PARABASIS AND ANIMAL CHORUSES

A Contribution to the History of Attic Comedy

G. M. SIFAKIS

Professor Sifakis's latest study offers a critical analysis of the evidence on two topics concerning the origins and development of Greek comedy. This new examination into the function, form and origins of those parts in which the chorus addressed the audience in the poet's name is based upon the author's conviction that all earlier analyses of the subject have been based on a false premise, viz. the assumption that the *parabasis* interrupted the dramatic illusion — a term and notion which is claimed to be inapplicable to Greek drama. Professor Sifakis then uses the results of this study to investigate performances, and their survival in classical times, of the animal choruses shown on sixth or early fifth-century vases.

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A Contribution to the History of Attic Comedy

G. M. SIFAKIS

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To

Thrasyboulos Stavrou

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G.M.S.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.	*Archäologischer Anzeiger.* Beiblatt zum *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
A.J.P.	*American Journal of Philology*
B.C.H.	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
Beazley, *A.B.V.*	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1956)
Beazley, *A.R.V.*²	*Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters,*² 3 vols. (Oxford, 1963)
C.A.F.	T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta,* 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1880–8)
C.G.F.	G. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta,* i. 1 (Berlin, 1899)
C.Q.	*The Classical Quarterly*
*D.T.C.*²	A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy,* 2nd ed. revised by T. B. L. Webster (Oxford, 1962)
Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen*	E. Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes* (Rome, 1962)
Gelzer, *Agon*	T. Gelzer, *Der epirrhematische Agon bei Aristophanes, Zetemata,* xxiii (Munich, 1960)
G.L.P.	D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri,* i, *Poetry* (Loeb Classical Library, 1942)
Herter	H. Herter, *Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel. Die Anfänge der attischen Komödie* (Iserlohn, 1947)
J.H.S.	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
Lesky, *Gesch.*²	A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*² (Bern–Munich, 1963)
Mazon, *Essai*	P. Mazon, *Essai sur la composition des comédies d'Aristophane* (Paris, 1904)
Mus. Helv.	*Museum Helveticum*

N. Jahrb.	*Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur* (Leipzig, 1898–1924)
P.M.G.	D. L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962)
Poppelreuter	J. Poppelreuter, *De comoediae atticae primordiis particulae duae* (Diss. Berlin, 1893)
P. Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London, 1898–)
R.E.	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, edited by G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, *et al.* (Stuttgart, 1893–)
Rhein. Mus.	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Neue Folge
Russo, *Aristofane*	C. F. Russo, *Aristofane, autore di teatro* (Florence, 1962)
Schmid, *G.G.L.*	W. Schmid–O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, i, *Die Klassische Periode* by W. Schmid, 5 vols. (Munich, 1929–48) (=Müller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, vii).
Suda	*Suidae Lexicon*, edited by A. Adler, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1928–38)
Taillardat, *Images*	J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane. Études de langue et de style*[2] (Paris, 1965)
T.A.P.A.	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
Zieliński	T. Zieliński, *Die Gliederung der altattischen Komödie* (Leipzig, 1885)

The plays of Aristophanes are abbreviated as follows:

Ach(arnenses)	*Acharnians*	*Lys(istrata)*	
Eq(uites)	*Knights*	*Thesm(ophoriazusae)*	
Nu(bes)	*Clouds*	*Ran(ae)*	*Frogs*
Vesp(ae)	*Wasps*	*Eccl(esiazusae)*	
Pax	*Peace*	*Pl(utus)*	
Av(es)	*Birds*		

INTRODUCTION

The history of Greek drama, and particularly of its origins and early stages of development, is largely made up of few indisputable facts and many more theories based on dubious interpretations of the evidence, which is extremely fragmentary and obscure. Very little of the data cannot be interpreted in more than one way and, consequently, the evidence that commands general respect is very limited. Even what Aristotle says about the origins of drama has been claimed by some modern scholars to be his own theorizing, not necessarily founded on factual knowledge, and has been used accordingly—or not at all.

On the other hand, the great interest of modern Europe in classical drama, and the intensive effort to illustrate its history and sources, has led to an incessant re-examination of the data, which were on each occasion assessed and classified in a different way. But the picture that resulted each time was, by and large, a reconstruction in which the ancient pieces of information were combined, emended, and supplemented, in a more or less arbitrary manner. Furthermore, the demand for popularization of a subject that appealed to a wide public caused the more influential of the theories to be repeated in various handbooks, encyclopaedias and dictionaries, histories of literature and of theatre, and so on, so that numerous opinions and inferences (some more convincing than others) of modern scholars came to be regarded as uncontested truths and be used in turn to support new theories.

However, the present phase of research on the early history of drama is analytical rather than synthetic. This critical attitude towards the established theories and careful analysis of the evidence is likely to produce a negative result; in other words, it may possibly show how things could not be rather than how

they were. But we may reasonably hope that the great gaps in our picture may gradually become smaller with the addition of new pieces of evidence, which current intensive archaeological activity may bring to light.

This book deals with the evidence regarding two topics whose importance to the history of comedy is, I think, generally acknowledged, namely the *parabasis* and the theriomorphic choruses.

