Linnaean classification. When Phaidra rambles deliriously about "*taking my rest beneath black poplars*" (Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 210-1), she is expressing her death-wish. So here, the relevance of the white poplar (or aspen) is that it represents chastity, since, when Hades attempted to violate the nymph Leuke, his advances were rejected and he was prevented by the intervention of his wife Persephone.

The wilful insistence of scholars on taking the *fragrances* literally has caused some to claim that the line is at odds with the old man's express mention of spring (in the following line). Accordingly, Dover marks φυλλοβολούσης as suspect on the grounds that the white poplar sheds its leaves in autumn. Meineke had previously proposed emending to φυλλοκομούσης and Blaydes to φυλλοφορούσης. But, the poet is only saying that the tree is deciduous; there is no need to start emending the text. I wonder, in fact, whether the

epithet may simply be a rather obvious pun. Some in the audience might hear φυλο-βολούσης, "*shedding her gender*" (cf. *Θεσμοφ.* 786, τὸ γυναικεῖον φῦλον), for which the myth of Leuke might have given some support. Unfortunately, the nymphs Minthe and Leuke are known to us only through casual references in Roman writers. In any case, the ostensible meaning parallels the action contained in ἀποθρίξει, so I have added a fourth plant to try to convey the added symbolism. It could be interpreted as further evidence of the schoolmaster's apparent aversion to sexual display.

1008. **ἦρος ἐν ὥρᾳ χαίρων**

This reference to spring, when balmy zephyrs murmur through new foliage, is a purely pictorial addition. It has confused quite a few scholars, who forget that they are witnessing a drama. The schoolmaster adds this wistful coda to show us that the scene he pictures is probably drawn from memory. He is now in the late autumn of his life amid late-blossoming briar and the fallen leaves of poplar and mulberry, but he is still able to share vicariously in the *Careless Whispers* of young men who are in the springtime of *their* lives (cf. 1002, λιπαρός γε καὶ εὐανθὴς). Such a blameless, lyrical line must surely have been lifted from some contemporary tragic-drama.

["*Leaves are brown, there's a patch of snow on the ground…look around, it's the springtime of my life*" Paul Simon, "*A hazy shade of winter*".]

1009.

The mood and metre changes abruptly as he leaves his reverie behind.

1010. **καὶ πρὸς τούτοις προσέχῃς**

We do not need both preposition and verb prefix, and so Meineke chose to omit the preposition. But, the necessary correction, as supplied by Bergk and printed by Sommerstein, is to recognize that προσέχῃς began as a gloss to explain the tmesis, καὶ **πρὸς** τούτοις **ἔχῃς**. See line 163 where the same preposition is duplicated in error.

1012. **χροιὰν λαμπράν**

The reading of the codices is λευκήν, which is clearly wrong and perhaps due to a lapse of concentration on the part of a copyist.

1013. **γλῶτταν βαιάν**

A tongue 'of no consequence' or 'of few words', because it would be used rarely (cf. Sophokles *Αἴας* 292, ὃ δ' εἶπε πρός με βαί(α) – "*he addressed me curtly*").

1014. **πόσθην μικράν**

The prissy schoolmaster lacks Strepsiades' easy familiarity with the word πέος (734) and chooses a polite alternative (cf. πόσθιον in *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 254).

1015. **ἅπερ οἱ νῦν ἐπιτηδεύῃς**

The verb is used of 'cultivating habits'. The habits in question are the intellectual pursuits encouraged by the likes of Euripides, who is criticized for it in similar language in *Βάτραχοι* (1069-72).

1017-9.

My translation follows Bücheler's rearrangement. He pointed out that careless copying had misplaced the first phrase στῆθος λεπτόν, and restored it at the head of the list so that the order of parts corresponds with the sequence of the first. I follow Henderson in adopting the change and adjusting the colometry.

στῆθος λεπτόν, χροιὰν ὠχράν,
ὤμους μικρούς, γλῶτταν μεγάλην,
πυγὴν μικράν, [*κωλὴν μεγάλην*], ψήφισμα μακρόν.

1019. **πυγὴν μικράν**

A lack of physical exercise "*wears down the buttocks*" according to the old school of thought (*Βάτραχοι* 1070, καὶ τὰς πυγὰς ἐνέτριψεν).

κωλὴν μεγάλην

A "*large thigh*" is the opposite of what is needed in the list and Dover questioned the phrase's suitability. His objection prompted Austin (1970) to suggest deleting it altogether on the grounds that it had merely been inserted as a clumsy attempt to provide a counter-weight to πόσθην μικράν. It is, in fact, a gloss on the phrase which follows, supplied by a scholiast seeking to explain it with the use of the word κωλῆ (cf. 989), which he, like many later commentators, has misunderstood.

ψήφισμα μακρόν

The careful correspondence of the two lists is necessary to magnify the effect of the surprise at the end. Having told us that the tongue is the only part of the body which is developed by modern education, the audience expects him to come up with a match for πόσθην μικράν. But, realizing that natural endowment may pre-empt physical training in this area, he hastily switches attention to acts of parliament, for which the sophists provide debating skills. Sommerstein keeps us in touch with the unspoken thought, alluding to Chinese *elections*, and that, as Stewart Lee will tell you, is satire.

1022. **τῆς Ἀντιμάχου καταπυγοσύνης**

The word καταπυγοσύνη derives from the use of the middle finger to insult someone as a sodomite, but it seems to be assumed that it applied only to the recipient of the gesture, whereas it might have applied also to a person known for making gross gestures against others (and Σωφροσύνη in particular). Although the 'Scoundrel' might well deserve a charge of "*faggotry*", it sounds ironic coming from one whose façade of prim propriety barely conceals his own perverted passions.

At any rate, we know too little about Antimachos to guess what may have prompted Aristophanes to take this opportunity to poke fun at him. The ancient commentators (*Σοῦδα* α 2684) identified five individuals with the name, but their information appears far from certain. They say that the man spit-roasted here was being ridiculed for his feminine beauty (οὗτος εἰς θηλύτητα καὶ εὐμορφίαν κωμῳδεῖται), but that another Antimachos was accused of wickedness (ἕτερος ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ κωμῳδούμενος). They also note that Eupolis mentions a banker of the same name in *Δήμοι*. One is said to have written history (ἱστοριογράφος), while another is known only by his nickname the 'Splutterer' (ὁ Ψεκάδος). Of these five, one or more (or none) may be the most celebrated Antimachos, who was a leading literary figure in the last quarter of the fifth century. This man, the son of Hyparchos, a native of Kolophon (*Σοῦδα* α 2681), was a poet of epic-verse. He is probably the man ridiculed by the Chorus in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (1150), a prose-writer who fancied himself as a lyric poet, since Athenaios (13.598 α-β) says he penned elegiac laments for his lost lady *Liddy* (Λυδῆ). Although his floruit is put c. 403 B.C., the claim that he studied under Panyassis of Halikarnassos (d. 454), if formally true, would make him a likely co-eval of Sokrates. Consequently, he is the one pilloried here too. The scholiasts maintain that the reference in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* is to a different man, but their view is probably based on the simple consideration that καταπυγοσύνη was invariably a charge of passive homosexuality and that this proclivity was inconsistent with heterosexual love-poetry.

If the entry on the Ψεκάδος in the *Σοῦδα* (α 2683) relates to the same poet, some intriguing possibilities are opened up, for he was said to have made himself unpopular with choruses. Sadly, Aristotle did not get around to writing an *Antimachean Ethics*, but a 'Sokratic' dialogue entitled *Ἀντίμαχος* (or *Πρεβῦται*) was attributed to Phaidon of Elis.

Choral Song (Ὠδή) 1024-33

1024. **καλλίπυργον σοφίαν**

Earlier, the Chorus had commended Strepsiades for wishing to get an education (517, σοφίαν ἐπασκεῖ), now they use the same phrase of the old teacher's defence of the traditional education. The epithet picked to describe his 'wisdom', translated as "*towering*" (Henderson) and "*lofty*" (Sommerstein, 1991), usually applies to 'well-defended' cities, for that is the purpose of towers and it carries the same connotations as the μηχανὰς καινὰς which had confused Strepsiades (479-80). The use of καταπυγοσύνη in the previous line may have suggested Aphrodite's title καλλίπυγος to the listener by way of a poetic antithesis here.

κλεινοτάτην

This is also an adjective often used to describe cities. The Aldine editor slipped in **τ**(**ε**) after the adjective and this would be useful for translation purposes.

1027. **ἔπεστιν ἄνθος**

Sommerstein points out that this phrase acknowledges the use of "*floral beauty and floral fragrance*" in the old teacher's presentation.

1028-9. **εὐδαίμονες δ**(**ὲ**) **ἦσαν**

The sentiment contained in this couplet is straightforward, but not everyone is *happy* with its expression. Dover thought τότε ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων is pleonastic and he is not wrong, but Clouds can be nebulous. It is not necessary to follow Zimmermann (1985) 126-7, recasting the whole sentence as, εὐδαίμονες ἄρ' ἦσαν

οἱ ζῶντες ἐπὶ Κρόνου τότε. Although Sommerstein and Henderson considered it worthwhile to make the changes, I see no compelling reason to do so, particularly as Wilson (p. 76) has raised metrical objections. The one necessary emendation of **γ**' for δ' was made previously by Blaydes, though I cannot help but feel that our poet may have plagiarised some dedicatory epigram on a public war-memorial, along the lines of εὐδαίμονες γὰρ ἦσαν ποτε, in order to draw a smile of recognition from patriotic Athenians brought up on such Simonidean idioms.

1030. **πρὸς τάδε σ(ε)**

The reading of the codices, πρὸς οὖν τάδ(ε), is both inelegant, since the connecting particle is sandwiched in a conjunctive phrase, and unmetrical. Indeed, as Dover notes, Aristophanes usually avoids a connecting particle altogether with πρὸς τάδε and πρὸς ταῦτα, but when necessary he puts it outside the conjunctive phrase, cf. frg. 322, πρὸς ταῦτ(α) οὖν , ὦ (ἄ)νδρες.

Someone, probably Triklinios, mended the metre by emending to πρὸς τάδε δὲ, but Hall and Geldart have improved on this by duplicating the pronoun, for which *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 383-4 provides a parallel.

κομψοπρεπῆ Μοῦσαν

The Chorus are saying that his rhetorical skills have the 'appearance' of elegance, but we do not need to assume that they are thereby labelling them as "*plausible*" or "*specious*", which would be prejudicial. In *Σφῆκες* (1022, οἰκείων Μουσῶν) the poet talks about 'his own personal Muses' to indicate his control of the creative process and then in *Βάτραχοι* (1306) 'Aischylos' invokes the Μοῦσα Εὐριπίδου to assist him in his rendition of modern *Mus*ic. It may be this Euripidean style of Muse that the epithet κομψοπρεπῆς is hinting at here, for the *Βίος Αἰσχύλου* (which draws on comedic sources) says that Aischylos condemned the portrayal of villains in "*a refined and sententious poetic style*" (κομψοπρεπές τε καὶ γνωμολογικὸν) as foreign to tragic-drama. In view of the fact that Aischylos did not live to endure Euripides' innovations in tragic-drama, the observation might have been taken from a comic-drama which brought him to life again (as *Βάτραχοι* would do later) in order to deride his successor.

1032. **ὡς ηὐδοκίμηκεν ἀνήρ**

The codices omit the augment on the verb and the rough breathing on the noun, i.e. ὡς εὐδοκίμηκεν ἀνηρ, which suggests that the Chorus may be saying, 'as <you are> a man who has gained distinction'. But, the definite article, supplied by Hermann, makes it clear that they are referring approvingly to the 'Righteous man' who has been speaking. For the causal ὡς, cf. *Βάτραχοι* 278.

Exhortation (**κατακελευσμός**) 1034-5

Unlike the earlier couplets (476-7 and 959-60) the Chorus use iambic tetrameters as a lead in for the next speaker.

δεινῶν...**δεῖν**

The poet embellishes his verse with assonance.

Second Speaker 1036-1104

1036-52.

The 'Scoundrel' makes no bones about the fact that his side of the argument amounts to little more than demolishing the accepted norm of moral codes, without proposing an alternative ethical system. He takes the standard examplars of moral behaviour from myth and points out logical anomalies; beginning with the greatest exemplar of them all, Herakles.

His rebuttal is made in iambic tetrameters. Sommerstein, noting that the metres used by the protagonists in *Ἱππεῖς* and *Βάτραχοι* are similarly split between anapaests and iambics, suggests that the iambic metre may have been normally considered appropriate for the less dignified speaker of the two.

1036. **καὶ μὴν πάλαι γ(ε) ἐπνιγόμην**

The reading printed by Hall and Geldart conforms with the earlier phraseology (4) and makes good sense, but editors have long sought to interpolate the personal pronoun ἐγώγε into the text for emphasis. There is no real need to do so, but the codices reflect various attempts, καὶ μὴν ἔγωγ(ε) ἐπνιγόμην (RV), πάλαι γ' ἔγωγ' (N), πάλ' ἔγωγ' (ΕΘ), πάλαι ἔγωγ' (K). Dover and Henderson have elected to adopt καὶ μὴν πάλαι 'γὼ 'πνιγόμην, the compromise proposed by Bentley, but Sommerstein shares my view that the pronoun is obtrusive.

1038. **ἥττων...λόγος...ἐκλήθην**
It is precisely because he is continually refuting other people's arguments rather than putting forward any of his own that he has gained his reputation as being the 'lesser' of the two.
1039. **ἐν τοῖσι φροντισταῖσιν**
He means "*among intellectuals*" generally, but particularly the students of the Φροντιστήριον. For the use of the definite article in generic phrases, see also 1046, 1053.
1040. **τοῖσιν νόμοις καὶ ταῖς δίκαις**
The phrase 'laws and customs' is tantamount to saying, "*commonly-held views of what is just*".
1041-2.
This couplet has the appearance of being an aside directed specifically at his prospective pupil rather than the audience. Quite how the two lines are joined syntactically is not clear.
πλεῖν ἢ μυρίων...στατήρων
"*More staters than you can count*". The stater was a weight measurement used chiefly of coinage, but not Athenian coinage. However, the reason he talks of staters instead of saying πολλῶν ταλάντων (cf. 471), is probably due to the secondary sense of 'a debtor who does not pay up'. The comic poet Epicharmos says, πολλοὶ στατῆρες, ἀποδοτῆρες οὐδ' ἂν εἷς – "*many <of them> should have paid, but not one would cough up*" (Kaibel, frg. 116). He seems to want to combine the idea of 'refusal to pay debts' with the suggestion of 'large debt-payments avoided'.
αἱρούμενον...νικᾶν
Even if one assumes an ellipse along the lines of, 'this fact is worth a lot <to you namely that> by <your> choosing now…' the sense is strained beyond what can reasonably be justified. There is no easy answer. I suggest that the present text came about, either through the accidental omission of a line, which contained an appeal to the young man not to disdain the weaker arguments, e.g. <ὥστε σε> αἱρούμενον… νικᾶν, or simply switching the order. The original text may have echoed the appeal of the Righteous man (990) and also encouraged Pheidippides to believe that adopting the 'weaker' side would bring him financial gain.

αἱροῦ μὲν ὃν τοὺς ἥττονας λόγους ἔπεισα νικᾶν,
καὶ τοῦτο πλεῖν ἢ μυρίων ἐστ(ι) ἄξιον στατήρων.

"*Choose* <me> *the one who taught the weaker arguments to win*, *and this <ability> is worth more than a million in debts avoided*."
1045. **ψέγεις**
The verb ('to find fault with'), repeated in 1055, has been restored also in 528.
1046. **δειλὸν ποιεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα**
The codices agree on the mistaken reading δειλότατον, while modern editors agree that a superlative is otiose. Blaydes proposal to emend τὸν to τιν(α), however, is not necessary. Presumeably, he wants it to mean 'any man', but the definite article is frequently used in general propositions where we in English use the indefinite (cf. 1053, τῶν νεανίσκων).
[**1047**]
In my translation I have transposed this line after 1050.
1047. **σ(ε) ἔχω μέσον λαβὼν ἄφυκτον**
It has long been held that the phrase σ' ἔχω μέσον must mean "*I hold you by the waist*", for the equivalent phrase in passive form is found in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (571), ἔχομαι μέσος (cf. *Ἱππεῖς* 388, ἔχεται μέσος) and taken to mean "*I am being held by the waist*". Here, this interpretation could pass quietly under the radar but for the awkward addition of the adjective ἄφυκτον, which uniquely has to be construed in an active sense to mean that the 'Righteous man' is "*unable to escape from it*".
To overcome this difficulty, Sommerstein adopts W.H. Thompson's proposal to emend λαβὼν to λαβὴν, a word used regularly in the sense of 'a hold' or 'a handle' (cf. 551) which fits the adjective (cf. εἰλήμμεθα λαβὴν ἄφυκτον, used by a later comic-poet, Nikochares, frg. 21). This change produces a bipartite phrase which fits together as neatly as a boxed furniture kit, "*I hold you by the waist, in respect of a hold from which you cannot escape*".
I am not convinced, however, that emendation is necessary, because I believe that σ' ἔχω μέσον alone can mean "*I have you in a hold*". In none of the instances in which it occurs does the usage require particular reference to the waist. The phrase ἔχομαι μέσος simply means "*I'm in a bind*". In this passage, in fact, the

additional adjective indicates that the hold is not a simple waist-hold, because that is fairly easy to escape from (Henderson's substitution of "*hammerlock*" may be recognition of this fact). The way to express 'to grapple around the waist' is found in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (274) μέσην λαβόντ(α) – where it is not a wrestling hold as such. Henderson alters the word-order.

1048. **καί μοι φράσον**

The opening of this line suggests to me that his question follows the response of his opponent without the interruption of line 1047. Moreover, it is premature to claim victory at this point when the audience have no idea where he is heading. Accordingly I propose postponing his exultation until after line 1050.

τίν(α) ἄνδρ(α) ἄριστον

Blaydes (1890) observed that the same phrase is used by Euripides when Amphitryon demands of Lykos, (*Ἡρακλῆς* 183, ἐροῦ τίν' ἄνδρ' ἄριστον ἐγκρίνειαν ἄν;) "*Ask who they would consider the most perfect man*", and some scholars consider that the similarity cannot be accidental. But, as we have reason to date Euripides' play c. 416 B.C., one could only presume that the phrase had been copied from the comic-poet. It has been suggested however, by Simone Beta (1999), that Euripides had composed an earlier version of his *Ἡρακλῆς*, which was performed shortly before the first version of *Νεφέλαι* and it was this that led to a verbal echo here and inspired Aristophanes to parody 'the mad hero' in his portrayal of the old juryman in *Σφῆκες*. Whatever the merits of the hypothesis with regard to the manic PhiloKleon, there is no real point in dragging *Νεφέλαι* into the mix, because ἄριστος was a defining epithet for Herakles since Hesiod's age and the question is unexceptional in this form.

1049. **πλείστους πόνους πονῆσαι**

Herakles, the archetypal comic-book hero, overcame all odds to triumph over adversity (cf. Hesiod first used the epithet πονηρότατον of him and the hero claims that, "*I have certainly experienced my share of troubles*" (Euripides *Ἡρακλῆς* 1353, ἀτὰρ πόνων δὴ μυρίων ἐγευσάμην).

1050. **οὐδέν(α) Ἡρακλέους βελτίον(α)**

As the mythical forefather of the Peloponnesians, Herakles was considered a paragon of virtue by Greeks. Euripides characterizes him, φαῦλον, ἄκομψον, τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθόν – "*straightforward, a plain-speaker, a good man in a crisis*" (frg 473, Nauck).

1051. **Ἡράκλεια λουτρά**

Naturally occurring hot springs were often associated with Herakles, who liked to relax in a Jacuzzi after his labours. The water temperature was explained by reference to the underground smithy of Hephaistos; showing that the connection between volcanic regions and thermal springs was already recognized.

1053. **τῶν νεανίσκων...λαλούντων**

The definite article is used of youngsters generally, not as Henderson would have it "*the* teenagers", cf. 1039, 1420 (where he rightly takes τὸν πατέρα to be generic) and 1424.

ἀεὶ δι(ὰ) ἡμέρας

This reverses what is for us the natural order "*throughout the day and every day*".

1055-7.

As well as bath-houses, the Righteous man wants to put the Agora off-limits for young men (cf. 991). His particular beef against the market-place was that one could easily become embroiled in heated arguments while lounging there (cf. 1003). The Scoundrel counters this with the reasonable observation that Nestor, the elder statesman of the Greek army at Troy, along with other wise men, was described by Homer as a proficient speaker. Sommerstein (2002, note 119) objects that this rebuttal is mere wordplay, based on the conceit that two words of very different meaning, ἀγορά and ἀγορητής, were distantly related. However, his claim that the latter word was 'obsolete' does not alter the fact that it would have been understood as a synonym (though perhaps an antiquated one) for ῥήτωρ. The contemporary word is itself contracted from ἀγο-ρήτωρ and the word ἀγορεύω was still used of one making a formal address on the Pnyx (as *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 45). An Athenian brought up on Homeric epic would have known that Athens' market-place had been the original place of public assembly, and when he went on campaign he would have found himself swapping views and victuals in the ἀγορά of his army camp (cf. Herodotos 1. 153.2 on the relationship between free speech and markets in the Greek psyche).

1058. **ἄνειμι...ἐντεῦθεν ἐς**

"*Talking of public-speaking brings me to the tongue…*" (cf. 1075).

1062. **φράσον...εἰπών**
He challenges his opponent to name someone who has profited from his virtuous behaviour, knowing full well that virtue is either, 'its own reward' or, 'is rewarded in the next life'. Henderson's translation omits the challenge, but perhaps only through oversight.
1063. **πολλοῖς**
The 'many people' to whom he refers take their case from τῷ in the Scoundrel's question. The reading of the Venetus codex, πολλούς, is a slip.
ὁ Πηλεὺς
Peleus, son of Aiakos, was exiled from his native Aigina on suspicion of complicity in the murder of his younger brother Phokos. He fled to Phthia, where he married the ruler's daughter Polymela (sometimes called Antigone, because they suffered the same fate). But the unfortunate man killed his wife's adoptive brother Eurytion in a hunting accident and was forced to flee again. This time, he took refuge at the court of king Akastos at Iolkos and received ritual absolution. But, when he rejected the sexual advances of his host's wife, the queen Astydameia (called Kretheïs by some, because she was the daughter of Kretheus), he was accused of attempted rape, and expelled from the town to wander homeless, at the mercy of wild animals and centaurs on Mount Pelion. However, in recognition of his faithfulness to his wife, Polymela, the gods gave him a magic sword, forged by Daidalos (and invested with magical properties by Hermes), with which he was able to protect himself and so survive by hunting.
Both Sophokles and Euripides wrote tragic-dramas under the title *Πηλεύς*. Neither work can be dated, but the mention of the myth here and a possible parody of it in a scene of *Σφῆκες* (1157 ff.) suggest that one or the other might have been presented fairly recently.
τὴν μάχαιραν
He got 'his' sword, i.e. *the* sword from the well-known myth.
1064. **ἀστεῖόν γε κέρδος**
The reward Peleus got for his virtue was "*urbane at any rate*". He is intimating that the gods hardly lifted a finger to help him and that, instead of revealing his innocence, they simply allowed him to save himself. They did no more than tip the odds of survival in his favour, because the sword was a 'magic' one. Thus, the speaker suggests sarcastically that perhaps they were having a joke at Peleus' expense.
The main codices are divided between γε (V) and τὸ (RΘ) with a later ms. (N) offering γε τό. Dover cites Pherekrates (frg. 159, καλόν γε δῶρο…) which appears to support the sarcastic inflection of the particle.
1065. **οὐκ τῶν λύχνων**
I would go out on a limb here and change the breathing; for two reasons. First of all, I am reluctant to take ὁ ἐκ τῶν λύχνων to mean "*the man from the lamp-market*" although one could interpret the phrase as "*the one born from the lamps*". But, since there was no likelihood that the audience would have confused him with another person of the same name, why bring up a well-known fact (*Εἰρήνη* 690, λυχνοποιός), unless his lampmaking had some bearing on the point. Probably, the poet is suggesting that Hyperbolos had not attained his comfortable financial status purely on the profits of his lamp-factories but διὰ πονηρίαν. Thus I would retain the reading of the codices, οὐκ (RV) or οὐκ ἐκ (ΕΚΝΘ) and understand that πονηρία and *not* lamps (**οὐ** '**κ** τῶν λύχνων) had made him a rich man. The rough breathing was only thanks to Reisig.
1066. **εἴληφε**
It is now usual to aspirate the verb **εἴληφε** in accordance with the epigraphical evidence of L. Threatte (i. 463 and 505-6).
οὐ μάχαιραν
The demagogue Hyperbolos was certainly a *sabre*-rattler in the Assembly, so why did the gods never give him a magic sword?
1067. **τὴν Θέτιν γ(ε) ἔγημε**
After Polymela, his first wife, hanged herself in the mistaken belief that Peleus was unfaithful to her and intended to take Akastos' daughter to wife in her place, Zeus gave him the Nereid Thetis as his wife. He had wanted her for himself, but was discouraged by the prophecy of the Fates which foretold that any son she bore would be greater than his father. In due course she bore Achilles to Peleus.
1068. **οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὑβριστὴς**

Recently, in his *Ἱππόλυτος*, Euripides had examined the concept of σωφροσύνη and suggested that though aspiring to saintliness was laudable, pure living could prove to be injurious to oneself and others, if taken to excess. At one point, Phaidra is encouraged by her nurse to yield to her love for her stepson, because to do otherwise would seem like *hybris*, οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο πλὴν ὕβρις τάδ' ἐστί, κρείσσω δαιμόνων εἶναι θέλειν, "*for wanting to be better than the gods* (i.e. by reining in sexual passion) *is the definition of hybris*" (474-5). It is this hubris which ultimately destroys Hippolytos, the chaste acolyte of Artemis, who falls foul of her opposite number, Aphrodite. Like Hippolytos, Peleus was saintly to the point of 'outraging' the gods. But, whereas Euripides portrayed Hippolytos as guilty of hubris for obsessive devotion to his chastity, the advocate of amorality taunts his moralizing adversary here, painting Peleus as failing in his nuptial duties.

