The Thinkery and the Lyceum: the Clouds and the Peripatetic corpus — a groundwork note on relations, withholding readings (v1.1)

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Abstract

The Clouds of Aristophanes and the treatises under the names Aristotle and Theophrastus share a curriculum. This groundwork note, in the manner of Catalogues and Wills (#1581) and Two Lists of Stones (#1592), sets the two side by side, locus by locus in the seated Greek: the things aloft and under the earth, thought carried in dry air against moisture (ἰκμάς), thunder and the thunderbolt as enclosed dry wind, sound driven by breath through a narrow passage, the weaker argument, the genders of nouns, the Vortex in place of Zeus, and the rustic pupil, with the predecessor to whom the treatises assign each. It then sets the charge apparatus side by side: the comedy's research called μυστήρια and its first joke ending on escaping a suit; the King Archon of the Constitution of the Athenians 57, who holds the Mysteries, the Lenaean contest and the indictments for impiety; the Euthyphro's Socrates walking from the Lyceum to the King's Stoa; the Apology's naming of Aristophanes' comedy and the Crito's refused flight; and Diogenes Laertius on Aristotle's withdrawal to Chalcis under an impiety charge brought by the hierophant Eurymedon, a name that also stands in Plato's will and in the family of Speusippus. A third part sets the king's education side by side: the one surviving sentence of Theophrastus's lost On Kingship, addressed to Cassander, stands in the Cyropaedia (8.8.16); the Cyropaedia's free agora is the free agora of Politics VII 12; the Alcibiades I's pupil will not live unless he crosses into Asia; and Arrian reports that Aristotle found the poison and Cassander carried it. Version 1.1 adds the hen and the kneading-trough to the curriculum, a column marking how the conventional account reaches each predecessor, and the rule that a lost source is not posited where extant texts already hold the relation. No dependence is asserted, no chronology argued and no author proposed.

Body

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read from the seated texts (Aristophanes, Perseus tlg0019.tlg003, EA-CORPORA-06/02; Plato, Burnet, EA-CORPORA-01/08; Aristotle, EA-CORPORA-04/01; Theophrastus, EA-CORPORA-09/01 and 38/04; Diogenes Laertius, EA-CORPORA-12/01). The juxtapositions, the decision to withhold readings, and the venue are Lee Sharks's. version: v1.1 related_ids: "#1793 (v1.0, superseded); #1581 (Catalogues and Wills); #1592 (Two Lists of Stones); #1737 (The Portents Before the Fall); #1579 (Beautiful and New); #1792 (EA-CORPORA-41); #1559 (EA-CORPORA-04); #1562 (EA-CORPORA-06); #1580 (EA-CORPORA-12)" axn_schema_version: v2 protocol_version: alexanarch-deposit-protocol/v1 keywords: - Aristophanes - Clouds - Socrates - thinkery - phrontisterion - Aristotle - Theophrastus - Lyceum - Peripatetic corpus - Meteorologica - Rhetoric - Sophistical Refutations - De sensibus - Diogenes of Apollonia - Protagoras - weaker argument - genders of nouns - Vortex - Dinos - Characters - rustic - Constitution of the Athenians - King Archon - impiety - graphe asebeias - Mysteries - Lenaia - Euthyphro - Apology - Crito - Diogenes Laertius - Eurymedon - groundwork note - relations *** # The Thinkery and the Lyceum: the Clouds and the Peripatetic corpus — a groundwork note on relations, withholding readings (v1.1)

The Thinkery and the Lyceum

The *Clouds* and the Peripatetic corpus: a groundwork note on relations, withholding readings

Lee Sharks · v1.1 · 2026-11-20 · Grammata: Journal of Operative Philology · relations established, readings withheld · Greek from the seated Aristophanes (Perseus tlg0019.tlg003, cited by the edition's line numbers), Plato (Burnet via Perseus, EA-CORPORA-01/08, #1506), Aristotle (the seated Perseus texts), Theophrastus (First1KGreek tlg0093; Diels's *Characteres*, 1909), Xenophon, Athenaeus, Plutarch, Arrian and Diogenes Laertius

Abstract

A comedy produced at Athens and a body of school treatises share a curriculum. The *Clouds*' Socrates teaches the things aloft and the things under the earth, thought carried in dry air against moisture, thunder and the thunderbolt as enclosed dry wind, sound driven by breath through a narrow passage, the weaker argument, the genders of nouns, and the Vortex in place of Zeus; his pupil is a rustic. The treatises under the names Aristotle and Theophrastus hold each of these, several in the same words, and assign most of them to named predecessors. The comedy also calls the school's research μυστήρια, and its first joke ends on escaping a lawsuit. A treatise in the same corpus gives one magistrate the Mysteries, the comic contest and the impiety indictment; a dialogue walks Socrates from the Lyceum to that magistrate's porch; and the same name stands for Aristotle's own prosecutor. A third set runs from the treatises to the king: the one surviving sentence of Theophrastus's lost *On Kingship* stands in the *Cyropaedia*, whose free agora is the free agora of the *Politics*, and the *Alcibiades I* gives its pupil the wish to cross into Asia. This note sets those relations side by side, marks for each the path by which the conventional account reaches the predecessor it assigns, and withholds the readings. No dependence is asserted, no chronology argued and no author proposed.

