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First published 1984 by Cornell University Press Revised Edition first published 1998 by Cornell University Press First printing, Cornell Paperbacks, 1998

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data *

Four texts on Socrates, revised edition.

Bibliograpy: p.

1. Socrates. I. Plato. II. West, Thomas G., 1945— III. West, Grace Starry, 1946— . IV. Aristophanes. Clouds. 1984. B316.F68 1984 183'.2 84-7657 ISBN-13: 978-0-8014-8574-9 (pbk.: alk. paper)

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Paperback printing 10 9 8 7 6

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whom they should least be done—yourself and friends and fatherland and us—then we will be angry with you while you live, and our brothers, the laws in Hades, will not receive you favorably there, knowing that you even attempted to destroy us as far as it lay in you. But let not Crito persuade you to do what he says rather than what we say."

Know well, my dear comrade Crito, that these things are what *I* seem to hear, just as the Corybantes seem to hear the flutes, ²⁹ and this echo of these speeches is booming within me and makes me unable to hear the others. Know that insofar as these things seem so to me now, if you speak against them, you will speak in vain. Nevertheless, if you suppose that you will accomplish anything, speak.

CRITO. But, Socrates, I have nothing to say.

SOCRATES. Then let it go, Crito, and let us act in this way, since in this way the god is leading.

²⁹In connection with worship of the goddess Cybele a rite was developed to cure nervousness and hysteria by means of dancing to frenzied music played on the flute and kettledrum. Participants in this psychiatric exercise were called Corybantes. The present passage suggests that the music echoes, probably with a calming effect, in the memory of those who have undergone the cure.

54c

d ·

Aristophanes' Clouds

Characters of the Drama

Strepsiades
Pheidippides
Slave of Strepsiades
Student of Socrates
Socrates
Chorus of Clouds
Just Speech

Unjust Speech

Creditor
Second Creditor
Second Student of Socrates
Hermes
Witness (non-speaking part)

Xanthias, Slave of Strepsiades (non-speaking part)

[For the opening scene of the play, one side of the stage represents a bedroom of Strepsiades' house. Two or three statues of gods are visible. Strepsiades and his son Pheidippides are in their beds. At stage center, toward the back, a small, unkempt dwelling can be seen: Socrates' "thinkery." The time is night, just before dawn.] STREPSIADES [sitting up in bed]. Oh! Oh!

O Zeus the King, how long the nights are! Boundless! Will day never come? I heard the cock long ago, but the servants are still snoring. They wouldn't have before. Perish, then, O war, because among many other things, now I can't even punish my servants!²

¹All stage directions and other remarks in brackets are by the translators. The Greek text contains nothing but designations of the respective speakers and the words spoken by them. This prose translation makes no attempt to imitate Aristophanes' poetic meter. However, the translation has been divided into distinct lines that correspond as closely as feasible to the lines of the Greek text.

²During the Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta (431–404 B.C.), when the Athenian territory of Attica outside the city walls was frequently occupied by the enemy, slaves were easily able to desert to the other side.

5

Four Texts on Socrates

[Points to Pheidippides.] Nor does this upright youth here wake up at night; he farts away, enwrapped in five blankets. 10 But if it is so resolved,³ let's cover ourselves up and snore. [He pulls the blankets up over his head and tries to sleep, but starts tossing, and finally sits up again.] But I can't sleep, wretched me, I'm being bittenby expenses and stables and my debts because of this son of mine. He with his long hair rides horses and drives a chariot, 15 and dreams of horses, while I am ruined as I see the moon bringing on the twenties: the interest mounts up.4 [Calls to a slave offstage.] Boy! Light the lamp and bring out the ledger so I can take it and read how many I'm in debt to and reckon the interest. 20 [A slave enters with an oil lamp and slate, holding the lamp for Strepsiades to read by.] Come, let me see, what do I owe? "Twelve minae to Pasias." Twelve minae to Pasias for what? What did I use it for? It was when I bought the koppa-horse.⁵ Oh me, alas, I'd sooner have my eye knocked out by a stone! PHEIDIPPIDES [in his sleep]. Philon, that's unjust! Drive in your own course! 25 STREP. This is it, the evil that has ruined me. Even in his sleep he dreams of horsemanship. PHEID. [asleep]. How many courses will the war-chariots drive? STREP. You're driving me, your father, many courses! But "what debit hath come"6 on me after Pasias? 30 "Three minae to Amynias for a chariot-frame and a pair of wheels." PHEID. [still sleeping]. Give the horse a roll and lead it home.

³Ei dokei, literally "if it seems (fitting)." The word dokei ("it seems to [the people of Athens]," i.e., "it is resolved . . .") was used at the beginning of enactments passed by the Assembly.

⁴The "twenties" were the last ten days of the month. Interest on loans was typically

collected monthly and fell due on the last day.

strep. My dear, you've rolled <i>me</i> out of my belongings, now that I've been losing lawsuits and now that others are saying they'll have my property seized for the interest. PHEID. [now awake]. Really, father! Why are you upset? And why do you twist and turn? the whole night? STREP. Some sort of public official is biting me from the	5
bedclothes.	
PHEID. Let me have a little sleep, you daimonic ⁸ man.	
[Goes back to sleep.] STREP. All right, sleep! But know that these debts	
will fall, all of them, on your head.	<u></u>
Oh, would that the matchmaker might perish evilly,	,
she who stirred me up to marry your mother!	
Mine was a rustic life, most pleasant:	
squalid, unswept, lying down at random,	
teeming with bees and sheep and olive-cakes. 45	5
Then I married a niece of Megacles the son of Megacles. ⁹	
I was a rustic, she from the town: classy, luxurious, aristocratic. 10	
When I married her, I lay down together with her,	
I smelling of new wine, fig crates, wool, abundance,	<u> </u>
she in turn of perfume, saffron, kisses with the tongue,	,
expenses, gluttony, Colias, Genetyllis. 11	
But I certainly won't say she was idle; she did weave.	
And I would show her this cloak	
as an occasion and say, "Woman, you weave too closely." 55	5
[The lamp goes out.]	

7"Twist and turn" translates the verb strephein, from which Strepsiades' name is formed. Other occurrences of "twisting" or "turning" (the word can also mean "cheating") are found

at lines 88, 335, 434, 450, 554, 776, 792, 1455.

⁸As an address, "daimonic" usually conveys a sense of ironic reproach. A daimon may be an offspring of divine and human parents, or, as sometimes in this play and elsewhere in Greek poetry, a god may be called a "daimon." On the daimonic, see Apology n. 37.

⁹Megacles ("famed for greatness") is a grand, aristocratic-sounding name that belonged to several members of the venerable Alcmeonid family. There was a wealthy Megacles of this family living in Athens when the Clouds was produced.

10"Aristocratic" translates a word meaning, literally, "Coisyrified." Coisyra is the name of a real or legendary aristocratic woman of the sort described here, probably the mother of Megacles, which would make her the grandmother of Strepsiades' wife.

¹¹Colias is the name of an Athenian temple for Aphrodite, goddess of love; Genetyllis is a

minor love-goddess who is associated with Aphrodite Colias.

12"Weave" (spathan) is literally "pack down the woof with the blade." When the thread is packed too tightly, it is wasted. Thus the expression "weave too closely" means "be extravagant," "waste money." We may guess that the cloak that Strepsiades holds up is old, thin, and perhaps full of holes.

⁵A koppa-horse is probably some sort of thoroughbred, branded with the letter koppa (our Q) to designate his pedigree. In the next line the word for "knocked out" is exekopen, with a

⁶These words are probably quoted from a lost play of the tragic poet Euripides.

SERVANT. There's no oil in our lamp. STREP. Oh me! Why did you light the drunkard lamp? Come here, that you may weep! But why should I weep? SERVANT. STREP. Because you put in one of the thick wicks. 13 [The servant keeps out of reach and runs inside.] After that when this son here was born to us-60 to me, yes, and to the good womanwe railed at each other over his name. She was for adding hippos to the name— Xanthippus or Charippus or Callippides¹⁴ while I put in for Pheidonides, 15 after his grandfather. 65 So for a while we disputed it. Then, after a time, we got together and settled on Pheidippides. 16 She would take this son of hers and fondle him, saying, "When you are big and drive a chariot to the city, like Megacles, wearing a festal robe. . . . "17 But I would say, 70 "Rather, when you bring the goats away from the rocky ground, like your father, clad in leather. . . . " But he wasn't persuaded by my speeches at all: he's been pouring horse-itis upon my money. So after thinking all night about a way out, 75 now I've discovered one straight path, daimonically preternatural, and if I can persuade him to it, I'll be saved. But first I wish to wake him up. How could I wake him most pleasantly? How? [He goes over to his son's bed and coos sweetly.] Pheidippides! Pheidippiddy!18 80 What, father? PHEID. [waking up]. STREP. Kiss me and give me your right hand. PHEID. [does so].

¹³Strepsiades threatens to beat his servant because the thick wick makes the lamp "drunkard," i.e., guzzle too much oil. The point is that Strepsiades can barely afford oil for his lamp. ¹⁴These names formed from *hippos* ("horse") have a proud tone. Athenian aristocrats were called *hippois*, "knights": horsemanship was a traditional badge of wealth and authority. ¹⁵Pheidon means "thrifty" (the name of Strepsiades' father: line 134); Pheidonides is "offspring of Pheidon."

¹⁶Pheidippides: "thrifty horseman," an oxymoron, like "stingy big-spender." According to some manuscripts of Herodotus, Pheidippides was the name of the Athenian runner sent to Sparta to ask for military aid when the Persians landed at Marathon (n. 162). He ran 150 miles in two days, but the Spartans sent no help until after the battle was over (VI.105).

¹⁷She refers to the Panathenaic festival honoring Athena, when the rich would ride in their

saffron robes up to the "city," i.e., the acropolis. See n. 72.

¹⁸The Greeks sometimes added a diminutive ending to a name, indicating endearment or fawning.

There. What is it? STREP. Tell me, do you love me? PHEID. [stands up, gesturing toward a statue of the god]. Yes, by this Poseidon of horses! STREP. Please, not by this god of horses, in no way! For he is responsible for my evils. 85 But if you really love me from the heart, my boy, obey. 19 What should I obey you in? PHEID. STREP. Turn your own ways inside out as quickly as possible: go and learn what I will advise. PHEID. Speak, what do you bid me? And will you obey at all? 90 PHEID. I will obey, by Dionysus.²⁰ STREP. [pointing to the house at the back of the stage, which is now fully visible in the growing light of dawn]. Look over here, now. Do you see that little door and little house? PHEID. I see them. So really, what is it, father? STREP. That is a thinkery of wise souls.²¹

In there dwell men who by speaking persuade one that the heaven is a stove and that it is around us, and we are charcoals. If someone gives them money, they teach him how to win both just and unjust causes by speaking. PHEID. Who are they?

¹⁹The Greek word for "obey" (*peithesthai*) is the passive of the word "persuade," and may also mean "be persuaded." See also line 119.

²⁰As the god of banquets and of the vine, Dionysus is a compromise between the horseman's Poseidon (83) and the farmer's Demeter (121) (Leo Strauss, *Socrates and Aristophanes* [New York: Basic Books, 1966], p. 13).

²¹"Thinkery" is *phrontisterion*, coined by Aristophanes on the model of such words as *dikasterion* ("law court," from *dikē*, "justice"). "Think-tank" is an alternate translation. Words with this *phron*- root occur frequently in the *Clouds*, and they are translated consistently with "think" or "thought" although they also convey the sense of "worry" See *Apology* n. 8. "Soul" (*psychē*), in popular usage, may also mean "ghost."

²²If the Socrates of this play holds the doctrine that Strepsiades attributes to him, he may have learned that heaven is *like* a stove (*pnigeus*, a dome-shaped oven for baking bread) from the minor philosopher Hippon (so says a medieval *scholium* or explanatory note in one of the manuscripts) or from the astronomer Meton (Aristophanes, *Birds* 1001). The philosopher Heraclitus compared men to charcoals in the following way: just as charcoals glow when filled with fire and turn black when fire is withdrawn, so we partake of "the common and divine logos" when the things surrounding us come into our mind through the passages of the senses—less when asleep, more when awake. (Hermann Diels and Walther Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* [16th ed.; Dublin: Weidmann, 1972], A16.)

I don't know their names precisely. 100 STREP. Pondering thinkers—noble and good men.²³ PHEID. Ugh! Villains, I know. They're boasters, pale, shoeless men that you're speaking of, and among them that miserably unhappy Socrates and Chaerephon.24 STREP. Now, now, be silent. Don't say anything foolish. 105 But if you have any concern for your father's barley,25 give up your horsemanship and for my sake become one of them. PHEID. I wouldn't, by Dionysus, not even if you gave me the pheasants that Leogoras is raising.²⁶ STREP. Go, I beseech you, dearest of human beings to me, 110 go and be taught. And what shall I learn for you? PHEID. STREP. It's said that they have two speeches, the stronger, whatever it may be, and the weaker. One of these speeches, the weaker, wins, they say, although it speaks the more unjust things. 115 So if you learn this unjust speech for me, I wouldn't give anyone back even an obol²⁷ of those debts that I owe because of you. PHEID. I won't obey, for I wouldn't dare to see the horsemen after I've lost my complexion.²⁸ 120 STREP. Then by Demeter, you won't eat of my belongings, not you yourself, not your chariot horse, and not your thoroughbred! I'll drive you out of my house to the crows!29 PHEID. But my uncle Megacles won't let me go horseless! I'm going inside, and I won't give any thought to you! 125 [Exit Pheidippides into the interior of the house.] STREP. But neither will I stay down, even if I have taken a fall. After I pray to these gods here, I will be taught. I'll go into the thinkery myself. [He sets off toward the thinkery, but along the way he hesitates.] ²³"Noble and good men": see Apology n. 19. In the Clouds, kalon is always "noble" or "beautiful."

Now how, since I am an old man, forgetful and slow, am I going to learn the splinters of precise speeches? [Pauses.] 130 One must go. [Starts again, then stops before the door.] Why do I keep hanging back like this and not knock on the door? [Knocks.] Boy! Little boy!30 STUDENT [within]. Throw yourself to the crows! Who is it that knocked on the door? STREP. Strepsiades the son of Pheidon, from Cicynna. 31 STUDENT [opening the door]. Unlearned too, by Zeus, for you've 135 kicked the door so very unponderingly that you've made a thought I had discovered miscarry. STREP. Forgive me, for I dwell far off in the country. But tell me the matter that's miscarried. STUDENT. It's not sanctioned to say, except to the students. STREP. Be bold and tell me now. For I've come here to the thinkery as a student. STUDENT. I'll tell you, but you must believe these things are Mysteries.³² Just now Socrates was asking Chaerephon how many of its own feet a flea could leap. 145 For after biting Chaerephon on the evebrow, it jumped onto Socrates' head. STREP. How did he measure it? STUDENT. Most shrewdly. He melted some wax, then took the flea and dipped two of its feet into the wax; 150 as it cooled, Persian slippers³³ grew around them. He took these off and was measuring the space.34 STREP. O Zeus the King, what subtlety of the wits! STUDENT. What, then, if you should find out another thought of Socrates? STREP. What? I beseech you, tell me. 155

³⁰Expecting a slave to answer, Strepsiades calls out "boy" in the usual Greek manner. But the Socratics, who have to steal their dinner if they are to eat at all (175-179), are too poor to keep slaves.