1069. **τὴν νύκτα παννυχίζειν**

To translate this simply as "*to spend the whole night*" misses the religious aspect of the verb. The practice of 'keeping vigil' (nowadays known as *ὁλονυκτιά*), must be relevant here, because Thetis is an immortal (cf. *Βάτραχοι* 446, οὗ παννυχίζουσιν θεᾷ). So Peleus, as a mortal, is said to 'keep vigil' in bed beside her. Once we take account of the fact that the verb applies to Peleus (not Thetis), it is perhaps worth asking ourselves whether the infinitive is appropriate. The phrase ἐστιν ἡδὺ would need an infinitive (cf. 1399), but ἡδὺς suggests a participle would suit the syntax better.

1070. **σιναμωρουμένη**

The sense of this rather rare verb can be drawn from Herodotos's account of the warning of Lakrines to Cyrus that he should refrain from "*mistreating any of the* (Greek) *cities*" – μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν (1.152.3). Moreover, it is linked with the idea of hubris by Aristotle. So, we can take it as 'mishandle' or 'mistreat outrageously'. [Aristophanes is surely cloaking his sincere respect for womankind in humourous exaggeration in the manner of Steve Martin, to whom my translation is indebted. Neither comic writer has quite the panache of Alice Munro, however, who describes her heroine (in 'Wild Swans') as "*longing to be somebody's object*; *pounded*, *pleasured, reduced*, *exhausted*".]

Κρόνιππος

One has to admit that this word cannot be satisfactorily explained. It might be equivalent to writing ἱππό-Κρονος so that the prefix magnifies the noun (cf. LSJ ἵππος VII), but neither supposition is likely. As we have no indication of a role played by horses in the Κρόνια, the best we can do is suppose that a 'Kronos-horse' is a superannuated hack that deserves to be *put out to grass*.

1071-82.

Having argued that those who have tried to lead the virtuous life extolled by his adversary have usually suffered for it, he turns to offer his own view, that Phaidra's nurse was right; 'don't try resisting impulses which make you happy and which Zeus himself couldn't resist'.

1073. **παίδων**, **γυναικῶν**

The virtuous life life requires one to exercise self-control over one's appetites. But, those who see the first word as "*boys*" and the second as "*women*" might consider seeking counseling, for although the thoughts of many in the audience would easily turn to 'paederasty' and 'adultery', the Scoundrel may be saying no more than that celibacy precludes the joys of fatherhood and married bliss.

κοττάβων

The point of this drinking-game was that it was played with the wine-dregs, i.e. you had to drink the wine first, so your degree of success in the game revealed just how drunk you were. But, prima facie, he is only talking about the conviviality of 'party-games'.

ὄψων

He may simply be reminding the audience of his opponent's previous criticism of 'fancy' foods (cf. 983, ὀψοφαγεῖν). Or is he referring to having a 'bit on the side'?

κιχλισμῶν

'Giggling' is a small pleasure besides **καχασμῶν**, "*laughing out loud*", which is the reading of the earliest codex (R). But, the latter word was rare enough to be supplanted by κιχλισμῶν, on the grounds that it was a call-back to the moralist's earlier stricture, οὐδὲ κιχλίζειν (983). Wilson (p. 77) considers that the codex Ravennas should be followed when in doubt.

1075. **εἶεν**

It is now customary to write εἶέν, following the view of Coulon.

τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκας
He argues that certain needs spring from our nature and we cannot help but satisfy them. It is possible for one to repress sexual desire or moderate one's alcohol consumption, even though they bring us pleasure. But 'passion' cannot be resisted, even when it is illicit.
1076. **ἠράσθης**
One does not choose to fall in love. Eros is an external force, executing the will of Aphrodite.
1077. **λέγειν**
He means ἀντιλέγειν. The law would not recognize the adulterer's claim of having acted under duress.
ἐμοὶ...**ὁμιλῶν**
The verb can be used generally to mean 'to keep company' or 'consort', but is employed especially of a student 'following' his teacher, or 'attending lectures' (cf. Xenophon *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* 1.2.15).
1078. **σκίρτα**
The metaphor is from the exuberant motions of young animals, e.g. gambolling lambs and foals, which appear *Spring*-loaded. [The verb would certainly have been used of kangaroos, had the Athenian triremes ever reached Australia.]
1080-2.
The argument that human nature is powerless to resist Aphrodite is often advanced in tragic-dramas, e.g. Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 443, Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητός, ἢν πολλὴ ῥυῇ – "*Aphrodite is irresistible, when in full spate*". In fact, she wielded her power over the other gods too, so that in the same poet's *Τρῳάδες* Helen defends her adultery by saying, ὃς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων δαιμόνων ἔχει κράτος, κείνης δὲ δοῦλός ἐστι – "*he who has dominion over the rest of the gods, is slave to her*" (949-50).
1083-4.
The Righteous man counters by saying that the pleasures of adultery would be erased if the offender were to be caught *in flagrante*. It is worth noting that he does not suggest legal redress against the adulterer, for he places no trust in the courts. Instead, taking the traditional view of justice as an eye for an eye (or so to speak), he proposes his own rough justice. Xenophon, with this passage before him, has his 'Sokrates' say that the man apprehended in adultery would be subjected to violence (*Ἀπομνημονεύματα* 2.1.5, ληφθέντα ὑβρισθῆναι), beyond what even the law prescribes (ἅ τε ὁ νόμος ἀπειλεῖ).
ῥαφανιδωθῇ
His response alleges that the law would have turned a blind eye to a cuckold's revenge. The form of this retribution is twofold. In the first place, he proposes giving the culprit a good 'radishing'. This phrase, if taken literally, involved the insertion of "*a long-rooted radish…up the adulterer's anus*" (Sommerstein). Pity the poor man who was cuckolded at a time when radishes were not in season! Perhaps, a suspicious husband would have kept one handy around the house, just in case? Anyhow, the Romans found the idea charming and repeat it as fact. Catullus (xv. 18-9) alludes to the adulterer, "*quem attractis pedibus patente porta percurrent raphanique mugilesque*". But, one should remember, in any case, that the punishment is handed down only by the court of Comedy and that the Righteous man often reveals his own weaknesses. So the better answer is to take the radish as a euphemism for the membrum virile as in the earlier instance (cf. 981), instead of assuming a "*much larger species*" of radish (Dover).
πιθόμενός σοι
Although the main codices read the present participle (πειθόμενός), the past tense (Θ) is preferable, "*after following your precepts*".
τέφρᾳ τε τιλθῇ
The second humiliation to which the adulterous youth could be subjected (so he alleges) is depilation with quicklime (there seem to be two processes, 'plucking' and 'singeing with hot embers or lime'). Again, the Righteous man reveals his fondness for a smooth, boyish complexion, or the result of a 'Brazilian' shave. In so doing, he makes it clear to the audience what he, sub-consciously, would like to do to a young man rash enough to indulge in illicit, heterosexual acts.
1084. **ἔξει τινὰ γνώμην**
Again the noun has to be taken as "*strategem*" (cf. 730, 747).
τὸ μὴ εὐρύπρωκτος εἶναι

In *Σφῆκες*, Aristophanes' chorus of veterans compare unfavourably the νεανιῶν...εὐρυπρωκτίαν with their own more dignified stance (1070). There, the context suggests that the affected poses of younger men are distending their arses, implying the possibility of their sexual deviancy. But, here, the adulterous youth is being threatened with the physical fact of rape, unless he can talk his way out of it.

1085. **τί πείσεται κακόν**;

Incorrigible as ever, the Scoundrel replies, 'He might like it, after all!'

1088-94.

The Scoundrel points to three professions and challenges his opponent to admit that the men who practise them are characteristically εὐρυπρώκτοι. All are practitioners of some form of public speaking.

1089. **συνηγοροῦσιν**

The leading public speakers were the advocates appointed by the state to prosecute those indicted before a court, especially those public officials whose financial conduct in office was being investigated. The basis for accusing them of εὐρυπρωκτία was simply that as the most skilful forensic speakers their delivery was likely to be overly affected. An example of such exaggerated behaviour is provided in *Σφῆκες*, where one particular prosecutor is adjudged a "*young bugger*", because "*he stands with his legs apart like this, and comes over all affected, wiggling around as if he hadn't a bone in his body*" (687-8). A line from another work of Aristophanes makes a similar connection between declaiming and deportment, "*for I see <him> waggling his behind like a person ranting*" (frg. 635, ὁρῶ γὰρ ὡς <στ>όμφακα διασαυλούμενον).

1091. **τραγῳδοῦσ(ι)**

The postures adopted by tragic-actors often produced εὐρυπρωκτίαν. Aristophanes provides an example in *Σφῆκες* (1493), where πρωκτὸς χάσκει is the result of a high kick. But, Tragedians were by definition 'histrionic', so they are branded 'luvvies' one and all. The scholiast's claim that a particularly effeminate actor named Phrynichos is being singled out by the poet seems most unlikely. It suggests, however, that he was picked on by name in another work, in much the same way that the son of Chaireas was called a "*young bugger*" in *Σφῆκες* 687-8.

1093. **δημηγοροῦσι**

Those who spoke regularly before the Assembly differed little from actors when attempting to persuade the voting public. Most codices write δημαγωγοῦσι, only one (R) has the correct reading which indicates that the criticism is being levelled at *all* those who address the Assembly not just the demagogues.

1095. **οὐδὲν λέγεις**

He dismisses his argument as 'empty' (cf. 644).

1096. **πλείους**

We understand πλείονες <δοκοῦσι εἶναι> ("*what are the greater number of them <reputed to be>*"?) and not σκοπεῖ τοὺς πλείστους.

1097. **καὶ δὴ σκοπῶ**

The conjunction is used to buy time for the actor to carry out the instruction, cf. *Ὄρνιθες* 175, καὶ δὴ βλέπω – "*Yes, I am looking*" and *Εἰρήνη* 327, καὶ δὴ πέπαυμαι – "*O.K. I've stopped*".

1098-1100.

Prompted by the Scoundrel the Righteous man tactlessly insults the members of the audience (cf. 898).

1102-4.

The Righteous man admits defeat and quickly takes his leave, but the precise manner of his departure is unclear. What is clear, however, is the declamatory style (or εὐρυπρωκτία) with which he announces his capitulation. It would be surprising if our poet had failed to adapt some passage of tragic-drama to suit his purpose.

ἠττήμεθ(α) ὦ κινούμενοι

Prima facie, the old man addresses those he calls ὦ κινούμενοι, 'men who are being aroused or agitated'. This is thought by Henderson and Sommerstein to mean "*you buggers*" (the more delicate Rogers gives us "*O Cinaeds*"), which given the context would not be surprising. But, which particular buggers are we talking about? Could they be those whom he had previously recognized among the audience, or does he mean his opponent and his adherents? Originally, Sommerstein (2007, p. 215) considered the latter more likely, but later changed his mind and suggested (addenda, xxiv) that the defeated schoolteacher decides to throw in his lot (and his cloak) with the degenerate members of the audience. Moreover, like Dover, he

envisaged a comic interlude which dragged out the older man's exit through the auditorium, dallying with the more obvious degenerates, while dressed in what appear to be feminine undergarments.
Much as I applaud his imaginative recreation of the scene, I have to confess myself confused by some of its detail. Firstly, there is no denying the suddenness of the older man's capitulation, but to have him of a sudden scamper off into the stalls and flirt with the same 'disreputable' people he had previously abused would be uncharacteristic. Then too, the comic business involved would divert the flow of the drama and would leave the other actors at a loose end. Indeed, one would expect some indication from them that the man had lost his mind. Besides, I wonder how the saffron dress, which he is thought to be wearing, could have been hidden throughout the debate until now.
But, certainly, the text compels us to look for answers, and I cannot make better sense of it as it stands. I cannot, for instance, work out why the older man would make common cause so precipitately with either the audience or his opponent(s). Indeed, I find the participle unconvincing in itself. Thus, I incline to the view that the paratragic tone set by the plural verb in the beginning has attracted a plural participle that was not intended. Perhaps, we could trace the altered interpretation to the accidental omission of an iota (subscript in any case) and visualize the following:
ἡττήμεθ' ᾧ κινοῦμε· ναὶ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν... – "*we are being beaten by him whom we usually 'agitate', aye, by heaven*!" (Cf. 784 and Euripides *Μήδεια* 1276, ναὶ, πρὸς θεῶν, ἀρήξατε).
However, the original text was not κινοῦμε. The tragic scene which was being parodied probably read ᾧ νικοῦμε ("*beaten by him we normally beat*"), in which case, Aristophanes may have retained it only to have it changed by simple, scribal error in the course of time. But it is more likely, knowing him, that he altered the verb to read **βινοῦμε** and that this was changed deliberately, because the meaning was not well understood. The way that this occurred is paralleled by *Βάτραχοι* (429) where Aristophanes substituted the name Ἰπποβίνου for that of the general Ἱππόνικος, and despite the fact that the codices agree on the reading and that the verb is used in plain sight later (740), some editors have still preferred to emend the text to Ἱπποκίνου.
For the attraction of the relative pronoun cf. *Σφῆκες* 467, 561, 588
δέξασθέ μου θοἰμάτιον
He does not simply throw off his cloak without a word, nor does he say λάβετε. Instead, he makes a gift of it, asking the others to *accept* it, which suggests that the verb was possibly lifted from a context where something other than a cloak (perhaps a weapon) was being offered in a formal act of surrender. Thus the gesture of discarding the cloak is παρὰ προσδοκίαν but serves in this case to signify his re-entry, γυμνός, into the school as a new pupil submitting to the tutelage of his rival in debate.
ὡς ἐξαυτομολῶ
The simple verb is common enough and says all that needs to be said; he is 'deserting' and 'going over to the other side'. The prefix adds nothing and merely provides us with a new compound which is unique to this play. I wonder whether **ἐξῆς** αὐτομολῶ could serve us better.

Conversation 1105-12

1105-6. [**Ἄδικος Λόγος**]
In the past, these two lines (and 1111) were mistakenly assigned to 'Sokrates' who is not on stage. Recent commentators, however, are agreed that they must belong to the Scoundrel. But, as the person whom he is addressing can only be Strepsiades, it is widely assumed that the latter must have been on stage to witness the debate, which is possible but unlikely. The presence of Pheidippides as pupil is required, but his father would be merely decorative and distracting. One may assume that the actor who played the old man's part would have been better employed in the role of one of the two teachers and therefore would have left the stage before the start of the ἀγών (888).
This means that a choral intervention has been dropped, or lost, from our text. Dover rightly observes that there are "*no formal grounds*" for this supposition, but it is dramatically expedient. The 'Righteous man' needs time to re-enter the 'Thinking-shop' and re-emerge from Strepsiades' house. Also, in the old man's absence the Chorus will want to proclaim and congratulate the winner of the debate, express their surprise at the unexpected outcome and summon him to learn the result. The omission of musical interludes which

are not essential to the plot may well be due to the fact that the second version was intended for the page, not the stage (see Appendix 3).

1106. **διδάσκω σοι λέγειν**

We could understand the pronoun with the main verb, "*Am I to teach him for you*?", but it seems better to take it with the infinitive as standing for ὑπὲρ σοῦ. The point is rather that Pheidippides learn to speak 'on his father's behalf' (cf. 111).

1107. **κόλαζε**

It is assumed that all forms of education will involve some degree of corporal punishment. We heard that 'Righteous man' was gung-ho for it (972), 'Sokrates' had it in mind (493-4) and Strepsiades himself had formerly 'educated' his household slaves in the same way (7).

1109. **δικιδίοις**

He means 'petty sessions' before a magistrate, as opposed to major cases heard by a large jury. The latter would require a more expansive style of oratory and involve a more mobile pelvis. The use of δικίδιον by the old juryman in *Σφῆκες* (511) is not compelling evidence that juries were necessary even for relatively minor cases; only that some jury-trials would be handled more quickly than others. PhiloKleon's use of the diminutive probably, in any case, reflects his affection for trials in general.

1110. (**γνάθον**) **στόμωσον**

The word-play is based on the dual sense of στόμα, as 'mouth' and 'point' (we would say 'cutting edge') of a sword. The latter usage presumably originated in the idea of the mouth as a wound. Strepsiades wants his son's *jaw* to be 'mordant', but in order for his rhetoric to be 'sharp-cutting' English would transfer the metaphor to his *tongue* (cf. 1160).

1111. **δεξιόν**

The literal sense of 'right-handed', hence 'expert', continues the metaphor of wielding a sword (cf. 655, σκαιός – "*in-expert*").

1112. **οἶμαί γε**

The repetition of οἶμαι in the following line suggests that the codices are correct in reading ἔγωγε here ("*if you ask me*"). Though the absence of a main verb is not material here, Fritzsche thought fit to supply one anyway (ἐγῷδα).

Valediction (**κομμάτιον**) 1113-14

1113. **δὲ σοὶ**

The Chorus can see what's coming and their warning is addressed this time to the old farmer. Although he appears to have finally achieved his aim, he is reminded that 'the best laid plans of mice and men…'

Henderson rightly accentuates the pronoun, as Strepsiades is being singled out from those now exiting.

According to a scholiast the full text of the play included a brief choral ode at this point. It is presumed that the five missing lines mentioned formed part of the first version of the play, but in the second were considered redundant. The comment may however just be the scholiast's own inference drawn from the earlier choral prelude to the first Parabasis (512-7). The metre is iambic tetrameters.

Minor Excursus (**Δευτέρη Παράβασις**) 1115-30

This second parabasis differs from the first in length and metre (which now shifts to trochaic tetrameters). But, the principal difference is that this time, in 'stepping aside' to address the audience, the Chorus does so in the traditional manner, all the while remaining in character, whereas in the previous case, the leader of the chorus had opened the παράβασις on behalf of the poet.

These lines probably comprised the parabasis of the original version.

1115. **τοὺς κριτὰς**

One is tempted to ask with Blaydes, "Why not τοῖς κριταις?" The answer seems to be that the poet uses a colloquial form of speech which served to cut to the chase. The judges are introduced abruptly, not as the object of φράσαι, but as the subject, the 'persons of interest'. A sheepish sideways look and an indrawn breath might be used to signify an unspoken idea, "<You are probably thinking about> *the judges*; *what's in it for them*?" The construction of Strepsiades' question in 1148 is similarly elliptical.

There is a slight awkwardness in the fact that the judges are spoken of in the third person, because there is an abrupt switch to second person (βούλησθε) in line 1117. We might have expected the second person, i.e. 'you the judges will benefit', but it will become clear that the Chorus is addressing all the spectators, including the actual judges. We can presume that the judges' decision would be expected to reflect public opinion closely, though how this would be gauged, we do not know. They were five in number. Another chorus tries to do a deal with the jury in *Ὄρνιθες* (1101-2),

τοῖς κριταῖς εἰπεῖν τι βουλόμεσθα τῆς νίκης πέρι,
ὅσα ἀγάθα', ἢν κρίνωσιν ἡμᾶς, πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς δώσομεν.

1116.

ἐκ τῶν δικαίων

The Clouds claim that the judges have only to act "*in accordance with what is right*", though we have just witnessed the defeat of the righteous side of the argument!

βουλόμεσθ(α) ἡμεῖς φράσαι

There is no need to lay stress on the speakers' identity, but the addressee needs to be clarified from the start. For this reason, I believe that the poet wrote **ὑμῖν** not ἡμεῖς. The manuscripts do not agree whether the pronoun is nominative or dative, first person or second. The Aldine editor alone picks up the reading, ὑμῖν found in two fourteenth-century mss. (ΕΘ).

1119. **τὸν καρπόν τεκούσας ἀμπέλους**

Sommerstein originally printed τε καὶ τὰς, the emendation of τεκούσας suggested by Koraïs, but later (addenda xiii) spotted that the only thing wrong with this line was the accidental alteration of the definite article by an absent-minded scribe. All we really need is the correct article **τὰς** instead of τὸν (cf. Wilson p. 77). Sommerstein translates, "*your vines when they have borne their fruit*".

Like Hall and Geldart, Dover follows the reading of the codices. Henderson prefers to keep the suggested emendation by Koraïs, but Sommerstein's simple change restores logic to the phrase.

1120. **αὐχμὸν πιέζειν**

Here we can probably understand (συμ)πιέζειν, to compress (i.e. "*shrivel*"), as πιέζειν implies that the lack of rain 'stunts the growth' (i.e. "*distresses*" the crop).

1121. **ἀτιμάσῃ**

The audience is warned not to neglect the τιμές due to them as 'goddesses', i.e. libations and sacrifices, but also, in this case, casting the right vote – κρῖναι δικαίως. The Clouds own up to the fact that they are running a protection racket ('Treat us with respect, or suffer the consequences'), like all the rest of *divine beings*.

1122. **πρὸς ἡμῶν οἷα πείσεται κακά**

Herodotos (2.139) shows us the form of the expression, κακόν τι πρὸς θεῶν…λάβοι, "*he would suffer some harm at the hands of gods*". Here, the verb πείσεται is the irregular future of πάσχω, "*he will suffer*" (cf. 461 and frg. 420, τί ἄρα πείσῃ).

1123. ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου

Though diminutive in form the noun does not necessarily signify a small area of ground; indeed, there exists a further diminution, χωρίδιον. However, Aristophanes sometimes uses it in an affectionate sense like γῆδιον.

1124. **βλαστάνωσ(ι)**

Farmers would be especially careful to propitiate Zeus in spring when their vines and olives were about to bud. A sudden thunderstorm after a dry spell could wreak havoc with their crops.

1125. **σφενδόναις**

They compare the force of the hail they will unleash to "*sling-shot*".

1126. **πλινθεύοντ(α)**

We understand τινα θνητὸν from 1121. The brick-maker has spread his mud-bricks out to dry in the sun, underestimating the malevolence of the clouds massing on the horizon.

1127. **τὸν κέραμον**

In *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (902-5) the noun connotes the potter's ceramic-ware and so we may be asked to picture the destruction of newly-made 'crockery' before firing. On the other hand, the singular can also be used for

roof-tiling (e.g. *Σφῆκες* 1295, as a metaphor for a tortoise-shell). The sound of the hail drumming on "*the roof-tiles*" will be deafening to the householder sheltering fearfully inside.

χαλάζαις...συντρίψομεν

Although this may sound like comic exaggeration, the force of summer hailstorms can be devastating.

1129. **ὕσομεν τὴν νύκτα πάσαν**

The Clouds threaten to ruin wedding processions, when the bride was conducted to her new home at night by torchlight (cf. *Εἰρήνη* 1316-7).

1130. **ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ**

The 'impious' drama critic would wish he were in Egypt, to escape the deluge. Isokrates observed that although *Zeus* sends rain everywhere else, Egypt has no need, since the Nile makes the land fruitful, τῶν γὰρ ὄμβρων καὶ τῶν αὐχμῶν τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὁ Ζεὺς ταμίας ἐστίν, ἐκείνων δ' ἕκαστος ἀμφοτέρων τούτων αὐτὸς αὑτῷ κύριος καθέστηκεν (11.13).

Ἐπεισόδιον 1131-1213

1131.

While the Chorus has been occupying the attention of the audience, some considerable time has passed; enough for Pheidippides to lose his healthy complexion, as he had predicted. Comedic time is somewhat flexible and one can probably assume that a month has elapsed since Pheidippides entered the 'Thinking shop'. But it is still the month-end when fresh interest will accrue to the old farmer's debts. He returns to the school to see how his son's education has progressed. As he enters, his mind is evidently focused on his financial worries, since he is counting the days until the end of the month when payment on his debts falls due. However, the way in which he does this seems bizarre to us, because he 'counts them down'. Plutarch explains the logic behind this method in a passage of his *Σόλων* (25.3), which recounts how the reformer had altered the computation of the calendar.

τὰς δ' ἀπ' εἰκάδας οὐ προστιθείς, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρῶν καὶ ἀναλύων, ὥσπερ τὰ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης ἑώρα, μέχρι τριακάδος ἠρίθμησεν. "*Starting from the twentieth day <of each month>, instead of adding <each day>, he subtracted and counted down the days until the thirtieth in accord with the waning of the moon's light*."

1134. **ἕνη τε καὶ νέα**

Earlier in the same passage, Plutarch explained that, "[Solon] *recognized that the month was irregular and that the moon's motion did not coincide with the rising and setting of the sun, but that often the moon catches up with the sun and overtakes it on the same day. He ordained that this day should be called the 'Old and the New'. He considered that the part of the day which preceded the conjunction <of the moon and sun> belonged to the month that was ending, while the renmainder of the day belonged to the month that was now beginning*."

Popular tradition linked these early attempts at calendar reform with the period of institutional change at Athens which followed upon the archonship of Solon. Legislators were trying to bring order to the pattern of civic life by aligning the months with the moon's phases. They perceived that logically a month could not end at sunset on the last day (as Attic days did), or even at midnight (as ours do), instead the change-over of the months ought to be dictated by the convergence of sun and moon that occurred in the course of the final day. Thus, we should probably think of the phrase ἕνη τε καὶ νέα as applying to the 'old and new *moons*' as much as to the last day of the month. For the purpose of this translation I have elected to break with tradition and to use the phrase "*First and Last*" to describe the thirtieth day of the month. This might help the reader to understand that we are talking about the final day of the month, which by reverse counting, Strepsiades considers 'the first'.

