

Judgement of Paris. Ignore 'the start of his life or quest' and there is also Odysseus: Calypso, Circe, and Nausicaa are his temptresses, separated and stationed at successive stages of his adventures,³⁷ while the Sirens³⁸ represent the temptresses reassembled and reunited back at one place and time.³⁹ 'Come hither to rest' are the words of the Sirens to Odysseus (12.184),⁴⁰ of the Norwegian crone to the two elder brothers, of Folly ('whoso is simple, let him turn in hither') at Proverbs 9.16.⁴¹ The cry of the temptress throughout the ages.

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³⁷ On this aspect of these three figures, see Davies (n. 9), 24–6 and 32–4. Calypso is the *one* temptress when contrasted with Penelope. Cf. Coulter (n. 17), 53.

³⁸ Talking of the Argonauts, Fontenrose (n. 7), 486 observes: 'the Sirens . . . come to much the same thing as the death-dealing mistress'. He calls the relevant episode within his combat myth 'the Siren theme' (see n. 27). In Greek, Siren meant 'a female of dangerous and deceitful charm': see D. L. Page, *Folktales in Homer's Odyssey* (Cambridge, MA, 1973), 85 and 127, n. 22. For Sirens' connections, alongside Calypso, Circe, and Nausicaa, with the Other- and Underworld, see Davies (n. 9), 26. Like Echidna (n. 30) they are *Mischwesen*, but they also resemble the Muses: for both aspects see Page, 86–8 and 126, n. 20, for the latter L. E. Doherty, *Siren Songs: Gender, Audiences, and Narrators in the Odyssey* (Ann Arbor, 1995), 61 and 135–7 with nn. 20 and 25. In their use of ἵδμεν in anaphora at *Od.* 12.188ff. to emphasize their wide knowledge, the Sirens resemble the Muses of Hes. *Theog.* 22–4 (Heubeck on the Odyssean passage supposes Hesiod took this device from it). For the more ambivalent side of Muses, see Davies, 43, n. 60 and cf. G. Luck, *Horizonte der Humanitas, Walter Wilí Festschrift* (1960), 88 = *Ancient Pathways & Hidden Pursuits*, 73. In their use of ἵδμεν in anaphora the Sirens also resemble those other helpers, the three Libyan Heroines of Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* 4.1305ff.

³⁹ The Sirens 'inhabited three island rocks' (Page [n. 38], 85 and 127 n. 30), whence three Sirens (Hesiodic *Catalogue*: fr. 27 MW). But Homer and Sophocles fr. 861 present two, others more: Frazer's Loeb Apollodorus 2.290.

⁴⁰ Odysseus, overcoming the Sirens' temptation, succeeds where all have failed, a pattern in other tales of temptresses thwarted: e.g. the Norwegian story (n. 28) or Wagner's *Parsifal*. This is genuine folk-tale, as Meuli saw (n. 27): he compared Odysseus and Circe with the *Waldhaus* episode from the Bearson tradition (see M. Davies, 'Rumpelstiltskin and Greek mythology', *Prometheus* 28 [2002], 3, n. 10). There too, the hero succeeds against the demon *where his comrades failed* and extracts help, confirming (cf. n. 27) the paradoxical near-identity of our temptress with the demonic, ambivalent helper in the hero's quest.

⁴¹ See too the Flower Maidens in Act Two of *Parsifal*: *Komm, komm, holder Knabe! Komm, komm, lass mich dir blühen*. For Sirens and flowery meadows, cf. Page (n. 38), 128, n. 36.

APOLLO'S HAWK AT ARISTOPHANES, *BIRDS* 516¹

Πε. ὁ δὲ δεινότατον γ' ἐστὶν ἀπάντων, ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων
αἰετὸν ὄρνιν ἔστηκεν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς βασιλεὺς ὦν, 515
ἢ δ' αὖ θυγάτηρ γλαυχ', ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων ὥσπερ θεραπόντων ἱέρακα.

Peisetairos. And what is the most dreadful thing of all, is that Zeus, who is king now, is shown standing with an eagle on his head because he's king, and his daughter likewise with an owl, and Apollo, like a servant, with a hawk.²

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Dr C. W. Marshall of the University of British Columbia for frequent and invaluable advice throughout the preparation of this paper.

