SHORTER NOTES

ARISTAGORAS OF MELOS

Σ Ar. *Nub*. 830c.*α* *Ἀρισταγόρας ἐγένετο Μήλιος διθυραμβοποιός, ὃς τὰ ἐν ᾽Ελευσῖνι μυστήρια ἐξορχησάμενος καὶ ἐξειπὼν ἀσεβέστατος ἐκρίθη* (V).

idem, 830c.*β* *ἐπειδή τις Ἀρισταγόρας διθυραμβοποιὸς Μήλιος ἐξωρχήσατο τὰ ᾽Ελευσίνια* (E).[1]

Clearly an error; the Melian alluded to by Aristophanes was, as the other scholia make plain, the dithyrambic poet Diagoras, not the otherwise unknown Aristagoras (who, however, merits an entry in Holwerda's index).[2] Dover (on *Nub*. 830) suggests that 'the name . . . may simply be a slip', but the scholia probably preserve a mutilated reference to Aristarchus; cf. *Σ* Ar. *Ra*. 320b: *ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος Διαγόρου νῦν μνημονεύειν φησὶν οὐχ ὡς* '*ἄιδοντος*' *αὐτοῦ τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν εἰρωνείαι κειμένου τοῦ λόγου, ἀντὶ τοῦ* '*χλευάζοντος*', '*ἐξορχουμένου*' (VME*Θ*Barb[Ald]).[3] Hence read here: *Ἀρίστ<αρχος φησὶ ὡς Δι>αγόρας κτλ.*; the corruption is of a familiar type.

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[1] *Scholia in Aristophanem I 3[1] in Nubes*, ed. D. Holwerda (Groningen, 1977), 167.

[2] On Diagoras see F. E. Romer, *CW* 89 (1989), 393–401, *AJP* 115 (1994), 351–63; M. Winiarczyk, *Eos* 67 (1979), 191–213, *Eos* 68 (1980), 51–75; L. Woodbury, *Phoenix* 19 (1965), 178–211; F. Jacoby, *Diagoras ὁ Ἄθεος* (AbhBerl no. 3, 1959). The testimonia are conveniently collected in M. Winiarczyk, *Diagorae Melii et Theodori Cyrenei Reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1981); Winiarczyk notes the scholiast's error here, but provides no solution. The view in *Σ Nub*. 830b that Aristagoras was Socrates' teacher is pure scholiastic fantasy.

[3] *Scholia in Aristophanem III 1[a] in Ranas*, ed. M. Chantry (Groningen, 1999), 52–3. For Aristarchus' work on Aristophanes, see further the brief account in R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford, 1968), 224.

SOCRATES, SOCRATICS, AND THE WORD *ΒΛΕΠΕΔΑΙΜΩΝ*

κωμικὸν ὁ βλεπεδαίμων (Pollux 1.21 [= *Com. Adesp.* 749 K.–A.])

βλεπεδαίμων· ὁ ὑπὸ νόσου κατεσκληκὼς καὶ κακόχρους ὑπὸ δαιμόνων (Hesychius, s.v.)

ὁ διεστραμμένος τὰς ὄψεις καὶ οἷον ὑπὸ δαίμονος πεπληγώς. Παυσανίας δὲ προστίθησι καὶ ὅτι τοὺς Σωκρατικοὺς οὕτως ἔλεγον. (Eustathius 206.27)

I

The ancient lexicographers' interpretation of *βλεπεδαίμων* was challenged correctly, I think, by Riess,[1] as being 'at variance with grammar. For compounds which are formed by a verbal stem with noun following are objective compounds, viz. the noun is governed by the verb.' An *active* meaning with *βλέπω* when followed by a noun is therefore normal (see K.-G.1 § 410.3c), and Riess took the meaning to be 'he who looks the demon', not 'overlooked by the demon', that is putting the evil 'demonic'

[1] Ernst Riess, 'Superstitions in Greek comedy', *AJP* 18 (1897), 195–6.

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eye on a person, rather than being oneself the victim. This type of expression is already in Homer with other verbs of seeing—πῦρ δ' ὀφθάλμοισι δεδορκώς (*Od.* 19.446), ὅσσοντο δ' ὄλεθρον (*Od.* 2.152)—and in Aeschylus, λεόντων Ἄρη δεδορκότων (*Sept.* 53), λεύσσων φονίου δέργμα δράκοντος (*Pers.* 81–2), who also uses βλέπω, at *Sept.* 498 φόβον (or φόνον) βλέπων. Euripides has δράκοντ' ἀναβλέποντα φοινίαν φλόγα (*Ion* 1263), and Wilamowitz may have been right to read βλέπων πτερωτὸς αἴδαν (for αἴδας) at *Alc.* 262—cf. Ἄϊδην βλέψας (*Hdas.* 3.17).