1135. **οἷς ὀφείλων τυγχάνω**

He might have said outright, οἷς ὀφείλω (cf. 485). But, the verb τυγχάνω perhaps conveys the idea that he views himself as a hapless by-stander, because his son has incurred the debts in his name.

1136. **θείς μοι πρυτανεῖα**

When a citizen wished to bring a suit before the city-magistrate's court (Πρυτανεῖον), he had to deposit a sum of money (τιθέναι πρυτανεῖα) by way of a legal fee. In certain circumstances, the fee may have been

considered as earnest-money, but in *Σφῆκες* (659) τὰ πρυτανεῖα are included in a list of sources of state-income, which suggests that the sum paid was non-refundable (cf. 1255-6).

1137-9. **κἀμοῦ μέτριά τε καὶ δίκαι(α)**

He suggests that his creditors come to a negotiated settlement, instead of forcing him into bankruptcy, and proposes "*reasonable*" and "*fair*" terms. However, his understanding of these terms is that his creditors should forgo any repayment when the loan matures. Instead, they should extend the maturity of the loans and accept a haircut on the principal amount or interest outstanding. [The scenario seems eerily familiar.]

Hall and Geldart have adopted Kock's emendation of the codices' ἐμοῦ, but Green's alternative (adopted by Sommerstein) to read ἐμοῦ τε μέτρια is also a possibility.

νυνὶ

He makes out that he 'has the money' but not "*just now*".

1140. **οὕτως ἀπολήψεσθ(αι)**

His creditors point out that, with his payment-plan, they risk never getting their money back (cf. 1274, τὰ χρήματα ἀπολαβεῖν). Sommerstein's suggested alternative that, 'they would never approve his payment-plan' would require ἀποδέξεσθαι.

1141. δικάσεσθαι

The codices give us δικάσασθαι which we may understand as "*they have gained judgement against me*", which deserves consideration given the uncertainty over ἐνεχυράσεσθαι (35). But the present consensus is that he means "*they will take me to court*" with which the following line agrees bettter.

ὀλίγον...**μοι μέλει**

The usual way for expressing indifference, cf. *Σφῆκες* 1411, 1446.

1144. **κόψας τὸ φροντιστήριον**

He means, and we should perhaps print, κόψας **τὸ** <θύριον τοῦ> **φροντιστηρίου**

1145. **παῖ, ἠμί**

Comic poets seem to use the literary forms of the verb ἠμί in a dandyish way, as if the speaker is putting on airs, "*boy, oh I say…boy*!" (cf. *Σφῆκες* 795, ᾗ δ'ὃς – "*quoth he*").

[**Θυρωρός**]

Who answers the door? Tradition assigns these lines to 'Sokrates', but there is no good reason for him to be acting as doorman. As Dover says (on line 132), "*One does not expect the master…to open the door*", and yet here he happily justifies the appearance of the Master on the grounds of "*philosophical poverty*". One should bear in mind, however, that these philosophers are members of the political elite and that their poverty is a comic perception. It would be more natural for the first line at least to be spoken by the same slave who had opened the door earlier and already knows Strepsiades by name (133-4).

ἀσπάζομαι

The slave greets his coeval warmly, almost like a long-lost brother (cf. *Σφῆκες* 607, ἀσπάζωνται). The use of the verb often signifies more than a polite 'hello'. Therefore, here, the warmth of the greeting rules out the possibility that 'Sokrates' is the speaker (cf. *Πλοῦτος* 324, where Chremylos wishes to avoid formality in greeting his fellow-demesmen).

Sokrates' companion Antisthenes is said (Athenaios 13. 589 ε) to have punned on the name of Aspasia, saying that Perikles frequented his *friend*'s house twice a day just so as he could 'greet her' on entering, and again on leaving. The pun could be appreciated in English if one changed Aspasia's name to 'Greta'. Presumably, the greeting is meant to be taken as an embrace or kiss (ἐρασθέντα φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀσπασίας δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀσπάζεσθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον).

1146. **κἄγωγέ σ(ε)**

The old man too greets his former interlocutor cordially. He does not respond with his name, as would be the case if he was addressing the head of the school. The only reason that one might take 'Sokrates' to be the one answering the door is that Strepsiades immediately presents whatever he is holding in lieu of fees.

'Sokrates' never agreed to take Pheidippides as his personal pupil; indeed, he had objected to doing so on the grounds that the young man lacked the ability to handle abstract ideas (868-9). When, eventually, he did undertake to educate him, he insisted that he be taught by the two sides of the argument (886-7), one of whom, the 'Scoundrel', now appears in the gateway behind the doorman and as Strepsiades hands over the bag to the slave, it is his son's personal tutor whom he addresses.

We have no clear information regarding the structure of the 'school', and while 'Sokrates' is shown as the one in charge, he had post-grads who assisted him with the teaching who may have felt entitled to collect a fee. That seems to be the role of the Scoundrel in the play and the supposition receives support from the report of Diogenes Laërtios (2. 65) that Aristippos, one of the pupils of the real Sokrates, once passed on the sum of 20 minai to his master, only to have it returned to him for some reason.

τουτονὶ...λαβέ

What has Strepsiades brought? Henderson thinks that he hands over a purse, because payment in coin was mentioned earlier (cf. 98), but the old man is short of money and cannot pay his debts. Besides, he seems anxious to relinquish whatever it is straightaway, which may indicate that it is something burdensome. At any rate, the scholiast infers from a comment made earlier (669) that the farmer can pay only in kind and that he hands over a sack of grain or flour. Dover thinks that such a fee would lack comedy and provides more amusing suggestions. But, I believe that the comedy lay in the suggestion that the Sokratic 'School' would accept direct payment.

[It may be hard for the present generation of credit-card wielders to appreciate but, up until the coming of the 'shower of gold' known formally as the Common Agricultural Policy, the farming communities of the Mediterranean countries had always been cash-poor and payment in kind to doctors and lawyers was the rule rather than the exception.]

1147. **ἐπιθαυμάζειν**

Dover is probably right to suspect that the verb "*to show one's appreciation*" is used euphemistically, as we talk of 'giving a bung'. Aristophanes is suggesting that the 'School' is a purely commercial enterprise, like British and American universities nowadays.

1149. **ἐκεῖνον...ὃν ἀρτίως εἰσήγαγες**

This phrase could conceivably qualify τὸν λόγον, but ἀρτίως militates against this. One could attempt, as Sommerstein does, to interpret εἰσήγαγες as "*you brought on stage a little while ago*", but if 'Sokrates' is the one being addressed, how do we know which of the two λόγοι Strepsiades means? It would seem to be more pertinent that the phrase should refer to his son, ἐκεῖνον...ὃν, "*he who was inducted just recently*" (which seems to be confirmed by ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ in 1167).

1150. [**Ἄδικος Λόγος**]

The doorman, bent under the weight of the sack of grain, has gone inside leaving the old farmer with his son's tutor. His identity should be clear from the confidence with which he predicts success in the courts during their conversation (1151, 1153), as he had promised earlier (1041-2).

παμβασίλει(α) Ἀπαιόλη

We expect him to laud Zeus, but he has compromised his beliefs to fit in with what he thinks are the ideas of the School. So he glorifies the "*fraudulent scheme*", which he had been seeking (729, ἀπαιόλημα), as if hailing Ἀπόλλων. Cornford (1934 p.29 n.2) suggests that the poet means the goddess to be taken to be the wife of Δῖνος, since she too 'rules all'. But, as he noticed, the Clouds were addressed as παμβασίλειαι as well by Strepsiades (357), which undermines his own suggestion. Perhaps the old man understands them to be the new god's concubines.

1154-6.

The opening of Strepsiades' monody borrows directly from tragic-drama. The scholia inform us that the first one and a half lines are lifted from a tragedy entitled *Πηλεύς*, but we do not know whether they refer to the drama by Sophokles (frg. 491) or that by Euripides (frg. 623). Sommerstein notes a recent study in Spanish (which I do not read) by J. Angel y Espinós, which makes the case for the Euripidean source. The same tragic lines may have inspired another imitator, since a scholion here mentions a play by Phrynichos entitled *Σάτυροι* (or a satyr-play by him) as Aristophanes' source.

1155. **ὦ (ὀ)βολοστάται**

These enterprising individuals who grease the wheels of market capitalism are nowadays better known as 'pay-day lenders'. Sommerstein prefers to call them 'loan-sharks', but that is to assume that their rates of interest were unregulated and excessive. In fact, their professional denomination refers to their receipt of interest payments which were *weighed out in obols*. Besides, we cannot presume that the audience would automatically sympathize with the old man's fraudulent intent, any more than a contemporary audience would necessarily bristle at the term 'investment banker'.

1156. **καὶ τόκοι τόκων**
The line probably parodies a tragic-verse which prophesied that someone's family and descendants would pay the price of their misdeeds, and where τόκοι τόκων would mean their 'children's children'.
1160. **ἀμφήκει γλώττῃ**
The earlier metaphor of a jaw that can tackle both large, *meaty* cases and crunch smaller ones (1108-10) is honed into a tongue like "*a double-edged sword*". Cf. *Σφῆκες* 547, where the tongue becomes a whip.
λάμπων
In *Σφῆκες* the verb is used of Kleon's success in winning over the Assembly to his more bellicose foreign policy (cf. Thucydides 4.118-22), although he was helped in this instance by 'Fortune' (62, ἔλαμψε τῆς Τύχης χάριν).
1161.
Strepsiades is carried away by his expectations of his son's prowess and it is fair to assume that his words are lifted from various Euripidean dramas.
1162. **λυσανίας**...**κακῶν**.
Storey (C.Q.1989) has suggested that, since λυσανίας ('release from grief') was used as a proper noun in certain aristocratic families, the poet could be alluding to a particular Lysanias, perhaps the father of the Sokratic Aischines (cf. 156). Sommerstein (addenda p. xxv-xxvi) put forward another candidate Lysanias of Thorikos, speculating that he might have saved his father's life at Delion. One may add that Lysanias, son of Kephalos, whose name is mentioned to 'Sokrates' in *Πολιτεία* 330β (notionally set about this time) as someone who had dissipated the fortune amassed by his father.
1164. **κάλεσον**
According to Sommerstein and Henderson, this line is addressed to the head of the School, and therefore they would have 'Sokrates' run into the Φροντιστήριον to fetch Pheidippides. But, though Aristophanes has failed to provide us with stage directions, we can usually reconstruct the actors' movements from the language they use. We have been shown repeatedly that 'Sokrates' is typically aristocratic in the manner in which he patronises Strepsiades. Should we now expect to see this σεμνός gentleman rush to do the old farmer's bidding? As the Attic stage mirrored Athenian daily life, one must frequently suspect the silent presence of that essential 'extra', the slave. I have assigned the job of errand-boy to the 'doorman', as it is a duty normally performed by slaves. Compare 1262 where the use of a plural verb may indicate a silent actor.
1165-6. **ὦ τέκνον**
Dramatic convention required that, if characters were 'indoors', someone on stage would summon them (unless they were expected to come out anyway, in which case the chorus would announce their imminent arrival). In Euripides' *Ἑκάβη* (171-4), the Trojan queen uses similar words to call her daughter Polyxena to emerge from a tent, ὦ τέκνον, ὦ παῖ δυστανοτάτας ματέρος – ἔξελθ' ἔξελθ' οἴκων. ἄιε ματέρος αὐδάν.
Hall and Geldart assigned this couplet to 'Sokrates', but all recent editors consider that the words should be spoken by the father to his son.
1167. [**Θυρωρός**]
This line is spoken by whoever ran to fetch Pheidippides, because ὅδε indicates that the speaker is located close by. It points a deliberate contrast with the words τέκνον and παῖ which the father has just used of his son, reminding us of Strepsiades' earlier claim (cf. 823) that education in the 'Thinking-shop' will make a *man* of Pheidippides
1169. **ἄπιθι συλλαβών**
The main codices (RV) give us ἄπιθι λαβὼν τὸν υἱὸν σου, where the object of the participle is probably a gloss interpolated in error. Dover discards the additional words, but he also rejects the subject-pronoun in the other manuscripts ἄπιθι σὺ λαβών (ΕΚΝΘ) as "*a relic of the gloss*", on metrical grounds, arguing that a run of five short syllables would be a uniquely lyrical utterance coming from 'Sokrates'. This argument is partially undermined by the likelihood that the speaker is not 'Sokrates'.
Sommerstein agrees with Dover that the subject could be taken for granted, but he considers that the gloss may have been intended to explain the missing object of the participle which he supplies, σφε. In a tragic context, the pronoun would suit, but the paratragic tone of Strepsiades' speech has quickly given way to a colloquial response from the teacher.

In fact, we can reasonably dispense with pronouns for both the subject of the imperative and the object of the participle. Instead, Hall and Geldart have adopted the reading of Ernesti (1754), reportedly from a ms. in Paris, which is supported by a parallel instruction in *Πλοῦτος* 1079, νῦν δ' ἄπιθι χαίρων συλλαβὼν τὴν μείρακα; (cf. frg. 626, τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο συλλαβεῖν ὑπίσχομαι.).

1170. **ἰὼ ἰὼ**...**ἰοὺ ἰού**

Dover observes that this string of exclamations creates a kind of bridge between the lyrical passage and the scene of dialogue which follows. He suggests dropping the third utterance of ἰὼ (which is found only in V in any case) and taking ἰοὺ ἰού as a separate cry extra versum. Sommerstein and Henderson follow his lead. But the original text could have read simply **ἰοὺ ἰού τέκνον** (cf. 1), for I suspect that ἰὼ ἰὼ was written by mistake and the correct cry of surprise ἰοὺ ἰού was then written in the margin, only to be later incorporated in the text.

The cry ἰοὺ ἰού denotes Strepsiades' momentary shock as 'Pheidippides' turns to face him and he is able to appreciate his son's unexpectedly pale complexion. The spectators would have spotted the change as soon as the young man emerged, but Strepsiades had been caught up in his histrionics at the time.

1171. **ὡς ἥδομαι**...**πρῶτα**

He explains what caused him surprise. "*Right away*, *I was thrilled with*…"

τὴν χρόαν ἰδών

In the time it has taken for the 'Scoundrel' to educate him Pheidippides has come to resemble the students of the School (185-6, 503-4) whose sallow complexions he had mocked earlier (103, 120).

The codices read χρόαν, the usual Attic form used by Plato, but a scholiast (RV) has written χροίαν which Herodianos says should be accentuated as χροιὰν. Although recent editors have preferred this form, there is no compelling reason for the old farmer to adopt epic language in ordinary dialogue.

1172. **ἐξαρνητικὸς**

The general sense 'denying outright' is given a specific direction in *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* 660, ἤν τις ὀφείλων ἐξαρνῆται – "*if a debtor refuses outright to pay up*".

1173-4. **κἀντιλογικός**

He has the serious look of someone who is ready to 'contradict' or 'dispute' any reasoned argument (cf. 321, 1004).

τοὐπιχώριον...**ἐπανθεῖ**

In spite of his '*lily*-white' cheeks, he has the characteristic 'look' of a real Athenian. Aristophanes seems to suggest that the mark of a true native is a readiness to contradict and to hotly dispute what is right. He provides a similar tongue-in-cheek description of *real* Athenians in *Σφῆκες* (1076), Ἀττικοὶ μόνοι δικαίως ἐγγενεῖς αὐτόχθονες. The men he describes thereupon display their 'pricks' as evidence. In either case, he is possibly reproving those demagogues who were often keen to tell the Assembly what constituted 'true' patriotism.

τί λέγεις σύ;

Given the context, this should probably be taken as expressing feigned indignation, rather than forensic probing (pace Sommerstein). 'Who me, owe you money? What are you gibbering about?' The question is an alternative to stating οὐδὲν λέγεις (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1378).

[It is equivalent to the phrase that would be used by an Athenian driver who has just shunted your parked car, when informed that he may bear some responsibility for the mishap – μα, τι λες, Χριστιανε μου;]

[**1176**]

This line appears to do no more than re-formulate the ἐπιχώριον ἄνθος detected already. Consequently, Sommerstein follows Dover in deleting it on the grounds that it was "*possibly an author's variant*" (cf. 1437-9). But it could as well be a verse from another play quoted by a scholiast by way of comparison.

1177. **ὅπως σώσεις μ**(**ε**)

We have to supply an imperative e.g. φρόντισον "<*see to it*> *that you save me*".

1179. **ἐστι**…**τις ἡμέρα**;

Most manuscripts read **τίς**, which has prompted Geel to suggest that the line breaks at this point and read,

Φειδιππίδης ἔνη γάρ ἐστι καὶ νέα τίς;
Στρεψιάδης ἡμέρα
εἰς ἥν γε θήσειν…

Given the form of Pheidippides' first question, this would be worth considering. But, Dover points to the particle γε in Strepsiades' reply, which must represent affirmation, i.e. "*Is there some day*? "*Yes*, <*it's the day*> *on which*…" I used to be persuaded by this argument, but I now think that the particle is epexegetic and has simply been postponed, so that one may understand ἡμέρα γε εἰς ἥν – "*namely the day on which*".

1180. **θήσειν τὰ πρυτανεῖα**

When citizens fail to work out their differences between themselves and have recourse the Law, they find this never comes cheap. In Athens the parties in dispute had to "*deposit the Prytany-fee*" before their case could be heard.

1181. **ἀπολοῦσ(ι) ἄρ(α)**

A number of codices read ἀπολοῦνται (ΕΚΝΘ), the future middle of ἀπόλλυμι, which would mean 'they will perish' or at best 'they will be undone'. The main codices (RV) however, have the future tense in the active, which gives "*in that case, they will lose* <*their deposits*>".

αὖθ' οἱ θέντες

The main codices read αὐτοὶ, but the better reading, i.e. **αὖτα <**τὰ πρυτανεῖα**> οἱ**, provides an object.

1182. **ἡμέρα δύο**

Hall and Geldart have opted to retain the dual form of the noun found in the Ravenna codex in preference to the plural and presumably, they would have printed δύω instead of δύο, since they acknowledge in the apparatus that this is the reading of the main codices (RV). More recent editors, however, have followed the consensus of the other manuscripts and printed the plural **ἡμέραι δύο** (cf. 1189, 1223, δύο ἡμέρας). Where Aristophanes uses the dual in *Αἰολοσίκων* he makes the numeral agree (frg. 13, δυοῖν λυχνιδιοῖν – "*a pair of small lamps*"). One may infer that two things were not always to be considered a pair.

1184. **γραῦς τε καὶ νέα γυνή**

This line plays on the ambiguity of νέα which can mean both 'new' (of the moon) and 'young' (applied to a woman).

1185-6. **καὶ μὴν**...**γ(ε)**

For an expression of conviction, cf. 4, 1036 and 1441.

τὸν νόμον…ὅτι νοεῖ

He claims that the law's *intention* has been misunderstood.

1187. **ὁ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς**

"*Old Solon*" was eponymous archon c. 594 B.C. at a period when economic pressures were creating quite serious, social upheaval. A number of political and legal reforms which date from the early-sixth century were traditionally linked with his name. Later amendments incorporated into Attic law seem to have been treated as 'Solonian' as well.

1189-91. **εἰς δύ(ο) ἡμέρας**

Pheidippides argues that the expression 'old and new' was meant to refer to two separate days. The *old* was the last day of one month, the *new* was the first day of the next month, also known as the νουμηνία.

αἱ θέσεις

This refers to the creditors 'lodging' official claims, if the debt was still unpaid.

1192. **ὦ μέλε**

Aristophanes often seems to imbue this form of address with sarcasm (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1400, *Ὄρνιθες* 1257), but here it may indicate a tone of condescension.

1193-4. **παρόντες οἱ φεύγοντες**

He explains that Solon's νόημα δημοτικόν was to give defendants the opportunity to appear before the δήμαρχος and settle on the last day before their creditors could lodge the Prytany-fees (the first day of the new month).

1195. **ὑπανιῷντο**

This is a unique instance (contracted from ὑπανιάοιντο) of the compound ὑπ-ανιάομαι, which must mean that those who fail to settle "*would be a bit sorrowful*" (cf. *Λυσιστράτη* 593). One can only suppose that this is meant ironically, as we might say 'they would live to regret it'. It seems a rather enervated phrase for Aristophanes and one wonders whether he might have written something more pointed, such as part of the verb ὑπανίστημι, to indicate that the debtors would be reluctant to get out of bed early. Knowing that

they faced prosecution, they would parallel the *gradual* rising of the New moon. [One may compare the later use of the verb ὑπανίσχω by Aelianus (*de Nat. An.* 11.10)]

1198. **οἱ προτένθαι**

At the beginning of winter each year the Athenians celebrated a three-day festival named for Aphrodite, τὰ Ἀπατούρια (a title probably derived from ἀπάτωρ, 'fatherless'). It began with communal suppers, for the purpose of which the members of each tribe were organized into φρατρίες. Officials were appointed to arrange and oversee these suppers and, according to Athenaios (4.171γ-ϝ), they were known as προτένθαι. However, it is not likely that their job description was actually 'pre-tasters'. Either their title was slightly different, or the word originated from a different root, as the poet is clearly playing with the meaning. He wants to suggest that those in charge of the catering are actually 'pre-chomping' and *catering* to their own needs first.

δοκοῦσί μοι ποεῖν

The reading of the codices is straightforward, but recent editors have preferred the later variant παθεῖν, which is found also in the manuscripts of Athenaios that cite the line.

1199. **ὅπως τάχιστα**

The word ἵνα appears to have dropped out of the text. Indeed, some manuscripts read **ἵν**(**α**) ὅπως τάχιστα. Dover, however, cites *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 756 to suggest that the phrase may be elliptical for ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα.

τὰ πρυτανεῖα ὑφελοίατο

The middle voice ὑφαιρέομαι (cf. 179) accuses public officials of embezzling the Prytany-fees, just as in *Σφῆκες* (659) later the poet would include the fees in a list of state-income which did not seem to provide any benefit to the ordinary citizens.

1200. προὐτένθευσαν

The poet concocts a verb out of the official title προτένθης. As the word τένθης appears to mean 'glutton' (cf. *Εἰρήνη* 1009, 1120 where it is used disparagingly of certain well-born citizens), he infers that they are "*men who make pigs of themselves before <everyone else>*".

1201. **κάθησθ**(**ε**) **ἀβέλτεροι**

He addresses the spectators as if they were classmates of his son sitting at their school-benches, who have learned nothing. He uses an adjective ('unimprovable') which derides their inability to acquire knowledge (cf. *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 290, ἠλιθίου κἀβελτέρου – "*stupid and unteachable*"). They are, in fact, just like him.

1203. **ἀριθμός**

The spectators are ridiculed as 'rank and file', i.e. nameless men who make up the *numbers*. Conversely, the noble sons of the Trojan queen were οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως (Euripides *Τρῴαδες* 476).

πρόβατ(**α**) **ἄλλως**

In *Σφῆκες* (32, 955), Aristophanes compares the Athenian citizenry to a flock of sheep, meekly following the 'demo-dog-ues', while here they are sheep because they are so easily 'fleeced' by the dishonest public servants. To judge from Plato's account of his master in the *Τίμαιος* and *Γοργίας*, the use of such imagery regarding the average citizen was an integral part of Sokratic teaching.

ἀμφορῆς νενησμένοι

The members of the audience are described as "*heaped storage jars*" which would indicate that they were empty already, but given their disposal in the auditorium they may be pictured as "*stacked storage jars*", with contents intact, and at the disposal of the unscrupulous.

Sommerstein adopts Bentley's proposal to read νενημένοι**,** the form of the participle which is found in Xenophon's *Ἀνάβασις*.

1206. **μάκαρ ὦ Στρεψίαδες**

As Solon reminded Kroisos, true happiness belongs only to the gods (or the dead, cf. ἐν μακάρων νήσοις, *Σφῆκες* 639-40) and Strepsiades is tempting Fortune by claiming to be μάκαρ – "*blessed*".

A scholiast to the main codices notes that the exclamatory ὦ would normally be first in such hymns, e.g. Euripides *Ἑλένη* 375, ὦ μάκαρ...παρθένε), but there are instances where it precedes the name (cf. *Βάκχαι* 565, μάκαρ ὦ Πιερία) and so it may be that a particular Euripidean hymn is being parodied here.

Dover questions the form of the vocative, since one would expect Στρεψιάδη by comparison with other similar instances e.g. *Σφῆκες* 401, ὦ...Τεισιάδη. He suggests that the old man uses it because he thinks,

mistakenly, that it is more 'poetic', whereas Homer in fact uses the regular form (*Ἰλιάς* 3.132, ὦ μάκαρ' Ἀτρεΐδη). But we do not need to probe Strepsiades' motive, since it is Aristophanes who has chosen to write this form of the vocative in order to shorten the vowel (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1275, ὦ μακάριε Αὐτομένες) and make the second μέτρον a paeon.

1208. **τρέφεις**

Wilson observes that two manuscripts (V and Θ) read ἐκτρέφεις. This certainly gives the expected sense, of 'to rear' rather than simply 'to feed', but Strepsiades is ever conscious of the actual cost of feeding his son (cf. 121, 815), so the compound form may be just a scholiast's 'correction' (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1133, where τρέφεις stands in for ἐκτρέφεις). The following line seems to emphasize the point.

1210. **χοὶ δημόται**

Not all his fellow-demesmen will be so impressed (cf. 1219).

1212. **εἰσάγων σε**

The later manuscripts of the fourteenth century (EKNΘ) introduce the aorist εἰσαγαγών, but recent editors all print the present participle, the reading of the main codices. For the present participle cf. *Σφῆκες* 169-70, ἀποδόσθαι βούλομαι τὸν ὄνον ἄγων and note on 845.

1213. **ἑστιᾶσαι**

After the austere dietary regime in the 'Thinking-shop' Pheidippides will need to rebuild his strength, so they go home to feast on *thrushes*' *avian flesh* or possibly one of Leogoras's peacocks!