² Trans. A. H. Sommerstein, *Birds* (Warminster, 1987), 75.

The editors of Aristophanes have generally retained the *paradosis* at *Birds* 516,³ but Nan Dunbar condemns ὥσπερ θεράπων as a meaningless comparison.⁴ However, in preferring Blaydes's ὥς θεράπων ὦν 'as the neatest correction palaeographically . . . and providing the necessary causal clause ("because he's a servant")', I believe that Dunbar may leave questions unanswered.

The scholiast *ad* 515 explains,⁵ ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων τὸν ἰέρακα ὥς μαντικὸν ὄρνεον καὶ ὥς θεράπων τοῦ Διός· ἐπεὶ μικρότερος τοῦ αἰτοῦ ὁ ἰέραξ: 'Apollo bears the hawk because it is the mantic bird, and because he is servant to Zeus: for the hawk is smaller than the eagle.' The scholiast fails to justify his claim that Apollo is θεράπων τοῦ Διός. Bothe supports the allusion 'quoniam auctore Ioue Apollo uaticinatur, A. *Eum.* 19',⁷ but Apollo is not described as his father's θεράπων at *Eumenides* 19 (Διὸς προφήτης δ' ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός) nor elsewhere. The same objection stands against those commentators who cite Apollo's periods of service to mortal men. The classical sources for those episodes use the verb *θητεύειν* (Hom. *Il.* 21.441–57, Eur. *Alc.* 1–8), or fail to refer to them as servitude (Eur. *Tro.* 4–6). 'The audience', as Dunbar herself puts it, 'would surely need a reminder if a specific story had to be remembered at this point'.⁸

Blaydes elsewhere proposed⁹ to correct θεράπων to θεράπονθ' and make the hawk the servant in Apollo's place. But without an appropriately specific reference¹⁰ to support this allusion, then it simply states the obvious, and fails to bring 514–16 to a fitting climax.

The remaining defence of the manuscript reading is to assume a popular reference that has since been lost to us. Sommerstein (*ad loc.*) posits the proverb that 'every slave is a hawk to his master': for Aristophanes tells us elsewhere that servants are a thieving lot (see *Ach.* 272–3, *Eq.* 101, *Vesp.* 449, *Pl.* 27, 318–21), and hawks are symbolic of rapacity. But such an hypothesis can neither be proven nor disproven, and should be adopted only in the absence of a viable alternative.

Let us consider the text. No doubt need fall on the phrase ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων . . . ἰέρακα, for there is no difficulty in making the hawk the associate of Apollo. At *Od.* 15.525 the ἰέραξ is Apollo's special messenger; at *Il.* 15.220 Apollo is likened to a hawk as he swoops from Olympus; the scholium to *Birds* 564 explains that Apollo will be

³ Among the most influential are F. H. Bothe (Leipzig, 1845), B. Bickley Rogers (London, 1906), F. W. Hall and W. M. Geldart (Oxford, 1906/7²), V. Coulon, trans. H. van Daele (Paris, 1928), and, most recently, Sommerstein (n. 2).

⁴ N. Dunbar, *Aristophanes, Birds* (Oxford, 1995), 355: Dunbar develops this argument to counter F. Wieseler, *Schedae Criticae in Ar. Aves* (Göttingen, 1882), 12–13. She adds from the testimony of Aristotle (*HA* 620a33–b5) that fifth-century hunting expeditions outside of Thrace were unlikely to include raptors; on this point, see also J. Pollard, *Birds in Athenian Life and Myth* (London, 1977), 108–9, who describes the practice of falconry in Thrace and Persia and notes its absence on the Greek mainland.

⁵ F. H. M. Blaydes, *Aristophanis Aves* (Halle, 1882²), 463, addenda et corrigenda.

⁶ See D. Holwerda (ed.), *Scholia in Aristophanem* (Groningen, 1991), Pars i, fasc. v, 87, *ad* 515b.

⁷ Bothe, *Aristophanis Comoediae* I (Leipzig, 1845), on his line 490.