But it is in the comic poets that this use of βλέπω is most characteristic, sometimes with following adjectives, like μανικόν τι καὶ τραγῳδικόν (Ar. *Pl.* 424), δεινόν (*Ran.* 593), κλεπτόν (*Vesp.* 900), but often with nouns. These usually describe a look which is fairly severe—νᾶπυ (*Eq.* 631), ὀπόν (*Pax* 1184), κάρδαμα (*Vesp.* 455), ὀρίγανον (*Ran.* 604), ὑπότριμμα (*Ec.* 291), ὄμφακας (*Adesp.* 633 K.–A.)—and even positively belligerent or dangerous, like our 'if looks could kill', 'look daggers', or 'murder' or 'death'—ἀστραπάς (*Ach.* 566), πυρρίχην, αἴκειαν (*Av.* 1169, 1671), Ἄρη (*Pl.* 328, Timocl. fr. 12.7). This usage continues later with such expressions as φόνον λεύσσοντε (Theoc. 25.137), σφαγὴν βλέπων (Ael. *V.H.* 2.44).[2] Aelian also has γοργὸν βλέπειν like Eur. *Hyps.* 16.18 γοργωπὰ λεύσσων, which describes the characteristic demonic gaze of the Gorgon herself, notable possessor of 'the evil eye' and a *gettatore* thereof.[3] I might add here that Tzetzes in his commentary on Ar. *Pl.* 332 saw the choice of the name Blepsidemus for an invented minor character as having an implied significant sense: ἀπὸ τοῦ βλέπειν καὶ σκοπεῖν τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ, τουτέστι φιλοδημότατον. So Blepsidemus had a democratic look, as a *Blepedaimon* had a demonic look.

But the term *Blepedaimon* is surely not so much a characteristic of various Socratics as it is of their master himself, Socrates, whose own protruding eyes and insistent gaze were notorious, and memorably described by Aristophanes in *Nu.* 362 ὅτι βρενθύει τ' ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς καὶ τὠφθαλμὼ παραβάλλεις, the line quoted by Alcibiades in Plato, *Symp.* 221b. He is made to describe himself as ἐξόφθαλμος (Pl. *Th.* 209c), a notable feature of lecherous satyrs;[4] and according to Athenaeus 353b (referring to, but not quoting verbatim, Arist. *HA* 492a7), those who have projecting eyes (ἐκτὸς ἔχειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς) are κακοηθέστατοι. But in Xen. *Conv.* 5.5, Socrates maintains the superiority of his eyes to those of Critobulus 'because yours only see straight ahead, whereas mine can see sideways also because they bulge so much'. His habitual piercing and unflinching gaze is described also in Pl. *Phd.* 86d (διαβλέψας) and 117b (ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας[5]). Critobulus compares his eyes to those of a crab, for which cf. *Hdas.* 4.44, and the crab riddle in Plut. *Mor.* 54b πανταχῆ βλέπων ὀφθαλμός.[6] The crab may have had evil-eye associations to judge from Ael. *N.A.* 1.35 and Philes 724, who states that

[2] That the glare of a hostile eye could even kill suggested a far-fetched etymology to the lexicographers about the origin of the verb βασκαίνω (fascinate), that it was φασκαίνω: e.g. *Et.M.* 190.26 βάσκανος ὁ τοῖς φάεσι καίνων ἤγουν διαφθείρων διὰ τοῦ βλέμματος.

[3] The threat of the Gorgon's gaze is as old as Homer, e.g. the Gorgon head glaring on the shield of Agamemnon (δεινὸν δερκομένη *Il.* 11.36), and Odysseus' fear at the entrance to the underworld whether Persephone might send up the Gorgon head (*Od.* 11.634). Cf. Luc. *Herm.* 1 ἀτενὲς ἀεὶ καὶ γοργὸν ἀποβλέπῃ. In Claudian's Greek *Gigantomachia* 40–2, a giant is literally petrified at the sight of the evil eye of the Gorgon head which Athena regularly has on her shield.