In the first part, an analysis of the parabasis with reference to the structure of comedy as a whole is attempted. The characteristic form of Old Comedy is traditional, and its origins may well coincide with the origins of comedy itself. Unfortunately, the early stages of the evolution of comic drama have been lost for us, and the value of generalizations which are usually made on the evidence of the comedies of Aristophanes is very limited because they rely upon a small number of plays by a single author, representing the last phase in the development of Old Comedy. This sad truth must not be forgotten, particularly when one is to proceed from the stage of analysis to that of extrapolation and synthesis. All the same, analysis is bound to lead to certain conclusions, the value of which will depend on whether (*a*) they go only as far as the evidence, reasonably interpreted, allows and are not necessarily interconnected by being forced to fit in a general pattern, and (*b*) the principles on which the analysis is based are the correct ones. Now what seems to justify a new examination of the function, form, and origin, of the parabasis is the fact that these conditions were hardly respected in the past. The question of the parabasis was usually seen as a part of the more general problem of the origins of comedy, and was treated accordingly; besides, it was always discussed on the assumption that the parabasis effected a rupture of the dramatic illusion.

This assumption is claimed in the first chapter of this book to be a false premise, which has hindered research and led astray generations of scholars. As soon as it is recognized that illusion is a notion alien and inapplicable to Greek drama the whole question appears in an entirely different light, and the main theories about the parabasis and its origins are shown to be based on ambiguous foundations. In the rest of Part I the para-

bases of Aristophanes and the fragments that are believed to come from parabases are examined from the point of view of both form and content in order to single out those elements which characteristically recur from play to play, from poet to poet. These elements are examined in connexion with the other parts of comedy in order to answer such questions as: where does in fact the peculiarity of the parabasis lie? what is the relationship between the parabasis and those other parts? what has the influence of the former on the latter been and *vice versa*? Special attention is necessarily given to the function, personality, and behaviour, of the comic chorus.

In the whole prehistory of drama there is perhaps no other point of more general agreement than the importance of the theriomorphic choruses (i.e. choruses of men dressed up as animals, or riding on animals), represented on Attic vases of the sixth and early fifth century, as evidence for the origins of comedy. In the second part of this study an attempt is made to throw some light on the performances of these choruses. The evidence collected and discussed consists mainly of the vases and the comedies with choruses wholly or partly theriomorphic. The results obtained in the first part of the book with regard to the character and content of the parabasis are then used in the investigation into the performances of the animal choruses and their survivals as choruses of the comedy of classical times.

The question of the ἀποδύεσθαι, or 'undressing' of the chorus, which is directly connected with both the parabasis and the animal choruses, is separately discussed in an appendix.

Aristophanic passages are quoted from the edition of Coulon, and comic fragments from the edition of Kock, unless otherwise stated. The titles of lost plays are translated when their meaning is clear. Most of the Greek passages are quoted in translation, or are provided with translation. It is hoped that in this way the book may be of interest to the student of drama who has no Greek.

It should finally be noted here that the expression 'on stage', as used in this book with reference to Greek theatre, means 'in sight of the audience' only, and does not imply any particular kind of stage (elevated or not) or part of the area of performance (which includes the orchestra).

PART I

The Parabasis

CHAPTER I

DRAMATIC ILLUSION AND OLD COMEDY

Discussion of the parabasis must begin with the question of that famous dramatic illusion, which the parabasis is supposed to interrupt. My contention is that illusion as a psychological phenomenon was entirely alien to Greek theatrical audiences and that the use of the term with reference to Greek drama is an anachronism. To the reader who thinks that this is, indeed, quite obvious and needs no proof I should like to apologize for this chapter. To the majority of the students of classical drama, however, the above statement, which constitutes a basic premise of the treatment of the parabasis attempted in this book, will not be acceptable without demonstration. This is so because, brought up as we are with the realistic theatre, we cannot look at ancient drama with a fresh and unprejudiced eye, and when examining it by modern criteria we often come to attribute to it intentions alien to its playwrights.

In our day, even after Brecht's revolution against traditional drama—to say nothing of the theatre of the absurd, and others—the theatre of illusion, which had its heyday in the latter part of the nineteenth century, is still very much alive. In fact, realistic drama is still the chief and certainly most widespread form of contemporary dramatic art in Europe and America.

In this kind of drama the plot is always new and does not conform to any traditional story pattern (in fact, originality of conception and/or execution is considered the cardinal virtue of all contemporary arts). It is true to everyday life: the agents of the story must have ordinary human proportions and the situations in which they are involved must be possible or, better, likely to occur in life. As the future in real life is unpredictable so the end of the story in a realistic drama is unknown to the audience, but each scene should be motivated by the preceding

one and the end, however unexpected, should be the logical outcome of the interplay of the actions of the dramatic characters. These actions should preferably occur during the play, though the individual past lives of the characters naturally influence their present actions. For each character is an individual, by definition unique and different from any other individual. When the play begins we know nothing about these individuals, and their actions are entirely unpredictable; but when the play ends each person should have emerged as a fully drawn personality through what he did and said on the stage. The essential elements, therefore, of realistic drama could be defined as follows: (*a*) the story is original and its outcome unpredictable; (*b*) the dramatic situations truthfully imitate situations of everyday life; (*c*) the characters are individuals psychologically portrayed by the way they act and react on the stage.