1214. **Πασίας**

The manuscripts name the character who enters now simply as 'a lender' (δανειστής), and recent editors refer to him as 'the First Creditor' (χρήστης α΄). But, since the lender will shortly inform us (1223-4) that he is claiming the amount of twelve minas which was loaned specifically for the purchase of a horse, it is all but certain that the poet meant us suppose that he is the same creditor mentioned by name earlier (21).

1214-21.

In Xenophon's *Συμπόσιον*, we hear 'Kallias' (who was probably the wealthiest man in Athens if not all of Greece), complimenting the Cynic 'Antisthenes' on living contentedly within his modest means, "*and I especially envy you your* <lack of> *wealth*, *both because the state does not make you a slave by imposing* <duties> *upon you, and people do not become incensed if you do not loan them money*." Although this is good-humoured banter, it suggests that there was a moral obligation placed upon the wealthier citizens to extend *loans* to fellow-demesmen in need (4.45, τά τε ἄλλα ζηλῶ σε τοῦ πλούτου καὶ ὅτι οὔτε ἡ πόλις σοι ἐπιτάττουσα ὡς δούλῳ χρῆται οὔτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἂν μὴ δανείσῃς, ὀργίζονται).

The creditor may or may not be a professional banker, but he has an innate understanding of PR, which suggests that this is not the first time a loan has gone sour. He is apologetic for imposing on his colleague to act as a witness and regrets the unpleasant necessity of taking a neighbour to court, but he insists that he has a duty to preserve his own wealth and protect the good name of all true Athenian money-lenders.

[Unofficial loans and undisclosed rental agreements continue to be a main-stay of the 'grey' economy in contemporary Athens.]

1215. **κρεῖττον...ἦν**

In verse the particle ἂν is often omitted from potential clauses with the imperfect tense, cf. *Σφῆκες* 209, μοι κρεῖττον ἦν and 478, ἦν μοι κρεῖττον.

1218. **ἔλκω σε κλητεύσοντα**

If a defendant failed to appear in court, he could not claim that he had been unaware of the lawsuit, as long as the plaintiff took the precaution of being accompanied by 'a witness to the summons' (κλητήρ). [Now, a police officer is sometimes roped in as δικαστικός κλητήρας to deliver the summons to appear.]

1219. **ἀνδρὶ δημότῃ**

His admission that he is from the same deme as Strepsiades may explain why the old farmer is said to be from Kikynna. Evidently, this was the deme of the real Pasias, whose expression of regret is intended to disarm criticism that he is dunning a fellow-demesman. Normally, members of the same deme would be expected to share one's joy in success (1209) or to render assistance in one's hour of need (1322). Pasias is already speaking as if to justify his action before a jury (cf. Antiphon φαρμακείας κατὰ τῆς μητρυιᾶς 1, where the plaintiff admits that he is forced to proceed against "*those who should be the last people with whom one quarrels*" – οἷς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν ἐν διαφορᾷ καταστῆναι).

1220. **τὴν πατρίδα καταισχυνῶ**
Like any self-respecting crime-boss he feels duty-bound to collect on a debt, because if a debtor were to be forgiven, the reputation of his fellow-countrymen for ruthless enforcement would suffer. Similarly, in *Σφῆκες* (999-1002), Philokleon admits to feeling ashamed, when he realizes that he has been tricked into finding a defendant 'not guilty'.
1221.
Far from seeking to avoid his creditor, Strepsiades re-appears as soon as his name is called; before Pasias has managed even to finish his sentence.
1222. **μαρτύρομαι**
Strepsiades adopts the position of litigant and calls upon the 'court' to bear witness. In this case the court of public opinion is played by the audience (cf. 1225-6).
1225. **τὸν ψαρὸν ἵππον**
The horse for which Pasias's loan was intended had been referred to earlier (23) as a κοππατίαν (branded as a thoroughbred) a description which related to its cost. But, Pasias knows the colour, by which it can be identified, because the horse can be considered as security on the loan. The colour, a glossy dark-grey, was primarily that of a bird (a starling, perhaps).
1226. **ὃν...μισοῦντα**
The poet feels free to omit the pronoun, essential in English, ἐμε.
1228. **μὰ τὸν Δί(α)**
The text as it stands does not translate well. "*No*, *by Zeus*, <I did not swear by the gods>, *because at the time Pheidippides had not yet*…" Dover seeks to justify the non-sequitur by attributing it to the old man's "*muddled*" thoughts and recent editors have been content to accept his explanation and try to smooth over the apparent denial in their translations. In fact, the confusion is not so much in the old man's mind as in the text.
The codices provide variant oaths (μὰ Δί', μὰ τὸν Δί') including the more logical admission (νὴ τὸν Δί'), but all agree in tacking two words onto the speech of Pasias, τὸ χρέος. As a result, we have an object for ἀποδώσειν, which we would have to supply in any case, but the verse will not scan. So, something has to give and modern editors (since Triklinios) have decided that the oath stays and the grammatical object of Pasias's assertion should be taken as understood.
But, it is really the oath which does not fit. Both Dover and Sommerstein hint that a denial is incongruous and the latter waters it down to a bland "*Ah, well…I tell you*…", clearly wishing that the text actually read νὴ τὸν Δία. Henderson, on the other hand, pretends that the oath is not a denial of the previous oath, but a new one denying repayment of the loan! In either case, the stark incongruity is not helped by the fact that any oath is premature, given that Pasias will demand (1232) exactly that from Strepsiades in due course.
I suggest, however, that the codices have provided a clue to establish the logical sequence of the dialogue. If we dispense with the oath and complete Pasias's statement instead, the ellipse which occurs in the old man's reply is natural (and Sommerstein's translation assumes it), "*Yes, I did swear, the reason being*…" Omitting the oath mends the sense, but τὸ χρέος is not an adequate metrical alternative. It is, in fact, just a gloss (since, as Dover notes, the Attic spelling would have been τὸ χρέως anyway) which has replaced the words by which the creditor referred to his loan, **τὰ χρήματα** (cf. 1243). One can perhaps appreciate how an oath (–μα-τον) insinuated itself into the manuscript tradition from the shape of the noun. I propose that we restore the text as follows,

Πασίας καὶ νὴ Δί', ἀποδώσειν γ' ἐπώμνυς τοὺς θεούς
τὰ χρήματ'.
Στρεψιάδης οὐ γάρ πω τότ' ἐξηπίστατο
Φειδιππίδης μοι τὸν ἀκατάβλητον λόγον.

οὐ γάρ πω τότε
The main codices (RVE) read πώποτ(ε), but the logical reading is found in the Laurentianus (Θ).
1229. **μοι**
The pronoun depends on the verb (cf. 110-1). He does not say Φειδιππίδης μου.
τὸν ἀκατάβλητον λόγον

This reference to "*the irrefutable argument*" acknowledges that the weaker side of the argument taught by the 'Scoundrel' has proved to be the stronger after all. It may also allude to *written works* attributed to the Abderan sophist Protagoras, which are known in our source as *Καταβαλλόμενοι Λόγοι* ('Refutations').

1230. **νῦν δὲ**

His reply, "*But now you intend to deny*…" shows us that Strepsiades has not actually denied having given his word to obtain the loan. At most he had been non-committal.

1231. **τί γὰρ ἄλλ(ο)**

As far as he is concerned, avoiding his debts is the only benefit to be derived from a Sokratic education.

1232. **καὶ ταῦτα**

Since Strepsiades *had* promised on oath to return the money, Pasias challenges him to take a solemn oath denying the loan and thereby commit perjury.

1233. **ἵν(α) ἂν κελεύσω**

He demands that he swear to his claim in a sanctuary where a god-fearing man would be afraid to perjure himself.

1234.

These deities are the three who might be most interested in the validation of the oath; representing moral justice, commercial transactions and horse-trading. Strepsiades is keen to swear an oath by Zeus, because he has been told that he has been supplanted by the Δῖνος, but he unwisely ignores the presence of images of the other two gods, which flank the respective doorways.

1235. **προσκαταθείην**...**τριώβολον**

Aristophanes is making the point that, if a defendant does not believe in particular gods, there is very little point in demanding that he take an oath in their names. Strepsiades would readily swear by the discredited deities revered by others and he is willing to contribute three obols into the bargain. It is not clear why he mentions this specific amount, or what he is paying for. But, since it happens to be the daily remuneration for a juror, he may mean 'I'd give a day's wages'. Henderson understands him to be saying that he would pay extra to swear by Zeus, but to my mind the initial oath νὴ Δία does not construe this way. The money is probably meant to discharge the Prytany-fees or an offering due for calling a god to witness in his own temple-precinct, for as Dover notes, there are three obols and three gods. So, the old rascal may be saying that he would defray the associated costs of the arbitration because he is sure of winning the dispute.

The Venetus codex has the variant reading καὶ προκαταθείην, which would represent an offer to make the downpayment in advance. But in this position the prefix does not scan.

1237. **ἁλσὶν διασμηχθεὶς**

Presumably, this relates to a preparatory stage in the tanning of hides where coarse sea-salt or brine was used to depilate and smooth the skins. To judge from a fragment of Antiphanes (frg. 19) it was a standard joke to call someone with a paunch a wine-flask (ἀσκός), insinuating that his obesity was owed to drink.

οὑτοσί

"*This* <*chap*> *here*" evidently refers to Pasias's 'corporation'. He is portrayed as a 'fat cat' city-banker. Incidentally, the joke depends on the creditor being recognizable to the audience for his obesity, which is another reason for identifying him as 'Pasias'.

1238. **ἓξ χοᾶς**

In *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (1002), a certain Ktesiphon is ridiculed for resembling a bag of skin filled with wine. So here, the farmer's experienced eye estimates the liquid capacity of Pasias's belly, just as if it was a wine-skin, but he arrives at a total volume (six choes equates to approximately 19.2 liters or 4.25 imp. gallons) far in excess of what a normal *wine-skin* could contain. The poet is probably alluding to the myth of Marsyas, who was flayed by Apollo and became, in Comedy at least, a wine-skin like the one he often carried with him (cf. Plato, *Εὐθύδημος* 285 δ, ἐγὼ μέν...ἕτοιμός εἰμι παρέχειν ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς ξένοις, καὶ ἐὰν βούλωνται δέρειν...εἴ μοι ἡ δορὰ μὴ εἰς ἀσκὸν τελευτήσει, ὥσπερ ἡ τοῦ Μαρσύου).

1240. **θαυμασίως ἥσθην**

Aristophanes uses the aorist of ἥδομαι in a present sense, a vernacular usage perhaps, which is explained as an expression of irony ("*I'm tickled pink* <hearing you say> *gods*"). Cf. 1171.

«**θεοῖς**»

Is the quoted word really to be "*accommodated to the syntax of its new context*" as Dover says, or is the accomodation due to a scribe who missed the quotation marks? So, perhaps, we should repeat «**θεοὺς**» and recognize that the noun's case is governed by the unexpressed verb and not by ἥσθην.

1241. **Ζεὺς γέλοιος ὀμνύμενος**

The construction is a little unusual. There is a parallel in Euripides' *Ῥῆσος* 816, Ζεὺς ὀμώμοται πατήρ – "*Father Zeus has been sworn by*", a parenthetic remark intended to convey that the speaker is under oath. So, here, we might paraphrase 'Zeus being sworn by' as "*calling upon Zeus to witness an oath*".

But the adjective may have been attracted to the masculine in error. Syntax would seem to require <εἴη> **γέλοιον** <τι> ("*would be a risible thing*"), cf. *Σφῆκες* 566. The codex Venetus reads γελοίως, which was possibly an earlier attempt to correct the error.

τοῖς εἰδόσιν

He considers that his earlier enrolment in the school qualifies him as one of the 'knowledgeable'. This is a common misapprehension among undergraduates. As Sokrates could have told him, a university course is primarily intended to expose the extent of one's ignorance.

1243. **ἀποδώσεις μοι**

The pronoun is absent from the main codices and could easily be understood, but without it the metre can only be maintained by transposition, such as Blaydes' proposal, ἀλλὰ εἴτε ἀποδώσεις εἴτε μὴ τὰ χρήματα. It is easier, however, to visualize the accidental omission of μοι (restored by the scribe of K and the editor of the Aldine) than a careless transposition which would have been seen straightaway to disrupt the metre.

1244. **ἀπόπεμψον**

We have to understand the pronoun με, "*dismiss* <me> *when you have answered…*"

This verse contains a large number of short syllables (an anapaestic metron followed by two tribrachs). I am no metrist, but the only line I can recall with more shorts is an exceptional run of tribrachs in *Σφῆκες* (979). Comparison of the two scenes and the deliberate postponement of these words of Pasias suggest that the metre may have been intended to indicate mounting irritation.

1246. **τί σοι δοκεῖ δράσειν**;

This question, addressed to the witness, is an expression of bemusement.

ἀποδώσειν μοι δοκεῖ

Some Byzantine editors were similarly bemused by the second part of the line and took it to be an answer from the witness, because they took μοι δοκεῖ to be a grammatical unit like σοι δοκεῖ in the first part (i.e. 'I think he'll pay the loan'). Hall and Geldart follow this course. But, summons-witnesses never speak, so recent editors prefer to assign the whole line to Pasias. In so doing, however, in order to make the second question resemble the first, they change **μοι** to σοι (ἀποδώσειν σοι δοκεῖ; 'do you think he'll pay back the loan?'). Emendation is unnecessary; since his follow-on question is "*Do* <you> *think that he will pay me back*?" The pronoun must have been in the first person originally for the ancient editors to have assumed a statement. They would surely not have altered the second person to μοι deliberately.

The double question serves to cover the brief moment of Strepsiades' absence from the stage.

1247.

The farmer returns, accompanied by a slave holding a wooden kneading-trough.

1249. **ἀπαιτεῖς τἀργύριον**

Hall and Geldart print the reading of the main codices, whereas Dover elects to adopt a fourteenth-century 'correction' ἀπαιτεῖς ἀργύριον (EK). In fact, Attic Greek will often include the definite article, even when talking of 'money' in general (cf. 1285).

1250. **οὐδ' ἂν...οὐδενί**

He repeats verbatim his earlier words (118), but here, slight variations in fourteenth-century manuscripts introduce a degree of uncertainty. While it is not unusual for the poet to repeat the conditional particle ἄν for emphasis, or to suit his metre, its position, normally behind the negative οὐδ' ἂν ὀβολὸν (E) has been 'corrected' to, οὐδ' ὀβολὸν ἂν (EN). The particle is omitted altogether from (Θ). All modern editors print οὐδ' ἄν, the normal position, assuming that the postponement was accidental miscopying, but the variant may point to a flaw in the text. Rather than repeat the particle, the poet may have wanted his protagonist to declare that he "*would not pay back a single obol to anyone*" – **οὐδ' ὀβολὸν ἕν(α)** οὐδένι. The option

of reading οὐδὲ ἕν(α) ὀβολὸν would not scan, since οὐδὲ does not elide before the aspirated numeral (cf. *Βάτραχοι* 927, οὐδὲ ἕν).

1251. **καλέσειε...καρδόπην**

He is convinced that ἡ κάρδοπος should properly be ἡ καρδόπη, as 'Sokrates' had reliably misinformed him earlier (678-9).

1253. **ἀπολιταργιεῖς**

This compound of the simple verb (cf. *Εἰρήνη* 562, λιταργιοῦμεν οἴκαδε), which has the appearance of street-slang, may have been coined by Aristophanes.

1254. **καὶ τοῦτ(ο) ἴσθι**

This is the reading of the codices and, for what it's worth, has the backing of the *Σοῦδα*. It does not need emendation, although I would have been quite content with the variant καιτοι γ' ἴσθι. Elmsley's κᾆτ(α), εὖ ἴσθι, on the other hand, though adopted by Sommerstein, is unconvincing and unnecessary.

1255. **θήσω πρυτανεῖ(α)**

The banker realizes that his debtor has no intention of repaying the loan, let alone the interest on it, so he threatens legal action.

ἢ μήκετι ζῴην ἐγώ

We would say, 'if it's the last thing I do', but Aristophanes apparently prefers, "*or may I live no longer*", i.e. 'or may I die in the act'. I would rather him mean, εἰ μὴ οὐκετι ζωὴν ἔχω, but although the Venetus reads εἰ μήκετι the codices offer no other support for the supposition. With these words Pasias and his companion leave the stage.

1256-8.

Strepsiades is not intimidated now, because he has a good lawyer. He declares that Pasias will simply be throwing good money after bad, since payment of the court fees will not lead to the recovery of the loan. This jubilant speech is addressed to the back of the departing Pasias. In *Σφῆκες* (1412) Philokleon abuses the outraged breadseller and her witness Chairephon *after* they have gone on their way.

1256. **καὶ προσαπολεῖς**

The Ravenna codex reads καὶ προσαποβαλεῖς, but Hall and Geldart print the reading of the Venice codex. Dover, noting the repetition in καὶ προσ- προς ('also aditionally in addition'), drops the conjunction from his text. Henderson and Sommerstein follow him. I would rather keep the conjunction and dispense with a superfluous prefix, but καὶ ἀποβαλεῖς does not fit the metre and I cannot justify reading οὕτως ἀπολεῖς on the evidence of the manuscripts. So I too would print the reading of the Venetus.

1259. [**Ἀμεινίας**]

Hot on the heels of the first creditor a second one appears. Even before he arrives, we hear him moaning off-stage in tragic fashion (like Strepsiades when the play begins). Hall and Geldart identify him with the second creditor who was named as Ameinias in the opening scene, and this seems logical. But Dover (in his introduction xxix-xxxii) disagrees. He argues that the two creditors who appear on stage are nameless moneylenders, whereas "*neither of the two creditors* (i.e. Pasias and Ameinias) *is represented as a money -lender*". He maintains that he cannot be the same man because, like Pasias, he was said to have *sold* the spare parts for the chariot. But, Strepsiades' ledger simply detailed how the money was used. Ameinias is the one who provided the funds. Even if one prefers to see him as a seller rather than a banker, he has sold on credit. He has come seeking payment of the agreed price (plus interest) on the basis of the credit-card guarantee (an oath) provided by the borrower, Pheidippides.

The archon Ameinias appears, looking the worse for wear, accompanied by a silent witness. He does not identify himself, because the audience will recognize him from the situation he describes. It is, after all, the caricature of eminent men that provided much of the humour in Old Comedy. See Appendix 10.

1261. **τῶν Καρκίνου τις δαιμόνων**

A scholion tells us that there was a tragic-drama by the poet, Karkinos son of Xenotimos, in which certain *supernatural beings* were heard to loudly lament off-stage. An inscription (IG ii² 2318) tells us that a play of Karkinos had taken first prize at the city-Dionysia more than twenty years before, in 446, which would seem 'ancient history' by this time. But, there must have been something about the performance that had caused it to lodge in the public's memory. Perhaps, the very idea of divinities bewailing their fate was not judged appropriate to a tragic-drama. But, if indeed these spirits were heard to wail in Karkinos's winning

play, it may be that they were displaying their grief for a military disaster that had befallen the Athenians, for an expeditionary force under Tolmides had been defeated at Koroneia in Boiotia around this time, and Alkibiades' father had been among the many casualties (Thucydides 1.113). A sculpted votive-relief from the Akropolis (no: 695) known as the *Mourning Athene* is not much earlier in date and appears to display just such divine condolence.

Karkinos, like his fellow-poet Sophokles, came of an aristocratic family and had served as one of the ten annual στρατηγοί. In 431 B.C. he was placed in joint command of an Athenian fleet (Thucydides 2.23.2), a role for which his name (Commander 'Crab') seemed to fit him, and Aristophanes hails him as 'Lord of the Sea' (*Σφῆκες* 1519) in mock recognition.

1262. **βούλεσθ(ε) εἰδέναι**

As Wilson (p.78) notes, "*it is not classical Greek usage to address a single person in the plural*" and thus Blaydes proposed rewriting the text to accomodate the verb in the singular (βούλει μανθάνειν). It may be, however, that the creditor's words are simply a straight quotation from a tragic-drama which contained an inappropriate plural. But, Sommerstein says that the new arrival may use the plural because he imagines that bystanders, i.e. *the audience*, will be interested in his reply. However, the use of the plural again later (cf. 1286) suggests that a more likely explanation would be that Strepsiades is not alone. So either his son has put his head round the door, or his slave remains by his side. The latter would suit the situation for he accompanied his master in the previous interview and the instruction addressed to him later (1296) makes better dramatic sense if he is on hand to execute it. But, as we shall soon learn, the money was borrowed by Pheidippides from this particular creditor, so his silent presence might be inferred instead.

1263. **ἀνὴρ κακόδαιμων**

The poet repeats a line he had used in *Ἀχαρνεῖς* (1019), presumably with success. A farmer, who is named as Derketes of Phyle bemoans the theft of his plough-oxen.

κατὰ σεαυτόν νυν τρέπου

Strepsiades superstitiously crosses himself, so to speak, against any bad luck rubbing off on him. Though the codices agree on reading σαυτόν, Triklinios introduced the extra vowel necessary to restore the metre.

1264-5. **ὦ σκληρὲ δαῖμων**

These lines are said to parody a speech from a tragic-drama *Λικύμνιος* by Xenokles, son of Karkinos, in which Alkmena, mother of Herakles, laments the unfortunate death of her half-brother, the Likymnios of the title. Our poet may have wished to include it as an allusion to a character who blames the world for a specific misfortune, because although Athena is mentioned, her only part in the manslaughter seems to be her presiding role over the city of Argos. The reference to a chariot accident may have been inserted into the lament to recall the complaint of the dying Hippolytos that his horses had let him down (cf. Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 1355-7), although Dover surmised that in Xenokles' tragic-drama the hero had been killed in a contrived chariot 'accident'.

ὦ Παλλάς

His cry of pain addresses the goddess Athena by her title 'Pallas', used particularly of her warlike nature (cf. 967, Παλλάδα περςέπολιν δεινάν). The quotation may have been chosen to point up the irony of the goddess's hereditary priest losing her protection in a chariot-race (unlike her favourite Odysseus in a foot-race).

1266. **Τληπόλεμος**

Tlepolemos was a lesser-known son of Herakles, who settled at Argos after the death of Hyllos. He was banished from there for accidentally killing the aged half-brother of his grandmother. In due course, he became king of Rhodes and led the island's contingent of nine ships in the Trojan War (*Ἰλιάς* 2. 653-70). Homer calls him Tlepolemos, but Sommerstein prefers the variant Τλημπόλεμος, found in the Ravenna codex.

1267-8. **μοι**

The pronoun belongs grammatically with ἀποδοῦναι ('pay me back the money he borrowed'), as in 1246.

1269. **κακῶς πεπραγότι**

The dative participle agrees with the pronoun μοι. 'Ameinias' appears to have crashed in a chariot-race in much the same way as Pheidippides (31), so that he needs the money back to make good his own chariot, or perhaps, as Sommerstein suggests (addenda xxvi), "*to pay for medical treatment*".

1272. **ἵππους γ(ε) ἐλαύνων**
Why does Aristophanes portray the second creditor as the victim of a racing accident? The reference to a chariot accident (1264-5) appears to have been inserted into the quotation from Xenokles' tragic-drama, since it bears no obvious relevance to the myth of Tlepolemos. Moreover, the creditor's abject condition seems to serve little dramatic purpose. If intended to milk sympathy from the debtor, like the injured man who appears in *Σφῆκες* (1417), it is equally ineffectual, since the flinty farmer proceeds to joke about the accident.
So, is the poet using a typical beggar's artifice, merely as a means of introducing some predictable jokes? It seems to me more likely that he was aiming a smart-bomb at a specific target and that Ameinias was enrolled to play the creditor here because he was a keen charioteer and had in fact sustained injuries in a recent accident. One might even speculate further that his injuries were the reason that he was excused military service (cf. 692) and if one may infer from a reference to him in *Σφῆκες* (74-6, φιλόκυβον) his accident was a result of a highly-risky manoeuvre.
1273. **ἀπ(ὸ) ὄνου καταπεχών**
One may guess that there existed a colloquial expression for being 'out of one's mind' (ἀπὸ νοῦ), which the poet has altered from **ἀπὸ** νοῦ to ἀπ' **ὄ**νου and expanded with the addition of a verb to suit his comic ends. Plato (*Νόμοι* 701γ) considered the phrase ἀπό τινος (ὄ)νοῦ καταπεσεῖν as axiomatic and attempts a lame witticism of his own. But, it is doubtful whether the phrase ἀπό ὄνοῦ καταπεσεῖν was really ever a παροιμία as he claims. It was simply an obvious pun which was copied. Eupolis has his own variation on the expression (frg. 379, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ χοὸς πεχὼν – "*like <someone> who has fallen off a wine-jar*"). See also, *Σοῦδα* α 3459, λ 467 (ληρεῖς) and frg. 956. Aristophanes suggests that 'Ameinias' must be 'off his rocker' since he has evidently fallen off his 'rocking-horse'.
So, if one speculates that, due to a racing accident, the real Ameinias had arrived at his seat in the theatre with the aid of a crutch, the coarse suggestion that he sustained his injuries as a the result of a fall from a donkey, rather than a chariot, would have caused some sharply-indrawn breath from the auditorium. The idea of a leading citizen tumbling from a donkey would be amusing enough, because he would have been an accomplished horseman, but Aristophanes took pride in the sophistication of his wit and we are bound to look for a dramatic parallel to justify Strepsiades' comment. It seems to me likely that the creditor, who we are encouraged to believe, may be 'Ameinias', entered the stage leading a donkey. Consequently, the old farmer accuses him of trying to hide his embarrassment at his lack of skill by dressing up the tumble as a more serious accident. The joke evidently met with a good response from the audience, because the poet repeated it the following year in *Σφῆκες*.
1275. **αὐτὸς ὑγιαίνεις**
Bergk proposed that we read the future ὑγιανεῖς and recent translators have accepted his proposal (though the present tense is printed in Henderson's text). Hermann supported the change by replacing αὐτὸς with αὖθις ("*hereafter*"). But, the received text does not demand emendation. Some scholars find the emphatic personal pronoun awkward (cf. Wilson p. 78), but it could merely serve to indicate feigned concern on the part of the old man, "*you can't be right in yourself, can you*?"
However, it is possible that the exchange could have been enlivened by gesture at this point, for just as we saw Strepsiades prodding the previous creditor in the belly (cf. 1237), so now he may be pointing to this man's head to hint that his principal injury is not visible to the eye. So, perhaps our text has resulted from a 'correction' of an elision – **αὐτοῦ** (**ὑ**)**γιαίνεις**, "*you are not in sound condition just there, are you*". (In undivided text, the ὑ-ψιλὸν would have been assumed to belong to the verb rather than the dipthong and consequently a σῖγμα was added to complete the pronoun.)
1277. **σὺ δέ...γέ μοι**
We must understand δοκεῖς as the main verb borrowed from the previous line. The codices have actually included what was an explanatory gloss by mistake.
Νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν
A statue of 'Hermes the dealer' stood by the main gate leading into the Athenian Agora from the city, as he was deemed to be the deity charged with oversight of commercial transactions (cf. 1234). It was hardly surprising that, as a result, he was routinely identified as the patron deity of thieves.
1279-80. **καινὸν...ὗειν ὕδωρ**

As we have seen, the 'natural philosophers' had already realized that rain-clouds were exhalations of the sea formed by evaporation (cf. 271-2), but Strepsiades has only got half the picture; he still believes that Zeus has a role in the process (cf. 370-3).