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1. Why relations, and why withheld

A groundwork note establishes what stands where, in whose words, at which locus, and stops. The relations below are close enough that readings will come, and for that reason none is made here. A table of shared doctrine between a comedy and a treatise corpus invites a story about who borrowed from whom. That story is the reading, and it is set aside. What is set down is what any reading will have to be true to.

2. The curriculum

2.1 The things aloft, and the things under the earth

In the thinkery the students stare at the ground: ζητοῦσιν οὗτοι τὰ κατὰ γῆς, “these are seeking the things under the earth” (*Clouds* 188). Their rumps look at the sky, αὐτὸς καθ’ αὑτὸν ἀστρονομεῖν διδάσκεται, “learning astronomy on its own account” (194). Socrates in the basket could not have found out τὰ μετέωρα πράγματα, the things aloft, from the ground (228).

The *Apology*’s affidavit of the old accusers runs: Σωκράτης ἀδικεῖ καὶ περιεργάζεται ζητῶν τά τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ οὐράνια καὶ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν, “Socrates does wrong and busies himself, seeking the things under the earth and in the heavens, and making the weaker argument stronger” (19b). The same list returns as τὰ κατὰ πάντων τῶν φιλοσοφούντων πρόχειρα, “the things ready to hand against all who philosophize”: τὰ μετέωρα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν καὶ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν (23d).

The *Meteorologica* opens by naming its subject as what “all who came before called μετεωρολογία” (I 1, 338a26).

2.2 Thought in dry air, against moisture

Socrates, asked why he hangs aloft: he would never have found out the things aloft rightly εἰ μὴ κρεμάσας τὸ νόημα καὶ τὴν φροντίδα / λεπτὴν καταμείξας ἐς τὸν ὅμοιον ἀέρα, “unless I hung up the mind and mixed the thought, being fine, into the air that is like it”. On the ground the earth βίᾳ / ἕλκει πρὸς αὑτὴν τὴν ἰκμάδα τῆς φροντίδος, “by force draws to itself the moisture of the thought” (*Clouds* 228–233).

Theophrastus, reporting Diogenes, who ties living, thinking and sensing to air: φρονεῖν δὲ … τῷ ἀέρι καθαρῷ καὶ ξηρῷ· κωλύειν γὰρ τὴν ἰκμάδα τὸν νοῦν, διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς μέθαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλησμοναῖς ἧττον φρονεῖν, “thinking is by pure and dry air, for moisture hinders the mind; which is why in sleep, in drunkenness and in surfeit we think less” (*De sensibus* 39–44, the seated edition’s chapter VIII).

The shared word is ἰκμάς. In the comedy it is Socrates’s; in the treatise it is Diogenes’s.

2.3 Thunder and the thunderbolt

Socrates argues from Strepsiades’s belly: filled with soup at the Panathenaea, it rumbled, and Strepsiades confirms it thunders, παππὰξ παππάξ (386–391). σκέψαι τοίνυν ἀπὸ γαστριδίου τυννουτουὶ οἷα πέπορδας, “consider, then, what farts you let from so small a belly”, and how should the boundless Air not thunder greatly (392–393)? Strepsiades: ταῦτ’ ἄρα καὶ τὠνόματ’

ἀλλήλοιν βροντὴ καὶ πορδὴ ὁμοίω, “so that is why their names are alike too, thunder and fart” (394). Socrates on the thunderbolt: ὅταν ἐς ταύτας ἄνεμος ξηρὸς μετεωρισθεὶς κατακληισθῇ, / ἔνδοθεν αὐτὰς ὥσπερ κύστιν φυσᾷ, κἄπειθ’ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης / ῥήξας αὐτὰς ἔξω φέρεται σοβαρὸς διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα, / ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥοίβδου καὶ τῆς ῥύμης αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν κατακάων. In translation: “when a dry wind, lifted aloft, is shut up inside them, it inflates them from within like a bladder, and then of necessity, bursting them, it rushes out violently because of the density, and by its whizz and rush sets itself on fire” (404–407). Strepsiades supplies the kitchen version: at the Diasia, roasting a haggis (γαστέρα) for his kin, he forgot to slit it, and it swelled, burst, spattered his eyes and burned his face (408–411).

