

end,<sup>5</sup> the scene in *Clouds* as hypothesised by Taplin would acquire an extra dimension. Pheidippides (like the audience) is a spectator at a cockfight, but the outcome is to inculcate not martial virtue but its negation. The remark by the κρείττων λόγος at 985–6 that ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνα | ἐξ ὧν ἄνδρας Μαραθωνόμαχος ἡμῇ παίδευσις ἔθρεψεν would also have added point if the institution of the cockfights really did go back to the time of the Persian Wars. And if all this is correct, we have another possible instance of intertextuality between the Dionysiac drama and the civic events which also took place in the theatre.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Parallels are hard to come by; but cf. Pausanias 3.14.10 on the boar fight put on by the Spartan ephebes at Platanistas. It would be interesting to know if there are analogies in other cultures.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. S. Goldhill, 'The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology', *JHS* 107 (1987), 58–76.

#### A CAREER IN THE NAVY (ARIST. *KNIGHTS* 541–4)

ταῦτ' ὀρρωδῶν διέτριβεν αἰέ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐφασκεν  
ἐρέτην χρῆναι πρῶτα γενέσθαι πρὶν πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν,  
κατ' ἐντεῦθεν πρωρατεύσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διαθρῆσαι,  
κατὰ κυβερνᾶν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ.

Aristophanes' description of the stages of promotion in the Athenian navy recently received renewed attention, when Mastromarco and Halliwell enlisted it in their battle against the traditional opinion that Aristophanes' early career fell into two stages, a secret one of writing plays but not producing them, and a public one in which he undertook both activities. Mastromarco argues for a tripartite career, and Halliwell, who is against a too strict correlation, for a gradual development, a sort of a complex apprenticeship, which eventually he divides also into three stages similar to those discerned by Mastromarco.<sup>1</sup> In summing up their position, MacDowell paraphrases the above passage according to its prevalent interpretation: 'The nautical metaphor (541–4), with its progression from oarsman to prow-officer to helmsman, indicates that Aristophanes did not take over his task all at once, but by stages. But what were the stages?'<sup>2</sup>

The interpretation of the passage as alluding to three stages of a navy career has a long history. It is achieved by an extrapolation of πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν from its place in line 542 and its equation with κυβερνᾶν in line 544. Thus, e.g., Kock (Berlin, 1882) *ad* 542: 'Die erste Stufe zu dieser ist der Dienst des Ruderers, die zweite die Beobachtung der Winde und Meersströmungen auf dem Vordeck. Dann erst darf man πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν oder κυβερνᾶν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ.' The difficulty posed by ἐντεῦθεν, which follows πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν and seems to refer to it, Kock (*ad* 543) solves by referring ἐντεῦθεν back to ἐρέτην γενέσθαι instead. Neil (Cambridge, 1901) *ad* 242–4, agrees with Kock: 'πρὶν πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν is not referred to by ἐντεῦθεν in 543'. Neil, however, reveals a certain uneasiness or dissatisfaction, for he adds: 'it might stand in that line as well as in 542'.<sup>3</sup> Rogers (London, 1910) *ad loc.*, paraphrases

<sup>1</sup> G. Mastromarco, 'L'esordio "segreto" di Aristofane', *Quaderni di Storia* 10 (1979), 153–96; S. Halliwell, 'Aristophanes' Apprenticeship', *CQ* 30 (1980), 33–45.

<sup>2</sup> D. M. MacDowell, 'Aristophanes and Kallistratos', *CQ* 32 (1982), 21.

<sup>3</sup> Neil also adds a fourth stage, that of the κελυσθής, who gives time to the rowers and is one step above the oarsman, and quotes Pollux 1.95, who gives four stages 'presumably in order of

Kock's interpretation glossing over the difficulty of ἐντεῦθεν: 'πηδαλίους ἐπιχειρεῖν: This expression is equivalent to κυβερνᾶν two lines below. To be the κυβερνήτης he should acquire, by practical experience, a full knowledge of the duties of the oarsman, and of the signs of the weather'.