⁸ Dunbar (n. 4), *ad loc.* The Euripidean echo of *Alc.* 442 at *Av.* 539 (πολὺ δὴ πολὺ δὴ) is presented as being typical for Euripides, and is not a specific allusion to *Alcestis*.

⁹ Blaydes (n. 5), 61, *ad* 516.

¹⁰ The correction may be verbally supported by Aelian (*NA* 12.4), who names two species of ἰέραξ as θεράπων καὶ ἀκόλουθος Ἀπόλλωνος; but Aelian proceeds to assign four other species of ἰέραξ to Athena, Hermes, Hera, and Artemis, respectively, and the thrust of *NA* 12.4 is, in its author's own words, that different gods are served by different ἰέρακες. On the religious associations of the ἰέραξ in general, cf. D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1895), 65–7.

replaced by the hawk when the gods are supplanted by their respective birds;¹¹ and at Herodotus 2.156 Apollo is identified with the Egyptian hawk-god Horus. But the explanatory clause should offer a comic justification for Apollo's association with the hawk, and parallel the function of βασιλεύων two lines above it. What characteristic does the hawk possess that Peisetairos here means to assign to Apollo?

Throughout the plays of Aristophanes, the image of the *ιέραξ* represents avarice: thus the hawk is likened to Aristophanes' rapacious Cleon at *Eq.* 1052, and when the birds promise to aid humanity in its 'plundering' (*ἀρπάσαι*) at *Av.* 1111–12, their gift will be an *ὄξυν ἱερακίσκον*. The same imagery is found throughout archaic and classical literature.¹² I believe Dunbar comes closest to the truth when she remarks (*ad* 516), 'Perhaps hawk-like rapacity (cf. 1111–12) is being implied in Apollo himself, whether as god of the lucrative Delphic oracle or as god of physicians.' For physicians (*ἱατροί*) are often the subject of comic criticism in Aristophanes, and always for the same reason:

Βλ. οὐκουν ἱατρὸν εἰσάγειν ἐχρῆν τινά;
Χρ. τίς δῆτ' ἱατρός ἐστι νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει;
οὔτε γὰρ ὁ μισθὸς οὐδὲν ἔστ' οὔθ' ἡ τέχνη.

Blepsidemus. Well, shouldn't we be calling in a doctor?

Chremulos. Why, what doctors are there now in Athens? The pay's not there, so the profession's not there either.¹³

Γε. ἀπόλωλα τῷφθαλμῷ δακρύων τῷ βόε.
ἀλλ' εἴ τι κήδει Δερκέτου Φυλασίου,
ὑπάλειψον εἰρήνη με τῷφθαλμῷ ταχύ.
Δι. ἀλλ' ὦ πόνηρ' οὐ δημοσιεύων τυγχάνω.

Derketes. I've cried my eyes out with weeping for my oxen. If you care at all for Dercetes of Phyle, please anoint my eyes with peace right away.

Dikaionpolis. But, my poor dear fellow, I'm not a public physician.¹⁴

Πε. οἱ δ' αὖ κόρακες τῶν ζευγαρίων, οἷσιν τὴν γῆν καταροῦσιν,
καὶ τῶν προβάτων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκοψάντων ἐπὶ πείρα·
εἴθ' ὃ γ' Ἀπόλλων ἱατρός γ' ὦν ἰάσθω· μισθοφορεῖ δέ.

Peisetairos. And the ravens, for their part, by way of a test, should knock out the eyes of their

¹¹ The line describing this has probably dropped out following 564; see Dunbar *ad loc.*

¹² Where the image of the hawk represents swiftness (so *Il.* 13.62, Paus. 7.12.2a), cruel rapacity for prey (so *Il.* 236–8, Aesch. *Pr.* 856), and hence greed, cruelty, and self-interest in general (so Hes. *Op.* 204–5, Pl. *Phd.* 82a). For the hawk's epithets, see D'Arcy Thompson (n. 10), 65.

¹³ *Plut.* 406–8, trans. A. H. Sommerstein, *Wealth* (Warminster, 2001), 77.