Aristotle: the dry exhalation (τῆς ξηρᾶς ἀναθυμιάσεως) is secreted as the clouds come together, βίᾳ δὲ φερομένη καὶ προσπίπτουσα τοῖς περιεχομένοις νέφεσι ποιεῖ πληγήν, ἧς ὁ ψόφος καλεῖται βροντή, “and carried by force and striking the surrounding clouds it makes a blow, whose noise is called thunder”. It falls πρὸς τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν νεφῶν, against the density of the clouds. The sounds vary because of the unevenness of the clouds and τὰς μεταξὺ κοιλίας, the hollows between. The pneuma squeezed out ἐκπυροῦται, is set on fire. His domestic comparison is the crackle of burning wood (*Meteorologica* II 9, 369a).

Shared in both: a dry wind or exhalation enclosed in cloud, forced out, the density as the cause of the force, ignition by the motion, and a household fire as the small case of the great. The comedy adds the belly as a second small case.

2.4 Sound driven by breath through a narrow passage

The gnat: τοὔντερον τῆς ἐμπίδος / στενόν· διὰ λεπτοῦ δ’ ὄντος αὐτοῦ τὴν πνοὴν / βίᾳ βαδίζειν εὐθὺ τοὐρροπυγίου· / ἔπειτα κοῖλον πρὸς στενῷ προσκείμενον / τὸν πρωκτὸν ἠχεῖν ὑπὸ βίας τοῦ πνεύματος. In translation: “the gnat’s gut is narrow; the breath, the gut being fine, goes by force straight to the rump; then the arse, a hollow set against the narrow, sounds from the force of the wind” (*Clouds* 160–164). The question put was ὁπότερα … τὰς ἐμπίδας / κατὰ τὸ στόμ’ ᾄδειν ἢ κατὰ τοὐρροπύγιον, whether gnats hum through the mouth or through the rump (156–158).

The *Meteorologica*’s thunder (2.3) is the same mechanism at the scale of the sky: breath driven by force, a hollow, a sound. The zoological account: τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔντομα οὔτε φωνεῖ οὔτε διαλέγεται, ψοφεῖ δὲ τῷ ἔσω πνεύματι, οὐ τῷ θύραζε, “insects neither voice nor speak, but sound by the breath within, not the breath from outside”; some hum, like the bee, some are said to sing, like the cicadas (*Historia animalium* IV 9, 535b).

2.5 The weaker argument

The thinkery’s two arguments: εἶναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς φασιν ἄμφω τὼ λόγω, / τὸν κρείττον’, ὅστις ἐστί, καὶ τὸν ἥττονα. / τούτοιν τὸν ἕτερον τοῖν λόγοιν, τὸν ἥττονα, / νικᾶν λέγοντά φασι τἀδικώτερα, “they say they have both arguments there, the stronger, whatever it is, and the weaker; and of these two, the weaker, they say, wins speaking the more unjust things” (*Clouds* 112–115; again 882–885). The Weaker Argument in person: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἥττων μὲν λόγος δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ ἐκλήθην / ἐν τοῖσι φροντισταῖσιν, ὅτι πρώτιστος ἐπενόησα / τοῖσιν νόμοις καὶ ταῖς δίκαις τἀναντί’ ἀντιλέξαι. In translation: “I was called the weaker argument among the thinkers for this very reason, that I was the first to devise how to speak against the laws and the suits”, and choosing the weaker arguments, ἔπειτα νικᾶν, then to win (1038–1042).

The *Apology*'s affidavit has the formula whole: τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν (19b, and 23d).

Aristotle: καὶ τὸ τὸν ἥττω δὲ λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν τοῦτ' ἔστιν, "and this is what making the weaker argument stronger is". He places it under the apparent enthymeme from probability, ἐντεῦθεν δικαίως ἐδυσχέραινον οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ Πρωταγόρου ἐπάγγελμα, "hence people were justly indignant at the promise of Protagoras" (*Rhetoric* II 24, 1402a).

The comedy has the pair, ἥττων against κρείττων. The *Apology* and the *Rhetoric* have the formula in the same words. The *Rhetoric* gives it to Protagoras.

2.6 The genders of nouns

Socrates corrects Strepsiades: the hen is to be called ἀλεκτρύαινα, the cock ἀλέκτωρ (*Clouds* 658–667); the kneading-trough is not ὁ κάρδοπος but ἡ καρδόπη, feminine, "as you say Sostrate" (670–680).

Aristotle on correct Greek: τέταρτον, ὡς Πρωταγόρας τὰ γένη τῶν ὀνομάτων διῄρει, ἄρρενα καὶ θήλεα καὶ σκεύη· δεῖ γὰρ ἀποδιδόναι καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς, "fourth, to keep the genders of nouns, as Protagoras divided them, masculine, feminine and things; for these too must be rendered correctly" (*Rhetoric* III 5, 1407b). And on apparent solecism: καθάπερ ὁ Πρωταγόρας ἔλεγεν, εἰ ὁ μῆνις καὶ ὁ πήληξ ἄρρεν ἐστίν. On that rule, whoever says οὐλομένην commits a solecism by Protagoras's standard but does not seem to, and whoever says οὐλόμενον seems to but does not (*Sophistical Refutations* 14, 173b).