³¹Cicynna is the name of the *deme* or neighborhood division of Attica where Strepsiades was born. (Sphettos, line 156, is the name of another deme.) Strepsiades introduces himself as though reporting to the authorities.

32"Mysteries" are religious rites, knowledge of which was permitted only to initiates. In the Platonic dialogues Socrates frequently applies the language of Mystery-initiation to philosophy: e.g., Symposium 209e-212a, Phaedrus 250c-d.

³³"Persian slippers" (literally, "Persians") are a kind of female footwear.

³⁴The student seems to mean that Socrates was carefully measuring the space occupied by the flea's foot in the wax "slipper" when Strepsiades knocked and spoiled the attempt.

²⁴Chaerephon: see Apology 21a and n. 27 there.

²⁵Barley: i.e., your father's daily bread, his livelihood.

²⁶Pheasants were rare in Athens, and only a very rich man like Leogoras (father of the orator Andocides) could afford to keep them.

²⁷Obol: a small Athenian coin, one-sixth of a drachma (Apology nn. 46 and 72).

²⁸Pheidippides anticipates that he would lose his manly horseman's tan by spending time studying indoors.

²⁹"To the crows!" is a Greek imprecation meaning something like "To the dogs!" or "Go hang yourself!"

STUDENT. Chaerephon from Sphettos was asking him which notion³⁵ he held: do gnats hum through their mouth or through their behind? STREP. What, then, did he say about the gnat? STUDENT. He declared that the gnat's intestine is 160 narrow, and because it is slender, the breath goes violently straight to its behind. There the anus, hollow where it lies near the narrow part, resounds from the violence of the wind. STREP. Then the gnats' anus is a trumpet. 165 O thrice-blessed for intestinal insight! How easily would a defendant escape the penalty if he thoroughly knew the intestine of the gnat! STUDENT. But lately he was robbed of a great notion by a lizard. STREP. In what way? Tell me. 170 STUDENT. As he was investigating the courses and revolutions of the moon and was gaping upwards, a lizard (it was night) crapped on him from the roof. STREP. [laughing]. I'm pleased by a lizard crapping on Socrates. STUDENT. Yesterday evening we had no dinner. 175 STREP. Well, well. Then how did he contrive for barley?36 STUDENT. He sprinkled fine ash on the table, bent a meat-spit, then taking it as a compass he made away with the cloak from the wrestling school.³⁷ STREP. Why then do we wonder at Thales?38 180 Open up, open up the thinkery, hurry, and show me Socrates as quickly as possible, for I'm going to be a student! Open up the door! [The student opens the doors, revealing the courtyard of the house, where the students are discovered in various odd poses.] Heracles! Where do these beasts come from? STUDENT. Why do you wonder? What do they seem like to you? 185

35"Notion" is gnomē, a prominent term in the Clouds. It is sometimes translated "judgment."

36Barley: see n. 25.

³⁸Thales is believed to have been the first Greek philosopher and was popularly admired for

his great wisdom, both theoretical and practical.

STREP. Like the Laconian captives from Pylos. 39 [Observing one group in an attitude of deep thought.] But why ever are these over here looking down at the earth? STUDENT. They're investigating the things beneath the earth. Then it's vegetable bulbs. STREP. [Addressing them.] Don't give it any more thought now. for I know where there are big and beautiful ones. 190 [Turning to another group with their heads fixed on the ground and their behinds in the air. But what are they doing over there who are so stooped over? STUDENT. They are delving into Erebus under Tartarus 40 STREP. Why then is the anus looking at the heaven? STUDENT. It itself by itself⁴¹ is being taught astronomy. [To the other students.] Go inside, so that he won't happen upon us. 195 STREP. Not yet, not yet! Let them stay, so I can share a little matter of mine with them. STUDENT. But it's not possible for them to spend very much time outside in the air. [Other students exit into the thinkery.] STREP. [catching sight of the instructional equipment]. Before the gods, what are these things? Tell me. 200 STUDENT. This is astronomy. And what is this? STREP. STUDENT. Geometry. So what's the use of it? STREP. STUDENT. To measure the earth. For the land-allotment? STREP. STUDENT. No. all of it. That's a pretty trick you speak of: for it's populist and useful.⁴² 205 STUDENT. Here's a map of the whole earth. See? Here's Athens.

39The Spartans captured by the Athenians in their victory at Pylos in 425 were kept at Athens for four years; they must have been pale and emaciated from the long siege and from their captivity (Thucydides IV.29-41, V.24). Apparently Socrates' students practice an almost inhuman asceticism.

⁴⁰In Greek poetry, Erebus and Tartarus are names for the underworld, or for different

⁴¹"It itself by itself" is an expression that Socrates uses frequently in Plato's dialogues (e.g. Phaedo 64c).

⁴²Athens sometimes distributed titles to the land of its conquered enemies to a number of citizens selected by lot. Strepsiades thinks they are using geometry to divide up the earth in a huge clerurchy or land-allotment. "Trick" is sophisma, from sophon, "wise."

³⁷Scholars disagree about what it is that Socrates did. The point seems to be that he succeeded in his "attempt to supply his starving group with a frugal dinner by cleverly executing an act of petty theft while pretending to do geometry" (Strauss, Socrates and

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What are you saying? I'm not persuaded, STREP. since I don't see any judges sitting. 43 STUDENT. Truly, this is the area of Attica. STREP. And where are my fellow demesmen of Cicynna? 210 STUDENT. They're in here. And Euboea here, as you see, is long and laid out quite far. STREP. I know, for it was laid out by us and Pericles.44 But Lacedaemon—where is it? Where is it? Here. STUDENT. 215 STREP. So near us! Give thought to how to take it quite far away from us. STUDENT. But that's impossible. By Zeus, you'll lament, then! [Socrates comes into view aloft, suspended in a basket.] Come, who is this man in the basket? STUDENT. Himself. Who is "himself"? STREP. Socrates. STUDENT. Socrates! STREP. [Calling to him]. [To the student.] Come, you shout to him loudly for me. 220 STUDENT. You call him yourself. I haven't the leisure. [Exit.] STREP. Socrates! Socratesie! SOCRATES. Why are you calling me, ephemeral one? STREP. First, I beseech you, tell me what you're doing. 225 SOC. I tread on air and contemplate the sun. STREP. Then you look down⁴⁵ on the gods from a perch and not from the earth?—if that's what you're doing. I would never SOC. discover the matters aloft correctly except by suspending mind and subtle thought 230 and mixing them with their like, the air. If I considered the things above from below on the ground, I would never discover them. For the earth forcefully

43Strepsiades alludes to the litigiousness for which Athenians were notorious.
44Euboea, a long narrow island off the coast of Attica, was ruthlessly subjugated by an Athenian force of which Pericles was a commander (Thucydides I.114). This expedition oc curred over twenty years before the first performance of the Clouds, so Strepsiades' "us refers to "the older generation."

refers to "the older generation."

45In the previous line "contemplate" is literally "think around," i.e., "look at from al sides" (periphronein), and may also mean "despise." Strepsiades explains Socrates' meaning by using a related word (hyperphronein, repeated at 1400) that definitely means "despise" of by using a related word (hyperphronein, repeated at 1400) that definitely means "despise" of look down on" (literally, "over-think"). Strepsiades' comment indicates that he, like almost all men, regards the sun as a god (cf. Apology 26d).

The same thing happens also to water cress. 46 STREP. What are you saying? 235 Does thinking pull the moisture into the water cress? Come now, Socratesie, come down to me. And teach me what I've come for. SOC. [descends and gets out of the basket]. Why did you come? I wish to learn to be a speaker. STREP. I am plundered, I am pillaged 47 by interest and most peevish creditors; my property is being seized for debts. soc. How is it that you were unaware of yourself becoming indebted? STREP. Horse-disease ground me down, devouring me terribly. But teach me one of the two speeches, the one that pays nothing back. Whatever fee you set, I swear by the gods to pay you.48 soc. What gods indeed will you swear by! For first of all, we don't credit gods.49 What do you swear with? STREP. Iron coins, as in Byzantium?⁵⁰ soc. Do you wish to know divine matters plainly, 250 to know correctly what they are? Yes, by Zeus, if in fact it's possible. STREP. soc. And to associate in speech with the Clouds, our daimons?

pulls to itself the moisture from the thought.

⁴⁶Water cress seeds were known to absorb moisture, just as (according to Socrates) the earth does. The opinion that moisture impedes thought was held by the philosopher Diogenes of Apollonia, who lived and wrote at the same time as Socrates (Diels-Kranz, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, A19, §44).

⁴⁷"Plunder and pillage," literally "lead and carry" (agein kai pherein), is an expression used of troops looting in wartime, leading off slaves and cattle and carrying property away.

⁴⁸It is noteworthy that Socrates shows no interest at all in Strepsiades' offer to pay but only seeks to disabuse him of his old-fashioned religious convictions. This, along with the fact that Socrates and his students live in dire poverty (175), shows that Strepsiades' uninformed opinion that Socrates teaches for pay (98)—an opinion with which many modern scholars agree—is incorrect. The gift that Strepsiades gives Socrates at line 1147 is spontaneous. See also n. 149.

⁴⁹Literally, "gods are not nomisma for us." Socrates appears to be using the word nomisma in its root meaning, "something believed in," but Strepsiades indicates in his confused response that he understands nomisma in its usual sense of "money." Socrates was accused of not "believing in" the gods of the city (Apology 24b-c); the word "believe in" is nomizein, related to nomisma. (Alan H. Sommerstein, ed., Aristophanes, Clouds [Warminster: Aris & Phillips 1982], p. 173.)

⁵⁰Unlike other Greek cities at this time, which used precious metals, Byzantium minted its coins from iron.

Ever-flowing Clouds, [Strophe.54] 275 let us arise, clearly apparent in our dewy, shining nature, from deep-resounding father Oceanus up to lofty mountain peaks shaggy with trees, so that 280 we may gaze upon look-out points apparent from afar, and sacred land with well-watered fruits. and roarings of rivers most divine. and deep-thundering, roaring sea. For the untiring eye 285 of Aether blazes with glistering rays. But let us shake off the rainy cloud from our immortal form, and let us give the earth to our far-seeing eye. 290 soc. O greatly august Clouds, it is apparent that you heard me calling you. [To Strepsiades.] Did you perceive a voice and bellowing thunder, divinely august? STREP. Yes, and I revere you, much honored ones, and wish to fart in response to the thunder, so much do I tremble and fear before them. And if it is sanctioned—right now, in fact, even if it isn't sanctioned—I want to take a crap. 295 soc. Do not mock, and don't do what those trygic daimons⁵⁵ do, but hush. For a great swarm of goddesses is in motion with songs. CHORUS [song, still at a distance]. Rain-bearing virgins, [Antistrophe.] let us go to the sleek land of Pallas, to see the well-manned earth 300 of Cecrops,⁵⁶ much beloved, where there is reverence for sacred things unspeakable:

CHORUS [song, offstage].

⁵¹In the *Athamas*, a lost tragedy of Sophocles, Athamas, crowned with a wreath, was about to be sacrificed on an altar when he was rescued by Heracles. Strepsiades may also have been reminded of Athamas because of the name of Athamas' wife: Nephele ("Cloud"). This section (254–262) is a parody of the initiation rites into the Mysteries at Athens (n. 32).

52In Hesiod (Theogony 133) Oceanus is the child of Earth and Heaven (but not father of the

Clouds). His gardens were supposed to be in the sea far to the west of Greece.

hear, receive the sacrifice, and rejoice in the sacred rites.

53Lake Maeotis is the present-day Sea of Azov in the northeast corner of the Black Sea. Mimas juts out from the coast of Asia Minor just north of the island of Chios. The four lines that state the possible locations of the Clouds describe the four points of the compass: north (Olympus), west (Oceanus' gardens), south (the Nile), and east (Maeotis and Mimas).

54"Strophe" is the name given to a song sung by the Chorus, to which an "antistrophe" answers (line 298). The names strophe ("turning") and antistrophe ("turning back") are thought to refer to the practice of having the Chorus dance in one direction during the strophe and in the reverse during the antistrophe (not here, however, for the Chorus is still offstage).

55"Trygedy" (mocking "tragedy") is a comic term for comedy, from trygē, "grape vintage," alluding to Dionysus, god of wine and of drama (line 519). The word translated "trygic daimon" is trygodaimon, coined by Aristophanes in imitation of kakodaimon, "miserably unhappy," but perhaps also suggesting the comic poets' claim to be daimons (gods).

56"Well-manned" (euandron) means either "having good men" or "abounding in men." Cecrops is the legendary first king of Athens.

where the halls that receive the Mysteries	
are displayed in holy initiation-rites. ⁵⁷	
Gifts to heavenly gods are there,	305
lofty-roofed temples and statues,	
most sacred processions for the blessed ones,	
and well-crowned sacrifices	
and festivals for gods	
in all manner of seasons.	310
And as spring comes on, there is Bromian ⁵⁸ rejoicing,	
and contentions of well-sounding choruses,	
and deep-thundering music of flutes.	
STREP. Before Zeus, I beseech you, tell me, Socrates, who are	
these	
who have uttered this august thing? They aren't anything like	
heroines, ⁵⁹ are they?	315
soc. Not in the least: they're heavenly Clouds, great goddesses	
for idle men,	
who provide us with notions and dialectic and mind,	
and marvel-telling and circumlocution and striking and seizing.60	
STREP. That's why, on hearing their utterance, my soul is taking	
flight,	
and it already seeks to speak subtly and to quibble about smoke,	320
to oppose a speech with another speech by pricking a notion with a	
sharper notion.	
So if it's somehow possible, I desire to see them now clearly	
apparent.	
soc. Look over here toward Parnes. ⁶¹ For I already see them	
quietly descending.	
[The Chorus of Clouds begins to enter from the side entrance.]	
STREP. Where? Show me.	
SOC. Quite many are coming	
through the hollows and the thickets—there, at the side.	
STREP. [peering]. What's the matter?	325
I don't see them.	

⁵⁷The Chorus refers to the Eleusinian Mysteries celebrated at Athens and famous throughout Greece. See Apology n. 80 on Triptolemus.

58"Bromius" is Dionysus. These last three lines of the song refer to the comic and tragic

poetry contests held in the spring at Athens in honor of Dionysus.

⁵⁹The terms "hero" and "heroine" were popularly applied to the outstanding protagonists in the Trojan and Theban wars described in poetry. As descendants of gods, they were held in great respect. Cf. Apology n. 48.

60These four terms are technical jargon from current rhetorical theory. The precise meaning of "striking" and "seizing" is unknown.

61Parnes: a mountain in Attica.

By the entrance! Now I do, but just barely. STREP. [The Chorus of twenty-four Clouds is now fully on stage.] soc. By now you must see them, unless your eyes are oozing pumpkins.

SOC.

STREP. By Zeus, I do. O much-honored ones! They're already covering the whole place.

soc. But did you neither know nor believe that they are goddesses?

STREP. No, by Zeus. I held them to be mist and dew and smoke. soc. Then you don't know, by Zeus, that they nourish most of the sophists,

Thurian diviners,62 practicers of the art of medicine, idle-longhaired-onyx-ring-wearers.⁶³

Song-modulators of circling choruses—men who are impostors about the things aloft—

idle do-nothings they nourish too, because they make poetry and music about these Clouds.64

STREP. This is why poets have composed "twisting-radiant burning impetus of wet clouds,"

and "tresses of hundred-headed Typhus"65 and "hard-blowing tempests";

and then, "air-swimming, crooked-clawed birds of the liquid aire." and "rains of waters from dewy clouds." And then, in return for making these phrases, they gulp down

slices of great good fish and birds' flesh of thrushes.

soc. That's why, of course. And isn't it just?

