

different: Dicaeopolis is saying that he is speaking among friends, and ἐν λόγῳ here clearly means "at my speech."¹⁶ But in Aristophanes λόγος often refers to the "plot" of a drama, e.g., ἐκέينو τήρει, μὴ σφαλεῖς καταρρυῆς / ἐντεῦθεν, εἶτα χωλὸς ὦν Εὐριπίδῃ / λόγον παράσχῃς καὶ τραγωδία γένη (Peace 146–48); the word is invariably used in this sense when spoken by a participant of the prologue (as in the passage under discussion): ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν λόγον γε τοῖσι παιδίοις / καὶ τοῖσιν ἀνδρίοις / καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν . . . φράσω (Peace 50–52); φέρε νυν, κατέπω τοῖς θεαταῖς τὸν λόγον (Wasps 54). On this latter passage the scholiast clearly defines λόγον as τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ δράματος, just as on the passage under discussion a Byzantine scholion glosses ἐν λόγῳ with ἐν τῇ ὑποθέσει.¹⁷ The phrase can hardly apply to the spectators.

Why, then, has no one understood this verse correctly?¹⁸ Simply because no student ever first approaches a notoriously difficult author such as Aristophanes without the assistance of lexicographers, commentaries, or trans-

lations. Since these instruments depend as much on each other as they do on long tradition, our interpretations of specific Aristophanic passages may not always be our own, but may have been inherited, or prejudiced, from the very beginning. Recently K. J. Dover stated that "certain attitudes towards [Aristophanes] can be traced as continuous strands from the Byzantine scholars of the ninth century to modern editors, commentators, readers and spectators."¹⁹ Similarly, I suggest that we may have inherited some of our interpretations of specific Aristophanic verses partly, of course, from the Alexandrian and Byzantine scholiastic traditions, but partly also from a hitherto unsuspected Renaissance source: the Latin version of Andreas Divus, the first work to provide an interpretation of the text of Aristophanes in a language other than the playwright's own.²⁰

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16. See also Eur. *Rhes*. 149.

17. See J. W. White, *The Scholia on the "Aves" of Aristophanes* (Boston, 1914), p. 305, and W. J. W. Koster (ed.), *Scholia in Aristophanem*, IV.3 (Groningen, 1962), 1132.

18. The verse was understood correctly at least once, but curiously enough, out of its context: in his edition of Suidas (Cambridge, 1705) Küster had translated the verse (which appears there as an illustration of the phrase ἐν λόγῳ) as "Nos enim, viri, qui in fabula praesentes sumus . . ." It is highly suggestive, however, that five years later, the same

Küster allowed Hemsterhuys to translate the verse in the traditional manner in the edition of Aristophanes which he himself supervised: "Nos etenim, o viri, qui spectatores adestis in fabula . . ."

19. K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (London, 1972), p. 224.

20. I am indebted to my colleagues Gerald M. Quinn and James V. Romano for their helpful advice on the original version of this paper, which was read at the 104th meeting of the APA, in Philadelphia (December, 1972).

ΘΡΟΝΟΣ, ΔΙΦΡΟΣ, AND ODYSSEUS' CHANGE FROM BEGGAR TO AVENGER

Of the six words for "chair" that appear in the *Odyssey*, three—κλισίη, ἔδρη, and θῶκος—are used only rarely, or do not indicate precisely a specific type of chair,¹ but the other three words for chair appear more frequently, and do seem to imply certain definite characteristics. The most common

word is θρόνος, the stately chair that is used, for example, by Athena, Nestor and his family, Telemachos, Hermes, Alkinoos, the Phaiakian nobles, Demodokos, Theoklymenos,² and, of course, the suitors, both singly and as a group;³ it is never used by women (although it is by goddesses)⁴ or by

1. Thus κλισίη, while carefully described (19. 55: all references are to the *Odyssey* unless specified otherwise), appears only twice (4. 123 and 19. 55); θῶκος appears in contexts indicating that it refers to the chairs used in councils or assemblies, but is used only twice (2. 14, 12. 318; cf. 5. 3, 15. 468); and ἔδρη can be used of a mean seat of brushwood and fleece, of the seats in an assembly, or of the seats for the nobles in the palaces of Nestor and Alkinoos (16. 42, 8. 16, 3. 429, 13. 56).