The comedy's lesson, the *Rhetoric*'s precept and the *Refutations*' case of the solecism that only seems one are the same subject. The treatises give it to Protagoras.

The hen. Strepsiades calls the hen and the cock alike ἀλεκτρυών; Socrates gives him ἀλεκτρύαινα for the one and ἀλέκτωρ for the other (*Clouds* 660–666), and Strepsiades passes the lesson to his son (847–851). The seated Aristotle keeps the distinction: ἀλεκτορίς, a feminine, 32 times, of the hen laying and brooding; ἀλεκτρυών of the cock, the bird that crows, mounts and fights (*HA*, *GA*, *PA*, *IA*). The feminine does not occur in the seated Aristophanes, Plato, Xenophon or Theophrastus. Athenaeus quotes *Clouds* 665 on the "difference of the name" and adds λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀλεκτορὶς καὶ ἀλέκτωρ, and quotes the comic poets using ἀλεκτρυών of the laying hen, Theopompus and Aristophanes' *Daedalus* (Athenaeus IX, Kaibel ch. 16). The one earlier witness to ἀλεκτορίς is a line of Epicharmus, in Athenaeus (II, Kaibel ch. 50).

The kneading-trough. Strepsiades swears νὴ τὸν Ἀέρα, "by Air", and promises to fill Socrates's κάρδοπος round with barley, διαλφιτώσω σου κύκλῳ τὴν κάρδοπον (667–669); Socrates corrects κάρδοπος to the feminine (670–671). The one κάρδοπος in the seated Plato is in the *Phaedo*'s account of Socrates's youthful περὶ φύσεως ἱστορία: ὁ μέν τις δίνην περιτιθεὶς τῇ γῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μένειν δὴ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν, ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ καρδόπῳ πλατείᾳ βάθρον τὸν ἀέρα ὑπερείδει, "one puts a vortex round the earth and makes it stay under the heaven, another props the air beneath it as a base, as under a broad kneading-trough" (99b). *De caelo* II 13 has the same two causes: the vortex, ταύτην γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν πάντες λέγουσιν, and the flat earth that does not cut the air beneath but lids it, οὐ γὰρ τέμνειν ἀλλ' ἐπιπωματίζειν τὸν ἀέρα τὸν κάτωθεν, given to Anaximenes, Anaxagoras and Democritus (294b–295a).

2.7 The Vortex

Strepsiades asks who compels the clouds to move, οὐχ ὁ Ζεύς, “is it not Zeus?” Socrates: ἥκιστ’ ἀλλ’ αἰθέριος Δῖνος, “not at all, but ethereal Vortex” (*Clouds* 379–380). Strepsiades repeats it to his son as doctrine: Δῖνος βασιλεύει τὸν Δί’ ἐξεληλακώς, “Vortex is king, having driven out Zeus” (828). The son turns the same line back on him at the end (1471).

Aristotle reports the cause the cosmogonists give for the earth’s gathering at the centre: φερομένη διὰ τὴν δίνησιν· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν πάντες λέγουσιν, “carried by the vortex; for this is the cause they all give”, from what happens in water and air, where the larger and heavier things are always carried πρὸς τὸ μέσον τῆς δίνης, “to the middle of the vortex” (*De caelo* II 13, 295a). He goes on to argue against it. The *Phaedo* sets the vortex in the same sentence as the κάρδοπος (2.6), and opens the same account with the question whether it is blood we think with, or air, or fire, πότερον τὸ αἷμά ἐστιν ᾧ φρονοῦμεν, ἢ ὁ ἀὴρ ἢ τὸ πῦρ (96b).

2.8 The rustic pupil

Strepsiades: ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄγροικος ἥδιστος βίος, “the rustic life was sweetest to me” (*Clouds* 43). Socrates: οὐκ εἶδον οὕτως ἄνδρ’ ἄγροικον οὐδένα, “I never saw a man so rustic” (628). And: ἐς κόρακας, ὡς ἄγροικος εἶ καὶ δυσμαθής, “to the crows, how rustic you are and slow to learn” (646).

Theophrastus: ἡ δὲ ἀγροικία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι ἀμαθία ἀσχήμων, ὁ δὲ ἄγροικος τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος κυκεῶνα πιὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πορεύεσθαι, “rusticity would seem to be unseemly ignorance, and the rustic is the sort who drinks kykeon and goes to the Assembly” (*Characters* 4). Theophrastus’s catalogue includes Περὶ κωμῳδίας α΄, *On Comedy*, and Περὶ γελοίου α΄, *On the Laughable* (DL 5.47–48).