Tell me, what's happened to them STREP. (if in fact they truly are clouds), that they are like mortal women? For those in the sky are not such as these.

Well, what sorts of things are those? SOC. STREP. I don't plainly know. Anyway, they're like spread-out

wool,

not women, by Zeus, not at all. These have noses.

62The founding of the Greek colony of Thurii in southern Italy in 443 would have provided an occasion for divinations and prophecy, much of it no doubt fraudulent.

63This word (sphragidonychargokomētai), coined by the poet, means "foppish, sophisticated intellectuals and aesthetes."

⁶⁴This and the preceding line refer to poets of dithyrambs, a form of lyric poetry sung by choruses at public contests.

65Typhus, son of Earth, was buried beneath the earth and generated storm winds (Hesiod, Theogony 820-880). His "tresses" must be clouds. Strepsiades is recalling snatches of dithyrambic poetry that speak metaphorically of clouds.

330

335

340

SOC.

Now answer whatever I ask.

Say quickly what you wish. STREP.

SOC. While looking upward have you ever seen a cloud like a centaur

or leopard or wolf or bull?

By Zeus, I have. What about it? STREP.

SOC. They become all things that they wish. And so if they see a long-hair,

one of those shaggy "rustics," like the son of Xenophantus,

they mock his madness and make themselves look like centaurs.66

STREP. What if they catch sight of Simon, 67 a plunderer of public property: what do they do?

SOC. They make his nature apparent by suddenly becoming wolves.

STREP. That's it, then—that's why yesterday, when they saw Cleonymus, who abandoned his shield in battle,

they became deer because of seeing this great coward.⁶⁸

SOC. [gesturing to the Chorus]. Yes, and now, you see, they've become women because they saw Cleisthenes.⁶⁹

STREP. Then hail, Ladies! And now, if you ever do so for anyone

for me too let your voice burst forth the length of heaven, O queens of all!

CHORUS [the leading Cloud speaks for the Chorus].

Hail, elderly man born long ago, hunter of Muse-loving speeches.

And you, priest of subtlest babble, tell us what you want.

For we wouldn't listen to anyone else of those who are now sophists-of-the-things-aloft

except for Prodicus: to him because of his wisdom and judgment, to you

because you swagger in the streets and cast your eyes from side to side,

66"Rustics" is slang for homosexuals. The son of Xenophantus may be Hieronymus, a foppish dithyrambic poet of no particular merit. Centaurs were mythical creatures—half-man, half-beast, shaggy and rustic in appearance—that indulged their heterosexual and homosexual appetites shamelessly.

⁶⁷Simon is otherwise unknown, except that he was also a perjurer (line 399).

⁶⁸Cleonymus, apparently cowardly and poor (line 675), was frequently ridiculed by

Aristophanes. The deer is proverbially timid.

⁶⁹Cleisthenes, a notorious homosexual, was effeminate in appearance, apparently being unable to grow a beard. He appears as a character in Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazusae 574-654 and is ridiculed in several other plays.

and barefooted you endure many evils and put on a solemn face for us.

STREP. O Earth, what a voice! How sacred and august and portentous!

soc. Yes, for they alone are goddesses; everything else is drivel STREP. Come now, by the Earth, isn't Olympian Zeus a god for

soc. What Zeus! Don't babble. Zeus doesn't even exist. STREP. What are you saying?

Who makes it rain? First of all make this apparent to me.

soc. [indicating the Clouds].

345

350

355

360

They do, of course. I'll teach it to you by great signs.

Come, where have you ever beheld it raining without clouds?

Yet Zeus should be able to make it rain in the clear air by himself, while they are away.

STREP. By Apollo, you've certainly clinched that by your present argument.

Yet before, I supposed that in truth Zeus was pissing through a

But tell me who it is that thunders—which makes me tremble.

soc. They thunder, as they roll.

In what way, you all-daring man? STREP.

soc. When they are filled up with much water and are compelled⁷⁰

to be borne along by necessity, hanging down full of rain, then they heavily fall into each other, bursting and clapping.

STREP. And who is it that compels them to be borne along? Isn't it Zeus?

soc. Not in the least. It's ethereal vortex.

Vortex? I hadn't noticed that

Zeus doesn't exist, and that instead of him Vortex is now king.71 But you haven't yet taught me anything about the clapping and the thunder.

soc. Didn't you hear me say that the clouds full of water fall into each other and clap because of their density?

STREP. Come, how am I to trust this?

70The word "compel" (here and 379) is literally "necessitate." Socrates' explanation of rain (and thunder: 405) in terms of necessity indicates his deterministic view of the nature of the

71Strepsiades is thinking of the dethroning of Ouranos by Kronos, and of Kronos by Zeus (see Euthyphro 6a). He thinks that Zeus (Dios in the genitive) has been overthrown by Vortex or Whirl (Dinos).

370

375

380

soc. I wi	Il teach you from yourself. 38	5
Have you ever been filled up with stew	at the Panathenaea,72 and	
then your belly was stirred up,		
and suddenly an agitation rumbled thr	ough it?	
STREP. Yes, by Apollo, right away it	acts terribly and it's been	
stirred up in me;		
the stew claps just like thunder and cla	amors terribly:	
softly at first, "pappax, pappax,"	and then it leads to	
"papapappax,"	39	0
and when I crap, it absolutely thunder	rs, <u>"</u> papapappax," just like	
them.	, seemen)	
SOC. Then consider, since you have	farted so much from such a	
little belly,	And the second s	
[gesturing toward the sky] isn't it likely the	at this air, being boundless,	
should thunder greatly?		
STREP. So that's also why the names	"thunder" and "fart" are	
similar to each other. ⁷³		
But teach me where the thunderbolt, b	right with fire, comes from, 39)5
which burns us to ashes when it strike	es, and scorches the living.	
For it is apparent indeed that Zeus hu	rls it at perjurers.	
SOC. You fool, smelling of the age	of Kronos, ⁷⁴ you're out of	
date.		
If in fact he strikes perjurers, then how	is it that he didn't burn up	
Simon		
or Cleonymus or Theorus? ⁷⁵ Yet they	are vehement perjurers. 40	Ю
But he strikes his own temple and Su	inium, the cape of Athens,	
and tall oak trees. Why? An oak, at l	east, doesn't perjure itself.	
STREP. I don't know. But you appear	to speak well. Then what is	
the thunderbolt?		
soc. Whenever a dry wind is raised	aloft and gets shut up into	
these clouds,		
•		

72The Panathenaic festival was held annually in honor of Athena, the patron goddess of Athens. A procession to the acropolis (see line 69), sacrifices (that is, a feast), and games were held. See *Euthyphro* n. 24.

73"Thunder" is *brontē*, "fart" is *pordē*. *Brontē* may have been pronounced *borntē*; otherwise

the wordplay is forced, which may be the point. Dover and most manuscripts assign line 394 to Socrates (K. J. Dover, ed., Aristophanes, *Clouds* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968]); we follow the other manuscripts and Leonard Woodbury, "Strepsiades' Understanding: Five Notes on the *Clouds*," *Phoenix* 34 (1980), 112.

⁷⁴Kronos, who ruled the gods before Zeus (n. 71), was a byword for "old fashioned." The belief that Zeus punishes perjurers (those who violate their solemn oaths in court) was an old tradition.

75Simon and Cleonymus were mentioned at lines 351 and 353. Theorus is represented in Aristophanes' Wasps (42–45, 418–419) as a flatterer.

it puffs them up inside like a bladder; then by necessity it bursts them and goes rapidly outside because of its density, and by its rushing and impetus it itself kindles itself. STREP. Yes, by Zeus! At any rate, this is just what happened to me once at the Diasia. 76 I was roasting a thick sausage for my kinfolk, and I carelessly failed to slit it:	405
it got puffed up and, suddenly breaking open,	410
it spattered my eyes with crap and burned my face.	η
CHORUS [addressing Strepsiades].	
O human being, desiring great wisdom from us,	
how happy you will become among Athenians and the Greeks!—	÷
if you have a good memory, and are a thinker, and have hard labor	
in your soul, and aren't wearied either by standing or walking,	415
and aren't too much annoyed when you shiver with cold, and have	
no desire to dine,	
and keep away from wine and gymnastics and the other mindless	
things,	
and believe that it is best (which is likely for a shrewd man) to win by being active and taking counsel and warring with your	
tongue.	
STREP. As for a solid soul and sleep-disturbing pondering,	420
and a thrifty, life-consuming belly that dines on bitter herbs,	420
have no care: as for these things, I would boldly offer to be forged	
on an anvil.	. 1
soc. Now won't you believe in no god but ours:	M. J. J.
this Chaos, and the Clouds, and the Tongue, these three?77	(78
STREP. I simply wouldn't converse with the others even if I	•
should meet them,	425
nor would I sacrifice or pour libations or offer incense to them.	
CHORUS. Now tell me boldly what we may do for you. For you	
won't fail to get it	
if you honor and admire us and seek to be shrewd.	
STREP. O Ladies, I beg of you then this one very little thing:	
to be the best speaker of the Greeks by a hundred stadia. ⁷⁸	430
CHORUS. This you will have from us, so that henceforth from	
now on	

⁷⁶The Diasia is a festival in honor of Zeus marked by family gatherings.

⁷⁷ Chaos: the word means "space" or "sky." In Hesiod Chaos is that which first comes into being, before all gods (*Theogony* 116). Tongue: Socrates refers to speech or the ability to speak well. When he names the three gods, he probably points to the sky, the Chorus, and his own mouth.

⁷⁸Stadia: a "stadium" is about one-ninth of a mile.

no one will win more proposals in the Assembly of the people than STREP. Don't speak to me of great proposals. For I have no desire for them. but only to twist justice enough to give my creditors the slip. CHORUS. Then you'll get what you yearn for, since you have no desire for great things. 435 Give yourself boldly to our ministers. STREP. I'll do this, trusting in you. For necessity weighs me down because of the koppa-horses and the marriage that has crushed So let them simply use me as they wish. I offer them this body of mine 440 to be beaten, to hunger, to thirst, to be squalid, to shiver with cold, to be flayed aliveif only I am going to escape my debts and be reputed by human beings to be a bold, glib-tongued, daring go-getter, 445 a stinking concocter of falsehoods, * a phrase-finding lawsuit shyster, a statute-book, a rattler, a fox, a sharpster, supple, ironic, slippery, boastful, a stinging, disgusting, twisting pest, 450 a cheater. If those who meet me call me these things, let them⁷⁹ simply do to me whatever they want. And if they wish, by Demeter, let them serve up a sausage 455 made out of me to the thinkers! CHORUS.80 This man has a mettle that is not without daring, but ready. [To Strepsiades.] Know that when you learn these things, from me 460 you will have glory among mortals the length of heaven. STREP. What will happen to me? CHORUS. For all time you will lead with me 465 a life most enviable of human beings.

⁷⁹"Them" refers to Socrates and his fellows in the thinkery (as also in lines 439–440). ⁸⁰Most manuscripts assign lines 457–462, 464–465, and 467–475 to Socrates. We follow all modern editors in assigning them to the Chorus.

STREP. But will *I* ever see this?

CHORUS. Yes, and consequently many will always be sitting at your gates wishing to consult and come to speak, taking counsel with you over affairs and indictments concerning many talents,81 things worthy of your wit. [To Socrates.] But attempt first to teach the elderly man whatever you're going to, and set his mind in motion, and try out his judgment. soc. Come then, describe your own way⁸² to me, so that when I know what sort it is, I may next bring novel devices to bear on you. STREP. What? Do you have it in mind, before the gods, to lay siege to me? soc. No, but I wish to ask you in brief whether you have a good memory. Yes, in two ways, by Zeus! STREP. If something is owed me, I have quite a memory; but if, miserably, I owe, I'm quite forgetful. soc. Do you have it in your nature to be a speaker? STREP. To be a speaker isn't in it, but to be a cheat is. soc. Then how will you be able to learn? STREP. Beautifully, have no care. soc. Come now, so that whenever I throw out something wise about the things aloft, you'll snatch it up right away. 490 STREP. What, then? Am I going to feed on wisdom like a dog? soc. This human being is unlearned and barbaric. I fear, elderly one, that you'll need blows. Come, let me see, what do you do if someone beats you? I let myself be beaten, and then, after holding on a little while, 83 I call the bystanders as witnesses: 495

81A "talent" is a large measure of silver, worth 6,000 drachmae.

then, again after waiting a moment, I bring a lawsuit.

^{82&}quot;Way" is *tropos*, meaning here "bent," "turn of mind," or "temperament" (same word in line 483). The point is that different pupils, having various natures, need different approaches.

approaches.

83To make a stronger case in court, Strepsiades lets himself suffer for a while.

137

SOC. [ready to take Strepsiades indoors for ins	struction].	
Come now, take off your cloak.		
	e some injustice? ⁸⁴	
soc. No, but it's the custom to enter stri		
STREP. But I'm not going in to search for		
soc. Take it off. Why are you being silly		
STREP. [taking off his cloak].	Tell me this, now: 50	00
If I am diligent and learn eagerly,		
which of the students will I resemble?		
soc. Your nature won't be any different	from Chaerephon's.86	
STREP. Oh me, miserably unhappy, I'll be	ecome half dead!	
soc. Stop chattering. Follow me and		05
hurry over here, quickly. [Leads him up to the		
STREP. First put a honey	-cake	
into my hands, for I fear		
going down inside, as if I were going into the		
soc. Go on! Why do you keep poking ab	out the door?	
[They enter the thinkery.]		
CHORUS. Go and farewell,	5	10
since you have this courage.		
[The door closes behind the two men.]		
May there be good fortune for this		
human being, because, proceeding		
into the depth of his age,		
he colors his own nature with matters	51	15
fit for those younger than he		
and toils at wisdom.		
[Parabasis. The leading Cloud comes forward	ard and addresses the	
audience.] ⁸⁸		

84Strepsiades thinks he is being stripped to be given a beating. "Stripped" here means only "without one's cloak"; he is being asked to remove his jacket, so to speak.

⁸⁵Athenian citizens had the right to search the houses of others for stolen goods, provided that they wore no clothing in which they could smuggle the articles in so as to pretend to discover them there.

86Chaerephon's "nature" was pale and gaunt.

⁸⁷The cave of Trophonius, located between Thebes and Delphi, was visited by those who wished to obtain oracles from the dead hero Trophonius. It was believed that the snakes that infested the cave could be appeared with honey-cakes.

⁸⁸The interlude that follows (to line 626) while Socrates is instructing Strepsiades indoors is called the *parabasis* ("digression"), in which the Chorus speaks directly to the audience. (Almost all of Aristophanes' comedies feature a parabasis.) Its first part (518–562) is delivered by the leading Cloud, through whom Aristophanes speaks in his own name and in the first person. This identification of Aristophanes with the Chorus in the *Clouds* is unique among his plays.

