

PATROCLES OF ATHENS AND PATROCLES OF THURII

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Abstract: The Patrocles mocked as an unwashed miser in Aristophanes *Wealth* 83–85 has been wrongly identified as a tragic poet (*TrGF* no. 57). This note explains the error and discusses some possible identifications of Aristophanes’ Patrocles.

Keywords: Patrocles, tragedians, Aristophanes’ *Wealth*, Aristophanes scholia, Athenian prosopography

Volume 1 of *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (TrGF)*, p. 197, lists two tragedians named Patrocles: ‘57 Patrocles Atheniensis, 58 Patrocles Thurius’. The testimonia and fragments cited with these are:

T 1 a: Aristophanes *Plutus* 83–85:

XP. πόθεν οὔν, φράσον,
αὐχμῶν βαδίσεις; ΠΑ. ἐκ Πατροκλέους ἔρχομαι,
ὄς οὐκ ἐλούσατ’ ἐξ ὄτουπερ ἐγένετο.¹

T 1 b: Schol. *ad loc.* with Suda π 795 (see citations below);

T 2: the name]ης in the Victors List for the Lenaea, with a first victory around 380 BC (*IG* II² 2325, 235 (p. 205 Millis–Olson) = *TrGF* DID A 3b, 37);

F 1: a moralizing excerpt of seven iambic verses ascribed to ‘Patrocles’ in Stobaeus 4.47.3;

F 2: a statement in Clement of Alexandria’s *Protrepticus* 2.30.4 that ‘Patrocles of Thuri and the younger Sophocles tell of the Dioscuri in three tragedies’ (or ‘in certain tragedies’ with Welcker’s reading τισι for mss. τρισι).

In his apparatus B. Snell (1986) suggests that these two might be the same poet but otherwise refers **T 1** and **T 2** to the Athenian, **F 2** (obviously) to the Thurian and **F 1** probably also to the Thurian.² He adds that Aristophanes’ Patrocles was first identified as a tragedian by Helmut Hoffmann in his *Chronologie der attischen Tragödie*, a 1951 Hamburg dissertation prepared under Snell’s supervision. A. Nauck (1889), for example, includes only Patrocles Thurius, undated, with **F 1** and **F 2**.

In support of his identification, Hoffmann cites *Plutus* 83–84 with the scholia, and comments: ‘[D]er Scholiast zum Plutos des Aristophanes . . . ihn ausdrücklich als Tragödiendichter bezeichnet. Diese Angabe . . . hat deswegen als besonders glaubwürdig zu gelten, weil sie auf gelehrte Forschungen zurückgehen muss, denn der Komödientext selbst . . . enthält keinerlei Hinweis auf

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¹ *Chorus*. So tell me, how is it you’re going about in that filthy state? *Wealth*. I’m coming from Patrocles’ house – and he hasn’t washed himself since he was born.

² Snell (1986) does not explain how a single poet could have been said to come from both places. It is conceivable in view of the close ties between Athens and Thuri, but Aristophanes’ Patrocles seems to be thoroughly Athenian.

den Beruf des Patrokles.³ He adds that Aristophanes' references place this tragedian in the early fourth century, so that]ης in the Lenaea Victors List might be this Patrocles.⁴

Hoffmann's text of the Aristophanes scholia is repeated from F. Dübner's edition of 1841, which itself relies on W. Dindorf's edition of 1838. All three print the text of the scholia as found in ms. **V** (Venetus Marcianus 474, 11th century). Neither Hoffmann nor Snell (who prints a condensed and slightly inaccurate hybrid of the wordings in Suda π 795 and the scholia) mentions that the words 'he was a tragic poet' (ἦν δὲ τραγωδίας ποιητής) appear only in the **V** scholia and not in those in ms. **R** (Ravennas 429, tenth century, the other most important ms. source), nor in any of the relevant later medieval manuscripts (which agree essentially with **R**), nor in Suda π 795 (which agrees with **R** and includes a further explanatory comment). Hoffmann's and Snell's oversight is to some extent understandable as Dübner, who normally places words present in **V** but absent in **R** in round brackets (as stated in his preface, p. xi) neglects to do so in this case. The difference is therefore not obvious in his edition, although it can be inferred from a careful reading of Dübner's or Dindorf's notes, or of W.G. Rutherford's 1896 edition of the **R** scholia. M. Chantry's thorough (1994) edition of the *Plutus* scholia now makes things clear:

Schol. *Plut.* 84a Chantry:⁵

Ἐκ Πατροκλέους **R**:

(α) Ἀθηναῖος, πλούσιος μὲν σφόδρα, ἄλλως δὲ κακόβιός τις καὶ φιλοχρήματος καὶ σκνιφὸς κωμωδεῖται,⁶ **RENpMatrBarbLutV**⁵⁷**Ald**

(β) τὸν Πατροκλέα κωμωδεῖ ὡς Ἀθηναῖον μὲν καὶ πλούσιον, κνιπὸν δὲ καὶ φειδωλόν· ἦν δὲ τραγωδίας ποιητής, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ κακόβιός τις καὶ φιλοχρήματος,⁷ **V**

ὡς [καὶ add. **V**] ἐν τοῖς Πελαργοῖς εἴρηται περὶ τούτου, ὅστις ἔνεκεν τῆς [τῆς om. **V**] φειδωλίας οὐδένα εἶα προσίεσθαι, φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ γλίσχρου βίου.⁸ **RVENpMatrBarbLutAld**

Compare the full text of Suda π 795 (Adler):

Πατροκλῆς: ὄνομα κύριον. καὶ παροιμία· ἐκ Πατροκλέους, ἐπὶ τῶν ῥυπάντων καὶ ἀύχμηρῶν· Πατροκλῆς γὰρ ἐγένετο Ἀθηναῖος, πλούσιος σφόδρα, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ κακόβιός τις καὶ φιλοχρήματος καὶ σκνιπός· ὅστις ἔνεκεν τῆς φειδωλίας οὐδένα εἶα προσίεσθαι, φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ γλίσχρου βίου. ὁ Πλοῦτος οὖν ἐρωτώμενος, πόθεν βαδίζεις; ἐκ Πατροκλέους, ἔρη.⁹

³ Hoffmann (1951) 158: 'The scholiast on Aristophanes' *Plutus* 83f. . . . describes him explicitly as a tragic poet. This information . . . should be considered especially credible because it must go back to learned research, for the text of the comedy itself . . . contains no reference at all to Patrocles' occupation.'

⁴ Hoffmann (1951) 159 n.1.

⁵ The two square-bracketed insertions are drawn from Chantry's apparatus, which also records a few trivial differences amongst the mss. Further scholia presented by Chantry as **84b-d** add nothing of substance except the statement in all the relevant mss that Patrocles 'was one of those who emulated the Spartan lifestyle', on which see further below.

⁶ 'Athenian, lampooned as very wealthy but otherwise an ill-living, avaricious and mean man . . .'

⁷ 'He (Aristophanes) lampoons Patrocles as Athenian and wealthy but mean and miserly; he was a tragic poet, but otherwise ill-living and avaricious . . .'

⁸ '... as has been stated about him (also) in the *Pelargoi* (i.e. in the commentary on that play), as one who because of his miserliness allowed no one to visit him, because of his hoarding of money and stingy way of life.' The references here and in Schol. *Plut.* 665b to a commentary on the lost *Pelargoi* (= Aristophanes F 455 and 454 *PCG*) show that the information in these two notes is substantially ancient. The statement that Patrocles refused to allow anyone into his house presumably alludes to something in *Pelargoi*; it cannot be inferred from *Plut.* 83–84.

⁹ '*Patrocles*: a proper name. Also a proverb, *From Patrocles* ('house'), referring to dirty and squalid people. Patrocles was an Athenian, very wealthy but otherwise also an ill-living, avaricious and mean man, one who because of his miserliness allowed no one to visit him, because of his hoarding of money and his stingy way of life. So Wealth, being asked "Where are you coming from?", said "From Patrocles' (house)".'

The uniqueness of **V**'s assertion that Aristophanes' Patrocles was a tragic poet is now evident. Where did it originate, and what authority does it have? **V** sometimes preserves old material that has been eliminated from the rest of the scholia tradition, but it also sometimes contains additional comments from extraneous sources.¹⁰ In this case **V**'s text looks very much like a degraded version of the text represented by **R** etc. and by the Suda. The words ἦν δὲ τραγωδίας ποιητής actually disrupt their coherent statement (Patrocles was wealthy but mean and stingy) to give something incoherent (Patrocles was wealthy but mean and stingy; he was a tragic poet, but otherwise ill-living and avaricious). Nothing in the *Plutus* itself, or in what we know of the *Pelargoi*, suggests that Aristophanes' Patrocles had anything to do with composing tragedies. The likeliest explanation, then, is that at a late stage of the transmission of the Aristophanes scholia (late enough for the result to appear only in **V**)¹¹ someone mistakenly identified Aristophanes' Patrocles as the tragedian recorded in sources available to him (notably Stobaeus)¹² simply as 'Patrocles', i.e. Patrocles of Thurii.