Sommerstein in the newest edition of the *Knights* (1981) endorses Mastromarco's tripartite interpretation and refers the reader to it for further details (see also his endorsement of Mastromarco's interpretation in *Wasps* (1983), ad 1018–29). Mastromarco, however, entirely disregards both the difficulty posed by ἐντεῦθεν, and the existence of πρῖν: 'nella parabasi dei *Cavalieri*, ai versi 541–44, Aristofane scandisce esplicitamente la sua carriera in tre distinti momenti presentandosi dapprima (πρῶτα, v. 542) come rematore, poi (κᾶτ' ἐντεῦθεν, v. 545) come ufficiale di prua che scruta i venti, infine (κᾶτα, v. 544) come capitano di se stesso' (p. 172).

None of the above cited scholars offers an explanation of the difficulty inherent in equating πηδαλίους ἐπιχειρεῖν with κυβερνᾶν. If πηδαλίους ἐπιχειρεῖν means 'the highest post on the ship', then 542 indicates two extremes, the A and Z of a sailor's career, which cover all the stages in between by mentioning the bottom starting point, that of the rower, and the peak of aspiration, the highest post of the helmsman: the sailor has to put his hands on the oars before he puts them on the helm. Plucked out of its context the line acquires a sententious brevity and is entirely self-sufficient. It was thus used by Appian, who reported that Sulla quoted it mockingly over Marius' body: ὁ Σύλλας ... ἐπιγελάσαι λέγεται τῇ νεότητι τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ εἰπεῖν: "ἐρέτην δεῖ πρῶτα γενέσθαι πρὶν πηδαλίους ἐπιχειρεῖν" (*Bell. Civ.* 1.435), and by Themistios 8.113d. Probably it is this out-of-context usage which has influenced the interpretation of modern commentators. In its context, however, πηδαλίους ἐπιχειρεῖν cannot refer to the highest post. There is not much sense in representing the rower as reaching the peak of his career in v. 542 and then demoting him to the rank of a bowman in v. 543. ἐντεῦθεν clearly refers back immediately to πηδαλίους ἐπιχειρεῖν and not to the preceding ἐρέτην γενέσθαι. In its context, πηδαλίους ἐπιχειρεῖν must indicate a stage in a sailor's career higher than that of a rower (πρῶτα ... πρὶν, 542), but lower than the two next stages introduced respectively by κᾶτ' ἐντεῦθεν (v. 543) and κᾶτα (v. 544).

An interpretation which partly solves the problem was offered already in 1881 by Cartault in his book on the Athenian trireme. Students of Aristophanes, however, do not seem to be keen readers of nautical literature. Cartault points out that the word κυβερνήτης has two meanings, the original sense of the man who steers the ship and actually holds the tiller, and the later sense, the commander of the ship who is in charge of all the ship's operations and her men, including the steering sailor.<sup>4</sup> Cartault quotes *Knights* 541–4 as a testimony for four stages of a nautical career: from among the rank of rowers there is singled out a man who merits confidence and is entrusted with the steering oars. He steers the ship on behalf of the captain. Cartault, however, in seeking to reconcile Aristophanes' passage with the paraphrase of Claudianus: *ac velut expertus lentandis navita tonsis/praeficitur lateri custos* etc. (*Cons. Mall.* 42–6), concludes that the rower entrusted with the steering oars is the τοίχαρχος, who is not mentioned explicitly by Aristophanes 'parce que le τοίχαρχος était encore considéré

rank', κυβερνήτης, πρωράτης, ναυτής, ἐρέτης. Halliwell (note 1, above), refers to it when he says that *Knights* 541–4 contains 'Three, or maybe even four stages of a nautical career' (p. 39), and sends the reader to Neil's comment *ad loc.* for details (p. 39 n. 28). Halliwell himself does not offer an interpretation of the passage independently of Neil's.