Τὸν Ἥλιον

Helios, the Sun, was brother to Selina and Dawn and a god in his own right (cf. 571-4). He is frequently invoked in tragic-drama (e.g. Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 601) as the physical manifestation of his alter-ego, the Olympian Apollo. The first attempt to describe the sun in 'scientific' terms is attributed to Anaximandros of Miletos (a pupil of Thales) in the first half of the sixth century.

1282. **οὐδέ μοι μέλει**

He replies dismissively, in typically patrician style, when confronted by 'knowledge'.

1283. **τἀργύριον**

For the definite article, compare 1249, 1288.

1285-6. **εἰ σπανίζεις...τὸν τόκον ἀπόδοτε**

The meaning is clear, but recent editors have been unable to agree on the most likely reading of the text. For this we can thank Blaydes, who had suggested earlier (1262) that the creditor would have addressed Strepsiades in the singular, but now proposes emending to the plural. Prompted by Meineke and Teuffel, he has suggested the following, ἀλλ' εἰ σπανίζετ' ἀργυρίου τὸν γοῦν τόκον ἀπόδοτε. Dover was tempted to print the emendation and Sommerstein does so. But, although it reads well enough, it does not follow the codices lead, since all agree on the singulars σπανίζεις and ἀποδός, along with μοι not γοῦν. Hall and Geldart meet his proposal halfway by adopting the plural ἀπόδοτε, which (as Dover observes) is an odd transition from singular to plural, but not impossible. One could understand that the father's shortage of cash is recognized by the singular, while the creditor looks to both father and son as jointly responsible for the debt (whether the son is on stage or not). However, I do not find this really convincing. I would rather adhere to the codices and print ἀλλ' εἰ **σπανίζεις τἀργυρίου** μοι τὸν τόκον **ἀπόδος γε**.

I take Dover's point that this leaves the enclitic μοι as a weak start to the apodosis (sic), which the comma in Hall and Geldart's text does not convincingly remedy, but it seems to me the lesser evil.

Τοῦτο δ(ὲ) ἔσθ'

Blaydes was on firmer ground here with his proposal to read [ἀπόδοτε] **οὗτος** δ' ἔσθ' ὁ τόκος τί θηρίον; Accomodating the demonstrative pronoun to the gender of θηρίον was perhaps the work of a scribe trying to avoid the hiatus (**ἀπόδος γε. / οὗτος**). Larsen's τούτου had the same aim, I think, but reads awkwardly.

ὁ τόκος, **τί θηρίον**

He pretends to misunderstand the difference between the metaphorical meaning of τόκος (interest) and its concrete meaning (issue) to confuse the creditor (cf. 1156 and *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* 843-5).

1287. **καθ' ἡμέραν**

Although payment fell due on a monthly basis, the interest was calculated by the day (cf. 18).

1289. **ὑπορρέοντος τοῦ χρόνου**

Dover notes that the verb is not found elsewhere used of Time. The prefix suggests that Time flows like a river 'slip-sliding away' *almost imperceptibly*. This is a fine image, but does it suit the context? The point about to be made in reply relates rather to the *continuous* flow of rivers into the sea (1294), ἐπιρρεόντων τῶν ποταμῶν and one would expect that Strepsiades would be echoing the verb he has just heard (cf. 225-6). So, Aristophanes is more likely to have written **ἐπιρρέοντος** here and Aischylos's choice of the prefix to describe Time flowing steadily on (*Εὐμενίδες* 853, οὐπιρρέων γὰρ τιμιώτερος χρόνος) tends to support this supposition.

1292. **οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον**

The natural philosophers considered Δίκη to be the underlying principle of the universe which establishes the order of things. Even Zeus was thought to be constrained by it. Dover notes a couplet from a poem of Solon which neatly illustrates the creditor's point (frg. 12, Plutarch *Σόλων* 3.5).

ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταράσσεται· ἢν δέ τις αὐτὴν
μὴ κινῇ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτη.

"*The sea is stirred up by the wind, but if no wind stirs it, it is the most orderly* <element> *of all*." Thus the creditor admits that universal order would be upset, if the sea were to rise every time it rained (not merely as the result of global warming). It would not be "*in accordance with Δίκη*".

Strepsiades has set a logical trap for 'Ameinias', which is actually quite neat. He is about to argue that, if universal law does not allow the seas to increase despite constant inflows, then man's laws should prevent interest accruing to capital. This is because 'how things are ordered by Δίκη' provided the Athenians with their concept of Justice, 'how things ought to be'. Another Solonian precept (frg. 13, Plutarch *Σόλων* 2.3) makes the connection.

Χρήματα δ' ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι
οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε Δίκη.

"*I long to possess wealth, but I do not wish to come by it unjustly. The just order ensues eventually*."

1294. **ἐπιρρεόντων τῶν ποταμῶν**

The comparison is helped by the fact that the poets evidently used the same compound to portray a steady increase in wealth, e.g. Euripides *Μήδεια* 1229, ὄλβου ἐπιρρυέντος.

1295. **τἀργύριον πλέον τὸ σόν**

He accepts the idea that wealth accumulates like a river (by cash-*flow*?) but it does not reproduce itself as interest. [Islamic objections to the concept of interest on money derive from Aristotle (*Πολιτικά* 1258β)].

1296-7. **οὐκ ἀποδιώξει σαυτὸν**

As I consider that the slave is standing around waiting to do his master's bidding, it seems only natural to read οὐκ **ἀποδιώξεις αὐτὸν** with the codices and to take both lines as addressed to the silent actor. But, some have felt that more humour may be had from the situation, if the poet intended the instruction to be directed at the creditor (as Elmsley proposed), οὐκ ἀποδιώξει σαυτὸν – "*won't you chase yourself away*", notwithstanding the poet's use of the reflexive form σεαυτὸν in 1263.

Although, to my mind, the resulting phrase is both absurd and clumsy, (for instance, it lacks the neatness of Charles Dickens' expression, "*he put his hat on and took himself off*"), there seems to be some support for the view that the clumsiness was intentional in a similarly awkward phrase from *Σφῆκες* (196), ὤθει τὸν ὄνον καὶ σαυτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, "*shove the ass and your ass into the house*". In that case, however, I have proposed emending to rationalize the instruction to καὶ σ(ὺ) αὐτὸν (see also *Σφῆκες* 996). Here, the instruction to the slave Xanthias in *Σφῆκες* (456, παῖε...τοὺς σφῆκας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας) provides a parallel.

ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας

The codices read ἐκ ('out of the house') by mistake. They are standing in the courtyard. Presumably the phrase ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας originated as an explanatory note to the subsequent instruction.

1297. **φέρε μοι**

This order is given to the silent slave at his side (cf. 19, καὶ ἔκφερε τὸ γραμματεῖον), who hurries indoors.

κέντρον

A sharp spike, or whip, used to goad horses (or torture slaves). In vase-paintings, it is depicted as a long, sharpened stick.

ταῦτ(α) ἐγὼ μαρτύρομαι

Henderson takes this call to witness Strepsiades' outrageous behaviour as addressed to the audience. But, the creditor must have had the intention of issuing a summons, if the old man refused to pay up, so he will have brought a witness of his own. When another injured man uses the same phrase in *Σφῆκες* (1436), it is addressed to his (sometimes) silent witness…another donkey!

1298. **ὕπαγε**. **τί μέλλεις**;

Since the creditor has called upon his 'witness', Strepsiades might well respond defiantly "*summons me, if you like*" (ὕπαγε, **εἰ** μέλλεις), but there is deliberate ambiguity in the instruction, because the imperative can also be taken to mean move along (cf. *Σφῆκες* 290). As printed the text reads, "*Move along. What are you going* <to do>?" which is taken to mean "*Why are you hanging about*?"

οὐκ ἐλᾷς, ὦ σαμφόρα

It may be noted that the main codices (RV) actually read Πασία, which is not even the right name for the creditor here. Even obvious errors of this kind are sometimes admitted to the textual tradition. The actual reading is a repetition from *Ἱππεῖς* 603, where the cavalry horses are said to have urged each other on with such exhortations.

Here 'Ameinias' is addressed ironically as a σαμφόρα-horse, a thoroughbred racehorse (cf. 122), because he is of noble stock. But the sobriquet of 'branded with the σάν' is also insulting because it suggests that he deserves to be branded himself as a run-away slave would be. The word σαμφόρα may be intended to

be an unexpected replacement of συμφορά ('a confluence of events', usually in a bad sense, "a *calamity*", cf. *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 1204, ὦ συμφορὰ...τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν).

1299. **ἄξεις**

Hall and Geldart print Brunck's emendation (after Bentley's αἴξεις), which would instruct the creditor to "*dart off*". The codices, however, omit the subscript, so that Strepsiades is heard to order 'Ameinias' to "*lead away*" his 'witness'. Like Dover, I consider the emendation "*perfectly possible but not necessary*". The future indicative, **ἄξεις**, treated as a question here (unlike 633) functions as an imperative.

However, the more important question here is who is Strepsiades addressing? I believe he must be telling the donkey/witness to lead away his master.

ἐπιαλῶ

Hall and Geldart print the reading of the codices, although Sommerstein opts for van Leeuven's suggested spelling ἐφιαλῶ on the grounds that Herodianos (i. 539.12) had stated that in correct Attic the simple verb would have been aspirated (ἱαλλῶ). But, as Dover comments, orthography is trumped by the unanimity of the manuscripts' (many) variants, none of which indicate aspiration.

The meaning of the verb in this context is unclear. LSJ assume that the object is unexpressed, so that one has to understand τὸ κέντρον, i.e. "*I will lay* <the goad> *upon you*, *the trace-horse*". But I think it more likely that the direct object is the personal pronoun and I would translate "*I will send you on your way*".

1300. **κεντῶν ὑπὸ τὸν πρωκτόν**

Dover innocently refers to "*the cruel practice of goading a draught animal in the anus*", which misses the crude implication of the farmer's remark. No charioteer in his right mind would perpetrate such an absurd act. If one considers that too little time has elapsed since the slave was despatched to locate the goad, one realizes that the old farmer is threatening to sodomize the donkey with the handiest tool available (cf. 349, κεντεῖ ὄρρον). It is, of course, the 'witness' and not 'Ameinias' himself who would suffer this treatment; a point which Sommerstein and Henderson choose to obscure.

σε τὸν σειραφόρον

Whereas 'Ameinias' himself is called 'a racehorse', the donkey (or witness) is compared to another type of horse which is harnessed to a chariot in traces, because he will now dash off with 'Ameinias' in tow. It is another sarcastic reminder that Strepsiades questions whether 'Ameinias' was injured in a chariot-race.

The position of the personal pronoun leads us to believe (as Sommerstein and Henderson translate) that the creditor is being threatened with the 'prick', but the poet then reveals that it is in fact the trace-horse.

1301. **ἔμελλόν σ(ε) ἆρα κινήσειν**

Compare the note of satisfaction in *Σφῆκες* 460, ἆρ(α) ἐμέλλομεν...ὑμᾶς ἀποσοβήσειν – "*There, didn't I say we would scare you away eventually*?"

1302. **ξυνωρίσιν**

His parting shot is further mockery of the creditor's *pretension* to owning a team of race-horses (cf. 15).

Choral Ode (Στροφή) 1303-10

1303. **τὸ πραγμάτων ἐρᾶν**

The text may be correct, and the Clouds are observing that Strepsiades has "*a propensity for petty things*" or "*mischief*", but we have been told more than once that the old man's hopes of avoiding payment on his debts arose from his inability to pay, rather than from an incorrigible, criminal nature. His tragedy is that he has dared to 'dream the impossible dream' or at least, 'an airy nothing'. As the line as it stands seems weak, I would hazard a guess that it should read – οἷον τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ ὄνειρον φλαύρων. I suspect that τὸ... ἐρᾶν was simply suggested to the copyist by ἐρασθεὶς in the following line.

1307. **οὐκ ἐσθ' ὅπως οὐ**

The double negative is a strong asseveration,"*he will get* <his due> *for sure*" (cf. 1275).

τήμερον

The Clouds adopt the portentous tone used by other deities in tragic-drama, e.g. Aphrodite in the prologue of Euripides' *Ἱππόλυτος* (22), ἐν τῇδε ἡμέρᾳ - "*this very day*".

1308.

The Clouds become more than usually nebulous here and one has to suspect that something is wrong with the text, which is particularly unfortunate when one considers that these lines may be meant to impart the

moral of the tale. Apparently, they predict that Strepsiades "*will be receiving some* (unspecified) *trouble* (which in turn) "*will cause this sophist, of a sudden, to receive some ill* (for) *those criminal acts which he began to perpetrate*". The phraseology is so tantalizingly vague that it is difficult to know exactly where the errors lie.

λήψεται τι πρᾶγμ(α)

To begin with, there is general agreement that τι, (which some mss. place before λήψεται and others omit altogether), would fit better after λήψεται, as Hermann suggested. But whether the indefinite pronoun was misplaced by carelessness or not, the syntax is clear, only the meaning is ambiguous. I would suggest that one may understand λήψεται τι πρᾶγμα to mean that Strepsiades will be getting 'some <actual> thing', or in other words, "*a dose of reality*".

1309-10. τὸν σοφιστὴν

The word σοφιστὴς was used by 'Sokrates' earlier (331) at the head of a list of pretentious intellectuals, who used their knowledge to enrich themselves, to court fame or avoid getting a proper job. The Clouds acknowledge that Strepsiades has earned his place in their number.

<ἴσως ἀνθ'> ὧν

Hall and Geldart print Reisig's expansion of the text, suggested by the interpolation of ἀνθ' in a sixteenth-century manuscript (Laurentianus plut. 31.16). Dover and Sommerstein have not adopted the idea; while Henderson prints Austin's alternative addition <ἀπάντων>.

λαβεῖν κακόν τι

However one chooses to interpret λήψεται τι πρᾶγμα, there is no denying the awkward coincidence of the final phrase, which the codices give as τι κακὸν λαβεῖν. Hermann again corrected the word-order to mend the metre and read λαβεῖν κακόν τι (which Hall and Geldart adopted), while Bergk offered κακὸν λαβεῖν τι (attributed to Hermann in Sommerstein's apparatus). But, whatever their order, these words look like a gloss on the previous phrase. Dover considered that they must have supplanted a different phrase possibly quite unrelated in form and sense. For the sake of argument, he suggested καλόν γ' ὄνασθαι, although, if the original text has been ousted by the explanatory gloss, then it is anyone's guess what had been there. Sommerstein supplies ἀποστραφῆναι ('to recoil from'), a play on the name and Henderson offers ἄποινα τεῖσαι ('to pay dearly for').

My own suggestion is that while τι κακὸν λαβεῖν is certainly too weak to stand, and has the appearance of glossing λήψεται τι πρᾶγμα, it may have originated, not as a gloss on the previous phrase, or even a gloss on this phrase, but as a copyists's error. In which case it may conceal the original text (e.g. τι καταλαβεῖν) and the corruption may be more pervasive, so that we might read ἤρξει τ' ἐξαίφνης τι καταλαβεῖν, "*and he'll suddenly start to understand something*".

Choral Ode (Ἀντιστροφή) 1311-20

The Clouds clarify their airy intimation in the strophe. Since he has begun to employ his new learning for unjust ends (πανουργεῖν ἤρξατο), Strepsiades is going to find out that his son's tongue has indeed become a double-edged weapon (1160) and he too will use his learning to support injustice. They are telling him, in effect, that he ought to have to taken care what he prayed for, because the gods answer our prayers in unpredictable ways.

1312. πάλαι ποτ(ε) ἐπεζήτει

We would expect this line to respond metrically to the second line of the strophe (◡ – ◡ ◡ – –), but an extra short syllable intrudes, which has caused Hall and Geldart to obelise the compound verb as doubtful. This is due to the fact that ἐπεζήτει (RV) has already been reduced to the simple verb ἐζήτει in later copies of the text to fit the required metre. Hermann, however, wished to retain the force of the prefix and proposed another verb ἐπῄτει ('to demand'), which was adopted by Bergk and has been printed by all editors since, with the exception of Dover, who considered it unsuited to the context. Despite the recent consensus and the support of Wilson (p. 78), I would join Dover in preferring ἐζήτει, but for a nagging suspicion that the main codices had the right verb ("*he was craving*") and that the initial phrase is unsuitable. Although the adverb πάλαι can serve well enough on its own, 'not long ago', 'lately', as we have seen already (cf. 556), the addition of ποτέ puts the clock back to the distant past, e.g. *Πλοῦτος* 1002, πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι – "*Once upon a time they were formidable*", parodied in *Σφῆκες* 1060, πάλαι ποτ' ὄντες ἡμεῖς. Therefore, I

would rather retain the compound verb and explain the interpolation of ποτέ as a well-meaning attempt to cover for an elided vowel. I propose reading ὅπερ πάλαι **τ(ε) ἐπεζήτει** – "*and which formerly he used to be craving*".

1313. **τὸν υἱὸν...οἱ**

The enclitic dative is used in imitation of lyric usage in tragic-drama.

1314. **γνώμας ἐναντίας λέγειν**

They recollect his earlier insistence that Pheidippides πρὸς πάντα τὰ δίκαια ἀντιλέγειν δυνήσεται (888). The codices actually include a particle which modern editors have chosen to omit γνωμας **τ(ε)** ἐναντίας. I would be inclined to restore it as company for the one I have posited in 1312.

1315. **τοῖσιν δικαίοις**

Some manuscripts (EKNΘ) read τοῖσι, but metrical responsion with 1307 requires the second syllable to be lengthened by the addition of νυ (cf. also 1339).

1316-7. **οἷσπερ ἂν ξυγγένηται**

Their words recall the boast of the 'Scoundrel' (cf. 891-5) that he can defeat his adversaries in any forum. The verb ξυγγίγνομαι means to 'have dealings with' (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1468, ξυνεγενόμην), specifically in some form of discussion. Here, they have in mind formal or informal debate.

1319. **ἴσως βουλήσεται**

Dover notes the same phraseology used in their previous threat to the judges (1129)

Ἐπεισόδιον 1321-1344

1321. **ἰοὺ ἰού**

Strepsiades is back to square one, but the expression of distress with which he opened the drama, ἰὼ ἰώ, is now replaced with one of 'shock and confusion'. In spite of the claims made in the parabasis (cf. 543), the comic-poet will always resort to pantomime techniques, if there appears a danger of the mood becoming too serious.

1322. **ὦ γείτονες...καὶ δημόται**

Sommerstein concludes from this histrionic appeal for aid to the farmer's fellow-demesmen that the scene has shifted to Strepsiades' farmhouse at Kikynna. But, the cry merely reflects his desperate condition. It is equivalent to 'Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your…shields!' In this case, the drama is staged in wartime and many of the farmers of Kikynna have moved their families to the city. We have just met one of them, after all, the creditor Pasias (cf. 1219) and others may be presumed to be in the theatre-audience, who will be addressed shortly.

1323. **πάσῃ τέχνῃ**

The phrase (cf. 885) expands on ἀμυνάθετέ μοι, but is postponed to suit the metre.

1326. **ὁρᾶτε**

He appeals to the audience directly.

1327. **τοιχωρύχε**

Someone who would burgle a house 'by undermining the walls' was no respecter of civil or moral law. In *Βάτραχοι* (773) the burglar is similarly considered on a par with "*one who strikes his father*" (πατραλοίας, cf. 911). Ameipsias denounces in the same breath a person who refuses to share food with others and one who steals another's property (frg. 23, ἔρρ' ἐς κόρακες, μονοφάγε καὶ τοιχωρύχε – "*go to blazes, you anti-social housebreaker*").

1328-9.

These lines seem to me to read better if inverted. The possibility that the second line was misplaced in an early ms. is suggested by the fact that, in a citation found in the *Σοῦδα* (λ 59), it was reinserted after 1330.

ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι χαίρω πόλλ' ἀκούων καὶ κακά;
αὖθίς με ταὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ πλείω λέγε.

1330. **λακκόπρωκτε**

The old man hurls a coarse insult at his son, which extends the earlier accusation of εὐρύπρωκτος used of public speakers, indicating perhaps that he is talking out of the wrong orifice. A λάκκος could be any kind of hole, often one filled with water, from a puddle to a lake (via the Latin *lacus*), or a man-made 'cistern' (cf. *Σοῦδα* λ 59, Henderson [1991] 210).

πολλοῖς τοῖς ῥόδοις
Pheidippides picks up the retorts of the 'Scoundrel' (cf. 910-2, ῥόδα μ' εἴρηκας...χρυσῷ πάττων με). The definite article seems superfluous here and Sommerstein has to make the phrase comparative in order to accommodate it. As we are bound to translate πολλοῖς τοῖς along the lines of 'many like these', perhaps we should read τοιούτοις instead.
1335. **τουτί**
A double accusative construction is unlikely. 'You'll beat <me> *on this* point?' would require τούτῳ or ταύτῃ, so we have to carry over the participle λέγων to complete the sense (τουτὶ λέγων σὺ ἐμὲ νικήσεις).
πολύ γε, καὶ ῥᾳδίως
One might be tempted to translate, 'Yes, easily, by a head'. But, 'to beat decisively' ought to be written νικήσω πολλῷ. Consequently, it seems worth placing a comma after γε to remind oneself that πολύ γε is actually just a confident 'Yes!'
1336-7. **ἑλοῦ**
Pheidippides follows his sophistic education in challenging his father to pick a side. There is no question which side of the argument Strepsiades considers to be in the right, but by sarcastically offering to let his father choose his weapon for their duel, Pheidippides is pointing up the irony that Strepsiades had never expected to find himself on the 'Stronger' side (cf. 113, τὸν κρείττονα, ὅστις ἐστί).
1339. **τοῖσιν δικαίοις**
The paragogic νυ is omitted in some manuscripts (ΚΝΘ), as in 1315, but it is required by metre (iambic trimeter).
1340. **μέλλεις ἀναπείσειν**
The addition of the personal pronoun μ(ε) after μέλλεις in certain manuscripts (ΝΘ) has the appearance of a gloss interpolated to correspond with 1342.
1341. **τὸν πατέρα...ὑπὸ τῶν υἱέων**
Another example of the generic use of the definite article, where we say 'fathers' or 'a father'…by 'sons' or 'a son'.

Choral Song 1345-50

1345-50.
Just when we were expecting to hear Pheidippides justify his actions, the Chorus breaks in to warn the old man that his son seems very self-assured. Their strophe will be matched by a corresponding antistrophe at 1391-6.
1345. **σὸν ἔργον**
For the construction omitting the verb ἐστι, cf. 1494, and 1416 where the verb is expressed.
1346. **τὸν ἄνδρα κρατήσεις**
Normally, the verb κρατέω takes a genitive case in the sense of 'to prevail over someone' or 'become the master of…' in tragic-drama, but Aristophanes employs a direct accusative, which probably reflects more colloquial speech, cf. *Σφῆκες* 539, ἢν ὁδί με τῷ λόγῳ κρατήσῃ – "*if this guy beats me in debate*".
The Chorus tacitly acknowledges that the sophists have made *a man* (τὸν ἄνδρα) of Strepsiades' son.
1347. **εἰ μή τῳ (ἐ)πεποίθειν**
The codices read (ἐ)πεποίθει or (ἐ)πέποιθεν but the correct form of the pluperfect has been restored here by Dawes, as also in *Ἰλιάς* 16. 171, τοῖσ(ι) ἐπεποίθει. The pluperfect 'he had placed his trust in…' has the force of the present tense "*he is relying on*".
1349-50. **δῆλόν γε τἀνθρώπου (ἐ)στὶ τὸ λῆμα**
The Chorus recognizes that Pheidippides has a new-found confidence that has made him insolent; as bold as his father had been in fact (cf. 457, λῆμα μὲν πάρεστι τῷδέ γε οὐκ ἄτολμον).
These two lines ought to correspond with lines 1395-6 of the antistrophe and initially they do (– – / ◡ – / ◡ – / ◡ –). But, after that, the reading of the codices (δῆλον τὸ λῆμα ἐστι τἀνθρώπου) offered poor responsion, so Hermann adopted a γε (first introduced by Triclinius) and added a τοι to read, δῆλόν γε τοι τἀνθρώπου 'στι τὸ λῆμα. Hall and Geldart drop the τοι, Dover drops ἐστι, while Henderson prefers to follow the word -order of the codices but end with τὸ τἀνδρός, which is a more suitable word here.