If that is so, Snell's '57 Patrocles Atheniensis' and his **T 1a–b** can be eliminated from the annals of Greek tragic production. Patrocles Thurius remains, and with him Clement's **F 2** and (presumably) Stobaeus' **F 1** as in Nauck, but about him we have no biographical information at all. Hoffmann's identification of his name in the Lenaea Victors List (**T 2**) becomes a very long shot.¹³

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'More miserly than Patrocles' would become one of those 'proverbs' preserved in the collections of later antiquity (*cf.* Apostolius 13.100), many of which are derived from the targets of Old Comedy. Comparison with *Clouds* 833–37 suggests that the point of the joke is that Patrocles is so stingy that he refuses to pay the fee charged by bath-houses:

εὐστόμει
καὶ μηδὲν εἶπης φλαῦρον ἄνδρας δεξιούς
καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντας, ὧν ὑπὸ τῆς φειδωλίας
ἀπεκείρατ' οὐδεὶς πώποτ' οὐδ' ἠλείψατο
οὐδ' εἰς βαλανεῖον ἦλθε λουσόμενος.¹⁴

See also **F 736**, cited by Phrynichus (*Soph. Prep.* 76.15): λέγει δ' Ἀριστοφάνης οὕτως· ἰξοί, ῥυποκόνδυλοι, ὅπερ σημαίνει καὶ αὐτὸ τοὺς γλίσχρους καὶ διὰ τὴν φειδωλίαν μῆτε λουομένους μῆτε κτενιζομένους.¹⁵ Lack of washing could be regarded as part of the ascetic life, maliciously distorted at *Clouds* 833–37 as due to miserliness, or as an emulation of the Spartan life-style – see *Birds* 1282, Platon **F 132** (*Presbeis*), where having 'dirty knuckles' is part of the imitation of things Spartan, and Schol. *Plut.* 84b: εἷς ἦν δὲ οὗτος τῶν τὸν Λακωνικὸν ζηλούντων βίον.¹⁶ Since Wealth is leaving Patrocles' house, we may assume that Patrocles is a rich man, but the joke may depend more on his filthy appearance and repulsive habits than on his wealth.

¹⁰ *Cf.* Chantry (1994) xix–xxi; also White (1914) lxxvii n.6: 'Notes that occur in V or R but not in both nor in any other manuscript nor in Suidas provoke inquiry. The natural assumption is that they are old scholia, but the content of some of them seems to indicate the contrary.'

¹¹ For the relationships between the manuscripts with scholia, see Chantry (1994) xix–xxvii with chart on p. xxix.

¹² The name appears as Πατροκλέυς (from Stobaeus' Πατροκλέους) in Photius' list of poets cited by Stobaeus (*Phot. Bibl. cod.* 167).

¹³ Millis and Olson ((2012) 206) remark that both Πατροκλέης and Πολυχάρης (Snell's alternative suggestion) 'seem slightly too long for the space available'. Of

recent critics, both Sommerstein ((2001) 140) and Pellegrino ((2015) 264) consider that the scholiast's statement that the comic Patrocles was a tragic poet is the result of confusion with the known tragic poet from Thurii.

¹⁴ 'Watch your mouth and don't say anything silly against clever and intelligent men; because of their stinginess none of them has ever had a hair-cut or anointed himself with oil or entered a bath-house to wash.'

¹⁵ 'This is what Aristophanes says, "birdlimes, dirty-knuckles", which also refers to the miserly and those who because of their stinginess neither take baths nor comb their hair.'

¹⁶ 'This man was one of those who emulated the Spartan way of life.'

The name Patrocles is not rare at Athens, with nearly 30 entries in *PAA* (Traill (2005)) and six demes represented in the fourth century. In addition to the *kōmōidoumenos* (*PAA* 768605) we know the following men from the late fifth and early fourth centuries:

- (1) *PAA* 768600: *archon basileus* in 403, involved in financial litigation following the overthrow of the Thirty (Isocrates 18.5–8);
- (2) *PAA* 768625: son of Pasicles, *tamias* of Athena in 377/6 (*IG* II² 1411.6);
- (3) *PAA* 768635: of the tribe Aigeis, *epistatēs* in 421/0 (*IG* I³ 79.4);
- (4) *PAA* 768645: of the deme Alopeke, *athlothetēs* at the Panathenaia in 406/5 (*IG* I³ 378.16);¹⁷
- (5) *PAA* 768650: son of Chaeredemus, maternal half-brother of Socrates (Pl. *Euthyd.* 297e).