2. 1. 130, 3. 389, 4. 51, 5. 86, 6. 308, 7. 95, 8. 65, 17. 86.

3. E.g., 1. 145, 16. 408, 18. 157 (Amphinomos), 21. 166 (Leiodes).

4. The same distinction is preserved in the *Iliad*, where female deities such as Athena (*Il.* 15. 124), Thetis (*Il.* 18. 389) and Hera (*Il.* 8. 199 and 15. 150) sit upon θρόνοι, while mortal women never do. An interesting corollary to this may be provided by compound adjectives in -θρονος such as εἰθρονος and χρυσόθρονος which, in the *Odyssey* at least, are applied

servants. A number of adjectives are used with *θρόνος*, such as *ἄργυρόηλος* ("silver-studded"), *φαινός σιγαλός* ("bright shining"), *ὑψηλός* ("stately"), *καλός δαιδάλεος* ("beautiful and cunningly wrought"), *ξεστός* ("polished"), *εὐποίητος* ("well made"), and *περικαλλής* ("very beautiful").⁵ Further, *θρόνοι* are often provided with a coverlet of some sort, usually a simple purple rug or a fleece,⁶ but occasionally a more delicate material such as the "fine, well-spun robes" used in the palace of Alkinoos.⁷

Like the *θρόνος*, the *κλισμός* seems to be a stately, relatively formal chair, but no distinct picture of the *κλισμός* emerges from the references to it in the *Odyssey*: it is only once given an adjective (*ποικίλος*, at 1. 132), and it appears eight times in the formula *κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε*.⁸ The logical inference from this would be that *κλισμοί* are likely to be found where *θρόνοι* are found, and to be used by the same persons, but the latter, at least, is not true: Telemachos seems to be the only person who uses both a *κλισμός* and a *θρόνος*,⁹ and it is noteworthy that Helen and Penelope use *κλισμοί*,¹⁰ although, as we have seen, *θρόνοι* are never used by women. The reason for this distinction in use is presumably that *θρόνοι* were used on occasions, or in places, in which women would not ordinarily be present; *κλισμοί* and *δίφροι*, being less formal than *θρόνοι*, would be found in the women's quarters.¹¹

Quite different from both the *θρόνος* and

the *κλισμός* is the *δίφρος*. This chair is used twice by Eumaios, Odysseus' swineherd, by Philoitios and Dolios, servants of Odysseus, by the suitors as they attempt to string Odysseus' bow, and by Penelope.¹² Four adjectives are used to describe the *δίφρος*: *εὔξεστος* ("fashioned with skill"), *ἀεικέλιος* ("mean" or "rough"), *περικαλλής* ("beautiful"), and *μέγας* ("large").¹³ The only covering mentioned for the *δίφρος* is fleece, which appears on two occasions.¹⁴ Finally, a *δίφρος* is easily portable, while a *θρόνος* seems to be regarded as a heavy object, not easily moved. Thus Eumaios picks up a *δίφρος* and carries it to Telemachos' table,¹⁵ while, as Eurymachos dies, his feet kick and shake a *θρόνος*; that is, the poet implies, he kicks so violently that even a *θρόνος* is moved.¹⁶ Thus a fairly clear distinction emerges, at least in the *Odyssey*: compared to the *θρόνος*, the *δίφρος* is used in general by less distinguished persons; it is described by adjectives less numerous and less grand, and is covered by less fine materials; and it is a more movable, less permanent, type of chair.¹⁷

This being the case, it is interesting to note the chairs used by Odysseus himself. Ordinarily, Odysseus sits on a *θρόνος*, since he is of high rank, and he continues to do so even among the Phaiakians, for among them a stranger is honored.¹⁸ While he is disguised, however, and pretending to be a stranger in his own palace, then in every case—and only then—he is made to sit on a *δίφρος*, so that

to goddesses such as Athena (6. 48), Artemis (5. 123), and most frequently, Eos (15. 495, 17. 497, 19. 319, etc.). Note, however, L. B. Lawler, *PhQ*, XXVII (1948), 80–84, who argues that such adjectives are to be derived not from *θρόνος* but from *θρόνα*, "figures embroidered upon a garment."

5. 7. 162, 5. 86, 8. 422, 10. 314, 16. 408, 20. 150, 22. 438.