Spectators, to you I will freely speak out	
the truth, by Dionysus who nurtured me.	
As I would win ⁸⁹ and be believed wise,	520
so also, since I hold you to be shrewd spectators	,
and this to be the wisest of my comedies,	
I deemed it worthy that you first should taste afresh the one that provided me	ıt
the most work. At that time I retreated, worsted by vulgar mer	1.
although I didn't deserve it.90 For this, then, I blame you,	-7 525
the wise, for whose sake I busied myself over it.	J - J
But I will never voluntarily betray the shrewd among you.	
From the time when my Moderate Man and my Pederast	
were spoken of as best here by men whom it is pleasant even t	0
speak of, ⁹¹	
-that was when I was still a virgin and wasn't yet permitted to	0
have children;	530
I exposed it, but some other girl got it and took it up,	7,50
while you nobly nurtured and educated it ⁹² —	
from that time you have been keeping for me sworn pledges o	of
your judgment.	
So now, in the manner of Electra, this comedy	
has come seeking, if she is fortunate enough to find spectators so	o
wise:	535
she will recognize, if she sees it, the lock of her brother.93	333
So consider how moderate she is by nature: first,	
she has not come with a hanging leather phallus stitched on,	
thick and red at the top, to make little boys laugh;	
nor does she mock the bald-headed, nor dance the cordax;	540

89"Win": i.e., win the contest against the other two competing comedies. The three comedies presented at a festival were ranked by a panel of judges in order of merit.

⁹⁰Aristophanes is rebuking his audience for the bad reception it gave to the *Clouds* at its first performance (it placed third, i.e., last). Apparently he rewrote this first part of the parabasis (518–562) some time after the first presentation of the play (see nn. 96, 109).

⁹¹Aristophanes refers to the characters of the Banqueters, his first comedy, which is no

longer extant.

⁹²Aristophanes means that he was too young to produce plays ("children") in his own name, so, like a girl with an illegitimate baby, he willingly concealed his authorship (left it to die in an exposed place). Another "girl" (an older playwright) found it and the family "she" brought it to (the Athenian audience) has since fostered it.

⁹³In Aeschylus' *Choephorae* Electra longs for a sign of her lost brother Orestes. His return is heralded by a lock of his hair, which Electra discovers on the tomb of their father Agamemnon. Just as Electra hopes that Orestes will return and kill their mother, who had killed Agamemnon, so Aristophanes hopes that the wise spectators who approved the *Banqueters* will return to him and redeem the earlier defeat of the *Clouds* by granting the first prize to this second production. (The word "comedy" in Greek is feminine in gender.)

nor does the elderly man while speaking his words
beat whoever is present with his staff to hide poor jokes;
nor does she dart in holding torches or shout "Oh! Oh!"—
no, she has come trusting only in herself and her words. 94
And I, a man who is such a poet, am no long-hair, 95
nor do I seek to deceive you by leading in the same things two and
three times:
I always sophisticate by bringing in novel forms

not at all like one another—and all shrewd.

When Cleon⁹⁶ was greatest, I am the one who hit him in the belly and did not dare to jump on him again when he was down.

But they,⁹⁷ now that Hyperbolus⁹⁸ has given them a grip, are always trampling on him, the wretch, and his mother.

Eupolis,⁹⁹ the very first, dragged in his *Maricas*; being bad, he badly turned our *Knights* inside out, adding to it only a drunken hag for the sake of the cordax.

(Phrynichus¹⁰⁰ put her in a poem long before, for the sea-monster

Then Hermippus in turn wrote a poem against Hyperbolus, and now all the others are bashing away against Hyperbolus, imitating my images of the eels. 101
So whoever laughs at these, let him not delight in mine.
But if you enjoy me and these discoveries of mine, in times to come you will be reputed to think well.

⁹⁴In fact, of course, Aristophanes employs in the *Clouds* many of the low devices mentioned here, although less so than in his other comedies. The "cordax" is an undignified, perhaps licentious dance used in comedy.

95"Long-hair": see n. 63. The line has a second meaning if, as seems probable from ancient

evidence, Aristophanes was bald.

⁹⁶Cleon was a crude but powerful demagogue, the leading figure in Athenian politics for a time after Pericles' death (Thucydides III. 36–40, IV.21–22). He was "greatest" after the capture of the Spartans at Pylos (n. 39), when Aristophanes attacked him strongly in his *Knights*. His preeminence in Athens ended when he was killed in battle in 422 (Thucydides V.1–10), about a year after the first performance of the *Clouds*.

97"They" are Aristophanes' rival comic poets.

⁹⁸Hyperbolus was a demagogue, prominent in Athens after Cleon, and even more vulgar than his predecessor. The line means, "once Hyperbolus opened himself to criticism by his deplorable actions, my rivals started attacking him without restraint."

⁹⁹Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes were the three leading comic poets of the age

(Horace, Satires I.4.1).

100Phrynichus, another rival poet (somewhat older than Aristophanes, like Hermippus, next line) wrote a comedy which apparently parodied the legend of Andromeda, a beautiful girl threatened by a sea-monster.

101In his Knights (864) Aristophanes compared Cleon to eel-catchers, who stir up mud in

order to increase their catch.

[Ode, sung by the Chorus.]	
Lofty guardian, great	[Strophe.]
Zeus, tyrant ¹⁰² of gods,	
I first call upon to join the Chorus;	565
and the great-strengthed director of the trident,	
wild heaver of	
earth and salty sea; ¹⁰³	
and our great-named father,	
Aether most revered, life-nurturer of all;	570
and the steerer of horses, 104 who	
covers with rays exceedingly bright	
the plain of earth, a daimon great	
among gods and mortals.	
[Epirrhema. 105 The leading Cloud again speaks to the audience	œ.]
O most wise spectators, apply your minds,	575
for we have been done injustice and blame you to your	faces.
For although we of all gods benefit the city most,	
to us alone of daimons you do not sacrifice or pour liba	itions—
we who watch over you. If there is ever some mindless	
expedition, then we thunder or drizzle. 106	580
Further, when you were about to choose as general the	enemy of
gods,	
the Paphlagonian tanner, 107 we drew our eyebrows tog	ether
and sent forth terrible things; thunder burst through	lightning;
the moon was abandoning her courses; and the sun	
quickly drew his wick back into himself, 108	585
declaring that he would not appear for you if Cleon v	vere to be
general.	
Nevertheless, you chose him. They say that bad counse	el .
belongs to this city, but that the gods,	
whenever you go wrong, turn it to the better.	

¹⁰²The term "tyrant" is not always as strongly disparaging as it sounds in English, although it certainly conveys the notion of illegitimacy or usurpation. (Consider what Zeus did to his father: *Euthyphro* 5e–6a and note).

¹⁰³Poseidon.

550

555

560

¹⁰⁴Helios, the sun, was represented as a charioteer guiding his horses across the sky.

¹⁰⁵This section of the parabasis is called the epirrhema, "afterword" (575–594). The leading Cloud now speaks on behalf of the Clouds as goddesses.

¹⁰⁶The Clouds claim that they warn the Athenians against foolish military campaigns in their war with Sparta. The Greeks took rain as an inauspicious sign.

¹⁰⁷The "Paphlagonian tanner" is Cleon, who was the son of a tanner and was presented in the *Knights* as a slave from Paphlagonia, a barbaric region of Asia Minor.

108I.e., the stormy weather obscured the moon and sun.

And that this 109 too will be profitable, we will easily teach you. 590 If you convict the vulture Cleon of taking bribes and of stealing, and then muzzle his neck in the stocks, you will again find, as in the old days, that even if you did go wrong somewhat, the affair will turn out to the better for the city. [Antode, sung by the Chorus.]110 Further, come to me, lord Phoebus, [Antistrophe.] 595 Delian one, holding the lofty-horned Cynthian rock;111 and you, blessed one, who hold the all-golden house of Ephesus, wherein Lydian maids greatly revere you;¹¹² and our local goddess, aegis-driving Athena, protector of the city; and you who hold the rock Parnassus and blaze with pine-torches, conspicuous among the Delphic Bacchants, 605 reveler Dionysus. 113 [Antepirrhema. Spoken by the leading Cloud.] When we were preparing to start on our way here, the Moon happened to meet us and enjoined us first to greet the Athenians and their allies. Next she declared she was angry and had suffered terrible things, 610 although she has benefited all of you, not in words, but manifestly. First, thanks to her, you save no less than a drachma each month for torches. so that everyone, as he is going out in the evening, says,

109"This" is the election of Cleon as general. The fact that Cleon is spoken of here as alive indicates that the epirrhema remains as it stood in the play's original version (see n. 90). Scholars therefore doubt whether Aristophanes ever completed his revision and whether the play was ever performed a second time at a major festival.

"Don't buy a torch, boy, the moon's light is beautiful."

110 This antode ("song answering an ode") continues the ode of 563-574, as the antepirrhema

that follows it continues the epirrhema.

111"Phoebus" is Apollo; Delos is the island sacred to him, on which was found a rocky height called Cynthus.

112The reference is to Artemis, whose worship centered at Ephesus, a Greek city on the coast of Asia Minor. Artemis of Ephesus was highly regarded in Lydia, a non-Greek inland country to the east of Ephesus.

113Parnassus is the mountain facing Delphi, site of the oracle of Apollo. For three months of the year this region was given over to Dionysus and to the revels of his female worshippers, the Bacchants.

She says she does other good things for you, and yet you do not keep the days 615 at all correctly;114 you wreak confusion up and down, so that the gods, she says, threaten her each time they are cheated of their dinner and go home without getting the feast appropriate to a reckoning of the days. So whenever you should be sacrificing, you are inflicting tortures¹¹⁵ and contesting lawsuits: 620 and often when we gods are keeping a fast, lamenting Memnon or Sarpedon, 116 you are pouring libations and laughing. In return for this, Hyperbolus, chosen by lot this year to be the Sacred Recorder, was stripped of his crown by us gods. 117 Thus he will know better 625 that he ought to keep the days of his life according to the moon. [The Chorus now retires from center stage. In the choral interlude an indefinite length of time has passed, during which Strepsiades has been receiving instruction indoors. Socrates now enters from the thinkery.] soc. By Respiration, by the Chaos, by the Air!118 Nowhere have I seen a man so rustic, so resourceless, so dull, so forgetful that he has forgotten the petty little quibbles he was learning 630 before he learned them! Nevertheless I'll call him outdoors here to the light. [Calling into the thinkery.] Where's Strepsiades? Come out and bring your bed. STREP. [emerging with a flea-infested mattress and blanket]. But the bugs won't let me carry it out. soc. Hurry up, put it down and apply your mind. STREP. [sets down the bed and edges away from it]. There! 635

¹¹⁴The Greek calendar year was shorter than the solar year by about eleven days. Hence the time of year when a given month might fall varied considerably, since every few years an extra month had to be inserted into the calendar to restore the months to their proper seasons. So the festivals, at which sacrifices were presented to the gods, never took place at exactly the same seasonal time from one year to the next.

115The Athenians permitted the torture of slaves in the gathering of evidence for trials. 116Memnon, the son of Dawn, and Sarpedon, the son of Zeus, were killed at Troy (Pindar,

Pythian Ode VI.28-42; Homer, Iliad XVI.463-526).

118Socrates swears here by three "gods" all of whom seem to be equivalent to air.

¹¹⁷A "Sacred Recorder" was sent from various Greek cities to the Amphictionic council, which oversaw the management of the Delphic oracle and other sacred matters. How Hyperbolus lost his badge of office, the wreath, is unclear. He may have been removed from office; or perhaps the Clouds mean that the wind literally blew the wreath off.

soc. Come now, what do you first wish to learn now of the things that you've never been taught at all? Tell me: about meters, or about words, or rhythms? STREP. Meters¹¹⁹ for me. For lately I was swindled of two quarts by a barley-meal huckster. soc. I'm not asking you that, but which you believe is the most beautiful meter, the trimeter or the tetrameter?¹²⁰ STREP. To me, nothing is preferable to a half-sixth. 121 soc. You're speaking nonsense, fellow. 122 STREP. Now make me a bet that a tetrameter is not a half-sixth. 645 SOC. To the crows! How rustic you are and poor at learning! Perhaps you would be able to learn about rhythms. STREP. But how will rhythms benefit me in getting my barley? soc. First, they will make you elegant in company, an expert in what sort of rhythm is 650 "enoplion," and again, what sort is "dactylic." 123 STREP. "Dactylic?" By Zeus, I know that. SOC. Then tell me. STREP. [holding up his index finger]. What else but this finger? [He extends his middle finger in a vulgar gesture.] Before, when I was still a boy, like so. soc. You're crude and a dullard. No, you dreary man, I'm not, STREP. for I have no desire to learn any of these things. SOC. What, then? STREP. This! The most unjust speech! soc. But you must learn other things before that: what quadrupeds are correctly called males. STREP. I do know the males, if I'm not mad: 660 ram, goat, bull, dog, chicken.

119"Meters" is also the word for "measures."

122"Fellow": see Apology n. 49.

soc. Do you see what's happened to you? You call the female "chicken," in the same way as you do the male. STREP. Come now, how so?	
SOC. How? "Chicken" and "chicken strep. Yes, by Poseidon! Then what should I call them no soc. "Chickeness," and the other, "rooster." 124	
STREP. "Chickeness?" Well done, by the Air!	
In return for this teaching alone,	
I'll fill up your kneading-pan with a circle of barley meal.	/
soc. See, again, there's another one. You call "pan"	670
male when it's female. 125	
STREP. In what way?	
Am I calling "pan" male? SOC. Certainly.	
just as if you were to say "Cleonymos."	
STREP. How so? Tell me.	÷
soc. For you, "pan" (kardopos) amounts to the sam "Cleonymos."	e as
STREP. But, my good man, Cleonymos didn't even have a kr	read-
ing pan.	675
He kneaded his dough in a little round bowl. 126	
But what should I call it from now on?	
soc. What?	
"Panette" (<i>kardopē</i>), just as you say Sostratē. ¹²⁷	
STREP. "Panette," as female?	
soc. Yes, you're speaking correctly	
STREP. And that would be: "panette," "Cleonymē. 128	68o
soc. But furthermore, you must learn about names:	
which of them are male, and which are female.	
STREP. But I, at least, know the ones that are female.	
SOC. Then tell	me.
STREP. Lysilla, Philinna, Cleitagora, Demetria.	

¹²⁴The Greek word for chicken, *alektryon*, had a male variant in general use, *alektor*, here translated "rooster." But Socrates has to coin a word for female chicken, *alektryaina*, "chickeness."

125Some Greek nouns, such as "kneading pan" (*kardopos*), are feminine in gender but have a masculine ending in -os. The usual feminine ending for such nouns would be $-\bar{e}$.

126Strepsiades may understand the Greek of Socrates' previous sentence to say: "The same thing: for you, a kneading pan can belong to Cleonymos." Strepsiades is perhaps thereby reminded of Cleonymos' poverty (he cannot afford a kneading pan); the joke is unclear.

¹²⁷Sostratē: a common name for a woman.

¹²⁰These are poetic meters; Strepsiades thinks (or pretends to think) measures of quantity are meant.

¹²¹A "half-sixth" is equivalent to four quarts, the measure on which Strepsiades' next remark is based (the word tetrameter means "four-measure").

¹²³Enoplion ("warlike") is a stirring martial rhythm which some believe to be: -/---/-. Such a rhythm is sometimes employed, for example, in Sousa's marches. Dactylic ("finger"): each measure of this rhythm consists of a long and two shorts (----). For an account of these rhythms, see Dover, p. 180.

¹²⁸Strepsiades gives Cleonymos' name a feminine ending, probably alleging some effeminacy in him.