About the only thing we can say for certain is that (3) cannot be (4), since the deme Alopeke belonged to tribe X (Antiochis) and not to tribe II (Aigeis). Some possible identifications for the *kōmōidoumenos* suggest themselves. In her prosopography to Plato Debra Nails (2002) proposes to conflate four of these individuals into a single wealthy and prominent Patrocles in the early years of the fourth century: the rich and miserly *kōmōidoumenos*, the ex-archon with financial expertise (1), the *athlothetēs* from Alopeke (4), which was the deme to which Socrates belonged, and finally Socrates' half-brother (5). But Nails may be trying to tidy up the field too much. Her inclusion of (4) reinforces the identification with (5), but it depends on the assumption that the two husbands of Socrates' mother came from the same deme. She makes a good case for identifying the *kōmōidoumenos* with (1), who had served as *archon basileus* during the time of the Ten in 403 and was closely associated with the speaker of Isocrates 18, a speech that concerns the confiscation of funds during the era of the Thirty. The Callimachus who is the subject of the prosecution in Isocrates 18 and a foe of Patrocles could well be the rich man made fun of at *Ecclesiastusae* 805–10.¹⁸ This Patrocles would appear to have been a man of some wealth and position in the years following the fall of the Thirty and could well have still been prominent some 15 years later. But one could equally well go in the other direction chronologically and argue that the wealthy miser of Aristophanes' *Wealth* could be the treasurer of Athena ten years in the future. Or (1) and (2) could be the same person.

We suspect that the details of an identification depend on which piece of the puzzle one puts in first. If we look for a rich man, then (1) or (2) stand out as the first candidates and we could consider (4) or (5) only in passing, if at all. But if we are more tempted by the fraternal link between the half-brothers Socrates and Patrocles, then we might start with (5) and press (4) into service to provide a deme-link; and with him come chronological considerations. If Patrocles the miser is Socrates' half-brother, then we are looking for a Patrocles active in the fifth century. Since Socrates would have been 81 in 388 BC, when *Wealth* was staged, a rich half-brother is more likely to have been (1) than (2).

So is Patrocles the 'filthy-rich miser' the half-brother of Socrates? The latter is described at *Clouds* 836 and *Birds* 1554–55 as 'unwashed', and at Plato *Symposium* 174a the narrator admits that it was rare for Socrates to take a bath and put on shoes. Bathing little or not at all could be attributed to the ascetic lifestyle, to a devotion to things Spartan or to a miserly disposition, and the comic references show how these could be confused and deliberately misconstrued. But we would have to reconcile the wealth of Patrocles with the acknowledged poverty of Socrates, and if the half-brothers were not that close, especially in age, and certainly raised by different fathers,¹⁹

¹⁷ = *IG* I² 378.10 (and erroneously listed as *IG* I³ 378.10 in *PAA*).

¹⁸ This speech is well analysed by Loening (1987) 124–28 in the larger context of the amnesty that followed the overthrow of the Thirty.

¹⁹ Our only other biographical information about Socrates' father, Sophroniscus, comes from Plato's *Laches* (180), where the speaker Lysimachus, son of Aristides the Just, says that he and Socrates' father were fellow demesmen and also 'close companions and

can we assume that Patrocles had adopted Socrates' habits? Nails confidently describes Patrocles as a 'much younger' half-brother to Socrates, but Plato's *Euthydemus* says only that they were half-brothers with a mother in common and nothing precise about the order of Phaenarete's husbands or the difference in age between the half-brothers. Nails elsewhere (234–35) argues strongly for Chaeredemus as the second husband, but she may be trying too hard to identify Socrates' half-brother with a Patrocles active at the end of the century. On balance we find the case for this identification unproven. In their commentaries both B.B. Rogers and P.A. Ward similarly find the identification with Socrates' half-brother unconvincing. We would prefer to look at (1) and/or (2) as the rich miser. A.H. Sommerstein is rather pessimistic in his overall observation, 'we know of several men of the name in the late fifth and fourth centuries; our man may be any or none of them'.²⁰ We would prefer not to be quite so dismissive.

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friends', and that Sophroniscus had died some time before. The dramatic date of *Laches* is probably around 424 (so Nails (2002) 312), but we should always be

suspicious of the biographical information and the implied dramatic date in a Platonic dialogue.

²⁰ Sommerstein (2001) 140.