2.9 The table

subject	*Clouds*	the treatises and dialogues	to whom they give it	path to that predecessor
things aloft and under the earth	188, 194, 228	*Meteor.* I 1, 338a26 (μετεωρολογία); *Apol.* 19b, 23d	“all who came before”	the treatise’s own report
thought in dry air; moisture (ἰκμάς)	228–233	*De sens.* 39–44; *Phaedo* 96b	Diogenes	independent: Simplicius quotes Diogenes from a copy he held (EA-CORPORA-41/11)
thunder and thunderbolt	386–394, 404–411	*Meteor.* II 9, 369a	no one (Aristotle’s own account)	none

subject	*Clouds*	the treatises and dialogues	to whom they give it	path to that predecessor
breath through a narrow passage	156–164	*Meteor.* II 9; *HA* IV 9, 535b	no one	none
the weaker argument	112–115, 882–885, 1038–1042	*Rhet.* II 24, 1402a; *Apol.* 19b, 23d	Protagoras	the *Rhetoric*'s own report
genders of nouns, solecism	658–680	*Rhet.* III 5, 1407b; *SR* 14, 173b	Protagoras	the treatises' own report
the hen (ἀλεκτορίς)	660–666, 847–851	Aristotle's zoology, 32 times	no one	none; the word once in Epicharmus, via Athenaeus
the kneading-trough, by Air	667–671	*Phaedo* 99b; *De caelo* II 13, 294b	no one for the image; Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Democritus for the flat earth on air	the treatise's own report
the Vortex	379–380, 828, 1471	*De caelo* II 13, 295a; *Phaedo* 99b	"all" the cosmogonists	the treatise's own report
the rustic	43, 628, 646	*Characters* 4	(Theophrastus's type)	none needed

"The treatise's own report" means the predecessor is reached only through the corpus being compared. "None" means no predecessor is named or attested; the relation stands between the extant texts alone.

3. The charge

3.1 In the comedy

The student introduces the flea: λέξω. νομίσαι δὲ ταῦτα χρὴ μυστήρια, "I'll tell you. But you must consider these things mysteries" (*Clouds* 143). Socrates measures the flea's jump in its own feet by dipping them in wax, so that the cooled wax forms Περσικαί, Persian slippers (144–152). The gnat follows (2.4), and Strepsiades closes the scene: ἦ ῥᾳδίως φεύγων ἂν ἀποφύγοι δίκην / ὅστις δίοιδε τοὔντερον τῆς ἐμπίδος, "a man who knows the gnat's gut inside out would easily get off when sued" (167–168).

3.2 In the treatise

Constitution of the Athenians 57.1–2, on the King Archon: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πρῶτον μὲν μυστηρίων ἐπιμελεῖται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν, “the King first has charge of the Mysteries, with the overseers”, two from all Athenians, one from the Eumolpidae, one from the Kerykes. Then of the Lenaean Dionysia, ταῦτα δέ ἐστι πομπή τε καὶ ἀγών, “and these are a procession and a contest”, the contest arranged by the King. Then: γραφαὶ δὲ λαγχάνονται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσεβείας, “indictments for impiety are lodged with him”, and he decides disputes over priesthoods between the families and the priests.

3.3 In the dialogues

The first dialogue in Thrasyllus’s arrangement opens: τί νεώτερον, ὦ Σώκρατες, γέγονεν, ὅτι σὺ τὰς ἐν Λυκείῳ καταλιπὼν διατριβὰς ἐνθάδε νῦν διατρίβεις περὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στοάν; “What’s new, Socrates, that you have left your haunts in the Lyceum and are spending your time here now, around the King’s Stoa?” (*Euthyphro* 2a). The case is a γραφή, Socrates corrects Euthyphro, not a δίκη (2a).

The *Apology*’s old accusers took hold of the jurors from childhood, and their names cannot be known πλὴν εἴ τις κωμῳδοποιὸς τυγχάνει ὤν, “except if one happens to be a comic poet” (18b–d). Their affidavit is 2.1 above. Then: ταῦτα γὰρ ἑωρᾶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδίᾳ, Σωκράτη τινὰ ἐκεῖ περιφερόμενον, φάσκοντά τε ἀεροβατεῖν καὶ ἄλλην πολλὴν φλυαρίαν φλυαροῦντα, ὧν ἐγὼ οὐδὲν οὔτε μέγα οὔτε μικρὸν πέρι ἐπαΐω. In translation: “for you saw these things yourselves in the comedy of Aristophanes, a Socrates being swung around there, claiming to walk on air and talking much other nonsense, of which I understand nothing, great or small” (19c).