SOC. And what sorts of names are male? STREP. Ten thousand: Philoxenus, Milesias, Amynias. 129 SOC. But, villain, these aren't male. STREP. Aren't they male in our view? SOC. In no way, for how would you call Amynias if you met him? STREP. How? Like this: "Come here, come here, Amynia," 130 SOC. You see? You're calling Amynias a woman. STREP. Isn't it just, since she isn't serving in the army? But why am I learning things that we all know?	68 ₅
soc. For nothing, by Zeus!	
[Leading Strepsiades over to his bed, he pulls back the flea-bitten blanket and gestures to him to get in.] But lie down here— STREP. To do what? SOC. —and think out one of your own troubles. STREP. Oh no, I supplicate you, not there! But if I must lie down, let me think out these very things on the ground. SOC. There's no other way but this. STREP. [reluctantly gets into the bed and covers himself up]. Miserably unhappy me! Such a penalty I will pay to the bugs today! SOC. [song].	695
Think and examine: concentrate yourself in every way and spin yourself around. Swiftly, whenever you fall into perplexity, jump to another	700
thought of wit and keep sweet-spirited sleep away from your eyes. STREP. [he has been tossing and squirming under the bedclothes, and now lies silently for a moment, but suddenly cries out in pain]. Attatai! Attatai! SOC. What are you suffering? What ails you? STREP. [under the covers].	705

¹²⁹These three Athenians were probably known to be effeminate or homosexual. Philoxenus and Amynias are mentioned in the Wasps, Philoxenus as a passive homosexual, Amynias as a wealthy gambler who fell into poverty (74, 84, 1266). Amynias was one of Strepsiades' creditors (Clouds 31).

130Greek has a vocative case, used to address someone directly. The vocative of Amynias happens to end in -a, a typical feminine ending.

Wretched me, I'm perishing! From my couch the Corinthians¹³¹ are creeping out and biting me, 710 and devouring my sides, and drinking out my soul, and pulling out my balls, and digging through my anus, and destroying me! 715 soc. Now don't grieve too heavily. STREP. [still under the covers]. How can I not, when gone is my money, gone my complexion, gone my soul, gone my shoe, and further, besides these evils, 720 as I sing while I'm on watch, 132 I am almost gone! [Pause. Strepsiades settles down. Socrates waits for a moment, then soc. You there! What are you doing? Aren't you thinking? STREP. [sticking his head out]. Me? Yes, by Poseidon! And what did you think of, then? SOC. STREP. Whether anything will be left of me by the bugs! 725 soc. You will perish most evilly! But, my good man, I have already just perished! soc. You must not be soft, but cover yourself up; for you must discover an intellection abstractional 133 and fraudulent. [Covers him up again with the sheepskin blanket.] Oh me! If only someone would throw on me, instead of sheepskins, an abstracting notion! 730 [Pause.] soc. Come now, first I'll observe what he's doing. [To Strepsiades.] You there! Are you sleeping? STREP. [under the covers]. No, by Apollo, not I! soc. Have you got hold of anything?

¹³¹Corinth was fighting on the side of Sparta, and its army regularly ravaged Athenian territory. There is a pun on kores, bugs. This passage parodies Heracles' death throes in Sophocles, Trachiniae 1052-1057.

 $^{\hat{1}32}$ "To sing while on watch" may be an idiomatic expression meaning "to pass the time in

difficult or tedious circumstances."

133"An intellection abstractional": with a second meaning, "a cheating insight." Dover assigns this speech, which in the manuscripts is Socrates', to the Chorus.

STREP.	No, by Zeus, I certainly don't!	
SOC.	Nothing at all?	
STREP. [poking out his he	ad].	
Nothing but the dick in r	my right hand.	
soc. Won't you quic	ckly cover yourself up and think of	
something?		735
STREP. What about? Yo	u tell me this, Socrates.	
soc. You yourself first	discover and say what you wish.	
	n thousand times what I wish:	
about the interest, how I	can pay nobody back.	
soc. Go now, cover up	p, let your subtle thought loose;	740
think about your trouble	s in small parts,	
distinguishing and consi-	dering them correctly.	
STREP. [Under the blanke	et again, he is again beset by the bugs.]	
	Oh wretched me!	
soc. Keep still! And	if you're perplexed over any of your	
intellections,		
leave it, go away, then s	et your judgment back	
in motion again and wei	gh it up.	745
[Another long pause, Sudde	enly Strepsiades leaps out of bed.]	
STREP. O dearest Socra		
soc.	What, old man?	
	abstractional of the interest!	
soc. Display it.		
	ell me—	
SOC.	What?	
STREP. What if I should	d buy a Thessalian witch	750
and draw down the moo		750
close it up in a round fe		
like a mirror, 135 and the	honofit you?	
soc. How would this	Because	
STREP. if the moon would no lo		
I wouldn't have to pay l	hack the interest	
SOC.	Why?	755
	is lent out by the month.	,
soc Well done! But a	gain, I'll throw out another shrewd thing	
for you.	σ,	
134A Greek tradition had it t	hat witches of Thessaly could perform this feat (Gorgi	as 513a).

134A Greek tradition had it that witches of Thessaly could perform this feat (<i>Gorgius</i> 513a). 135Perhaps Strepsiades thinks of the moon as a mirror because he has learned that the
moon's light is a reflection of sunlight, as the pre-Socratic philosopher Empedocles taught
(Diels-Kranz, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, B42, 43).

1 dates clouds	147
If someone should indict you in a five-talent lawsuit, tell me how you would make it disappear. 136 STREP. How? How? I don't know. But it must be sought. SOC. Don't always coop up your judgment around yourself,	760
but slack your thought away into the air, like a beetle thread-tied by the foot. STREP. [after a pause]. I've discovered a most wise way of making the lawsuit disappear:	
you if agree with me yourself.	~ ()
SOC. What sort of thing is it? STREP. Have you ever seen that stone at the drug-dealers', the beautiful one, transparent, from which they kindle fire?	765
SOC. Are you speaking of a glass lens?	
STREP. I am. Come, what if I were to take it, while the scribe was writing down the indictment, and were to stand farther off, like this, toward the sun, and melt away the letters of my lawsuit? ¹³⁷ SOC. Wisely done, by the Graces! ¹³⁸	770
STREP. Oh me, how pleased I am that my five-talent lawsuit has been written off!	
soc. Come, quickly snatch up this one.	
STREP. What? SOC. If you were a defendant and were about to lose	775
because you had no witnesses present, how would you twist away from the lawsuit?	(5)
STREP. Most simply and easily. SOC. Then tell me.	
STREP. I am telling you. What if, while one lawsuit was still pending	
before mine was called, I would run away and hang myself? soc. You're talking nonsense.	780
STREP. I'm not, by the gods, since no one will bring a lawsuit against me if I'm dead.	
soc. You're talking foolishness. Go away. I won't teach you any more.	
STREP. Why? Do teach me, before the gods, Socrates!	
136To "make a lawsuit disappear" is a legal expression for quashing it. Strepsiades a	applies

the expression literally.

137The suit would have been entered on a wax tablet.

138Dwelling with the Muses, the Graces were goddesses of song and dance (Hesiod, *Theogony* 64). Swearing by the Graces was not common.

none of them has ever had his hair cut or oiled himself

Now go as quickly as possible and learn in my place.

or gone to a bath-house to wash. But you

are washing up my life as if I were dead. 144

STREP. By the Mist, you won't stay here any longer! Go and eat the pillars of Megacles! 140 815 PHEID. Daimonic man, what's the matter with you, father? Your mind isn't well, 141 by Olympian Zeus. STREP. See! See! "Olympian Zeus"! What foolishness! Believing in Zeus at your age! PHEID. Really! Why do you laugh at that? STREP. I was pondering 820 that you're a little child and think ancient things. [Motions to Pheidippides to come closer.] Nevertheless, come here so you'll know more, and I'll tell you a certain matter, and when you learn it, you'll be a man. But don't teach it to anyone! PHEID. [comes up next to him]. There. What is it? STREP. You swore just now by Zeus. 825 PHEID. I did. Do you see, then, how good it is to learn? STREP. There is no Zeus, Pheidippides. Who, then? PHEID. STREP. Vortex is king, having driven out Zeus. PHEID. Ugh! What are you babbling? Know that this is so! STREP. PHEID. Who says this? Socrates the Melian, 142 STREP. 830 and Chaerephon, who knows the footsteps of fleas. PHEID. Have you come into such great madness that you're persuaded by bilious men?¹⁴³ Hold your tongue and do not disparage men who are shrewd and intelligent: because of their thrift, 835

 $^{^{140}}$ I.e., go and beg for sustenance in the marble halls of your wealthy uncle Megacles. 141 "Your mind isn't well": literally, "you don't think well."

 $^{^{142}\}mbox{Diagoras}$ of Melos was a notoriously atheistic philosopher or poet. Hence Socrates is a "Melian."

¹⁴³In Greek medicine madness was sometimes attributed to an excess of bile.

¹⁴⁴I.e., you are squandering my livelihood as if I no longer needed it.

^{139&}quot;Aristocratic": literally "Coisyras," plural of Coisyra: see n. 10.

PHEID. What could someone learn from them that is of any use? STREP. Truly? Whatever is wise among human beings. And you will know yourself—how unlearned and dense you are. But wait here for me a little while. [Suddenly rushes back into the house.] PHEID. Oh me! What'll I do, my father's out of his wits!	840
Shall I take him to court and get him convicted of being out of his mind, or shall I announce his madness to the coffin-makers? ¹⁴⁵ [Strepsiades hurries out of the house, leading a slave holding a rooster and a hen.] STREP. Come, let me see. What do you believe this is? Tell me.	845
[Points to the rooster.] PHEID. A chicken.	
STREP. Beautiful! And what is this? [Pointing to the hen.] PHEID. A chicken.	
Not so, from now on. Call this one "chickeness" and that one "rooster." [Exit slave.] PHEID. "Chickeness"? Are these the shrewd things you learned when you went inside just now to the earth-born? 146	850
STREP. Yes, and many other things. But whatever I'd learn on each occasion I forgot right away because of the multitude of my years.	855
PHEID. Is that why you also lost your cloak? STREP. I didn't lose it, I thought it away. PHEID. And what did you do with your shoes, you mindless man?	<i>-</i>
STREP. Like Pericles, I lost them for something needful. 147 [He leads his son over to the thinkery; Pheidippides follows reluctantly.]	
But come, walk, let's go. After you obey your father, do wrong if you like. I know that I too once obeyed you, a lisping six-year-old. With the first obol I got for jury-duty, I bought you a little wagon at the Diasia. 148	860
PHEID. Verily, in time you will be indignant about these things. 145I.e., perhaps he is about to die.	865
746TL	**

Come here, come here, Socrates, [Knocks on the thinkery door.] come out! I'm bringing you this son of mine, I've persuaded him against his will. [Socrates comes out.] Yes, he's still a childling SOC. and isn't used to the baskets here. PHEID. [with casually incorrect enunciation]. You'd be properly used yourself if you were hung in a basket! STREP. To the crows! Are you rude to your teacher? soc. See there, "basket." How foolishly he uttered it, and with his lips loosely apart! How would he ever learn acquittal of a lawsuit or summons or persuasive puffery? 875 And yet Hyperbolus learned this for a talent. 149 STREP. Have no care, teach him. He's wise-spirited by nature. Even when he was a little boy—only so big he'd fashion houses and carve ships indoors and produce little leather wagons 880 and make frogs out of pomegranate peel-how does that seem to you? He's to learn those two speeches: the stronger, whatever it may be, and the weaker, which argues the unjust things and overturns the stronger. If not both, he's to learn at least the unjust one by every art. 885 soc. He'll learn them himself from the two speeches themselves; I will leave. STREP. Now remember this: he's to be able to speak against all the just things. "Socrates goes into the thinkery. Enter from the same door Just Speech, perhaps dressed in simple, old-fashioned clothing that is a little threadbare. JUST SPEECH¹⁵⁰ [calling into the open door]. Come out here! Show yourself to the spectators: you're so bold. 890 [Unjust Speech follows, perhaps foppishly and fashionably attired.]

STREP. It's well that you've obeyed.

¹⁴⁹I.e., if even the stupid Hyperbolus (n. 98) could learn forensic rhetoric (to be sure, with the help of an extremely large fee), there is hope for Pheidippides. Some editors take this line as proof that Socrates taught rhetoric for pay, but Socrates does not say that he himself taught

^{'150}Just Speech and Unjust Speech, personifications of two ways of speaking and ways of life, are called Stronger Speech and Weaker Speech in Dover's edition, contrary to the manuscripts.

something needful." (Plutarch, Pericles 22-23.)

¹⁴⁶The expression may mean only "stupid clods," but strictly speaking the "earth-born" are

later rendered account of the public money to Athens with the famous phrase, "spent for

the Giants who once stormed Olympus to overthrow the gods (Sommerstein, p. 202). 147 Pericles secretly bribed the Spartan king in 445 to withdraw his army from Attica. He

¹⁴⁸Diasia: see n. 76.

940

945

UNJUST SPEECH. Go wherever you want. For I'll destroy you much more by speaking among the many. JUST. You'll destroy me? Who are you?	
UNJUST. A speech.	
JUST. Yes, a weaker one.	
UNJUST. But I'll defeat you who claim to be stronger than I.	
JUST. By doing what wise thing?	895
UNJUST. By discovering novel notions.	75
JUST. Yes, these things are flourishing	
because of these mindless ones here. [Points to the audience.]	
UNJUST. No, they're wise.	
JUST. I'll destroy you badly.	
UNJUST. Tell me, by doing what?	
JUST. By speaking the just things.	900
UNJUST. I'll overturn them by speaking against them,	
for I quite deny that Justice 151 even exists.	
JUST. You deny that it exists?	
UNJUST. Yes, for come, where is it?	
JUST. With the gods.	7
UNJUST. If Justice exists, then why didn't Zeus	
perish when he bound his father? ¹⁵²	905
just. Ugh! This is the evil	, ,
that's spreading around. Give me a basin. 153	
UNJUST. You're an old fogy and out of tune.	
JUST. You're a pederast and shameless!	
UNJUST. You've spoken roses of me.	
just. You're ribald!	910
UNJUST. You crown me with lilies.	
JUST. And a parricide!	
UNJUST. You don't recognize that you're sprinkling me with gold.	
JUST. Before, this wasn't gold, but lead.	
UNJUST. But as it is now, this is adornment for me.	
just. You're too bold.	
UNJUST. And you are ancient.	915
JUST. Because of you, none of the lads	, ,
is willing to go to school.	
And someday the Athenians will recognize	
what sorts of things you teach the mindless.	

¹⁵¹ Justice here is *Dikē*, the goddess or idea. In Hesiod, *Works and Days* 256–262, she sits beside her father Zeus and tells him of men's injustices.

UNJUST. You're shamefully squalid.¹⁵⁴
JUST. And you are faring well, 920
although before, you were a beggar

although before, you were a beggar claiming to be Telephus the Mysian,

gnawing on the notions of Pandeletus

from your little pouch. 155

UNJUST. Oh, the wisdom that you've remembered! 925

JUST. Oh, the madness—yours and that of the city

which nourishes you

who harm the lads.

UNJUST [pointing to Pheidippides].

You won't teach him, you Kronos!

JUST. Yes I will, at least if he should be saved 930

and not just practice chattering. UNJUST [to Pheidippides].

Come here, and let him rave.

JUST. You'll weep if you lay a hand on him!

[With Just Speech and Unjust Speech about to come to blows, the leading

Cloud steps forward.

CHORUS. Stop your battling and raillery! But display,

[to Just Speech]

you, what you used to teach them in the past,

[to Unjust Speech]

and you, the novel education, so that he,

[indicating Pheidippides]

when he's heard you both speaking against each other,

may decide and go to school.