Exhortation (κατακελευσμός) 1351-2

In tragic-dramas the chorus may interrupt to seek clarification of something which has occurred off-stage. Such arbitrary digressions often occur where there is need of further information to bring the audience up to speed. Here, the comic-poet's conscious imitation of tragic convention is suggested by his use of μάχη, for it casts Strepsiades in the dramatic role of a (wounded) messenger, brought on to recount details of the battle; a somewhat exaggerated term to describe a one-sided, domestic trouncing.

Some commentators, Dover among them, object to the fact that Strepsiades is told to address the Chorus, πρὸς χορόν, since it breaks the theatrical illusion, but the chorus-leader is actually making an argument of her own. She is pointing out that he is obliged by dramatic convention to describe what has just happened, so he should treat them *like* a chorus in a tragedy rather than as passing clouds. There is a similar situation in *Σφῆκες* (581-2), when the old juror mentions that, if a flute-player were to be acquitted by the jury they would expect him to play them out as if they were a chorus, which in that case they are. The absence of a definite article ceases to be problematic when one realizes that the leading diva is referring to the Clouds *as if* they were a chorus.

Wilson, however, notes a proposal by van Herwerden to read ἤδη λέγειν χρή. πρὸς χάριν πάντων δὲ τοῦτο δράσεις (p. 78), which is certainly neat, but alters the point of the comment. I suspect that the phrase "*you will do so in any case*" is an echo of the words of the 'Righteous man' which have dropped out of the text at 890.

Ἐπεισόδιον 1353-1390

1353. λοιδορεῖσθαι

Instead of describing 'how the battle commenced' (πρῶτον ἠρξάμεσθα μάχεσθαι) in the manner of a true, tragic messenger, Strepsiades describes the conflict (μάχη) in verbal terms, as an altercation.

1354. ὥσπερ ἴστε

Instead of soliloquizing before the audience as he did at the opening of the drama, he is about to explain to the Chorus what happened in his house after he went inside to feast his son (1212-3). Of course, in the meantime, we have witnessed the rude dismissal of the two creditors, so we are asked to understand that the argument only erupted when he went indoors the second time during the brief period that the Chorus held the stage (1303-20).

1356. Σιμωνίδου μέλος

Simonides of Keos is an important figure in the development of lyric poetry, because as well as being one of the early exponents of the epinicean ode, he seems to have made a good living from laudatory poetry.

His patrons were the wealthy aristocrats who competed with one another in the inter-state competitions, such as the athletic events held at Olympia and Nemea, but his work may have served also to promote the reputation of the athletes' home-states as much as the athletes themselves. Fragments from his poetry are recorded as epigrams on many of the official war-memorials early in the fifth century B.C. The latest, and least likely, example of his art was inscribed on the monumental paintings of Polygnotos which decorated the Delphic 'Lesche', celebrating the Athenian victories in Asia Minor c. 468 B.C. (cf. Pausanias 10.27).

τὸν κριόν ὡς ἐπέχθη

The scholia explain that the tale of "*How the ram was shorn*" was said to have been a popular song at the beginning of the fifth century. It celebrated a victory in the Nemean games of an unknown, presumably Athenian, wrestler with a play on the name of the Aiginetan wrestler, Krios, who had been unexpectedly defeated. A scholion has preserved the opening of the ode, which may be the earliest recorded example of such 'epiniceans'.

There is an account in Herodotos (6.48-50) of Athens' hostility towards Aigina and an effort to persuade the Spartans of the Aiginetans' readiness to 'Medize'. When the Spartan king Kleomenes went to Aigina to detain those denounced by Athens, he met resistance from a certain Krios, son of Polykritos (6.50.2). Herodotos too makes a joke out of the man's name, to the effect that he would need "*horns sheathed in metal*" to face the consequences of his presumption. His son, Polykritos, would later distinguish himself at Salamis (8.92.1), dispelling the false allegations of Persian sympathies made by Themistokles.

1357-8. ἀρχαῖον...πίνοντ(α)

Medeia's nurse cannot understand why men would sit about singing at the top of their voices after a meal.

"*Where diners have dined well, why idly strain the voice? The immediate satiety from the meal itself is satisfying to mortal men*" (Euripides *Μήδεια* 200-3, ἵνα δ' εὔδειπνοι δαῖτες, τί μάτην τείνουσι βοήν; τὸ παρὸν γὰρ ἔχει τέρψιν ἀφ' αὑτοῦ δαιτὸς πλήρωμα βροτοῖσιν).

ὡσπερεὶ...ἀλοῦσαν

He is not suggesting, of course, that women should no longer sing to ease the drudgery of cleaning barley, but simply making a sarcastic comparison between upper-class symposiasts and the ordinary house-wife or slave-woman. The point is perhaps best understood if one were to imagine white slave-owners in the deep south of the U.S. accompanying their meals with a plaintive rendition of a Negro spiritual. Like sea shanties among sailors, work-songs have always been a common consolation among those compelled to labour at monotonous and repetitive tasks. Athenaios (14.618δ-620α) records some of the many types of work-song, including one sung by women winnowing grain (τῶν πτισσουσῶν) which was mentioned by Aristophanes in the lost drama *Θεσμοφοριάσασαι* (cf. frg.352). This may have been used as a similar way to mock the refinement of symposiasts, since Aristophanes makes the same kind of joke in *Σφῆκες*, when he compares the transmission of drinking-songs to the vocal exchanges of highland goatherds (1223).

1359. **ἄρα τύπτεσθαι**

The verb in the codices is τύπτεσθαι, although the Venetus reads ἀλλὰ instead of ἄρα. Meineke suggested that these variations had replaced the verb ἀράττεσθαι, but though this is feasible, there is no compelling reason to alter the received text and I would rather retain ἄρα in any case.

1360. **ὡσπερεὶ τέττιγας ἑστιῶντα**

Most editors have accepted the text of the codices as it stands with the sense, "*as if you were entertaining cicadas*" (Sommerstein), but why does the young man use the plural? Blaydes noted that, when this verse is cited in the *Σοῦδα* (α 454, ὡσπερεὶ τέττιγα ἑστιῶντα), it has the singular noun. The metre of the iambic tetrameter, however, would not allow elision and so he proposed inserting a pronoun and reading ὡσπερεὶ τέττιγά μ' ἑστιῶντα. Wilson (pp. 78-9) approves the emendation, but mistakenly assumes that ἑστιῶντα is used here in the secondary sense of 'entertaining' (i.e. 'singing') as in English, so that he translates, "*as if I were a cicada entertaining*". But, Strepsiades is throwing a party for his son, so he is the subject of both κελεύοντα and ἑστιῶντα. So, we should accept Blaydes' proposal and translate, "*throwing a party for me, as if I am a cicada*". Or, we might make better use of the existing text by printing, ὡσπερεὶ **τέττιγα**, **σ(ε)** ἑστιῶντα, with the same sense but leaving the pronoun με to be understood.

The objection that he could not throw a feast for a cicada because the insect was believed to go without food has no real bearing here. Cicadas are a simile for the desiccated old men who insist on singing old-time refrains at the dinner-table (cf. 984). Such similes, themselves a feature of dinner-party banter, were often far-fetched, and intended simply to provoke laughter. The simile derived ultimately from Homer, who describes the Trojan counsellors of king Priam as cicadas because of their age and because they are discoursing ("*chirping happily*") from a lofty vantage-point, ἀγορηταὶ ἐσθλοὶ, τεττίγεσσιν ἐοικότες, οἵ τε καθ' ὕλην δενδρέῳ ἐφεζόμενοι ὄπα λειριόεσσαν ἰεῖσιν (*Ἰλιάς* 3. 150-2).

[In *La Grèce contemporaine* (Hachette, 1854) chap. 9 §6, Edmond About writes that he found the Greek style of singing uniformly nasal and comments that this helped to explain why the ancient Greeks would esteem the song of the cicada, since it sounded so like their own singing. Ah, l'esprit francais!]

1363. **μόλις μέν**,

We are left to supply the verb, "*I was having difficulty putting up with that*".

1364. **ἐκέλευσ(α) αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ**

Dover explains that the conjunction is carried over into indirect speech from the implied imperative, i.e. 'I bid him, "*in that case sing*" or "*sing instead*" (ἀλλὰ λάβε καὶ λέξον).

μυρρίνην λαβόντα

It was customary at upper-class symposia to pass a myrtle-twig (or wreath) from person to person so that each guest could take a turn at doing his party-piece, either reciting a poem from memory or telling an anecdote. From comments made by Pausanias (1.22.2-3), we may deduce that the sweet-smelling myrtle bush was held sacred to Aphrodite Πάνδημος (cf. Plato *Συμπόσιον* 181 α) and so symbolized the bond of brotherhood which the symposium celebrated (cf. also *Σφῆκες* 861, where myrtle wreaths are called for when making libations to celebrate reconciliation between the generations). Pheidippides is expected to

show a conciliatory attitude while holding the twig, since the god of Music (of the lyre especially) was being invoked.

1365. **τῶν Αἰσχύλου...τι**

Fair enough, thinks the old man, if Simonides' platitudes are too old-fashioned for Pheidippides, at least he should be able to recite "*something from the lyrics of Aischylos*", which were considered 'classical'.

1366-7.

His son had caught him off-guard by initially agreeing that Aischylos deserved to be ranked number one among poets, only to award him the prize of a Golden Raspberry for 'sound and fury signifying nothing'.

ψόφου πλέων

The noun signifies any kind of noise or sound that strikes the ear discordantly. When used of music it has the sense of 'dissonant'. In *Βάτραχοι* (492-3), Dionysos is scared by "*the racket of threatening language*" issuing from Aiakos, τὸν ψόφον τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τὰς ἀπειλάς.

ἀξύστατον

Commentators interpret this word as the Attic form of ἀσύστατος and take it to mean "*incoherent*". This seems a fit epithet for the often obscure poetry of Aischylos, although it hardly fits the poet's own use of the word in *Ἀγαμέμνων* (1467), where he speaks of Helen's role in causing the deaths of so many Greeks, ἀξύστατον ἄλγος ἔπραξεν – "*and creating suffering that will not stand together*". Page (1957) calls it, "*A striking example of the condensed phraseology typical of Aeschylus*", in that it pictures a wound that will not heal. But the uncertainty of the imagery may have been exactly what Aristophanes was poking fun at, for 'incoherent suffering' might otherwise be thought of as suffering 'beyond the power of words'. Given the later criticism of Aischylos for creating words out of disparate elements (cf. *Βάτραχοι* 930, ῥήματα...ἃ ξυμβαλεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδια ἦν), one might have expected ἀξύμβατον instead.

στόμφακα

His point is that the older poets like Aischylos often relied on 'grandiloquence', the use of high-sounding phrases to make an impression on their audience. In *Σφῆκες* (721), the poet describes the speakers in the Assembly as resorting to bombast in the same way (στομφάζοντας).

κρημνοποιόν

This description (literally 'cliff-creator') is echoed by similar phrases elsewhere. In *Ἱππεῖς* (628) Kleon is said to be κρημνοὺς ἐρείδων ('pushing up mountains') in his speeches and in *Βάτραχοι* (929) Aischylos is again the one who created ῥήματα ἱππόκρημνα ('precipitous cliffs of phrases'), i.e. phrases so lofty they disappear into the clouds.

1369-70. **ἅττ(α) ἐστὶ τὰ σοφὰ ταῦτα**

Here, because of the final word ταῦτα, the plural ἅττα must stand relative to τούτων...νεωτέρων, so that strictly speaking he is talking about 'modern poetry' not 'modern poets'. Even so, the phraseology seems clumsy. One would have expected τὰ σοφώτατα, but this would be unmetrical. His meaning appears to be, 'since you claim that these modern poets are sophisticated, pick a passage characteristic of their wit', but in this case one would have to write ἅττ' εστὶ τὰ σοφὰ τούτων. As this would produce the syntactical dissonance of τι with ἅττ', I feel we may as well retain ταῦτα, but at least close the parenthesis before it, (ἅττ' εστὶ τὰ σοφὰ, ταῦτα) as an indication of its adverbial force.

1371. **ὁ δ(ὲ) εὐθὺς ᾔσ(ε)**

Borthwick (1971) objected to the use of the verb ᾄδειν on the grounds that Pheidippides is being asked to recite rather than to sing and suggested that we should read ᾔγε instead. Dover, citing the use of ἄγων in a passage of Theophrastos, supports his emendation and Henderson agrees. But, as Sommerstein has noted, there is no clear parallel for ἄγειν ῥῆσιν in the sense of 'to begin a recitation' and anyway, Wilson (p. 79) is convinced that the better reading of the mss. of Theophrastos is λέγων not ἄγων. Furthermore, he notes scholarly opinion regarding the interchangeability of λέγειν and ᾄδειν.

I take the view that we do not have sufficient grounds for rejecting the use of ᾔσε for a recitation. While it is true that Pheidippides had refused to sing at table, his specific objection was to 'singing to the lyre'. So, a recital of lyric poetry could still be classed as *singing* a cappella.

But, it is perhaps also worth considering Sommerstein's idea that a copyist may have mistaken the Greek letters HK for HIC and hence given us ᾔσ(ε) instead of ᾔκ(ε), "*he loosed off a speech*". I'm not convinced that our poet wrote this, but it infuses some vitality into the line, so perhaps he should have done.

Εὐριπίδου ῥῆσιν
Schoolmasters evidently chose *purple* passages from successful dramas for their pupils to memorize. This method had three main benefits, i) it trained the memory, ii) it introduced the pupils to examples of fine poetry which they would learn to appreciate, and iii) the selected excerpts would contain moral lessons to guide their ethical behaviour. In *Σφῆκες* (580) a certain court defendant is expected to resort to reciting the finest passage from a play (probably) by Aischylos (ἐκ τῆς *Νιόβης* εἰπῃ ῥῆσιν τὴν καλλίστην) in his defence. In choosing a suitable speech from a tragic-drama, the teacher would presumably endeavour to select a passage with edifying moral content, rather than one of the naughty bits toward which schoolboys would naturally gravitate. But, the directness and realism of a work of Euripides made the teacher's task a tricky one and in *Βάτραχοι* (1078-82) Aristophanes (through the mouth of 'Aischylos') accuses Euripides of degrading the morals of society, particularly in choosing to portray women who were poor exemplars.
ὡς ἐκίνει
The verb has probably been bowdlerized from ἐβίνει (cf. note on 1102) to make it less scandalous.
1372-85.
The ends of these lines (along with parts of 1391 and 1407-28) are discernible in a fragmentary leaf of a late papyrus codex, Strasbourg 621 (Dover's Π5) assigned very approximately to A.D. 400-700. The most recent description is that of Koster and Holwerda (1962).
1372. **ὦλεξίκακε**
The superstitious farmer invokes the hero Herakles to protect him, since even the mention of an evil could prove harmful (cf. *Σφῆκες* 24-5, where a bad dream might presage bad luck). The epithet ἀλεξίκακος was used specifically of Herakles and when Aristophanes awards it to himself in the παράβασις of *Σφῆκες*, he portrays himself as a benefactor of the city (1043, ἀλεξίκακον τῆς χώρας τῆσδε καθαρτήν), who not only wards off evil but cleans up the moral morass. In *Εἰρήνη*, Trygaios flatters Hermes by suggesting that his help in releasing 'Peace' would cause the Athenians to transfer the divine honours due to the other gods to him instead, including sacrifices usually due to Herakles (422).
ἀδελφὸς...**ὁμομητρίαν ἀδελφήν**
Here, it is clear that Pheidippides has been a typical schoolboy and memorized a speech so inappropriate that his father is taken aback. It could be a reference to the prologue of Euripides' lost work *Αἴολος* which narrated the incestuous relationship of Kanake with her brother Makareus. Their mother, the aptly-named Enarete ('virtuous' or 'productive') bore six boys and six girls to Aiolos, who lived together as couples. When Kanake bore her love-child, she was compelled by her father to take her own life. Her brother too committed suicide. Dover points to the fact that under Attic law siblings born to *different* mothers might marry, possibly to preserve an estate, but the comic point is Strepsiades' misplaced outrage over the lack of morality in Euripidean dramas. Is he suggesting that incest ought to have been (in Graves' phrase) "*an Olympian prerogative*", as the gods of Olympos were the product of the union of Kronos with his sister Rhea, while their daughter Hera was also ravished by her twin brother Zeus?
1373. **κἀγὼ οὐκέτ**(ι)
Aristophanes probably wrote καὶ ἐγω οὐκέτι ἐξ-, leaving his actor to fit the words into the rhythm of the iambic tetrameter, for which the first metron would scan (– – ◡ –). Alexandrian commentators described the combination of the two vowels -ω οὐ- as 'melting together' (συνίζησις). This metrical laxity on the poet's part has prompted medieval editors to offer various rectifications, which Dover has collated in his edition.
ἐξηνεσχόμην
The prefix seems to convey the difficulty with which he had put up with provocation. Trygaios explains that Kratinos suffered apoplexy because "*he was quite unable to bear the sight of a jar full of wine being smashed*" (*Εἰρήνη* 702, οὐ γὰρ ἐξηνέσχετο).
εὐθέως ἀράττω
Editors have unanimously preferred this unique variant, salvaged from an otherwise undistinguished 14th-century ms (Vb3), over the reading εὐθὺς ἐξαράττω in the codices. The latter is perfectly Aristophanean and the compound verb would help to reinforce the violent onset of the verbal storm. But, anyway, the sense hardly alters. It's worth noticing, however, that the present tense is employed here for the sake of vividness (cf. also ἐπαναπηδᾷ in 1375).

1374. **καὶσχροῖσι**
In *Ἰλιάς* (3.38) Hektor puts Paris to shame with his 'reproaches' (αἰσχροῖσι ἔπεσσιν) and the same noun is to be supplied here, as the next line shows.
1375. **ἔπος πρὸς ἔπος**
When Aischylos used the phrase in a scene where the women of the Chorus cross-examine Orestes, it is meant to signify alternating question and answer (*Εὐμενίδες* 586). Here, the two are trading insults a line at a time.
1376. **κἀπέθλιβεν**
This is the reading of the codices, although modern editors have preferred the verb κἀπέτριβεν found in a papyrus fragment Π9 (Henderson's Π3), the *Σοῦδα* quotation and the mss. group ΕΚΝΘ. But, one has to suspect that ἐπιτρίβω has only been introduced to provide a precedent for Strepsiades' use of ἐπιτριβῆναι later (1408), because the sense 'to be completely erased' does not suit the context here as well as the verb ἀποθλίβω.
1377. **οὔκουν δικαίως**
His son blithely claims that 'it's only fair' (cf. 340).
ὅστις...ἐπαινεῖς
It may not be Strepsiades alone who deserves to be punished for slighting the reputation of Euripides, but 'whosoever' dares to do so, in which case the third person, ἐπαινεῖ, as in the Laurentianus (Θ) would be a possibility. Recent editors, however, prefer to keep the focus on Strepsiades, "*you, one who does not…*"
1378. **σοφώτατόν γ(ε) ἐκεῖνον**
The particle stands for πολύ γε, since Strepsiades is returning the sarcasm his son had used of Aischylos (1366), "*He's exceedingly clever, to be sure*!"
ὦ...τί σ(ε) εἴπω
He is about to call him "*you reprobate*" (ὦ μιαρὲ) again, or something worse, but prudence prevails (cf. 6-7) and he guards his tongue.
1379. **ἐν δίκῃ γ(ε) ἄν**
The Strasbourg papyrus (Π5) reads only γε. But, as Dover says, ἄν is unlikely to be an interpolation and the variant γάρ supports its likely presence in the original text.
1380. **σ(ε) ἐξέθρεψα**
Earlier Strepsiades had been focused on the expense of feeding his son (and his horses), but now he turns to emphasize the fact that he took a hand in raising him. Sommerstein is right to point out that basic child-care would have been carried out by female slaves, especially in a well-to-do household like his, but, even in an upper-class home a fond father might have taken a more hands-on approach to bringing up his child. In Strepsiades' case, his paternal solicitude would help to account for the affectionate relationship he had with Pheidippides at the outset (cf. 79-86). The father-son relationship in *Σφῆκες* is a warm one in spite of their political differences.
Euripides' heroine Alkestis reminds her husband to take care of their son when she is no longer around to do so, because, "*A boy's father is his main protection*" – καὶ παῖς μὲν ἄρσην πατέρ' ἔχει πύργον μέγαν (*Ἄλκηστις* 311)
1382. «βρῦν» εἶποις
His baby-talk was an attempt to ask for water. The verb βρύω describes water that wells up naturally out of the ground, e.g. at the Ἐννεάκρουνος <βρύσις>, "*the nine-spouted spring*", one of the principal water-sources in the ancient city. [cf. Modern Greek, βρύσις or βρύση, 'fountain' or 'tap'].
Sommerstein's translation "*broo*" suggests that the precocious kid was hoping for a cup of tea or a beer!
πιεῖν ἔπεσχον
The action of the verb is 'to hold something up for'. Although it is assumed that the father is 'holding a <cup of water> for the infant to drink, the word βρῦν carries the idea of *running* water and so one should probably imagine him holding up *the child* to drink from a flowing fountain (cf. Theokritos 13.46, ποτῷ κρωσσὸν ἔπειχε – "*Hyllas held up a pitcher for drinking-water*", *Φαίδων* 117 γ, ἐπισχόμενος – "*he raised the cup to his lips*" 117 ε, ἐπέσχομεν τοῦ δακρύειν – "*we held on to our tears*").
1385. **προυσχόμην**
He describes how he used to hold his infant son 'out in front of myself'.

1386. **καὶ**
The necessary conjunction seems to have been omitted accidentally from the codices (cf. Lysias 3.15 for the phrase 'shouting and screaming').
1388. **ἔξω (ἐ)ξενεγκεῖν**
The comic reversal of roles was prepared in line 799 when Strepsiades told us how physically well-built his son had become. The same joke is recycled in *Σφῆκες* 162.
1389-90. πνιγόμενος...(ἐ)ποίησα κακκᾶν
His involuntary defecation is ascribed to his son's attempt to put him in 'a bear-hug'. We might think in terms of a tube of toothpaste being squeezed. Elderly stock-characters in Aristophanes regularly suffer from loose bowels (cf. e.g. *Σφῆκες* 162, 203, 1127-8), as Strepsiades has already demonstrated (295).

Choral Song (**Ὠδή**) 1391-6

1391-2. **τὰς καρδίας πηδᾶν**
The young men in the audience will find that their 'hearts are palpitating' in eager anticipation of hearing Pheidippides' argument upholding the right of sons to beat their fathers.
1395-6. **οὐδ(ὲ) ἐρεβίνθου**
The expression, "*We would not take their hide even <at the price> of a chickpea*" means, 'we would not give tuppence for their hide', probably because after the flaying they would receive from their juniors the skins would not be in an adequate condition. But, it is tantamount to us saying 'we would not bet on their chances of preserving their skins intact'.

Exhortation (**κατακελευσμός**) 1397-8

The Chorus returns to iambic tetrameters to introduce the other speaker.
1397. **καινῶν ἐπῶν**
The 'novel expressions' which Pheidippides is expected to 'set in motion' (κινεῖν) and then 'raise into position' (μοχλεύειν), are treated as if they were the building-blocks of verbal disputes. They have been demonstrated already during the fight (when the pair traded ἔπος πρὸς ἔπος), where Strepsiades quoted examples of his son's innovative literary criticism (cf. 1367), for which Aristophanes came up with his own novel expression, κρημνοποιόν.
κινητὰ καὶ μοχλευτά
Nowadays, we might say 'architect and engineer of novel expressions', but in ancient Athens there was no essential distinction between the architect who designed a structure and the civil engineer who made it a physical reality; both relied on the principle of moment. The combined metaphor is analogous to our own metaphorical term 'word-smith'.
1398. **πειθώ τινα**
Eupolis (frg.102), speaking about Perikles' oratorical skill, says, πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν – "*A convincing argument used to hang ready upon his lips*", where we might say that 'he had a ready reply on the tip of his tongue'.

Ἐπεισόδιον 1399-1475

1399. **ὡς ἡδὺ...ὁμιλεῖν**
With his self-confidence buttressed by his university degree, Pheidippides exults in his newly-acquired oratorical skills, eager to show himself to be the σοφιστὴν δεξιόν that his tutor had promised he would be (1111).
1401. **τὸν νοῦν μόνῃ προσεῖχον**
The alternative readings here are τὸν νοῦν μου (V) and μόνῃ τὸν νοῦν (ΕΚΝΘ); though both make sense, neither scans. So Bentley elected to postpone μόνῃ to mend the metre. This breaks the logical sequence, but is a possible remedy. In fact, it is already found in a sixteenth-century manuscript (Δ). Although this has been accepted by all modern editors, there is no good reason to prefer it over the oldest extant reading τὸν νοῦν **μόνον** (R). Dover does not print it, but he does provide adequate defence against the perceived ambiguity. Henderson aptly translates, "*a one-track mind for horse-racing*".
1402. **οὐδ(ὲ) ἂν τρί(α)...ῥήμαθ'**

The Venetus codex has the simple negative particle οὐκ, which is adequate, but editors prefer to print the more emphatic οὐδὲ, "*not even three words*…"

οἷός τ(ε) ἦν

Sommerstein prefers to print the Attic form of the first person singular **ἦ** as suggested by Dindorf, given that Aristophanes has it in *Πλοῦτος* (77). The misplaced ἢ in the codex Parisinus (πρὶν ἢ ἐξαμαρτεῖν) may be taken as evidence that ἦν was a medieval 'correction'.