[4] Recall the famous likening of Socrates by Alcibiades to a Silenus or Marsyas figure in Pl. *Symp.* 215ff.

[5] Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 804 ἔβλεψε ταυρηδόν, Luc. *Philopatr.* ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέπειν, Call. fr. 194.101–2 ὑποδρὰξ οἷα ταῦρος ἔβλεψε.

[6] The orator Callimedon was called κάραβος, as being διάστροφος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς (Athen. 339–40).

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herons eat them *πρὸς τὸ βάσκανον πάθος*. It seems highly probable that this pronounced physical characteristic of Socrates, in conjunction with his well-known claim to psychic communication by means of the inner sign of his *daimonion*, contributed no little to his notoriety, and a degree of unpopularity with the bulk of the Athenian populace, doubtless no less prone to such superstitions than their modern counterparts, of whom Lawson wrote

> My impression is that any eyes which are peculiar in any way are apt to incur suspicion, and that in different localities different qualities, colouring or brilliance or prominence excite special notice and, with notice, disfavour . . . any fixed unflinching gaze is sufficient reason for alarm.[7]

So Plutarch twice[8] cites a comic fragment (*Adesp.* 725) *τί τἀλλότριον, ἄνθρωπα βασκανώτατε, κακὸν ὀξυδερκεῖς, τὸ δ' ἴδιον παραβλέπεις;* It will be noticed that sometimes the fixed, forward-looking gaze, sometimes the oblique glance, are in their different ways thought to be suspect: when the two are combined—as in a squint—the result is particularly obnoxious, and the *στραβός* throughout the ages has been generally thought to possess, and project, the evil eye (cf. our expression 'a cast' in the eye[9]).

II

If, then, the companions of Socrates *were* called *Blepedaimones* it was not because they were themselves possessors and transmitters of the evil eye, but because they were suspected of being under the hypnotic and dangerous spell of their egregious master's gaze. The eccentricities in appearance and behaviour of a man like Chaerephon (*τῶν ἄγαν γνωρίμων Σωκράτους*, Sud. s.v.), *μανικὸς ὤν* (Pl. *Charm.* 153b), 'that vile man' (*τὸν μιαρόν Nu.* 1465—always one of Aristophanes' most abusive words), could have given rise to such speculation and comment, hence the frequent references to him in *Clouds* as the typical Socratic, under the spell of his beloved master. 'My friend *ἐκ νέου*', says Socrates of him (*Ap.* 21a), and his perhaps embarrassingly fervent public manifestations of devotion must have been a familiar sight in the streets of Athens long before the play; and well-known too was that journey to Delphi, where on consulting the oracle he had been assured that Socrates was indeed *πάντων σοφώτατος*. And it was Chaerephon who rushed to greet him on his return from the army at Potidaea in 432, when Socrates went to look up again his old haunts (Pl. *Charm.* 15).

The Hesychian gloss on *blepedaimon*, *κατεσκληκὼς καὶ κακόχρους*, expresses what came to be called proverbially 'pure Chaerephon' (*Χαιρέφων αὐτόχρημα* Apostolius 18.15, applied *ἐπὶ τῶν ὠχρῶν καὶ ἰσχνῶν*[10]). In the prize-winning *Putine* (fr. 215) of

[7] J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1910), 10.

[8] *Mor.* 469b, 515d. *παραβλέπω* is the opposite of *ἀτενίζω* (Ar. *Mete.* 343b13), and is here *contrasted* with the malignant gaze of the *gettatore*. But it may itself be used of a malignant *sidelong* glance, e.g. Nicostr. *ap.* Stob. 4.22.102 *εἰ δέ τις πανοῦργος καὶ κρυψίνους εὐθὺς μὲν καὶ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ παραβλέπει καὶ δεινὸν δέδορκεν*. Cf. Aesch. fr. 308 *τὸ σκαιὸν ὄμμα δέδορκεν*. The Homeric *Λιταί* (*Il.* 9.502ff.), to whom men may appeal for protection, are themselves *παραβλῶπες ὀφθαλμώ*, which Eustathius (768.5) glosses *διεστραμμένας τὴν ὄψιν, παραβαλλούσας τοὺς ὤπας, . . . στραβάς, πλαγιομμάτους*, which recalls descriptions of Socrates' eyes. For another comic reference to the evil eye, see Alexis fr. 240 *ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπιβάλλειν· τὸ περιέργως θεᾶσθαι*.