JUST. I'm willing to do this.

UNJUST. I too am willing.

CHORUS. Come, then, which one will speak first?

UNJUST. I'll let him.

And then, from whatever things he says,

I'll shoot him down with

novel phraselets and thoughts. 156

And in the end, if he keeps on muttering,

 154 I.e., Just Speech is so far out of favor in Athens that he has been reduced to the condition of a beggar.

¹⁵⁶The image is of a bow shooting arrows supplied by the words of his opponent.

¹⁵²See Euthyphro 6a and note for the story.

¹⁵³A basin: to vomit in.

¹⁵⁵Telephus, the king of Mysia (north of Lydia in Asia Minor), appeared disguised as a beggar in Euripides' *Telephus*. (The play has not survived.) Just Speech means that in the past Unjust Speech lived beggar-like off meager scraps of food in a pouch, and that the "scraps" were legalistic and sophistic quibbles. Pandeletus may have been a contemporary politician and informer.

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he'll be destroyed by my notions as if he were stung on his whole face and on both eyes by hornets!

CHORUS [Song].

Now let the two, trusting in their very shrewd

speeches and thoughts and

notion-coining ponderings, show which of them will be

manifestly better as they speak.

For now the whole hazard of wisdom is being risked here,

and about it there is a very great contest

among my friends.

[The leading Cloud addresses Just Speech.]

But you who crowned the elders with many upright habits,

utter forth your voice however you delight, and tell us your own nature.

[Strophe.]

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JUST. I will speak then of the ancient education as it was established

when I was flourishing, speaking the just things, and when moderation was believed in.

First, it was needful that no one hear a boy muttering a sound; next, that those from the same neighborhood walk on the streets here in good order

to the cithara teacher's, lightly clad, in a group, even if the snow came down like barley-meal.

Next, again, he used to teach them to learn a song by heart (standing with their thighs apart), 157

"Pallas, Terrible Sacker of Cities" or "A Far-Reaching Shout," 158 pitched to the harmony that their fathers handed down.

If anyone was ribald or added any modulation

of the sort they use nowadays

(those difficult modulations of Phrynis), 159

he would be thrashed and beaten with many blows, as one who would efface the Muses.

It was needful for the boys to keep their thighs covered while sitting at the gymnastic trainer's,

so as to show nothing cruel to those outside. 160

Next, again, when they stood up, they had to smooth the sand back again and be mindful

not to leave behind an image of puberty for their lovers.

At that time no boy would anoint himself below the navel,

so that dew and down bloomed on their private parts as on fruit.

Nor would he make up a soft voice and go to his lover,

he himself pandering himself with his eyes.

Nor was it allowed him at dinner to help himself to the radishes, nor to snatch dill or parsley from his elders,

nor to eat relishes, nor to giggle, nor to cross his legs.

UNJUST. Yes, ancient and Dipolia-like and full of grasshoppers and of Cecides and of the Buphonia!¹⁶¹

JUST. Yes, but these are the things

from which my education nurtured the men who fought at Marathon. 162

But *you* teach them now to bundle themselves up in their cloaks right away, ¹⁶³

so that I'm ready to choke whenever someone at the Panathenaea who ought to be dancing

holds his shield in front of his haunch, having no care for Tritogeneia. 164

[To Pheidippides.] In view of these things, lad, be bold and choose me, the stronger speech,

and you'll have knowledge of how to hate the marketplace and keep away from the baths;

and to be ashamed at shameful things and to be inflamed if anyone mocks you;

¹⁶⁰I.e., the sight of a boy's nakedness is a torment to his older male lovers, with whom Just Speech expresses a certain sympathy by using the word "cruel."

¹⁶¹The Dipolia was a festival honoring Zeus Polieus ("City-Guardian"), probably full of old-fashioned ritual. "Grasshoppers" was the name given to golden brooches used by Athenian men of the Marathon period to fasten up their long hair (Thucydides I.6.3). Cecides was an early dithyrambic poet. The Buphonia ("ox-slaying") was probably a part of the festival Dipolia.

¹⁶²Marathon, twenty-six miles from Athens, was the site of the famous battle at which the Athenians defeated the invading Persian army (490 B.C.). This victory was traditionally regarded as the peak of ancient Athenian valor.

¹⁶³I.e., they are unable to endure cold even for a moment.

164"At the Panathenaic festival young men danced the famous Pyrrhic war dance, naked and armed only with helmet and shield. But the youth who had always been 'coddled' in cloaks found his shield more useful to keep his abdomen warm than to brandish in warriorfashion. [It also required a strong arm to hold the shield out from the body during the vigorous dance.] This was neglectful of the honor of Athena the war-goddess, Tritogeneia." Quoted from Lewis L. Forman's edition of the Clouds (New York: American Book, 1915), p. 179.

 $^{^{157}}$ Holding the thighs together was apparently regarded as an unseemly or girlish posture. 158 These are probably the first words of ancient Athenian patriotic and warlike songs.

¹⁵⁹Phrynis was a musician whose musical innovations were already introduced before Aristophanes was born.

and to stand up from your seat for your elders when they approach, and not to misbehave toward your own parents; and not to do anything shameful that would tarnish the statue of Awe;¹⁶⁵ 995 and not to dart into a dancing girl's house, lest you be broken off from your good fame by being hit with a fruit by a whore 166 while gaping at the things there; and not to talk back to your father at all, and not maliciously to remind him, by calling him "Iapetus," 167 of the age when he nourished you as a nestling. UNJUST. If you obey him in these things, lad, by Dionysus, 1000 You'll be like the sons of Hippocrates and they'll call you "honeymama"!168 JUST. Yes, but you'll pass your time in the gymnasium, sleek and flourishing, not mouthing prickly perversities in the marketplace as they do nowadays, and you won't be dragged into court over a greedy, contradicting, shystering, petty affair. Rather, you'll go down to the Academy¹⁶⁹ and run under the sacred olive trees 1005 with a moderate youth of your own age; you'll be crowned with a wreath of white reed. smelling of yew and of leisure and of the white poplar shedding its leaves. and in the season of spring you'll delight whenever the plane tree whispers to the elm. If you do these things that I tell you and pay mind to them, 1010 you will always have a sleek chest, bright complexion, large shoulders, slender tongue,

¹⁶⁵I.e., do not disgrace the goddess Awe (*Aidōs*), mentioned in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 200, and probably frequently represented as a statue.

¹⁶⁶It is thought that girls sometimes indicated their willingness to be seduced by tossing a

man a piece of fruit.

¹⁶⁷Iapetus, the brother of Kronos, is another name for "old fogy."

¹⁶⁸The sons of Hippocrates were apparently regarded as simpletons. The expression "honey-mama" alludes to a child's begging for sweets.

¹⁶⁹The Academy was a public park and gymnasium located outside the city walls, later famous as the location of Plato's school.

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large buttocks, small penis. But if you pursue what they do nowadays, 1015 first you will have a pale complexion, small shoulders, narrow chest, big tongue, small buttocks, big haunch, long decree. [Pointing to Unjust Speech.] And he will persuade you to believe everything shameful 1020 is noble, and the noble is shameful. And besides this, he will fill you up with the pederasty of Antimachus! 170 CHORUS [song by the Clouds]. [To Just Speech.] O you who toil at nobly towering [Antistrophe.¹⁷¹] wisdom most glorious, 1025 what a pleasantly moderate bloom is upon your speeches! They were happy who lived back then with former men. [To Unjust Speech.] In view of these things, you who possess 1030 a conspicuously elegant Muse, you must say something novel, since that man is so well-reputed. [The leading Cloud addresses Unjust Speech.] You are likely to need terrific counsels against him if you are going to overthrow the man and not bring laughter onto yourself. 1035 UNJUST. In fact I have long been choking in my innards, and I've been desiring to confound all these things of his with opposing notions. For I've been called the weaker speech among the thinkers here because of this very thing: that I was the first to have it in mind to speak things opposed to these laws and to justice. 1040 And it is worth more than ten thousand staters¹⁷² to choose the weaker speeches and then to win. [To Pheidippides.] But consider how I'll refute the education he trusts in.

¹⁷⁰Antimachus: apparently a well-known homosexual; his name literally means "Against Battle" (i.e., "Pacifist").

 $^{^{171}\!\}mathrm{Antistrophe};$ corresponding to the strophe preceding Just Speech's oration.

¹⁷²A stater is a coin of substantial value.

1070

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He says, first, that he won't let you wash in warm water. [To Just Speech.] Yet by means of what notion do you blame warm baths? 1045 JUST. That they are most evil and make a man cowardly. UNJUST. Hold on! I've got you by the waisf right away, with no Tell me this too. Which of the children of Zeus do you believe is best in soul, tell me, and has performed the most labors? just. I judge no man to be better than Heracles. 1050 UNJUST. Where indeed have you ever seen cold baths of Heracles?173 And yet who was more courageous? These things, these are what make the bath-house full of youngsters chattering all day,

but the wrestling schools empty! UNJUST. Next, you blame spending time in the marketplace, but I

praise it. If it was villainous, Homer would never have made

Nestor an orator, 174 and all his wise men.

[To Pheidippides.]

From here I go back to the tongue, which he says the young should not practice, while *I* say they should. Again, he also says they should be moderate. These are two of the greatest evils.

[To Just Speech.]

For whom have you ever seen anything good happen to because of being moderate? Speak up, and refute me by telling whom.

JUST. There are many. Peleus, at any rate, got his sword because of this. 175

UNIUST. A sword? A pretty gain the miserably unhappy man got!

¹⁷³Heracles was traditionally "a benefactor of mankind, a slayer of monsters, and the ideal of male courage, strength, and endurance" (Dover, p. 224). Natural hot springs were called "baths of Heracles." They were held to have been given to him as a gift from the gods.

174"Orator" is agorētēs, a word closely related to agora, which can mean not only "marketplace" but also "assembly." Nestor, a venerable old man, is called agorētēs in Iliad 1.248 and IV.293.

175Peleus once was a guest of Acastus. When Peleus repelled the advances of Acastus' wife, she accused him of trying to seduce her. Acastus thereupon contrived that Peleus would be left defenseless in a wilderness of wild beasts. But the god Hephaestus brought Peleus a sword, enabling him to escape the danger.

¹⁷⁶Hyperbolus, the demagogue mentioned at line 551, was originally in the business of manufacturing or selling lamps.

Hyperbolus of the lamp-market¹⁷⁶ got very many talents because of villainy—but no, by Zeus, no sword!

JUST. Yes, and Peleus also married Thetis because of his moderation. 177

UNJUST. Yes, and then she went off and abandoned him, for he wasn't hubristic

or pleasant to spend all night with in the bedclothes.

A woman delights in being treated wantonly. But you are a big Kronos.

[To Pheidippides.]

1055

1060

For consider, lad, all that moderation involves, and how many pleasures you're going to be deprived of: boys, women, cottabus, ¹⁷⁸ relishes, drinking, boisterous laughter. Yet what is living worth to you if you're deprived of these things? Well, then. From here I go on to the necessities of nature.

You've done wrong, fallen in love, committed some adultery, and then you've been caught.

You're ruined, for you're unable to speak. But if you consort with

then use your nature, leap, laugh, believe that nothing is shameful! For if you happen to be caught as an adulterer, you'll reply to

that you've done him no injustice. Then you'll refer him to Zeus, how "even he was worsted by love and women; yet how could you, a mortal, be greater than a god?" JUST [to Unjust Speech].

But what if he has a radish stuck up his rear end and has his hair plucked out with hot ash because he obeys you?¹⁸⁰

By what argument will he be able to say that he's not buggered?¹⁸¹ UNJUST. And if he's buggered, what evil will he suffer? JUST. What evil could he ever suffer still greater than this?

177The sea goddess Thetis was given by the gods as a wife to Peleus because of his virtues, according to Pindar, Isthmian Ode VIII. Peleus is particularly praised there for his reverence, but moderation is also mentioned (lines 27, 40). Their son was Achilles. There are several traditions about why Thetis deserted him, none having to do with sexual disappointment.

¹⁷⁸Cottabus was a popular game at Athenian banquets, requiring each person to toss the last drops of wine in his cup into a central basin without spilling any.

¹⁷⁹Him: i.e., the husband. The following three lines allude to the frequent stories in Greek poetry of Zeus's affairs with mortal and immortal women.

¹⁸⁰Such punishments were sometimes visited upon adulterers caught in the act.

181"Buggered" (eurypröktos: literally, "wide-anus") is literally descriptive of the punishment here described, but the term was commonly applied to passive homosexuals, who habitually submitted to buggery. Just Speech's point is that Pheidippides will be infamous if he follows Unjust's advice. Unjust refutes this in the lines following by showing him that all the famous men, in fact almost all Athenians, are infamous: "infamy" is perfectly compatible with a good reputation.

1085

UNJUST. What will you say if you're defeated by me on this point? JUST. I'll be silent. What else could I say? Come now, tell me, UNIUST. from what group come the public advocates? just. From the buggered. I'm persuaded. 1090 UNIUST. What then? From what group come the tragedians? just. From the buggered. You speak well. UNIUST. But from what group come the popular orators? JUST. From the buggered. Then surely UNIUST. you recognize that you're speaking nonsense? 1095 And among the spectators, consider which are the greater number. JUST [peering at the audience]. I am considering. UNIUST. What do you see, then? JUST. Many more, by the gods, who are buggered! [Pointing to particular men in the audience*] Him, at any rate, I know, and that one, and him, with the long hair. 1100 UNJUST. Then what will you say? IUST. We've been worsted! [Flinging his cloak into the audience, he addresses the spectators.] You debauchees! Before the gods, receive my cloak, 182 since I'm deserting to you! [He runs back into the thinkery, followed by Unjust Speech. Socrates comes out and addresses Strepsiades.] SOC. 183 What now? Do you wish to take your son here 1105 and lead him away, or shall I teach him to speak for you? STREP. Teach and punish him and remember to sharpen him up well for me: on the one side, sharpen his jaw for petty lawsuits, and on the other, for the greater matters. 1110 soc. Have no care, you'll take him back as a shrewd sophist. PHEID. No, but pale, I think, and miserably unhappy. soc. Let's go now.

 $^{182}\mathrm{A}$ soldier intending to desert to the enemy would discard his cloak, which may have served as a uniform or as identification.

 183 Contrary to the manuscripts, Dover assigns lines 1105–6 and 1111 to Unjust Speech, and lines 1113–14 to the Chorus.

PHEID. I think that you'll regret these things. [Socrates retires into the thinkery with Phéidippides for his further instruction; Strepsiades goes into his house. The Chorus comes forward for its second parabasis, delivered to the audience by the leading Cloud.] What the judges¹⁸⁴ will gain if they justly grant this Chorus 1115 a certain benefit, we wish to tell. First, if you wish to plow your fields in season, we will rain for you first, for the others later. Next, we will guard the vines when they are bearing fruit, so that neither drought nor too much rain will weigh them down. 1120 But if someone who is mortal dishonors us who are goddesses, let him apply his mind to the sorts of evils he will suffer from us. He will get neither wine nor anything else from his land, for whenever his olives and grapes are budding, they will be knocked off. With such slings we will strike. 1125 If we see him making bricks, we will rain, 185 and we will shatter the tile of his roof with round hailstones. And if he himself or any of his kinsmen or friends ever get married, we will rain all night, 186 so that he will perhaps wish that he happened to be even in Egypt¹⁸⁷ rather than to judge

[The Chorus now retires from center stage. In this interlude an indefinite length of time has passed, during which Pheidippides has been receiving instruction indoors. Strepsiades comes out of his house and approaches the thinkery to call for his newly educated son. He is carrying a gift of some sort for Socrates, perhaps a sack of meal.]