<sup>4</sup> A. Cartault, *La Trière Athénienne* (Paris, 1881), pp. 226–7.

comme un rameur ou pour abrégé...’ (p. 230). This interpretation is clearly influenced by a suggestion of Porson, who discerns in Claudianus’ paraphrase a fourth stage which to his mind is not found in the Aristophanic passage, and postulates a lost line: ‘*post ἐπιχειρεῖν olim extitisse versum, cuius sensus fuerit, κατὰ τοιχαρχεῖν*.’<sup>5</sup> But the *τοιχαρχοι* are ‘side-chiefs’ not positioned on the stern where the steering oars were located.

The missing term for the man who holds the steering oars, the tiller man, has turned up in a Rhodian inscription published in 1936 by Segre.<sup>6</sup> The *παδαλιούχος* is listed in the inscription below the *κυβερνάτας* and the *πρωρέυς* (who erected the monument). Segre has not missed the significance of the term (not found in literary sources), for the interpretation of *Knights* 542, and Casson has supplied an English technical translation, the quartermaster, and the following explanation: ‘Under way, the *kybernetes* took the captain’s traditional station on the poop. In emergencies he might handle the tiller himself, but normally he used quartermasters’.<sup>7</sup>

With the discovery of the term, the quartermaster finally makes his delayed entrance into his proper place in the nautical *cursus honorum*, between the rower and the bow officer, and *Knights* 542–4 takes its departure from the tripartite career division and the theories based on it pertaining to the early period of Aristophanes’ professional life.<sup>8</sup> What Aristophanes describes is of course *not* to be taken literally and one should *not* look out for a fourth hidden career stage. What Aristophanes describes is a process of which MacDowell’s assessment is very much to the point: ‘The nautical metaphor means, I think, that Aristophanes, as he gained experience, gradually took a larger share in producing successive plays.’<sup>9</sup> A too strict correlation, as Halliwell warns us, is not to be pursued, especially if it is a tripartite one.

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<sup>5</sup> P. P. Dobree, *Richardi Porsoni notae in Aristophanem* (Cantabrigiae, 1820).

<sup>6</sup> M. Segre, ‘Dedica votiva dell’equipaggio di una nave rodia’, *Clara Rhodos* 8 (1936), 225–44.

<sup>7</sup> L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1972), p. 302 and note 9; for *pedaliouchos* cf. 306 n. 28; see also B. Jordan, *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period* (Univ. of Cal. Publications: Classical Studies 18, 1975), p. 143, and J. S. Morrison, ‘*Hyperesia* in Naval Contexts’, *JHS* 104 (1984), 56 n. 21. Morrison interprets Plut. *Mor.* 812b–c as referring to the *pedaliouchos*, the man to whose charge the helmsman commits the tiller; but cf. J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 266 (quoted by Sommerstein *ad Knights* 543), where the passage of Aristophanes is still explained with no reference to the *pedaliouchos* (it is not repeated in J. S. Morrison and J. F. Coates, *The Athenian Trireme* (Cambridge, 1986), cf. chapter 7 on ‘The Men’, pp. 107–18, esp. 114).

<sup>8</sup> Cf., e.g., H. Schrader, ‘Kleon und Aristophanes Babylonier’, *Philologus* 36 (1877), 405–6, where he maintains that Aristophanes started as a *choreutes* in the chorus of his own plays and subsequently had risen to be a chorus-leader before becoming finally a *didaskalos*; cf. also Mastromarco’s attempt to achieve a satisfying strict correlation (n. 1, above) 172–3, and the literature he quotes, p. 190 nn. 37, 39. Mastromarco has restated his views, with references to Halliwell’s and MacDowell’s articles, in *Commedie di Aristofane* (Torino, 1983), 45–52.

<sup>9</sup> MacDowell (n. 2, above), 22; it is, however, no longer possible to maintain that there is a close correspondence between the holder of the tiller in our passage and the holder of the reins in the chariot metaphor of *Wasps* 1022 (p. 23). The holder of the tiller is not the man who is in charge of the vehicle; see also R. G. Kent, ‘The Date of Aristophanes’ Birth’, *CR* 19 (1905), 154.