[9] On the squint, see F. T. Elworthy in J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics* 5 (Edinburgh, 1912), 610, and the well-known lines of Hor. *Ep.* 1.14.37–8, where *limat* appears to pun on *limus* = looking askance ('asquint'). So *λοξός* in Call. frs. 1.38 and 374, Ap.R. 4.475, etc.

[10] Cf. schol. Pl. *Ap.* 20a. Luc. *Herm.* 2 refers to a philosopher who was *ὠχρὸν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ*

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the competition including *Clouds*, Cratinus stigmatized him as being squalid (*αὐχμηρός*), and in his *Cities* fr. 253, a play of about the same time, Eupolis referred to his 'greenery-yallery' complexion (*πύξινος*, boxwood), just as Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 1413) called him *θάψινος*. At the beginning of *Clouds*, when Strepsiades invites his dissolute son to attend the Socratic *phrontisterion*, Pheidippides is horrified to think he would join *τοὺς ὠχριῶντας*, including the *κακοδαίμων* Socrates and Chaerephon (102–4), since he could not bear to be seen by his fellow sportsmen *τὸ χρῶμα διακεκναισμένος*, and when Strepsiades, after initiation in Socratic 'mysteries', is invited to enter, and Socrates promises he will be 'just like Chaerephon', he complains in alarm *οἵμοι κακοδαίμων, ἡμιθνὴς γενήσομαι* (504), and at 718 he is appalled by his change of complexion (*φρούδη χροία*). At 1112 he gloomily concludes that he will get his son back after his education *ὠχρὸν καὶ κακοδαίμονα*. The curious fr. 393 of Aristophanes—almost certainly from the no longer extant *first* version of *Clouds*, *κείσεσθον ὥσπερ πηνίω βινουμένω*—'the two of you will lie together, just like a pair of copulating currant moths' (*πήνιον* is a spindly creature) is explained by the lexicographer Photius and the Suda thus: *ἀντὶ τοῦ ξηροί· σκώπτει γὰρ τοὺς περὶ Χαιρεφῶντα εἰς ξηρότητα καὶ ἀσθένειαν. ξηρός*, like *αὖος*, is often used of the withered, desiccated bodies of the dead,[11] and so we appear to have another joke about the skeletal, emaciated, cadaverous, larval appearance of Chaerephon, likened to the pupa of a moth; and if Socrates was the other half of this duo, the implication would have been that the pair were rather more than 'just good friends'! Recalling *κατεσκληκώς* of the gloss on *βλεπεδαίμων*, Fritzsche proposed that another Aristophanic fragment (885) *σκελετεύεσθαι· ξηραίνεσθαι* also came from the first *Clouds*, and inevitably described the skeletal Chaerephon.[12]

Another memorable picture of the relationship of the philosopher and his most familiar and devoted disciple is in *Birds* 1553–64, where in a parody of Odysseus' sacrifice at the entrance to the underworld in *Od.* 11.23ff, unwashed Socrates as a sort of spirit-raiser is conjuring up souls of the dead, and Chaerephon (who earlier at 1296 had been likened to *νυκτερίς*, a bat, and according to schol. *Nu.* 104 was *ἰσχνόφωνος*) comes up from the dead in this guise to drink the blood of the sacrificed animal. The bat comparison could allude to either his squeaky voice or his urgent need for a blood transfusion. In a later play (*Horai* fr. 584) Aristophanes calls him 'a child of night' (*νυκτὸς παῖδα*), a phrase he uses again at *Ran.* 1335, in a spoof of a Euripidean lyric, of the ghastly spectre conjured up from Hades with a *ψυχὰν ἄψυχον*. In *Wasps*, his comedy of the year following *Clouds*, he refers at 1037ff. to how in his last year's comedy he had fought with *τοῖς ἠπιάλοις καὶ τοῖς πυρετοῖσιν*, where the schol. observes *ἠπιάλους δὲ τοὺς περὶ Σωκρατὴν ὠνόμασεν εἰς ὠχρότητα παρασκώπτων*. While *ἠπιάλης* is related to the nightmare demon Ephialtes (cf. Bekk. *Anec.* 43.1 *ἠπιάλης· ὁ ἐπιπίπτων τοῖς κοιμωμένοις δαίμων*), *ἠπίολος* is also a sort of ghost-moth (Arist. *HA* 605b14) known for its uncanny yellowish appearance in the semi-dark, its larvae coming to maturity underground; so again we have a joking allusion to Chaerephon and his appropriate underground habitat.[13] Moths, like

φροντίδων καὶ τὸ σῶμα κατεσκληκότα, and Chaerephon is mentioned later in the dialogue (15).