¹⁴ *Ach.* 1027–30, trans. A. H. Sommerstein, *Acharnians* (Warminster, 1980), 137. Together, the three passages cited here point to a dispute over the stipend (*μισθός*) of the publicly employed physician (see Dunbar and Sommerstein on *Av.* 584, Sommerstein on *Plut.* 408, and S. D. Olson, *Aristophanes, Acharnians* [Oxford, 2002], 325, with references). Athens may have been forced to reduce the amount of its retaining fee during the war, or after the plague. At any rate, the cost of medical care was a popular issue, and Aristophanes alluded to it repeatedly: together with the passages cited above, compare Aristophanes' remarks on the public physician Pittalos at *Ach.* 1032, 1222 and *Vesp.* 1432.

sheep, and of the teams with which they plough their land. Then let Apollo, Healer that he is, heal them; he draws a salary for that!¹⁵

At *Birds* 584 Aristophanes suggests that Apollo himself may be regarded as an avaricious *λατρός*. Likewise, I think, the justification for Apollo's association with the rapacious hawk at *Birds* 516 may be sought in his identity as physician.

I propose that the text of 516 should read as follows:

ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων ὡς θεραπεύων ἰέρακα.

θεραπεύων, as a substantive, means 'doctor' (Pl. *Plt.* 293bc), and the verb *θεραπεύω* designates the activity of physicians in Thucydides (2.47.4). It bears the same force in the Hippocratic Oath, in Antiphon, in Xenophon, in Isocrates, in Plato, and in Aristotle.¹⁶ Apollo is a natural subject of the participle *θεραπεύων*, and the climax of 514–16 will serve as another allusion, like *Pl.* 406–8, *Ach.* 1027–30, and *Av.* 582–4, to the issue of physicians' pay.

The corruption of *θεραπεύων* to *θεράπων* is a straightforward slip: *θεράπων* appears nine times in Aristophanes, three of them in *Birds* (discounting 516): *θεραπεύω*, by contrast, appears five times in the extant eleven comedies, and never in *Birds*. The two forms were often used interchangeably, and the only discernible difference in the Attic authors is the medical force that came, in the late fifth and fourth centuries, to attend *θεραπεύω*. A copyist could easily have written *θεράπων* in carelessness, particularly after Zeus had been described as *βασιλεύς*. The assonance of *θεραπεύων* also chiefly echoes 514, its primary parallel.¹⁷

We may then follow Blaydes and Dunbar in proposing that *-περ* was appended to ὡς to mend the metre, and render the full passage as follows:

Πε. ὁ δὲ δεινότατόν γ' ἐστὶν πάντων, ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων
αἰετὸν ὄρνιν ἔστηκεν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς βασιλεὺς ὦν, 515
ἢ δ' αὖ θυγάτηρ γλαῦχ', ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων ὡς θεραπεύων ἰέρακα.

Peisetairos. And what is the most dreadful thing of all, is that Zeus, who is king now, is shown standing with an eagle on his head because he's king, and his daughter likewise with an owl, and Apollo, since he's a doctor, with a hawk.

English folk ornithology would prefer 'a vulture', but the point is clear. In its context this reading is greatly improved, for it joins a steady stream of similar allegations. At 508–9 birds are said to perch atop the scepters of kings 'to share in their bribe-taking'; at 513 and 521 Lysicrates and Lampon are duly lambasted for their greed and fraudulence respectively. To attack physicians for greed at 516 fits naturally. Just as the analogy of the *ἰέραξ* serves subtly to disparage Cleon at *Eq.* 1052, it adds a fine satirical point to the passage here.

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¹⁵ *Av.* 582–4, trans. A. H. Sommerstein, *Birds* (Warminster, 1987), 83.

¹⁶ LSJ s.v. *θεραπεύω* II.7.

¹⁷ 514: *βασιλεύων*; 515: *βασιλεὺς ὦν*; 516: *θεραπεύων*. The alternative ὡς *θεράπων ὦν* draws attention instead to 515. The 'jangling assonance' that we find in these lines, as Dunbar observes (*ad* 516), is not alien to Aristophanes. In fact it has caused omissions elsewhere: *γέροντας* <*όντας*>, *Ach.* 222.