1403. **μ(ε) οὑτοσὶ...ἔπαυσεν**

It is logical for Pheidippides to begin the verse with the emphatic temporal adverb to point up his changed condition, but why does he emphasize his father's role ('this man here in person')? In fact, the Ravenna codex has the simple demonstrative **μ(ε) οὗτος** and I suspect that this is correct and that the emphasis was placed elsewhere. The reading of (R) does not scan unless we also adopt a variant found in the fourteenth-century codex Laurentianus. The compound verb **ἐξέπαυσεν** restores the metre and places the emphasis on the fact that, "*he himself put a complete stop to*…" The compound form is quite rare and consequently is less likely to have been interpolated accidentally.

τούτων

The genitive represents those activities which had been curtailed by his father's insistence that he devote himself to learning how to debate.

1404. **γνώμαις...λόγοις...μερίμναις**

He confirms that he has acquired those intellectual tools, which the two teachers were expected to employ in their debate (cf. 950-2).

1405. **διδάξειν ὡς**

For the construction, cf. Thucydides 3.71, διδάξοντας ὡς ξυνέφερε – "*to put the case that it was to their benefit*".

1407. **ἵππων τρέφειν τέθριππον**

For a man to be able to *support a four-horse team* for racing implied that he kept a large stable of horses from which to select his team and only a wealthy aristocrat, Alkibiades for instance, could afford to do so.

1409. **ἐρήσομαί σε τουτί**

He adopts the technique of the 'Scoundrel' by cross-examining his father.

ἔτυπτες

Note the imperfect tense for habitual action, when in English one can simply say "*you beat me*" and mean that it was customary.

1410. **εὐνοῶν**

Dover observes that his argument is really a reversal of the unwritten social contract between parent and child, i.e. since the parent cared for the child, the child should care for the parent in his second childhood. Pheidippides is about to argue that he will show the same 'benevolent' care for his father as was shown to him on occasion. The same ironic attitude to corporal punishment is displayed by PhiloKleon in *Σφῆκες*, when he complains that one of his slaves shows no gratitude for the correction he had received.

1412. **γε τοῦτ(ο) ἐστ(ι) εὐνοεῖν**

It is noteworthy that the particle does not find a place in the text until a sixteenth-century manuscript (Δ). Although, as Dover notes, there is a parallel for the addition of the particle to ἐπειδήπερ in *Σφῆκες* (1129), it is not necessary to the sense and appears to serve merely to mend the metre. I would be inclined to print Porson's proposal, **τόδ(ε) ἐστιν** εὐνοεῖν, which repeats the previous line's ἐστιν εὐνοεῖν and provides the appropriate demonstrative. The alteration may be due to a Byzantine metrician demanding a word-break after the second metron, which is usual but not de rigueur. Nevertheless, some may wish to retain the γε on the grounds that it shows Pheidippides is speaking tongue in cheek ("*apparently*") and merely availing himself of an argument which he himself does not actually credit.

1414. **καὶ μὴν...κἀγώ**

He states the fact of his free birth (cf. 4), taking it for granted that if he were a slave he could legitimately be beaten. His argument is of course specious, for it depends on the proposition that a child enjoyed the full benefits of adult citizenship. This phrase is accidentally omitted from Henderson's translation.

1415. **κλάουσι παῖδες**

Recent editors place this line in quotation marks to show that the poet has adapted a verse from Euripides' drama *Ἄλκηστις*, although actually only the latter part of his line is echoed. In the Euripidean verse (691), Admetos's father Pheres makes it clear that he is unwilling to sacrifice his life to save his son,

χαίρεις ὁρῶν φῶς, πατέρα δὲ οὐ χαίρειν δοκεῖς;

"*You rejoice in seeing the light; do you think your father does not*?"

The metre of the line matches the original iambic trimeter of Euripides, but lacks the final metron needed to fit it to the iambic tetrameter of this scene. Some codices provide additional words, but only one offers the requisite bacchius (◡ – –) and this (τιὴ δή; 'Why'?) is rightly ruled out by Dover on grounds of sense. The only suitable phrase of this shape would be an angry expostulation from Strepsiades such as τιὴ φῄς; "*What are you saying*!" Such an interjection might have confused a copyist, since the next line opens with φήσεις. Also, in some manuscripts, ancient editors had plainly attempted to split the verse between father and son (cf. 1443). But, it is doubtful whether the poet would interrupt Pheidippides' speech with such a distraction. He might simply have added some adverbial qualification, such as a repetition of ὁμοίως, or perhaps δικαίως.

1416. **νομίζεσθαι**

The verb carries the usual sense of 'being generally accepted' or 'customary' (cf. 248, νόμισμα), i.e. "*You will claim that it is universally accepted* <that children do the crying>".

παιδὸς...τοὔργον εἶναι

Sommerstein and Henderson ignore the previous line in order to take τοῦτο τοὔργον as "*this treatment*", because like Dover they would interpret this expression passively, i.e. 'being beaten'. But they have not noted the comma after the personal pronoun (not surprising really, as I placed it there). I believe that the two infinitives are meant to be understood sequentially in asyndeton, taking their sense from the previous line. The poet is simply being economical with words and the verse in expanded form would read φήσεις σὺ νομίζεσθαι <τοὺς παῖδας κλάειν, καὶ φήσεις> τοῦτο τοὔργον (i.e. τὸ κλάειν) εἶναι παιδός. Effectively, Pheidippides is advancing the dual proposition that 'customarily the child does the crying' *and* 'crying is what a child is for'. The construction of τοὔργον ἔστι is illustrated later in σὸν ἔργον <ἐστιν> (1494) and *Εἰρήνη* 1310, οὐδὲν γὰρ…λευκῶν ὀδόντων ἔργον ἔστι – "*there's no point in having white teeth*…" The poet makes the same (outrageous) point obliquely in *Σφῆκες* (1297-8) when an aged slave is called 'παῖς', because he has received a pasting.

[Much as one deplores child-beating for recreational purposes, this argument often recommends itself to oldsters in child-infested environments.]

1417. **δὶς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες**

Aristophanes echoes a popular saying expressed by Kratinos in his *Δηλιάδες* (probably c. 425-4 B.C.) frg. 28, ἦν ἄρα ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος δὶς παῖς ὡς ἐσθ' ὁ γέρων – "*so it was stated aright that a man is a child again in his old age*" (cf. Theopompos frg. 70, « δὶς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες » ὀρθῷ τῷ λόγῳ).

1418. **τοὺς γέροντας ἢ νέους**

Some codices (RAEUΘ) write ἢ τοὺς νέους, others (VKN and a correction in E) write ἢ τοὺς νεοτέρους, but the only reading which scans is Bentley's proposal to omit the second definite article. As Dover says, the ellipse is not uncommon (cf. 622, τὸν Μέμνονα ἢ Σαρπηδόνα).

1419. **ἧττον δίκαιον**

He argues that elderly folk "*have less justification*" for bad behaviour and deserve to be chastised. There is no implication, as far as I can see, that "*children ought to be treated leniently*" (Sommerstein), but only that the old should have learned the error of their ways in their *first* childhood.

1420. **οὐδαμοῦ νομίζεται**

In view of Pheidippides' reply, recent commentators have focused on legality and translated, "*nowhere is it the law*". But, legitimacy is not really the issue, for up to this point the debate centres on *unwritten* law. So, it seems better to continue referring to 'customary behaviour' as in 1416 (cf. 962). Dover aptly quotes Xenophon's *Ἀπομνημόν*. 4.4.20, οὐκοῦν καὶ γονέας τιμᾶν πανταχοῦ νομίζεται; – "*Is it not also customary everywhere to honour one's parents*?" Of course, it is a moot point whether the appeal to custom would have been distinguishable from one based on the legal code, given that the codification of the laws under "*old Solon*" was generally held to be derived from religious ordinances (divine law) and ancestral custom,

cf. Polydeukes (viii. 128) speaks of the laws inscribed on the ἄξονες as οἱ νόμοι οἱ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν πατρίων,

There is no indication that Attic law treated physical abuse of one's own father any differently from other cases of assault, although parricide was considered a particularly heinous crime and the term πατραλοίας was employed to typify a total lack of moral scruple (cf. 911, 1327).

1421-2. **οὔκουν ἀνὴρ**

The poet employs the word ἀνὴρ (not ἄνθρωπος), and so by translating simply, "*wasn't it a man like you and me*?", one risks missing the point, which is not that Solon was a fallible human being, but that as an 'adult male' he was urging other adult males to protect their own interest. Pheidippides speaks now as "*a grown man*" (cf. 1167, ὅδε ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ), but with the remembrance of beatings past, puts the case for the interest of younger adults versus that of older ones.

The audience has been prepped by Pheidippides' earlier referrence to (ὁ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς) to recognize who is meant here by 'the man whose eloquence persuaded the men of old to enshrine ancient custom in law'.

1423-4. **καινὸν αὖ...θεῖναι**

He argues that he has just as much right to propose a change in the law as the original legislator, but as Sommerstein points out, his actions have anticipated the change. One may presume, however, that these 'illegal' blows will be included in the general amnesty he is about to propose in the next lines.

ἀντιτύπτειν

This verb must be taken to mean 'to strike back (in retaliation)', when a father thinks he can still beat his son with impunity.

1425-6. **πληγὰς...ἀφίεμεν**

As for the beatings he received as a child, he proposes to 'let them go'. His new law is not intended to be retributory, but retaliatory.

1427. **τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας**

The chorus of birds in *Ὄρνιθες* sing that they do not feel ashamed τὸν πατέρα τύπτειν, quite the contrary in fact (755-9).

τἄλλα τὰ βοτὰ ταυτί

The deictic form of the demonstrative pronoun may be taken to indicate an airy gesture. He does not want to get into specifics and instead refers casually to, "*those…those other animals*". He is probably thinking of young rams or bullocks which readily challenge their sires once they are sufficiently mature (cf. 1452).

1428. **τί διαφέρουσιν**

The codices accidentally incorporate the answer (οὐδέν) to Pheidippides' rhetorical question. The view of traditional religion would have been that man has been set in a privileged position above all other animals despite the correspondence implied by the scapegoat or sacrificial lamb.

1429. **ψηφίσματ(α) οὐ γράφουσιν**

With a perfectly straight face Aristophanes observes that his fellow citizens behave like a collection of farmyard animals. Their only point of difference is that they pass decrees in the Assembly. In *Σφῆκες*, he even has second thoughts about this distinction, when Sosias imagines the Pnyx filled with a flock of sheep (31-6). [Later, in *Ὄρνιθες* (414 B.C.), he will pave the way for Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* and Orwell's *Animal Farm*, by satirizing contemporary human politics through an imaginary bird kingdom.]

1430-1.

Strepsiades is quick to spot the flaw in the argument from Nature. Pheidippides has simply selected one facet of animal behaviour which supports his point of view, while ignoring other less attractive points of comparison. [Stewart Lee employs the same take-down in his 'March of the Mallards' routine.]

1432. **οὐ ταὐτόν...ἐστιν**

He haughtily dismisses his father's objection with an appeal to a higher authority, claiming that Sokrates would be able to find a way to justify his analogy.

ὦ τᾶν

This form of address may be meant to convey a tone of superiority, as when Plato's 'Sokrates' questions his accuser at his trial (*Ἀπολογία* 25 γ).

1433. **πρὸς ταῦτα**

The mere mention of Sokrates' name appears to convince Strepsiades of the validity of his son's rebuttal and he moves on to make a fresh point.

εἰ δὲ μή

In English the logic is 'do not beat me, for if you *do*, you will blame yourself', whereas Greek prefers to repeat the negative. The special usage "*otherwise*" finds parallels in prose. One could take the phrase as elliptical, perhaps, in the sense, 'unless you <are prepared to> put the blame on yourself'.

1434.

Strepsiades argues the traditional view that child-abuse ought to be passed down from one generation to the next.

1435-6. **ἦν δὲ μὴ**

Pheidippides changes tack and now admits that there was an element of retribution in his proposed law.

ἐγχανὼν τεθνήξεις

The codices have the future middle τεθνήξει, but editors now print the active future, as Dawes emended. Dover has a judicious note on the change. The participle pictures the action of scoffing with mouth agape. The ranting demagogues 'make a fool out of' PhiloKleon in *Σφῆκες* (721, ἐγχάσκειν σοι στομφάζοντας).

1437-9.

At this point, Strepsiades suddenly turns to address his coevals in the audience. Dover found the address "*unique in its banality*" and Sommerstein complains that it "*is weak both dramatically and theatrically, and would not be missed if it were absent*". In fact, he eventually decided to omit it altogether from his *Penguin* translation (2002).

Dover later contended (1977) that Strepsiades' concession should end the debate and its clumsy intrusion branded it as an interpolation, explicable only as an alternative draft (for 1440-51) incorporated in error. His contention is plausible but not entirely convincing. At some point, Strepsiades has to concede to his son since the ἄδικος λόγος must win. So, despite the downside, he consoles himself with the thought that an occasional beating might be the price he has to pay for salvaging his financial plight. But there is still worse to come.

1438. **τούτοισι**

He means τοῖς νεωτέροις, "*younger men*" like his son.

1440. **χἀτέραν...γνώμην**

Just when Strepsiades had been hoping to draw a line under his tribulations, his son launches into a fresh train of thought. Where's the ref!

ἀπὸ γὰρ ὀλοῦμαι

The causal conjunction indicates an ellipse along the lines of "<please stop there> *since I'll be done for* <if you go on>". The compound verb is split in tmesis.

1441. **καὶ μὴν ἴσως γ(ε)**

In *Εἰρήνη*, the hero Trygaios questions whether his fate is really sealed (ὡς ἀπολούμενος) only to receive confirmation from Hermes that it's a done deal, καὶ μὴν ἐπιτέτριψαί γε – "*yes, indeed, you are well past your expiry date* (369). So here, one would expect Pheidippides to confidently confirm that his father's fears were well-founded. But the addition of ἴσως casts doubt on this ("*Definitely maybe*") and in recent translations actually converts the phrase into a denial. Comparison with Aischylos *Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης* (982, καὶ μὴν σύ γε οὔπω σωφρονεῖν ἐπίστασαι – "*you, at any rate, have certainly not learned sense yet*" and 985, καὶ μὴν ὀφείλων γε ἂν τίνοιμι αὐτῷ χάριν – "*what I owe him, at any rate, I would happily repay him*") suggests that the leading idea in such phrases is usually that which is highlighted by the particle γε, so that Pheidippides' reply is "*Perhaps, at any rate, you will be far less disgruntled at the pains you have suffered*". Pheidippides is confident that his argument will prevail, but it may incidentally offer his father some consolation for his beating. Compare also 4, 1036 and 1185.

1442. **ἐπωφελήσεις**

The verb ἐπωφελήσεις does not occur elsewhere in comic-drama and its use in tragic-drama does not give any clear, additional force to the prefix. It could mean, as Dover suggests and Henderson accepts, 'what *further* benefit…', if we take it that Strepsiades has now accepted that his beating was 'for his own good' to begin with (cf. 1411-2). But, the omission of the prefix in certain mss. prompted Dover to suggest that we read **ἔτ(ι) ὠφελήσεις** instead, and this seems a feasible alternative.

1443. **τί φῂς σύ**;
Strepsiades is flabbergasted that his son would even suggest usurping his god-given right to beat his wife.
1444. **τί δ(ὲ) ἢν ἔχων**
The older codices (RV) read τί δῆτ' ἂν ἔχων which is poor syntax, whereas later texts offer the variants τί δῆτ' ἢν ἔχω or τί δῆτ' ἢν ἔχων, which do not scan. Accordingly, most modern editors (including Hall and Geldart) generally drop δῆτα in favour of δέ, a reading found in a few latish manuscripts. Dover argues for this solution, suggesting that δῆτα is a likely gloss. But, his observation that in some manuscripts τί δ' (in 1447) has been corrupted to τί δῆτ' seems to me to undermine his argument, since the copyist might simply have been repeating what he had just seen in this very line. So, I think that we need a better reason to expunge δῆτ' ἂν and therefore I prefer to side with the minority opinion of Hermann and hold that the real interloper is more likely to be ἔχω or ἔχων. His reading is **τί δῆτ' ἂν**, **ἢν** τὸν ἥττω... "*In that case, what would* <*you have to say*>*, if I prove my point* etc." Dover, however, objects to this on the grounds that such conditional clauses do not usually admit a future indicative verb, where they are preceded by an elliptical apodosis in which the missing verb would have been (in all likelihood) an aorist subjunctive and Wilson, though he seems to mix up his tenses here, seconds the objection saying that a "*curious mixed conditional sentence results*" (p. 80). While their point is valid, the objection is not iron-clad. Though an aorist subjunctive frequently fits the case, as e.g. in the earlier proposition τί δῆτ' ἄν, εἰ....ἐκτήξαιμι (769-72), it is still open to Pheidippides to employ the future tense to assert his confidence in the outcome, in spite of the notional subjunctive clause which proceeds.
1447. **τί δ(ὲ) ἄλλο γ(ε)**
Strepsiades' reply confirms that τί δῆτ' ἂν… was an abbreviated form of the question, 'what would you say? ' since his words can only mean, "*What else could I say*?"
ἢν ταυτὶ ποιῇς
Hall and Geldart print the reading of the Ravenna codex (copied in EK), while other manuscripts offer us ἢν ταῦτα (NΘ) or ἢν ταύτην (V). The latter reading suggested to Kock that a better sense can be obtained from τί δ(ὲ) ἄλλο γ(ε) **ἤ**, taking the following phrase parenthetically **ταῦτα ἢν** ποιῇς. His emendation has been adopted by subsequent editors.
1448. **οὐδέν σε κωλύσει**
With Hall and Geldart's reading we would understand "<I would have to say that>" *nothing will prevent you from…* Kock's suggested reading smooths the logical progression, so that we understand "*What else* <will I be able to say but> *nothing…*" But, in this case, τί δ(ὲ) ἄλλο γ(ε) <φήσω> ἤ, is the apodosis of the conditional parenthesis and we no longer need the future tense for the words he actually expresses. Only the Venetus codex (which gave us ταύτην) contains the natural present tense **κωλύει**.
1449. **εἰς τὸ βάραθρον**
It was customary to dispose of rubbish down disused wells or outside the city-walls. Thus, the cadavers of those who had been put to death for crimes against the state were refused proper burial and thrown "*into the gully*" (as the usual spot for disposing of them was called), to become carrion for the dogs or crows. It was situated near where the city-wall met the northern Long Wall. Herodotos claims that envoys from the Persian king Darius had been murdered and their bodies dumped like rubbish ἐς τὸ βάραθρον (7.133.1), while those sent to Sparta had ended up down a well. But, his story sensationalizes what was basically a figure of speech, like the ever-popular εἰς κόρακας (cf. 646). As we can infer from passages like this, the envoys were probably told to 'Go to Hell!' rather than physically dispatched there. In *Ἱππεῖς* 1362, Demos threatens to throw a corrupt prosecutor into the gully, weighted down with Hyperbolos (εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλῶ).
1451. **τὸν λόγον τὸν ἥττω**
Now that he has suffered its effect, he appreciates why it was called the 'worse' side of the argument.
1452-3. **ταυτὶ διὰ ὑμᾶς**
The old man turns to remonstrate with the Chorus for leading him on. He reverts to iambic trimeters.
1454. **αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν**...
In a reply, μὲν οὖν often conveys irony, e.g. *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* 1102, κακοδαίμων; βαρυδαίμων μὲν οὖν, "*Unlucky*? *And then some*!" Here, the Clouds do not deny their role, but they state that Strepsiades must bear ultimate responsibility for his own misfortune.

σαυτῷ σὺ
According to the codices the poet wrote σὺ σαυτῷ, which is the logical grammatical order. But medieval metrists have reversed the words, in order to obtain the iamb required for the fourth foot and the caesura after the second metron; the presumption being that Aristophanes would have favoured metrical rules over natural word-order. My own inclination is to dispense with the pronoun (as does the Neapolitanus) and instead reverse τούτων with the uncontracted form of the reflexive pronoun. If the personal pronoun was felt to be necessary, it could stand at the beginning thus, **σ(ὺ)** αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν τούτων **σεαυτῷ** αἴτιος.
1455. **στρέψας σεαυτὸν**
Isaiah says (53.6) "*All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way*" and the Clouds adopt a comparable image to describe how the old man lost his moral compass and took a wrong turn from the path of righteousness. In doing so, they belatedly provide an etymology for his name.
1456. **οὔ μοι τότ(ε) ἠγορεύετε**
A number of manuscripts (VAENΘ) give us the aorist form ἠγορεύσατε, which appears to have been out of favour in Classical Greek (cf. *Ἰλιάς* 8 29, μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσεν: Loukianos *ὁ Ἁλιεύς* 15). On the whole the imperfect ("*you were not counselling me back then*") is more likely.
Wilson (p. 80) questions the position of the enclitic pronoun, suggesting that τί δῆτά μοι ταῦτα οὐ τότε... would be a more satisfactory order. It is a point worth considering.
1457. **γέροντ(α) ἐπῄρετε**
The reading of the Ravenna codex ἐπήρετε is neither fish nor fowl. Most other codices have decided upon the aorist ἐπήρατε (cf. 42, με γῆμαι ἐπῆρε), which has been accepted by recent editors. But, with Hall and Geldart, I feel that the tense probably matches that of the verb in the previous line and that the addition of the subscript is justified by the dipthong in ἐπείρατε (V). Nevertheless, Dover's thoughts on the subscript (42 note, where the codex Ravennas has ἐπῇρε) should be taken into account.
1458. **ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν ταῦθ'**
This phrase seems to echo 'Sokrates' insistence earlier (258-9, ταῦτα... ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν) that "*we do these things…*", but just as the pronoun appears to have supplanted ποιεῖν there, so I think (with Sommerstein) that it has probably replaced **ἀεὶ** here. Even though the two oldest codices (RV) read ἡμεῖς, the addition of the pronoun was seen as otiose in all subsequent manuscripts. Dover prefers to retain the pronoun and points to *Σφῆκες* 384, τοιαῦτα ποιήσομεν ἡμεῖς, in support. In that instance, however, the pronoun serves to emphasize the part that the jurymen will play in obtaining their colleague's release from house arrest. His claim that the combination of ἀεὶ with ἑκάστοτε would be *tautologous*, if it were true, would apply to 1279-80 as well (ἀεὶ τὸν Δία ὕειν ὕδωρ ἑκάστοτε).
ἑκάστοθ' ὅταν τινὰ
Dover objects on *stylistic* grounds to the reading of the principal codices (RVNΘ, emended E) printed by Hall and Geldart. Although he admits that it is "*grammatically sound*", he claims that it gives "*an isolated snatch of comic rhythm*" in an otherwise serious passage. From this I understand him to mean that there is an unacceptable resolution into an anapaestic fifth foot. To avoid this metrical 'anomaly' he advocates for an emendation proposed by Porson, ὅντινα ἂν, following Ernesti's ὅντινα οὖν, based on ἄν τινα οὖν (EK). Sommerstein and Henderson have accepted the dictates of metre, but metrical diaeresis is preferable to syntactical diaeresis. Porson's proposal breaks syntax. It gives, 'we do this invariably *on every occasion*; *whomsoever* we recognize' (which even to the word-processing programme is unacceptable). Following ἑκάστοτε, the only options are ὅταν or ἵνα ἄν τινὰ ("*whenever* or *wherever we meet someone*) and, though I suspect that the former glossed the latter, I would go along with the codices.
1459. **πονηρῶν...ἐραστὴν πραγμάτων**
Earlier 'Sokrates' had indicated that the Clouds were good judges of character (346-55) and they confess now that they had spotted Strepsiades' fraudulent intent from the outset. Was this the real reason that they had appeared to him in the guise of mortal women (341, θνηταῖς εἴξασι γυναιξίν) and not that alleged by Sokrates in 355? Aristophanes regularly attributes devious motives to his female, comic characters.
1460-1. **ἐμβάλωμεν εἰς κακόν**
The Clouds reveal that they have not come to overthrow the old order, but to fulfil it. They have served as instruments of divine will by giving the old man, as it were, 'enough rope to hang himself'. Sommerstein points out how their role is consistent with the traditional theology of Aischylean drama and Sophokles'

chorus of Theban elders in *Ἀντιγόνη* expresses a similar sentiment (622-4), "*The man in whose mind evil seems like a good idea at one time or another, divine force leads to destruction*".

τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ᾽ ἐσθλὸν
τῷδ᾽ ἔμμεν' ὅτῳ φρένας
θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἄταν·

1462. **ὤμοι**,
The codices (RVKN) read οἴμοι, but editors now print ὤμοι for such plaintive cries.
πονηρά γ(ε)...δίκαια δέ
Clearly, his response is an admission that he has learned a "*harsh but fair"* lesson, yet 'painful' is not the usual sense of πονηρός in Aristophanean diction. Physical pain would more likely be expressed with the adjective (**ὀ**)**δυνηρά**. Earlier, the poet's comic-rivals had been accused of employing πονηρά σκώμματα (542, 'cheap humour') and Pheidippides described Sokrates and Chairephon as πονηρόι (102, 'useless'). It is probably the occurrence of πονηρῶν...πραγμάτων (1459, 'matters laboriously-engineered, i.e. evil'), which suggested πονηρά to the copyist here. Only in later literature does πονηρός take on the meaning of something 'physically painful'.
1463-4. **οὐ γάρ με χρῆν**
He realizes now that he should not have tried to avoid repayment of the money loaned to him (τὰ χρήματα ἃ ἐδανεισάμην). [Later generations of Greeks would have done well to take Aristophanes' moral to heart and avoid the repeated collapse of their banking system.]
1464. **νῦν οὖν ὅπως**
Strepsiades' feelings of remorse are swiftly overtaken by anger and thirst for revenge. His sudden shift in demeanour creates an ellipse "*So*, *now*, <I expect you> *to come with me*… The construction of ὅπως with a second person future indicative is a mild imperative, equivalent to βούλομαι or ἐλπίζω ὅπως ἀπολεῖς, cf. *Εἰρήνη* 77, ὅπως πετήσει με εὐθὺ τοῦ Διὸς λαβών – "*I want you to take me and fly me to Zeus directly*."
1465. **τὸν Χαιρεφῶντα**
Although the play gives precedence to Sokrates over the seemingly less-articulate Chairephon, the weight given to the latter in this line (and 104) has prompted Dover to theorize that he might have played a more prominent role in the original version, or, at any rate, that Aristophanes had intended to give him a bigger role in the revised version, but that "*this intention was abandoned*" (Introduction, xcv-xcvii). While this approach deserves study, it rests on his readiness to presume that Aristophanes revised the play carelessly. On the other hand, it is clear that both men were recognized as leading intellectuals and Chairephon was in fact slightly older than his friend. In *Σφῆκες* (1388-1414), he appears on stage in his own right (though only as a silent, ghostly presence), so that his prominence in this line need not be taken as exceptional. It may, after all, simply be owed to the demands of metre.
1466. **οἳ...ἐξηπάτων**
The dual form of the imperfect of ἐξαπατάω ("*they were trying to deceive*") shows that he now considers the two teachers as charlatans, just as his son had claimed originally (102), although, to be fair, it was the Clouds who led him on. He is still unwilling to take responsibility for his own actions and is probably just annoyed about the 'fee' he paid (cf. 1478) and the items of clothing he lost.
1467. **οὐκ ἂν ἀδικήσαιμι**
Pheidippides demonstrates the success of his sophistic education (cf. 871) by executing an ethical U-turn. He is prepared to beat his father if it suits his purpose, and to advance the case for beating his mother too, but he draws the line at misusing his teachers because this would be *wrong*. He is not in fact objecting to doing them harm (the verb rarely means simply 'to harm' or 'injure', cf. 25), but he "*would not do them wrong*", because he has nothing to gain (or cannot be bothered).
If, as seems to be the case, Aristophanes intended his audience to see Pheidippides as a comic portrayal of the young Alkibiades, the line may have drawn sardonic laughter at the irony. There is anecdotal evidence that the arrogant youth had in fact mistreated his teachers (cf. Plutarch *Ἀλκιβιάδης* 7.1).
1468. **ναὶ ναί**
He takes on the moralizing tone of a priest, "*Yea*, *verily* <you should take vengeance upon them>".
καταιδέσθητι πατρῷον Δία

Commentators tend to assume that this verse is borrowed from a tragic-drama, which is a possibility, but it may be no more than a typical Aristophanean send-up of hieratic diction. We hear the priest intoning to the silent congregation, "*Reverence Zeus the Father*"! The fact that there was probably no specific cult of Zeus Patroös at Athens is not really material here. Although the title is accorded to Zeus in inscriptions, it appears to have been properly a Dorian cult-title (cf. Euripides *Ἠλέκτρα* 671, ὦ Ζεῦ Πατρῷε). Strepsiades is borrowing a title from Apollo, one of the tutelary deities of Athens, for his own purposes. He urges his son to return to the traditional beliefs and give his allegiance to the father of the gods who represents the time-honoured respect for parents (an irony, in view of Zeus's treatment of his own father!). He realizes that traditional religion serves his personal interest better than the moral relativity of the Sokratic School. But, he alters 'Zeus, god of our fathers' to 'Zeus, god of fathers'. Similar confusion will be generated in *Σφῆκες*, when the 'Son' offers up a prayer to Zeus (652, ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη – "*Our father, son of Kronos*"), which his own father wrongly assumes to be a sarcastic form of address to himself.
Dover rightly points to the comic incongruity of a mock-serious exhortation to lower the serious tone that was creeping in.

1469. **ὡς ἀρχαῖος εἶ**

Pheidippides echoes his father's mockery of him earlier in 821, φρονεῖς ἀρχαιϊκά.

1470. «**Ζεὺς**» **γὰρ τις ἐστίν**;

He expresses incredulity, "*Is there, you think, some* <deity called> '*Zeus*'?"

οὐκ ἔστ(ι) οὐκ

Hall and Geldart print the metrical correction of οὐκ ἔστιν οὐκ (RV) due first to Invernizi, but the variants οὐκ ἔνεστιν (AΘ) and οὐκ ἔνεστ' (N, emended E) seem to favour Porson's perceptive suggestion **οὐκέτ(ι) ἐστ(ι)** ἐπεὶ over the repeated negative. Zeus may exist, but he has been relegated to the dustbin of history by scientific knowledge.

1472-3. **τοῦτ(ο) ᾠόμην**

Bentley considered writing τότε ᾠόμην Δία, 'I used to think then that this cup here was Zeus', but this can not be what Strepsiades is saying. He was told that Zeus had been replaced by Δῖνος, not that he had been turned into a cup.

διὰ τουτονὶ τὸν δῖνον

This is a throw-back to 'Sokrates' teaching (380) regarding atmospheric 'rotation'. We now realize that the old man had failed to understand the scientific application of the word δῖνος and confused it with the homophonous object in everyday use (properly δεῖνος) when he points to a drinking-cup as the source of his misunderstanding (cf. *Σφῆκες* 618). But, from where has this cup materialized? An ancient scholiast explained that a δῖνος stood beside the entrance to the 'Thinking-shop' instead of a usual stone 'Hermes'. Presumably, he meant a larger-than-life stone copy of a wine-goblet. There would not be much point to a small, life-size vessel, although this is the impression given by Strepsiades' description of it as χυτρεοῦν in the next line. It is not a very convincing explanation, and yet modern commentators follow the scholion without demur. Dover for instance is content to see the cup as "*symbolizing the gods of the sophists*", and Revermann's suggestion that Strepsiades actually smashes it in anger draws approval from Sommerstein. But, the mundane meaning of δῖνος is relevant only to the common man, such as Strepsiades, and not to sophisticated intellectuals. Would the audience be expected to swallow the idea that the intellectuals had made a punning reference to their own speculations, one which might easily mislead the unwary passer-by into thinking that it was simply the sign for a wine-bar?
On the other hand, we cannot suppose that the old man carries such a cup around with him, and Dover is quite right to rule out any possibility of him running into the house to fetch one in order to illustrate his misunderstanding. There is, however, a third option. Unlike Tragedy, Old Comedy readily breaks down the fourth wall between the on-stage fictional drama and the reality of the theatre when there is a laugh to be had; a tendency which is formalized in the παράβασις. So, it would be in keeping with convention for Strepsiades to point to a cup near the stage rather than on it. He may be pointing to a cup incorporated in Alkamenes' chryselephantine statue of the god Dionysos which stood in the precinct (Pausanias 1.20.2); the same statue which might have prompted Pheidippides' to invoke the god as his witness (cf. 91). But, the epithet χυτρεοῦν indicates that there might have been an archaic terra-cotta figure inside the theatre. The reference to this *symbol* would help to explain why the poet thought he could squeeze a laugh out of

his audience. The old farmer does not own his own failure to appreciate scientific terminology, but rather hopes to incriminate Dionysos for providing the gift of wine which must have led to his befuddlement. So it was not only "*the heavenly Whirl*" which had "*turned his head*" (Cornford).

οἴμοι δείλαιος

Dover and Henderson prefer ὤμοι here in line with 1462 (but not in 1476?).

1474. **χυτρεοῦν ὄντα**

The drinking cup held by the statue of Dionysos is no more *earthenware* than the supposed symbol of the 'Thinking-shop', but a real one would have been. Strepsiades admits that he had not understood Sokrates' use of the word when referring to the 'Heavenly Flow'. He had taken him to mean 'a stirring bowl' rather than the 'cosmic vortex' (cf. Appendix 2, fragment IV).

1475. **ἐνταῦθα...παραφρόνει**

Pheidippides puts an end to further discussion and exits. Nussbaum (1980) suggests that he goes back into the school, where he shares the fate of his fellow students. She doubtless fears that otherwise the deluded young man would be off to start beating his mother and incurring further financial debt! But, this would be a 'tragic' ending and I agree with Sommerstein that his father is unlikely to burn down the school with him still in it. After all, he has only just addressed him as ὦ φίλτατε (1463) and stated that he sees his son as a victim of the school's miseducation (1466). I agree with Dover that the *boy* probably just goes home.

Finale (Ἔξοδος) 1476-1511

1476. **οἴμοι παρανοίας**

Comparison with the earlier accusation made by the Righteous man against his rival (925, ὤμοι μανίας) points to this comment by Strepsiades being his judgement of his son's behaviour, rather than a reflection on his own state of mind. For the sake of consistency, perhaps one should overrule the codices and print **ὤμοι** here too.

ἐμαινόμην ἄρα

The poet chooses the reflective particle ἄρα ("*I suppose*") over the antithetical personal pronoun ἐγώ, to point up the old man's rueful realization that his rejection of the traditional gods had put him in the same deluded state as the hero Ajax.

1477. **ὅτ(ε) ἐξέβαλλον τοὺς θεούς**

Hall and Geldart print the imperfect ἐξέβαλλον to follow ἐμαινόμην. Although this reads perfectly well, they have to omit the adverbial καὶ from the reading of the main codices (emended R and V) ἐξέβαλλον καὶ τοὺς θεούς. As Dover notes, καὶ is an unlikely interpolation, so that the variant aorist tense **ἐξέβαλον καὶ** makes the better reading. The combination ὅτε...καὶ echoes 1474 in emphasizing 'the time when I *too* was off my rocker / repudiated the gods'.

1478. **ὦ φίλ(ε) Ἑρμῆ**

Strepsiades addresses his query to the 'Herm', an image of the god Hermes, which we first spotted at the entrance to the Φροντιστήριον (255-6) during his initiation. It complements the equine statue in honour of Poseidon beside the door of Strepsiades' house (83). He calls Hermes his 'friend' (cf. Phrynichos frg. 61, ὦ φίλταθ' Ἑρμῆ), because he was viewed as the conveyor of messages from Olympos warning mortals of the consequences of their actions, if they flouted the gods' moral precepts. In Homeric epic he functions as a human conscience (e.g. *Ὀδύσσεια* 1.43, "*trying to win over Aigisthos with his best interests at heart*" πεῖθε ἀγαθὰ φρονέων).

But, like any friend Hermes was capable of deception, a trait which allowed Aristophanes to refer to him elsewhere as Στρεψαῖος "*swivel-eyed*" (cf. frg. 126(b), Στρεψαῖος ὁ Ἑρμῆς παρὰ τῷ Ἀριστοφάνει παρὰ τὸ διεστράφθαι τὰς ὄψεις). So, it is clear that Strepsiades is indicating that in spite of his return to traditional religious beliefs, he is still bent on villainy and true to his divine mentor. He enlists Hermes as counsellor, because he is unwilling to accept responsibility for his actions, just as he blamed Poseidon for his debts, Dionysos for his befuddlement and the Clouds for leading him on.

1479. **μηδέ μ(ε) ἐπιτρίψῃς**

His plea to Hermes not to 'altogether crush' him (cf. 1376, ἐπέτριβεν) appears to derive from the role of the god in informing men when their time was up. In *Εἰρήνη*, he tells Trygaios that he is 'done for' (369, ἐπιτέτριψαι), letting him know that his fate will be sealed as soon as he informs Zeus what has happened.

Strictly-speaking Zeus does the 'crushing', not Hermes. In view of the god's double-faced nature, a more suitable plea might have been μηδέ με ἐπιστρέψῃς ('and do not turn against me'), but this would not have suited the iambic metre and anyway nothing in the textual tradition supports it.

1480. **ἐμοῦ παρανοήσαντος**

In the codices the causal genitive participle is mistakenly written as παρανομήσαντος (RV). But he is not concerned about having broken any law; he is simply trying to exculpate himself on grounds of dimished responsibility because, like Pheidippides now, he was formerly under a delusion (παράνοια).

ἀδολεσχίᾳ

He maintains that he was led astray by the "*airy chat*" of the intellectuals (cf. 1485).

1481-**2**. **γενοῦ ξύμβουλος**

His appeal marks the ironic denouement of the drama. Faced with legal arbitration over his debts, he had hoped to triumph in court with the help of slick legal arguments. But he now turns to the god of sleaze to get his own back on the teaching of the courtroom professionals which has resulted in his being beaten up by his own son.

γραφὴν διωκάθω γραψάμενος

He considers bringing a charge against the 'Thinking-shop', presumably on grounds of ἀσέβεια.

1483. **ὀρθῶς παραινεῖς**

The god's advice, like all such answers to prayer, is formed in his own mind and results in his decision to exact revenge. Normally, statues of the gods remain silent, but Comedy can make exceptions, as in a play by Platon in which a wooden effigy of Hermes is so 'realistic' that it not only answers, but moves as well.

δικορραφεῖν

He is not thinking of writing a courtroom speech (δικογράφειν) but "*stitching together a lawsuit*" (cf. *Σφῆκες* 1040, ἀντωμοσίας καὶ προσκλήσεις καὶ μαρτυρίας συνεκόλλων – "*they were pasting together a string of prosecutors*' *affidavits*, *summonses and witness statements*"). It is the complex legal procedures which deter him from the lawful route.

1484-5. **ἐμπιμπράναι**

The risk of the fire spreading to neighbouring houses (including his own) in the densely built-up city is overlooked for dramatic purposes.

τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν ἀδολεσχῶν

Aristophanes portrays the 'Thinking-shop' as a residential college, or seminary, where the initiates share their daily lives away from wives and families. We are not asked to believe that Xanthippe and Sokrates' children are inside.

ὦ Ξανθία

He summons one of his slaves, as we would call a dog, by a *pet*-name. Aristophanes often uses the name 'Xanthias' (cf. *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 243, *Σφῆκες* 1, *Ὄρνιθες* 656, and *Βάτραχοι* 1) and it became a stock name for a slave in fourth-century dramas. Aischines (2.157) refers to an actor who used a whining voice to play the comic 'Xanthiases'. The name means 'golden-haired' and is usually supposed to denote slaves from non-Greek peoples who were lighter-skinned and fair-haired. Moreover, it is assumed that the actors playing such slaves appeared in a yellow wig which helped to identify their often mute characters on stage. But, if these conjectures are right, then there is a stark incongruity in the fact that the slaves of Comedy shared this distinctive trait with the protagonists of Tragedy and Epic (e.g. heroes like Odysseus, Menelaos and Achilles among others; cf. also Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 220, χαίταν ξανθὰν of Phaidra). An alternative would be to assume that the name was used ironically (just as men of short stature are sometimes called 'lofty') because slaves were commonly dark-haired and swarthy. This certainly seems to be the case in *Σφῆκες* where the royal names Kroisos and Midas are given to household slaves based (presumably) on their race.

1488. **εἰ φιλεῖς τὸν δεσπότην**

I have translated the phrase literally as it is probably borrowed from a tragic-drama where a master begs his servant to come to his aid. But, given the situation here, we understand a sarcastic tone which would translate as "*if you know what's good for you*" (cf. 7, 58).

1489. **ἕως ἂν...ἐμβάλῃς**

Sommerstein suggests that the similar shape of this line with 1460 is meant to indicate that the gods have a hand in the destruction. This seems highly doubtful, as the two lines differ in construction, though it is

probably the case that Strepsiades sees himself (in common with many evildoers) as 'doing god's work' (cf. 1509). One manuscript omits this line, while others invert the order with 1488.

1490. **δᾷδ(α) ἐνεγκάτω τις**

The dramatist conveniently forgets having staked his claim to the literary high ground earlier (543). The appearance of flaming pine-brands in comic-drama was after all a predictable plot-device associated with the nocturnal celebrations of Dionysos-Κωμαστής (cf. 606), which the audience would have anticipated. Whereas in tragic-drama, the lighted torch was a coup de théâtre used as an omen of coming catastrophe or to signify the destructive force of fire, the comic-poet turned it into a device for pantomime humour. In *Σφῆκες*, a flute-girl carrying a pine-torch guides PhiloKleon home from his drunken revel. He grabs it to assault passers-by and then pretends that she is a decorative torch-holder lighting the precinct of a temple. In *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* young Epigenes prowls Athens by night with a torch in search of love (978), while at the finale a rejuvenated Blepyros heads for the public feast by torchlight (1150).

Aristophanes may have chosen to alter this final act in his revised version (Appendix 3).

1491. **τιν(α) αὐτῶν**

His ire is probably directed at the Ἄδικος Λόγος.

τήμερον δοῦναι δίκην

Strepsiades is taking upon himself the role of Zeus the Avenger, who as we know from earlier comments, cannot be relied on to hurl his lightning bolts with much accuracy (398-403). He speaks in the manner of a vengeful deity in tragic-drama, e.g. Aphrodite's prologue in Euripides *Ἱππόλυτος* 21-1.

1492. **κεἰ σφόδρα εἶσι ἀλαζόνες**

The textual tradition is unambiguous here and editors extract a satisfactory sense from it, e.g. "*no matter how big they talk*" (Sommerstein), by stressing the verb 'to be'. In other words, they take him to be saying that 'no intellectual double-talk' will sway him from his aim. But, it seems to me that the humour should lie in the old man's recognition that his son was right all along. The word ἀλαζόνες was derisory and not grudgingly approbative when used by Pheidippides (102) and the addition of σφόδρα indicates to me that the emphasis should be placed there. Accordingly, I would rather read **(ἐ)πεὶ** σφόδρα **εἰσ(ι)** ἀλαζόνες – "*since they're complete charlatans*".

1493. **ιοὺ ιού**

The cry of shock and confusion marks the entry of another of Strepsiades' household slaves bearing the lighted torch, as predicated in 543. Presumably, it is uttered by someone from within the 'Thinking-shop' and commentators have assigned it to a random student. I have given it to the θυρωρός, peering anxiously from the doorway.

1494. **ὦ δᾴς**

The old farmer now has the flaming torch in his hand and is climbing the ladder. He addresses the torch as a character in tragic-drama might do, treating it as if it were a sentient accomplice. This seems absurd, but then Herakleitos considered fire to be the primary element; the life-force perhaps. In *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι* Praxagora opens the drama with an eloquent address to her confidante, a lighted lamp.

1495. **ἄνθρωπε**, **τί ποιεῖς**;

The speaker may recognize Strepsiades, but does not use his name, so he is not the doorman. He may be an unnamed student as some manuscripts (not the Ravenna codex) suggest, but we have been introduced to two members of faculty, who are the very object of Strepsiades' ire. Accordingly, I assign this question to the 'Scoundrel', to whom the supercilious tone comes naturally.

ὅ τι ποιῶ;

Because the speaker claims to be working on the roof-beams of the school-building, this reply has been assigned to the slave with the pick-axe, οἰκέτης (R) or 'Xanthias' (V). But this ignores the sarcasm in Strepsiades' reply. While the slave wields the axe for him, he imagines himself making *cutting* remarks.

1496. **διαλεπτολογοῦμαι**

The verb is concocted out of διαλογεῖσθαι and λεπτὸν, 'to hold a subtle conversation with…' LSJ suggest that Strepsiades is using his axe to "*chop logic*", while Rogers has him "*splitting straws with your house-rafters*". Perhaps he is simply conducting a dia-*log*-ue with the roof beams?

1497. [**Δίκαιος Λόγος**]

The principal codices assign this question to 'Sokrates' (RV), but the Laurentianus (Θ) gives it to another μαθητής. Accordingly, Dover and Henderson call the speaker, μαθητής β΄. Sommerstein, however, calls him 'Chaerephon', as he is is unhappy with giving him only a single verse (1505). I would rather assign it to the 'Righteous man' to give Strepsiades' reply more point, since he was the one wearing the ἱμάτιον in the debate. Although it is my belief that the same actor played the roles of Strepsiades and the 'Righteous Man', these few words and what follows (1499 and 1505) could be uttered by the understudy.

1498. **θοἰμάτιον εἰλήφατε**

Evidently, Pheidippides' sarcastic jibe (856) about the loss of his expensive cloak (54) still rankles and he better appreciates the anecdote of the wrestler's cloak (179).

1499. [**Δίκαιος Λόγος**]

The words ἀπολεῖς, ἀπολεῖς are regularly assigned to the speaker of 1497. I assign them to the 'Righteous man' again on the basis of his earlier promise to destroy his adversary (899)

1500-1.

He is relying on Xanthias to expose the roof beams so that he can set fire to them, but in the meantime his position on the ladder does seem a little precarious. The latter remark befits the actor speaking in propria persona, since he is not wearing a safety harness and rather wishes now he had insisted on a stunt-double for this scene.

ἡ σμινύη

The two-pronged hoe was a basic farm-implement used for hoeing weeds, so it represents his expertise as a farmer. Although it was a peace-time tool (cf. *Εἰρήνη* 546), the old man means to put it to a violent use. The choice of this innocent tool for the momentous job in hand may be intended to poke fun at the tragic-poets reference to lightning as 'god's pickaxe' e.g. Aischylos has a herald talk of "*demolishing Troy with the pick-axe of avenging Zeus*", i.e. setting fire to the town (*Ἀγαμέμνων* 525-6, Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου Διὸς μακέλλῃ) and Sophokles in *Χρύσης* has something "*totally overthrown by the pick-axe of Zeus*" (frg. 659, μακέλλῃ Ζηνὸς ἐξαναστραφῇ). The latter is directly parodied in a line of *Ὄρνιθες* (1240),

Διὸς μακέλλῃ πᾶν ἀναστρέψῃ Δίκη.

It is only surprising here that the poet did not employ the synonym δίκελλα, which could be a contracted form of Διὸς μακέλλῃ for comic purposes.

1502-3. **οὗτος**, **τί ποιεῖς ἐτεόν**;

Where the verb which follows is in the second person singular, the demonstrative pronoun is sufficient by itself (without the personal pronoun συ, as in the opening of *Σφῆκες*) to call out "*you there*!"

Strepsiades' sarcastic come-back is plainly mimicking the answer he received from 'Sokrates' suspended in the air (225) and so the questioner is judged (by poetic justice) to be 'Sokrates'. I find this to be neither necessary, nor dramatically likely. The speaker has evidently heard the old farmer's earlier cheeky reply regarding the roof-top activity (1496) and demands to know what he is *actually* doing up above them. The demonstrative pronoun does not always indicate a lack of personal acquaintance, so the speaker may well be the 'Scoundrel' again.

Although (as in 1495) the codices assign the response to οἰκέτης (R), or Ξανθ. οἰκ. (V), on the basis of the strict interpretation of ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους, this airy reply must come from the old man. Strepsiades can spare a leg and and the arm holding the torch to wave in the air to demonstrate his aerial situation.

1504. **ἀποπνιγήσομαι**

This line is generally given to 'Sokrates' as well, but it would fit the 'Scoundrel' just as well, since he had claimed earlier to be 'choking' metaphorically (1036, καὶ μὴν πάλαι γ' ἐπνιγόμην).

1505. [**Δίκαιος Λόγος**]

The speaker is variously called a μαθητής (R), ἕτερος φιλόσοφος (V) or Χαιρεφῶν (ΚΘΝ), but I can still hear the 'Righteous man' bewailing his fate.

1506. **τί γὰρ μαθόντες**

Aristophanes uses the phrase τί δὴ μαθὼν on a number of occasions, e.g. *Ἀχαρνεῖς* 826, τί δὴ μαθὼν φαίνεις ἄνευ θρυαλλίδος; *Σφῆκες* 251, τί δὴ μαθὼν τῷ δακτύλῳ τὴν θρυαλλίδ' ὠθεῖς;

But, these expressions are tantamount to saying 'where did you learn to…?' while here we might better understand τί γὰρ **παθόντες** τοὺς θεοὺς ὑβρίζετε; This phrase is commonly used idiomatically where one

might say in English 'what possessed you' or 'what prompted you',– "so *what did you want to go and start affronting the gods for*?"

1507. **ἐσκοπεῖσθε τὴν ἕδραν**

He compares 'Sokrates' nocturnal observation of the Moon's orbit with the activities of a peeping Tom, playing on the ambiguity of ἕδρα which is normally 'seat' or 'setting', but here must be 'that part of the anatomy which is employed in sitting' (cf. 171). The myth of Aktaion watching Artemis bathe provides an extreme example of what voyeurs might expect.

1508-9.

Hall and Geldart follow the codices in assigning this couplet to Hermes. But, why would the god become audible now when he had previously communicated with Strepsiades telepathically? Beer suggested that the lines are spoken by the Chorus, influenced perhaps by the active participation of the Acharnian chorus (*Ἀχαρνεῖς* 281-3). But, the Clouds take no part in the affray, nor are they about to encourage hooliganism. Dover is right that the words must be an indication of Strepsiades' own enthusiasm for physical violence, when directed at others, and are akin to war cries (cf. Xenophon *Ἀνάβασις* 5.7.21). The old villain shouts down the ladder (he is neither up nor down) egging on the slave who brought him the torch.

δίωκε, παῖε, βάλλε

These cries urging the slave to chase after the residents of the 'Thinking-shop', hit them and hurl stones at them indicates that they must have elected to save themselves by jumping down from the windows.

1510-1.

Finales are not Aristophanes' strong suit and it is hard to disagree with Dover's view that this dismissal of the Chorus is simply "*the verbal equivalent of dropping the curtain*". But, it is worth bearing in mind that the normal convention in Tragedy, which Old Comedy continually imitates, was to cool passions and thus lower the temperature at the end. The tone of the closing remark is laconic, "*So, that's enough chorusing for now*". The storm *below* them may still be raging, but the 'Clouds' do not deign to involve themselves and merely drift away.

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