[11] See schol. Ar. *Ran.* 186, 194, Hsch. *ἀλίβαντες· οἱ νεκροί, διὰ τὸ ξηροὶ εἶναι*, Plut *Mor.* 736a *ὁ δ' ἀλίβας καὶ ὁ σκελετὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς λέγονται, λοιδορουμένης τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ξηρότητος*.

[12] F. V. Fritzsche, *Quaestiones Aristophaneae* (Leipzig, 1835), 170.

[13] I am reminded of the insults directed by Phrynichus (fr. 74) against the musician Lamprus, *μινυρὸς ὑπερσοφιστής, Μουσῶν σκελετός, ἀηδόνων ἠπίαλος, ὕμνος Ἅιδου*, which are similar to descriptions of Chaerephon in the comic tradition.

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butterflies (*ψυχαί* in Greek), tend to have uncanny associations, like the *νεκύδαλος* and the death's head moth *Acherontia atropos*.

III

In conclusion, although the disciples and admirers of Socrates were not literally themselves furnished with the demonic gaze of the true *Blepedaimon*, it could be said that it was by their being in thrall to, and—in the most literal sense—fascinated by, Socrates' insistently glaring eyes that their appearance and behaviour could, at least in the case of Chaerephon, be accounted for. Plato himself provides an allusion to the magical, paralytic powers which he seemed to exert over those with whom he conversed in *Meno* 80a, who says in remonstrance *γοητεύεις με καὶ φαρμάττεις καὶ ἀτεχνῶς κατεπάδεις*, going on to compare Socrates to 'the flat torpedo fish' (*νάρκη*), which paralyses its prey before devouring it. In a letter of Alciphron (2.38) a father attributes the craziness (*χόλος*) of his deranged son, *ἐμπεσὼν ἐξ ὅτου δαιμόνων εἰς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν*,[14] to his always gazing upon the *θέαμα ἀποτρόπαιον* of certain philosophers inhabiting a *phrontisterion*, who although there named Cynics are described in language that clearly recalls the famous picture of the Socratics, and particularly Chaerephon, in *Clouds*. A tradition is recorded, in a number of writers from Cicero (*Fat*. 5.10, *Tusc*. 4.80) to the fourth/fifth-century monk John Cassian (*Collationes* 13.5.3), attributed to the mysterious physiognomist Zopyrus (a contemporary of Socrates whose name was the title of a dialogue by his pupil Phaedo), who interested himself in identifying a man's character from his facial features, about the grossness of Socrates' Silenus face, and his *ὄμματα παιδεραστοῦ*, which the philosopher was obliged to discount. One wonders whether Alcibiades' elaborate panegyric in his somewhat bizarre eulogy in Plato's *Symposium* about the beautiful interior of Socrates satyr-like exterior is a defence against such a current unfavourable opinion.

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[14] There are clear allusions in this epistle to *Clouds* and to Pheidippides' corruption by what he himself calls *ἄνδρασιν χολῶσιν* (833).

LYCURGUS 1.149 AND THOSE TWO VOTING URNS

ὑμῶν δ' ἕκαστον χρὴ νομίζειν τὸν Λεωκράτους ἀποψηφιζόμενον θάνατον τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀνδραποδισμὸν καταψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ δυοῖν καδίσκοιν κειμένοιν τὸν μὲν προδοσίας, τὸν δὲ σωτηρίας εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ψήφους φέρεσθαι τὰς μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως τῆς πατρίδος, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει εὐδαιμονίας.

Each one of you must consider that if you acquit Leocrates you condemn your country to death and enslavement, that of the two urns before you, one stands for betrayal, the other for survival, and that you are casting your ballots in one urn for the desolation of your fatherland, in the other for security and prosperity in the city.

Professor Alan Boegehold has argued at some length that the above passage is anachronistic and that Lycurgus was evoking a balloting procedure no longer used by the Athenians when he refers to two voting urns at the trial of Leocrates in 330.[1] By

[1] 'Lycurgus 1.149', *CPh* 80 (1985), 132–5, and most recently in *When a Gesture was Expected* (Princeton, 1999), 90–1.

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