STREP. Fifth, fourth, third, after this the second, then that day of all days which I have dreaded and shuddered at and loathed the most: right after this is the old and new. 188

185Bricks were made by drying blocks of mud in the sun.

¹⁸⁷Although Egypt is remote and its customs outlandish ("the country of the most ancient antiquity and of excessive piety": Strauss, p. 35), at least it hardly ever rains there.

¹⁸⁴A panel of judges ranked the comedies performed at a given festival in the order of their merit. The Clouds are demanding the first prize.

¹⁸⁶Much of the ceremony at Greek weddings was conducted outdoors, particularly the torchlight procession which accompanied the bride to her husband's house and the dancing that followed.

¹⁸⁸Strepsiades is counting off the last days of the month, the "twenties" (line 17), which were reckoned backwards. The penultimate day was the "second"; the last day was called the "old and new," and it was on this day that interest fell due. It was perhaps so called because during part of the day the moon was old and for the remaining part new.

For everyone whom I happen to owe says on oath that he will ruin and destroy me by putting down a deposit ¹⁸⁹ against me.	1135
While I am begging for due measure and just things ("You daimonic man, don't take this just now"; "Please postpone that"; "Let me off from the other"), they say they will never get it back this way: they rail at me for being unjust, and they say they will bring lawsuits against me. So now let them bring their lawsuits! Little do I care, if Pheidippides has in fact learned to speak well.	1140
But I'll soon know by knocking at the thinkery.	
[He knocks.]	
Boy, I say, boy! Boy!	
SOC. [opening the door]. I greet Strepsiades.	1145
STREP. And I you. But take this first.	
[He hands him the gift, which Socrates sets down inside.] For one should show admiration in some way for the teacher.	
And my son—tell me if he has learned that speech	
which you introduced just now.	
soc. He has learned it.	
STREP. Well done, O Fraud, queen of all!	1150
soc. So you may be acquitted of any lawsuit you wish.	
STREP. Even if witnesses were present when I took the loans?	
soc. So much the better, even if a thousand were present.	
STREP. Then I will shout an overstrained shout!	
Ho, weep, you moneylenders—	1155
you yourselves, and your principal, and interest on interest! 190	
For you won't do me any more dirt.	
Such a boy is nurtured for me in these halls here,	
brilliant with two-edged tongue,	1160
my bulwark, savior to our halls, to enemies a harm,	
surceaser of a father's great evils!	
[To Socrates.]	
Run and call him	-
to me from within!	
[Socrates goes inside to fetch Pheidippides; Strepsiades calls after him.]	

 $^{^{189}}$ A "deposit" was a sum of money paid to the city by the prosecutor on the first day of the new month to initiate a lawsuit; the deposit was forfeited if the suit was lost.

 190 The words for "principal" (archaia) and "interest" (tokoi) may also mean "ancestors" and "offspring."

My child, my boy, come out of the house! 1165 Hear your father!¹⁹¹ [Socrates and Pheidippides enter.] soc. Here is the man. STREP. [embracing him]. My dear, my dear! soc. Take him and depart. [He returns into the thinkery.] STREP. Ho, ho, my child! Oh, oh! 1170 How pleased I am, first, to see your complexion! Now you have, first, a negating and contradicting look, and the local color is simply blooming on you: the "what do you mean?" 192 and the reputation for suffering injustice when (I know!) you are doing injustice and working evil. 1175 And on your face is an Attic visage. So save me, now that you have ruined me. PHEID. What are you afraid of, then? The old and new. STREP. PHEID. Is "old and new" a certain day? STREP. Yes, it's the one on which they say they'll put down their deposits against me. 1180 PHEID. Then those who put them down will lose them again. For there is no way that one day could turn out to be two days. STREP. It couldn't? PHEID. How could it, unless, of course, the same woman could turn out to be old and young at once? STREP. And yet that is the law. That's because, I suppose, PHEID. 1185 they don't know correctly what the law has in mind. STREP. What does it have in mind? PHEID. Solon¹⁹³ of long ago was a friend to the people in his nature---STREP. Surely that has nothing to do with the old and new.

¹⁹¹These two lines parody Euripides, Hecuba 171-173. Hecuba is calling to her daughter Polyxena so she can announce to her that the Greeks, who have conquered Troy, have decreed that Polyxena must die as a sacrifice to the dead Achilles.

192"What do you mean?" (literally, "what are you saying?"): uttered contentiously, the question challenges and disputes anything said by anyone. The "local color" of the previous line probably refers to a pale complexion from time spent studying indoors.

¹⁹³Solon was a famous Athenian statesman of the late sixth century B.C. He reformed the constitution by abolishing serfdom, by dividing the citizenry into four classes based on wealth rather than descent, and by granting to the common people some political authority.

1220

PHEID.—so he put the summons into two days, into the old and into the new 1190 so that the deposits would occur at the new moon. STREP. Then why did he add the old? So that the defendants, my dear man, PHEID. by being present one day beforehand, might be voluntarily released. Or if not, so that they might be distressed on the morning of the new moon. 194 1195 STREP. Then why don't the officials receive the deposits at the new moon instead of on the old and new?¹⁹⁵ PHEID. The same thing happens to them, it seems to me, as to the Foretasters: 196 they do their tasting one day earlier so that the deposits may be filched as quickly as possible. 1200 STREP. [to Pheidippides]. Well done! [To the spectators] You wretchedly unhappy ones, why do you sit there stupidly? You are the booty of us wise men, since you are stones, number, mere sheep, stacked-up jars. 197 Therefore I must sing an encomium to myself and to my son here upon our good fortune. 1205 [Sings.] "O blessed Strepsiades. your own nature-how wise! And such a son you are nurturing!" That's what my friends and demesmen will say in their envy when you win 1210 our lawsuits by your speaking! But I will take you inside, for I wish first to feast you.

¹⁹⁴Pheidippides is saying that the "old," the last day of the old month, must be different from the "new," the first day of the new month. By scheduling the summons one day before the suit could begin, Solon intended to encourage out-of-court settlements ("voluntarily

¹⁹⁵I.e., why do the officials take the deposits one day earlier than Solon's law intended? ¹⁹⁶Foretasters: public officials responsible for seeing to it that the food prepared for public festivals was satisfactory. Apparently they exercised their office on the day preceding the festival (Dover, p. 236).

¹⁹⁷The spectators, sitting in rows, one above another, must have looked like stacked jars from the stage.

[Father and son retire into the house for their feast. While they are dining, one of Strepsiades' creditors approaches, a fat man, bringing a witness with him, with whom he is conversing.]

CREDITOR. 198 What? Should a man give up any of his own belongings?

Never! It would have been better to blush at once

back then, than to have troubles now,

when for the sake of my own money

I am dragging you as a witness to my summons. 199 Besides, I'll also become

an enemy to a man who is a fellow demesman.

But never will I shame my fatherland²⁰⁰ while I live.

[In a loud voice.] I summon Strepsiades—

STREP. [opening the door and coming out]. Who's there?

CRED.—to the old and new.

STREP. [to the audience]. I call to witness

that he said two days.

[To the creditor.]

What's the matter?

CRED. It's about the twelve minae you got when you bought the dappled horse.

STREP. [to the audience].

A horse? Don't you hear?

1225

1230

All of you know I hate horsemanship!

CRED. And by Zeus, you swore by the gods that you would give it back.

STREP. No, by Zeus, for then my Pheidippides hadn't yet gained knowledge of the unassailable speech.

CRED. Do you have in mind to deny it now because of this?

STREP. Yes, for what else would I get out of his learning?

CRED. And will you be willing to deny it on an oath by the gods wherever I bid you?²⁰¹

STREP. What gods indeed!

CRED. Zeus, Hermes, Poseidon.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸Some manuscripts identify this first creditor as Pasias (line 21).

¹⁹⁹In other words, "I should have suffered the shame of refusing him the loan in the first place, in order to spare myself the trouble I will now incur by bringing a lawsuit against a neighbor."

²⁰⁰He alludes to the Athenian addiction to litigation.

²⁰¹Oaths were felt to be more binding when sworn at an altar or sanctuary of the god in

²⁰²Probably Zeus as the chief god, Hermes as the god of commerce, and Poseidon as the god of horses.

	V 1 7	
STREP. and I'd even put down a three-ob	Yes, by Zeus, pol piece besides, just to swear!	1235
CRED. May you perish someday	, then, for your lack of awe!	
STREP. [to the audience].	- milbod down with galt 203	
This man would profit from being		
CRED. Oh me! How you're ridic strep. [pointing to the belly].	uning me:	
STREP. [pointing to the belly].	There'll be room for six gallons.	
CRED. By great Zeus and the go	~	
you won't get away with this!	, do,	
	wondrously pleased by gods,	1240
and swearing by Zeus is laughable		, ,
CRED. Verily, in time you will p	pay the penalty for this!	
But before you send me away, ar	•	
whether you will give me back m		
STREP.	Keep quiet now,	
for I'll give you a plain answer in		1245
[He goes into his house.]	•	
CRED. [to the witness].	н,	
What does it seem to you he'll do	o? Does it seem to you that he'll	
give it back?		
[Before the witness can reply, Streps	iades comes out of the house with a	
kneading pan.]		
STREP. Where's the one who's	asking for his money?	
Tell me, what is this?		
ORED. What's this?		
STREP. And then you ask for m		
A wouldn't give back even an obc		1250
who would call a panette a "pan		
CRED. So you won't give it bacl		
STREP.	Not so far as I know.	
So won't you hurry up and quick	dy pack yoursen on	
from my door? CRED. I'm going. And kr	now this	
CRED. I'm going. And kr I'll put down a deposit, or may I		1255
[Creditor and witness stalk toward the	ne exit Strensiades calls after them.	*-))
STREE Then you'll throw that as	way too, in addition to the twelve	
minae!		
[Pretending condolence.]		
[2.2		

 $^{^{203}}$ Strepsiades is saying that he could make a good wineskin out of the creditor's belly; hides in tanning were thoroughly rubbed with salt.

Yet I don't wish for you to suffer this just because you foolishly called it "pan." [Creditor and witness depart. Strepsiades goes back into the house with his kneading pan. A second creditor enters limping.] 2ND CRED. Oh me! Me! STREP. [coming out]. Ho! Who ever is this who is lamenting? Surely it's not 1260 one of the daimons of Carcinus²⁰⁴ that gave utterance? 2ND CRED. What? Do you wish to know who I am? A miserably unhappy man. Then follow your path by yourself. STREP. 2ND CRED. O harsh daimon! O fortune, smashing the wheels of my horses! O Pallas, how you have ruined me! 1265 STREP. But what evil has Tlepolemus²⁰⁵ ever done you? 2ND CRED. Do not mock me, sir, but bid your son to give me back the money he got, especially since I've fared so badly. STREP. What money is this? That which he borrowed. 2ND CRED. 1270 STREP. Then you really are badly off, at least as it seems to me. 2ND CRED. Yes, I fell out of a chariot while I was driving horses, by the gods! STREP. Why are you babbling, as if you had fallen off an ass?²⁰⁶ 2ND CRED. Am I babbling if I wish to get my money back? STREP. There's no way you yourself²⁰⁷ could be in health. 2ND CRED. Why? 1275 STREP. You seem to me like one whose brain has been shaken. 2ND CRED. And you seem to me, by Hermes, about to receive a summons if you won't give back the money. Tell me now, do you believe that Zeus always rains fresh water on each occasion, or does the sun 1280 draw the same water back up from below?

 204 Strepsiades perhaps refers to a lamenting god in one of the tragedies of the poet Carcinus, none of whose works has survived.

²⁰⁵Xenocles, one of the sons of Carcinus, was also a tragic poet, and his lost *Licymnius* is thought to be the source of the creditor's lines 1264–1265. The tragic persona adopted by the creditor is Licymnius, an old man who was killed by his nephew Tlepolemus, a son of Heracles. The story is told in outline in *Iliad* II.653–670.

²⁰⁶A man who was *apo nou* (out of his mind) was said by the Greeks to have had a fall *ap'* onou (off an ass).

²⁰⁷I.e., you yourself in your mind (as opposed to your bodily injuries).

2ND CRED. I don't know which, nor do I care.		
STREP. How then is it just for you to get your money back		
if you know nothing of the matters aloft?		
2ND CRED. Well, if you're short, give me the interest on the		
money.	1285	
STREP. Interest? What beast is that?		
2ND CRED. What else but that the money always		
becomes more and more by month and by day		
as time flows along?		
STREP. Beautifully spoken.		
What then? Do you believe that there is more sea	1290	
now than before?		
2ND CRED. No, by Zeus, but equal,		
for it's not just for there to be more. 208		
STREP. Then how,		
you miserably unhappy man, does it become no		
more, though rivers flow into it, while you		
seek to make your money more?	1295	
Won't you prosecute yourself away from my house?		
[Calling into the house.]		
Bring me the goad!		
[A servant enters with an animal prod, then exits.]		
2ND CRED. [in a loud voice].		
I call for witnesses to this!		
STREP. [prodding him with the goad].		
Move on! What are you waiting for? Won't you ride on, you		
thoroughbred?		
2ND CRED. Is this not hubris indeed?		
STREP. [goading him across the stage].		
Will you pull? I'll prod		
and goad you in the ass, you tracehorse!	1300	
[Exit second creditor, at a run.]		
Do you flee? I was bound to get you moving		
with those wheels of yours and chariots!		
[Strepsiades returns to his house. While he finishes his interrupted feast,		
the Chorus comes forward and sings.] CHORUS.		
Such a thing it is to be in love with low matters! [Strophe.]		
For this old man, having fallen passionately in love,		
wishes to cheat them	1305	

 208 I.e., it is not the appropriate or normal conduct for the sea to increase its size.

		-		109
of the money he borrow	ved.			
And it must be				
that some matter will co	me upon			
this sophist today which	ı will make him			
suddenly come upon so	me evil for the kna	veries he has	begun.	1310
For I suppose he will pr	esently find just w	hat $[An]$	tistrophe.]	,
he was seeking long ago);		, -	
that his son is clever				
at speaking notions opp	osed			
to the just things, so as				1315
to defeat everyone, who	mever he			
associates with, even wh	ien he speaks			
all-villainous things. But	perhaps, perhaps			
he will even wish	- 1 · 1			
him to be voiceless.				1320
[Strepsiades bursts out of the	he house, still carryin	10 his tall drink	cino muo	2520
which he drops outside the	door.]	0		
STREP. Oh! Oh!	•			
O neighbors and kinsme	n and demesmen!			
Defend me with every as	rt: I'm being beater	ı!		
Oh me, miserably unhap				
[Pheidippides enters.]	r) viriy ricaci aria	, 444.		
Wretch, do you beat you	ır father?			
PHEID.	Yes, fathe	r		420 E
STREP. [to the audience].	res, fathe	1.		1325
Do you see him agreeing	that he bests mo?	209		
PHEID.	that he beats mer		_ تـ	
STREP. Wretch! Parricid	al Harrashyaaltaul	Certainly I	ao.	
PHEED Say again that I	e: Housebreaker:	1		
PHEID. Say again that I	am mese same mi	ngs and more	3,	
Do you know that I delig	gut in being called	many bad thi	ngs?	
STREP. You're hyper-bu	_ •	41		
PHEID,	Sprinkle m	e with many	roses!	1330
STREP.				
Do you beat your father?		, .		
PHEID. Yes, and	I will make it clear	ly apparent, l	by Zeus,	
that I was beating you w				
STREP.	Most wr	etched one,		
how could beating a fathe	r be with justice?	_		
PHEID. I will demonstra	ite it and defeat yo	u by speaking	3.	