6. E.g., 10. 352, 17. 32, 20. 150.

7. 7. 95–97. For a full treatment of *θρόνοι*, including a discussion of the various types of *θρόνος* and of mentions and representations of them throughout Greek literature and art, see G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London, 1966), pp. 13–33.

8. 1. 145, 3. 389, 10. 233, 15. 134, 17. 86, 17. 179, 20. 249, 24. 385.

9. 1. 132 and 4. 51.

10. 4. 136 and 17. 97.

11. Thus, in the *Iliad*, Hector sits upon a *δίφρος* when he visits Helen in her quarters (*Il.* 6. 354). For further discussion of *κλισμοί*, including comments on the etymology of the word, see Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–37.

12. 17. 330 and 17. 602, 21. 392, 24. 408, 21. 177, and 20. 387; at 4. 717 it is implied that Penelope might use such a chair.

13. E.g., 19. 101, 20. 259, 20. 387, 21. 177.

14. 19. 97 and 19. 101, 21. 177 and 21. 182. For further discussion of the *δίφρος*, see Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–46.

15. 17. 330.

16. 22. 87 f.

17. Although the distinction between the official *θρόνος* and the less honorable *δίφρος* seems to be carefully maintained in the *Odyssey*, and is reflected elsewhere (note, e.g., Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 38, citing Athenaios as calling the *δίφρος* the "least significant" of these three types of chair), it is interesting to note that later writers frequently regarded the *δίφρος* as quite an honorable seat. See the examples given by R. Renehan, *Glotta*, L (1972), 164: Callimachos calls the throne of Zeus a *δίφρος*, and later writers referred to the Roman *sella curulis* as a *δίφρος*.

18. 5. 195, 7. 162, 7. 169, 8. 469, 10. 314, 10. 366, 23. 164, 24. 385. Odysseus also sits on a *ἐθρη* at 16. 42.

his chair reflects his pretended low social position.¹⁹ But there is one further change: as Odysseus strings the bow and shoots an arrow through the axes at the end of Book 21,²⁰ the chair he sits on is still a *δίῳρος*, for he is still posing as a beggar, but only fourteen lines later, when Telemachos comes to Odysseus to stand by his chair, and we see the father and son together, this same seat has changed to a *θρόνος*,²¹ the chair not of a

beggar, but of a man of power. Thus the poet gives his audience, in this delicate and unobtrusive way, an indication of the significance of this crucial point in the narrative: Odysseus is no longer a contemptible beggar, but rather a powerful man, ready to exact his vengeance.²²

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19. 19. 97, 19. 101, 19. 506, 20. 259, 21. 243.

20. 21. 420.

21. 21. 434. There is no other instance in the *Odyssey* of the same chair being referred to by more than one name.

22. I am very much indebted to the referees of this paper, who made a number of suggestions which I have adopted, both in the body of the paper and in the notes. They point out two further examples of Homeric care in referring to chairs. First, at *Od.* 10. 233, Circe has Odysseus' men sit upon *κλισμοὺς τε θρόνους τε*, but when she later seats Odysseus, he is seated upon a *θρόνος* described by no fewer than three adjectives

and furnished with a footrest. In this way, Odysseus' importance and stature, relative to that of his men, are indicated. Second, in *Iliad* 11, when Nestor and Machaon withdraw from battle to refresh themselves in Nestor's hut, they seat themselves upon *κλισμοί* (623); but when Patroclus appears shortly thereafter, Nestor offers him his chair, which is now called a *θρόνος* (645). Here there can be no question of a difference in the rank or honor of the men; rather, the chair is called a *θρόνος* in the second passage because Nestor is concerned with fulfilling the requirements of hospitality, a formal responsibility.

O REM RIDICULAM!

Like other graduate students, I once looked up Housman's "*Praefanda*" in *Hermes*, LXVI (1931), but must have given it merely a glance, for the meaning of Catullus 56 is not obscure to modern readers. Housman, although there has been some effort to make him a dirty old man, seems to have been more innocent. In spite of Housman and Kroll before him, *trusantem* does not refer to masturbation, and *puellae* is not genitive. Contemporary translators, as might be expected, do not shun the situation, but they

too might note that Housman is presumably right in making *protelo* one word, "three in a row." *Pro telo*, even in Catullan Latin, is no way to express "with my weapon." This note would hardly be worth making if the 1959 reprint of Kroll did not perpetuate the misinterpretation of *trusantem* and adduce Housman 1931 as the only addition to the literature.

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