To the jurors: ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀσπάζομαι μὲν καὶ φιλῶ, πείσομαι δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ θεῷ ἢ ὑμῖν, “I hold you dear and love you, men of Athens, but I will obey the god rather than you”, and as long as he breathes he will not stop philosophizing (29d). The care he enjoins is for τῆς ψυχῆς ὅπως ὡς βελτίστη ἔσται, “the soul, that it be as good as possible” (29e). He will do it for young and old, ξένῳ καὶ ἀστῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἀστοῖς, “foreigner and citizen, but more to the citizens, inasmuch as you are nearer me in kin” (30a).

The Laws to Socrates: he never left the city, οὔτ’ ἐπὶ θεωρίαν … ὅτι μὴ ἅπαξ εἰς Ἰσθμόν, “not even to a festival, except once to the Isthmus” (*Crito* 52b). At his trial he could have proposed exile and did not (52c). If he fled to Thebes or Megara, both well governed, he would come πολέμιος … τῇ τούτων πολιτείᾳ, “an enemy to their constitution” (53b).

3.4 In the life

Aristotle, after thirteen years at the head of the school, ὑπεξῆλθεν εἰς Χαλκίδα, Εὐρυμέδοντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ἱεροφάντου δίκην ἀσεβείας γραψαμένου, ἢ Δημοφίλου, “withdrew to Chalcis, Eurymedon the hierophant having indicted him for impiety, or Demophilus, as Favorinus says”, over the hymn to Hermias and the Delphic epigram (DL 5.5). Diogenes’s own epigram: Εὐρυμέδων ποτ’ ἔμελλεν Ἀριστοτέλην ἀσεβείας / γράψασθαι Δηοῦς μύστιδος ὢν πρόπολος, / ἀλλὰ πιὼν ἀκόνιτον ὑπέκφυγε. In translation: “Eurymedon, being attendant of Deo’s mystic one, was once about to indict Aristotle for impiety; but drinking aconite he got away” (5.8). Theophrastus was indicted for impiety by Hagnonides, who was nearly fined himself (5.37).

Under Sophocles' law of 307/6 no philosopher might head a school without the council and people, on pain of death; the philosophers left, and the next year the law was annulled and the return voted, ἵνα καὶ Θεόφραστος κατέλθοι, "so that Theophrastus too might come back" (5.38).

The name Eurymedon also stands, in the same author, for a neighbour and executor in Plato's will (3.41–42) and for the father of Speusippus, Εὐρυμέδοντος … Μυρρινούσιος (4.1).

3.5 The table

	the Mysteries	the comic stage	the impiety charge	the Lyceum
Clouds	the research called μυστήρια (143)	the play itself	escaping a suit (167–168)	—
Ath. Pol. 57	the King's first charge	the Lenaia, procession and contest	γραφαὶ ἀσεβείας lodged with the King	—
Euthyphro	—	—	the γραφή at the King's Stoa (2a)	left behind (2a)
Apology	—	Aristophanes' comedy named (19c)	the trial; the formula of 19b	—
Crito	—	—	flight refused (52b–53b)	—
DL 5	the accuser a hierophant, πρόπολος of Deo (5.5, 5.8)	Περὶ κωμῳδίας among Theophrastus's titles (5.47)	Aristotle withdraws; Theophrastus indicted; the school law (5.5, 5.37–38)	the school

4. The education of a king

4.1 The *On Kingship* and the *Cyropaedia*

Diogenes's catalogue of Theophrastus has Περὶ βασιλείας, Περὶ παιδείας βασιλέως, *On the Education of a King*, and Πρὸς Κάσανδρον περὶ βασιλείας (DL 5.42–50). The one surviving sentence of the last is in Athenaeus: Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς Κάσανδρον περὶ βασιλείας (εἰ γνήσιον τὸ σύγγραμμα· πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτό φασιν εἶναι Σωσιβίου …) τοὺς Περσῶν φησι βασιλεῖς ὑπὸ τρυφῆς προκηρύττειν τοῖς ἐφευρίσκουσί τινα καινὴν ἡδονὴν ἀργυρίου πλῆθος, "Theophrastus in the *On Kingship* to Cassander (if the work is genuine; for many say it is Sosibius's …) says that the Persian kings out of luxury proclaim a heap of silver for those who invent some new pleasure" (Athenaeus IV, Kaibel ch. 25). Immediately before it Athenaeus quotes Xenophon: the *Agesilaus*, τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσῃ πᾶσαν γῆν περιέρχονται μαστεύοντες τί ἂν ἡδέως πίοι, "for the Persian king they go round the whole earth seeking what he might drink with pleasure" (9.3), and the *Hiero* on the tables of tyrants (1.17).

The *Cyropaedia* on the Persians after Cyrus: τὰ πεττόμενα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ὅσα τε πρόσθεν ηὕρητο, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφῄρηται, ἄλλα τε ἀεὶ καινὰ ἐπιμηχανῶνται· καὶ ὄψα γε ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ καινοποιητὰς ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἔχουσι, “of the breads for the table none invented before has been given up, and they are always contriving new ones, and dishes likewise; for they keep inventors of novelties of both” (8.8.16). The book’s title is the education of a king.