 $^{^{209}}$ Father-beating was a serious crime, and Strepsiades calls on witnesses as though undertaking the first step of a lawsuit against his son.

1370

1375

1380

STREP. You will defeat me in this?	
PHEID. Yes, greatly and easily.	1335
But choose which of the two speeches you wish to be spoker	
STREP. What two speeches indeed!	
PHEID. The stronger or the wea	ıker.
STREP. I did teach you, by Zeus, my dear,	
Now to speak against the just things, if you are	
going to persuade me that it is just and noble	1340
for a father to be beaten by his sons.	
PHEID. I do suppose that I will persuade you, so that	
when you have heard it, not even you yourself will say	any-
thing against it.	
STREP. In fact, I do wish to hear what you will say.	
CHORUS [song, addressing Strepsiades].	
Your work, elderly one, is to give thought to how [Strop	phe.] 1345
you will overcome this man,	
since he would not be so unrestrained unless	
he were confident in something.	
But there is something by which he is *emboldened:	
the audacity of the man is clear.	1350
[The leading Cloud, to Strepsiades.]	
But you must now tell the Chorus out of what the fight first	
began to arise. (You will do this anyway.)	
STREP. All right, then, from where we first began to rail at	each
other,	
I will tell you. We were feasting, as you know,	
and first I bade him to take the lyre	1355
and sing a song of Simonides: "The Ram, How He Was Shorn	.′′210
Right away he said that it was old-fashioned to play the lyre	or of
and sing while drinking, just like a woman grinding barley.2	
PHEID. Yes, shouldn't you have been struck and trample	a on
right away back then	
when you bade me to sing, as if you were providing a feas	t for
grasshoppers? ²¹²	1360

²¹⁰The traditional lyric poet Simonides, a contemporary of Pindar and Aeschylus, lived during the Persian Wars. "The Ram, How He Was Shorn" apparently told of the defeat of a mighty wrestler called Crius ("Ram"). It was customary at old-fashioned Athenian banquets for a guest to accompany himself at singing one of the good old songs.

²¹¹Women often sing simple songs as they perform monotonous manual work.

STREP. Such are the things he was also saying then inside, just as he is now. He also declared that Simonides is a bad poet.

And at first I put up with him-with difficulty, but nevertheless I did.

Well, then I bade him to take a sprig of myrtle

and recite some verses from Aeschylus for me.213 And then right away he said,

"I believe Aeschylus is first among poets:

full of noise, incoherent, wordy, bombastic."

And then how do you suppose my heart swelled up!

Nevertheless I bit my spirit and said, "Well, recite something from one of these newer ones, whatever wise things are there."

Right away he sang some passages from Euripides, how

(defend us from evil!) a brother had intercourse with his sister from the same mother.²¹⁴

And I no longer put up with him, but right away I struck out at him with many bad and shameful names. And from there, as was likely.

we hurled word upon word at each other. Then he leaps on me, and then he was pounding and crushing and choking and batter-

PHEID. Wasn't it just, since you don't praise most wise Euripides?

STREP. Him most wise? You—what shall I call you?

But again, I'll be beaten again!

Yes, by Zeus, and it would be with justice. PHEID.

STREP. How could it be just? For I'm the one who nurtured you, O shameless one,

perceiving what you had in mind when you used to lisp everything.

If you'd say "bryn," I'd recognize it and offer you something to drink.

²¹³Apparently it was traditional for those who sang at banquets to do so with a branch of myrtle in the hand. Aeschylus was the old-fashioned tragedian. It was not usual to recite tragic poetry at banquets, but Strepsiades is compromising: Pheidippides does not have to sing lyric poetry if only he will recite good old Aeschylus.

²¹⁴The tragedy is Aeolus, of which only fragments survive. The incest was committed by Aeolus' children, Macareus and Canace. Strepsiades emphasizes "from the same mother" because Athenian law permitted marriage between children of the same father but different mothers. Euripides was regarded as a daring, unconventional, even atheistic poet (cf. Aristophanes' Frogs and Thesmophoriazusae 450-451).

²¹²Grasshoppers, according to legend, spend all their time singing and do not need to eat or drink (Phaedrus 259c). Perhaps there is an allusion to the old-fashioned "grasshoppers" of line 984.

And when you'd ask for "mamman," I'd come and bring bread to	
you. No sooner would you say "ca-ca" than I would take you through	
the door	
and carry you outside, holding you out in front of me. But now	O-
you, strangling me	1385
as I was shouting and crying out that	
I needed to crap, didn't have the decency	
to carry me outside, you wretch,	
through the door. Instead, while I was being choked,	
I made "ca-ca" right there!	1390
CHORUS [Song].	
I suppose that the hearts of the youths [Antistrophe. ²¹⁵]	
are leaping at what he will say.	
For if, having done such deeds as these,	
he persuades him by his chatter,	
I wouldn't even give a chick-pea for the	1395
skin of old men.	-
The leading Cloud addresses Pheidippides:]	
Your work, you mover and heaver of novel words,	
is to seek some way of persuasion so that you will seem to speak	
just things.	
PHEID. How pleasant it is to consort with novel and shrewd	
matters	
and to be able to look down on the established laws!	1400
For I, when I was applying my mind to horsemanship alone,	
couldn't even say three phrases before I went wrong.	
But now that he himself has made me stop these things	
[indicating the thinkery]	
and I am associating with subtle notions and speeches and	
ponderings,	
I do suppose that I will teach him that it is just to punish one's	
father.	1405
STREP. Then keep on with your horses, by Zeus, since it is better	
for me	
to nurture a four-horse team than to be beaten and battered!	
PHEID. I'll pursue that point of my speech where you interrupted	
me, and first I will ask you this: did you beat me when I was a boy?	
and more will ask you this, and you see you	

 215 This antistrophe, introducing Pheidippides' rebuttal, corresponds to the strophe preceding

ing Strepsiades' statement (1345-1350).

STREP. Yes, I did; I was well-intentioned and concerned for you. PHEID. Then tell me. 1410 isn't it also just for me likewise to be well-intentioned toward you and to beat you, since in fact to be well-intentioned is to beat? For why should your body be unchastised by blows, but not mine? And in fact I too was born free. 216 Children weep: does it seem fit to you that a father not weep?²¹⁷ 1415 You will say that it is the law that this is a boy's work, but I would say in return, "Old men are children twice." And it's more appropriate for the old to weep than the young, inasmuch as it's less just for them to do wrong. STREP. But nowhere is it the law that the father suffer this. 1420 PHEID. Wasn't he who first set down this law a man like you and me, and didn't he persuade those of long ago by speaking? Is it any less allowable for me too, then, to set down in turn for the future a novel law for sons to beat their fathers in return? As for the blows that we got before the law is set down, 1425 we dismiss them, and we give them our past thrashings gratis. Consider the chickens and the other beasts: they defend themselves against their fathers. Yet how do they differ from us, except that they do not write decrees? STREP. What then? Since you imitate the chickens in all things, 1430 won't you eat dung and sleep on a perch? PHEID. It's not the same, sir, and it wouldn't seem so to Socrates, either. STREP. In view of this, don't beat me. Otherwise you'll only have yourself to blame someday. PHEID. How so? Because it's just for me to punish you STREP. and for you to punish your son, if you have one. PHEID. But if I don't have one. 1435 I'll have wept in vain, and you'll have died with the laugh on me. STREP. [to the old men in the audience]. To me, O men of my age, he seems to speak just things,

²¹⁶A free man was permitted to strike his children, but it was forbidden for them to strike him (cf. n. 209). "Born" is *phyein*, related to *physis*, "nature."

²¹⁷This line is an adaptation of Euripides, *Alcestis* 691, where Pheres indignantly refuses to die in the place of his son Admetus, saying: "You delight in seeing the light: does it seem to you that a father does not delight?"

²¹⁸Them: the youth.

walls of Athens.

1/4 1041 16.65 621 20 621 16.65	
and to me at least, it also seems fitting to concede to them ²¹⁸ what is fair.	
For it's proper for us to weep if we do things that aren't just.	
PHEID. Consider yet another notion.	
No for I'll be ruined	1440
STREP. No, for the runted. PHEID. And yet perhaps you won't be annoyed at suffering what	• •
PHEID. And yet perhaps you won the annoyed at surrous	
you've just suffered. STREP. How so? Teach me how you'll benefit me from this.	
PHEID. I'll beat my mother too, just as I did you.	
STREP. What are you saying? What are you saying?	
This other one is a still greater evil! PHEID. But what if I defeat you	
	1445
by means of the weaker speech, saying	-177
that one should beat one's mother?	
STREP. If you do this, then nothing	
will prevent you from throwing yourself	
into the Pit ²¹⁹	1450
along with Socrates	14,50
and the weaker speech!	
[To the Chorus.]	
I have suffered these things because of you, O Clouds,	
from referring all my affairs to you.	
CHORUS [the leading Cloud speaking].	
No, you yourself are responsible for these things by yourself,	1455
because you twisted yourself into villainous affairs.	1455
STREP. Then why didn't you tell me this back then	
instead of stirring up an old and rustic man?	
CHORUS. We do this on each occasion to whomever	
we recognize as being a lover of villainous affairs,	1460
until we throw him into evil	1400
so that he may know dread of the gods.	
STREP. Oh me! This is villainous, O Clouds, but just.	
For I shouldn't have deprived them of the money	
/I borrowed.	
/ [To Pheidippides.]	
So now, dearest one, come with me	1.16=
and destroy the wretch Chaerephon and Socrates,	1465
who have deceived you and me!	
PHEID. But I wouldn't do injustice to my teachers.	
219771	

²¹⁹The bodies of executed criminals were thrown into "the Pit," a place just outside the

STREP. Yes, yes! Have awe before ancestral Zeus! PHEID. See! "Ancestral Zeus"! How ancient you are! Is there any Zeus? STREP. There is! No, there isn't, since PHEID. 1470 Vortex is king, having driven out Zeus. STREP. He has not driven him out, but I supposed he had [pointing to the drinking goblet lying on the ground] because of this "vortex" here. 220 Ah me, what a wretch I am for holding that you, earthenware, were a god! PHEID. Be deranged and babble here by yourself! 1475 [Exit.] STREP. Oh me! What derangement! How mad I was, when I even threw out the gods because of Socrates! But dear Hermes,²²¹ in no way be angry with me and don't batter me, but forgive me for being out of my mind with prating. 1480 And become my fellow counselor: should I prosecute them with an indictment, or what seems fitting to you? [Pause.] You advise me correctly in not letting me stitch up a lawsuit, but rather to set the house of the praters on fire as quickly as possible. [Calling to a slave inside the house.] Come here, come here, Xanthias! 1485 Come outside with a ladder and bring a hoe! [Xanthias enters with this equipment.] Next go up onto the thinkery and tear off the roof (if you love your master) until you throw the house down upon them!

²²⁰The word *dinos* may mean either "vortex" or "goblet." Apparently Strepsiades misunderstood Socrates' assertion (that vortex [*dinos*] replaces Zeus, who does not even exist) to mean that the statue of Zeus was replaced by a goblet (*dinos*).

There is controversy over what Strepsiades points to on the stage. Our stage directions at 1320 and here indicate that he refers to a goblet that he himself dropped on the ground when he came out of the house. Another opinion, widely accepted by modern scholars, proposes that Strepsiades points to a large goblet (symbolizing Vortex) which stands next to the door of the thinkery, occupying the place of the statue of Hermes which regularly stood by the entrance of Athenian homes.

²²¹It is not clear whether Strepsiades addresses a bust of Hermes outside his door or whether he simply looks off into the distance. Strepsiades certainly thinks or pretends that he hears Hermes at 1483.

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[Xanthias climbs up the ladder and begins to hack off the roof tiles with the hoe. Strepsiades again shouts into his house.] Someone bring me a lighted torch! 1490 [Another slave enters with a torch, hands it to Strepsiades, and exits.] I too will make one of them pay the penalty today to me, even if they are such great boasters! [Strepsiades ascends the ladder with the torch and begins to set fire to the rafters exposed where the tiles are being hacked away by Xanthias.] STUDENT [within]. Oh! Oh! STREP. Your work, torch, is to send forth much flame! STUDENT [rushing out of the smoke-filled thinkery and seeing Strepsiades on the roof]. You, fellow, what are you doing? What am I doing? What else but STREP. holding subtle conversation with the beams of the house? 2ND STUDENT [comes out; the remaining students emerge over the next several lines]. Oh me! Who's burning down our house? STREP. The one whose cloak you took. 2ND STUDENT. You'll destroy us, you'll destroy us! Yes, that's the very thing I do wish for, STREP. 1500 unless my hoe betrays my hopes or I first fall somehow and break my neck. SOC. [coming out]. You there on the roof! Really, what are you doing? STREP. "I tread on air and contemplate the sun." SOC. Oh me, alas! Wretched me, I'll be choked! 2ND STUDENT. And I, miserably unhappy me, will be burned up! 1505 STREP. Yes, for why is it that you were hubristic toward the gods and were looking into the seat of the Moon? HERMES²²² [the god himself appears]. After them! Strike! Hit them because of many things, but most of all since I know that they were doing injustice to the gods! [The thinkery is in flames. Climbing down the ladder, Strepsiades and his slave pursue Socrates and the students out of the theater.] CHORUS. Lead the way out, for we have chorused 1510 in due measure today. [The Clouds retire and exit.]

²²²Some manuscripts and most modern scholars deny that Hermes appears at all. They attribute Hermes' lines to Strepsiades. The reading of Strauss, *Socrates and Aristophanes*, p. 46, is followed here.

Selected Bibliography

The items listed here are a small portion of a massive literature on Socrates and on the four works in this collection. The selections here include the best published writings in English on the dialogues and play, along with other items included as representative of current trends.

Readers should be aware that the assessments of these works are based on the understanding of Plato and Aristophanes that informs the Introduction.

The Bibliography is arranged under the following topics:

- -Writings on Plato's Apology of Socrates (and on Plato or Socrates generally)
- -Writings on Plato's Euthyphro
- -Writings on Plato's Crito
- -Writings on Aristophanes' Clouds
- -Greek Texts: Plato
- -Greek Texts: Aristophanes

Writings on Plato's Apology of Socrates (and on Plato or Socrates generally)

Alfarabi's Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. Ed. and trans. Muhsin Mahdi. Rev. ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969. Alfarabi, a ninth-century Islamic philosopher, presents a thoughtful overview of Plato's writings that is playful, elusive, and profound. The focus is on the political aspects of the thought of Plato and Socrates.

Allen, R. E. "The Trial of Socrates: A Study in the Morality of the Criminal Process." In Socrates: Critical Assessments, vol. 2. Ed. William J. Prior. New York: Routledge, 1996. Pp. 1–17. Repr. from Courts and Trials: A Multi-disciplinary Approach. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975. Pp. 3–21. Allen criticizes the Athenians for supposedly denying Socrates a lawful trial. See also Allen's book listed under Crito below.

Anastaplo, George. Human Being and Citizen: Essays on Virtue, Freedom, and the Common Good. Chicago: Swallow Press, 1975. Ch. 2, "Human Being and