4.2 The free agora

Cyropaedia 1.2.3–5: the Persians have an ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, where the palace and the other ἀρχεῖα are built; the wares, the market people and their cries are driven to another place, so as not to mix with the good order of the educated; it is divided into four parts by age, with officials over each.

Politics VII 12, 1331a30–b13: below the temples and the chief ἀρχεῖα, an agora οἵαν καὶ περὶ Θετταλίαν νομίζουσιν ἣν ἐλευθέραν καλοῦσιν, “such as they have in Thessaly and call free”, clean of all wares, with no artisan or farmer entering unsummoned; the gymnasia of the elders there, divided by ages, the young with certain officials, the elders among the officials, ἡ γὰρ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων παρουσία μάλιστα ἐμποιεῖ τὴν ἀληθινὴν αἰδῶ, “for the presence of the officials before their eyes most of all instils true shame”; the market for wares a separate agora.

The name, the officials’ buildings, the wares expelled and the division by age are common to both. Xenophon gives the institution to Persia; Aristotle gives it to Thessaly.

4.3 The herd and the knowledge

The *Cyropaedia* opens: herdsmen rule their herds, and no herd ever rose against its herdsman, but human beings rise against nobody more than against those who try to rule them (1.1.2); Cyrus shows that ruling human beings is neither impossible nor hard, ἤν τις ἐπισταμένως τοῦτο πράττῃ, “if one does it with knowledge” (1.1.3). Its proem asks how democracies, monarchies, oligarchies and tyrannies are overthrown (1.1.1), and the inquiry it announces is ποίᾳ τινὶ παιδευθεὶς παιδείᾳ, “educated in what education” (1.1.6). Thrasyllus’s arrangement gives the *Statesman*, the dialogue of kingship as the knowing care of a human herd, the subtitle ἢ περὶ βασιλείας, “or On Kingship” (DL 3.58).

4.4 The crossing

The *Alcibiades I*: if a god told Alcibiades αὐτοῦ σε δεῖ δυναστεύειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, διαβῆναι δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐκ ἐξέσται σοι, “you must hold power here in Europe, but you may not cross into Asia”, he would not want to live on those terms, εἰ μὴ ἐμπλήσεις τοῦ σοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως πάντας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπους, “unless you fill, so to speak, all mankind with your name and your power”; and he counts no one worth mention πλὴν Κύρου καὶ Ξέρξου, “except Cyrus and Xerxes” (105b–c). Then: τούτων γάρ σοι ἁπάντων τῶν διανοημάτων τέλος ἐπιτεθῆναι ἄνευ ἐμοῦ ἀδύνατον, “none of all these designs can be brought to its end without me” (105d). The *Cyropaedia*’s Cyrus rules the nations of Asia while those of Europe are still autonomous, to the Bactrians and Indians, Cyprus and Egypt (1.1.4).

4.5 The royal tutors

The *Alcibiades I* on the Persian prince: at twice seven years he is handed to those whom the Persians call βασιλείους παιδαγωγούς, four chosen from the best (121e–122a). Plutarch: Philip, not trusting the teachers of music and the ordinary curriculum with his son, μετεπέμψατο τῶν φιλοσόφων τὸν ἐνδοξότατον καὶ λογιώτατον Ἀριστοτέληv, "sent for the most renowned and most learned of the philosophers, Aristotle" (*Alexander* 7).

4.6 The teacher answerable for the pupil

Xenophon's accuser: Σωκράτει ὁμιλητὰ γενομένω Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης πλεῖστα κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐποιησάτην, "Critias and Alcibiades, having been companions of Socrates, did the city the most harm" (*Memorabilia* 1.2.12). Arrian, among the reports of Alexander's death: τὸ φάρμακον ὅτι Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐξεῦρε δεδοικὼς ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρον Καλλισθένους ἕνεκα, Κάσανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου ἐκόμισεν, "that Aristotle found the poison for Antipater, fearing Alexander already on account of Callisthenes, and Cassander, Antipater's son, carried it"; and Medius, who brought Alexander to the κῶμος, and the pain at the cup (7.27). Plutarch: some say Aristotle was Antipater's counsellor in the deed (*Alexander* 77). The *Symposium*'s Alcibiades arrives at the door as with a band of revellers, ὡς κωμαστῶν, very drunk (212c–d).

The addressee of the *On Kingship* (4.1) is the Cassander of Arrian's report.

4.7 The table

	the king's pleasures	the free agora	the herd and the knowledge	the crossing into Asia	the royal tutor	the teacher answerable
Cyropaedia	8.8.16	1.2.3–5	1.1.2–3	1.1.4	—	—
Agesilaus, *Hiero*	*Ages.* 9.3; *Hiero* 1.17	—	—	—	—	—
Theophrastus, *On Kingship*	Athenaeus IV ch. 25	—	—	—	—	—
Politics	—	VII 12	—	—	—	—
Statesman	—	—	"or On Kingship" (DL 3.58)	—	—	—
Alcibiades I	—	—	—	105b–d	121e–122a	—
Memorabilia	—	—	—	—	—	1.2.12
Plutarch, Arrian	—	—	—	—	*Alex.* 7	*Alex.* 77; Arrian 7.27

5. What is not claimed

No dependence: nothing here says the comedy drew on the treatises or the treatises on the comedy. Both could draw on the fifth-century thinkers the treatises name, Diogenes and Protagoras among them, and the conventional account says they do. No chronology: the received dates of the comedy, the dialogues and the treatises are neither assumed nor argued. No author: nothing is said about who wrote what under which name. No identity: the Eurymedons are set down as a shared name and nothing more, and the Cassander of Arrian's report and the addressee of the *On Kingship* as one name in two places.

One rule is applied. Where the conventional account explains a shared item by a predecessor, the tables mark how that predecessor is reached. Where the relation already stands in extant texts, a lost source is not posited to carry it: a posited intermediary would replace the relation the extant texts hold, not explain it. The rows marked "none" are where that rule bears.

What is set down is narrower and checkable: **one curriculum in two registers**, the comedy's and the treatises', with the treatises naming predecessors for most of it; **one magistrate** holding the Mysteries, the comic contest and the impiety charge; and **one name** standing at the prosecution of Aristotle and in the family of the Academy; and **one king's education**, the surviving sentence of the *On Kingship* standing in the *Cyropaedia*, the *Cyropaedia*'s free agora in the *Politics*, the *Alcibiades I*'s pupil wanting Asia. Whoever builds a reading on these relations will have to take the whole set. The relations are here. The readings are withheld.

Texts

- **Aristophanes**, *Clouds*: Perseus tlg0019.tlg003, seated in the archive's Aristophanes corpus; cited by the edition's line numbers, read at 43, 112–118, 143–168, 186–194, 227–233, 379–411, 628, 646, 658–693, 828, 882–885, 1036–1042, 1471.
- **Plato**: seated Burnet (EA-CORPORA-01/08, #1506); *Euthyphro* 2a; *Apology* 18b–d, 19b–c, 23d, 29d–30a; *Crito* 52b–53b; *Phaedo* 96b, 99b; *Symposium* 212c–d; *Alcibiades I* 105b–d, 121e–122a.
- **Aristotle**: seated Perseus texts; *Meteorologica* I 1 and II 9; *Rhetoric* II 24 and III 5; *Sophistical Refutations* 14; *Constitution of the Athenians* 57; *Historia animalium* IV 9; *De caelo* II 13; *Politics* VII 12; the zoology for ἀλεκτορίς and ἀλεκτρυών (EA-CORPORA-04/01, #1559).
- **Theophrastus**: *De sensibus* (First1KGreek tlg0093.tlg003, chapter VIII); *Characters* 4 (Diels 1909).
- **Diogenes Laertius**: seated (EA-CORPORA-12/01); 3.41–42, 3.58, 4.1, 5.5, 5.8, 5.37–38, 5.42–50.
- **Xenophon**: seated (EA-CORPORA-06/01); *Cyropaedia* 1.1.1–1.2.5, 8.8.16; *Agesilaus* 9.3; *Hiero* 1.17; *Memorabilia* 1.2.12.
- **Athenaeus**: seated Kaibel (EA-CORPORA-31/01); II ch. 50, IV ch. 25, IX ch. 16 (Kaibel's chapters).
- **Plutarch**, *Alexander* 7, 77, and **Arrian**, *Anabasis* 7.27: seated (EA-CORPORA-13/01, 13/02).

Companions: *Beautiful and New* (#1579), on Plato's Second Letter and Socrates as the edition of a received character; *Catalogues and Wills* (#1581) and *Two Lists of Stones* (#1592), the

groundwork notes whose form this one follows. The seating gathered the same evening, EA-CORPORA-41 (#1792), holds Simplicius's *In Physica* with Diogenes of Apollonia's own words on air and thought (41/11) and Aelian's report of Aristotle's departure from Athens (41/06).

Version 1.1 (2026-11-20), at the author's word ("yup, thinkery to 1.1"): the hen and the kneading-trough added to 2.6, and the Phaedo* to 2.7; the path column added to the table; §4, the education of a king, added from the evening's readings of Athenaeus, the *Cyropaedia*, the *Alcibiades I*, Plutarch and Arrian; the rule on posited sources stated in §5. Version 1.0 is #1793.*

Substrate: drafted by Claude (Anthropic) in session on 20 November 2026 at the author's request ("lets do one like the wills or two lists of stones or josephus tacitus and revelation merely establishing relations"), from the comparisons worked through with him that evening. Every Greek locus quoted is from the seated texts named.

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