It goes without saying that this drama has to be played in a manner that will do justice to its main intention: to represent human life realistically on the stage. To put it in another way, its production aims at creating for the spectators the illusion of reality. The chief means for realizing this purpose is, of course, the acting, which must be psychologically consistent with the requirements of each rôle. In addition to that, the modern producer has an extensive technical apparatus at his disposal: costumes, stage properties, scenery, sound effects, and, above all, lighting. It seems that the use of artificial lights is a *sine qua non* of a modern theatrical production. The lights form an absolute division in the theatre between stage and audience. An invisible wall separates the dark hall from the bright dramatic space, which usually, though not necessarily, has the form of the so-called Italian box. The audience see through that 'wall' what happens on the stage as if they were looking at images that come alive within their frame. Everything is contrived so as to make the spectator forget himself and the other spectators, whom he cannot see in the dark, and concentrate his attention on the illuminated world of the stage. He is thus absorbed by, and translated to, the world of drama, which is to say that he is temporarily, or perhaps intermittently, deceived into believing that actors and characters are identical. The actors, for their part, do their best to identify completely with the characters

they impersonate, and ignore the audience entirely: any reference or direct address to it (for example in the plays of Ibsen or Chekhov) is unthinkable.

The term 'dramatic illusion', therefore, at least as used in this book, is related to realistic drama;[1] and it should be made clear that it is created by the realistic representation on stage of dramatic situations and characters that have a true resemblance to real life situations and people,[2] and not by the various technical devices of staging, although such devices are used to enhance the representation, or imitation, of reality. Perfect imitation, however, is deceptive and can be mistaken for reality. This is what happens (and is meant to happen) in realistic drama, in which the realization of the artistic goal (imitation) depends on, and is measured by, its effect on the audience (illusion). I think this may explain why dramatic illusion is generally believed to be part of the essence of drama itself (cf. p. 15, n. 1 below). It is the natural result of realistic imitation, which in turn is the legitimate goal of realistic drama.[3]

None of the characteristics of modern realistic drama can be found in Greek (or Roman) drama. The stories were old—in tragedy even believed to be true—or conformed to a traditional pattern; so their end was known (tragedy), or predictable (Old Comedy), or actually predicted in the prologue (Euripides, New Comedy). The dramatic characters were not individuals but types[4]—in tragedy they were, indeed, human prototypes, as all figures of legend must be. The dramatic situations in which these types were involved were also 'legendary', cosmic in their function to account for humanity's past (tragedy), or purely fantastic, or 'idealized' and formularized incidents of contemporary life artificially and superficially held together by magic coincidences (comedy), which could be justified as the arbitrary ways of fortune (New Comedy). This kind of drama does not aim at representing the everyday life of individual human beings. This is not to say that Greek drama, like any other form of non-realistic art, is not concerned with reality. On the contrary, it transcends the individual phenomena and tries to capture the essence of life itself; to give a true picture and interpretation of the world. But as it did not aim at realistically representing everyday human life on the stage or at creating the

illusion of reality for the audience it follows that its theatre production was of an entirely different character from that of modern drama.

This is not the place to discuss the function of masks, the style of acting, the importance of the three actor rule (which was certainly not due simply to the financial stringency of the Athenian state), and the other formal elements of classical theatre production, but it is, I think, obvious that these elements, as well as the light of the sun over actors and audience alike, and above all the continuous presence of the chorus, which, stationed as it is between the actors and the spectators, follows and comments on the action but is seldom involved in it,[5] are fundamental factors that go against realism and *vraisemblance*, through which illusion is achieved in the modern theatre. The effect a Greek play, composed for a single performance, had on the audience must have been altogether different from that which modern drama has on us. Tragedies in particular must have been viewed with awe and have made a deep impression on the spectators, comparable perhaps to the feelings a mystery play would rouse in a mediaeval audience, which, like the Greek public, believed in the stories it saw enacted.[6] But would a Christian audience even momentarily be deceived into believing that an actor impersonating Christ *was* Christ? I think not. Equally, the Greek spectator would be aware that the people he saw on stage were actors impersonating, say, Agamemnon or Trygaios, and would not be carried away into believing that actors and dramatic characters were identical.

This is what we call conventional drama, which presupposes a kind of implicit agreement on the rules of the performance (established by long tradition) between the actors and the audience. The very first rule is, of course, that the audience will accept the claim of the actor to be person A or B (whereas in realistic drama the actor tries and often succeeds in temporarily persuading both himself—according to a certain method of acting, at least—and the audience, that he *is* character A or B), and that a bare stage, whether or not it has on it a merely symbolic piece of scenery or stage property, is place so and so. We shall see later that the actors of Old Comedy do at times drop

their dramatic pretence and address the audience as actors, while in tragedy the actors never drop their rôle, although they do address the audience while maintaining their dramatic characters. This difference between tragedy and comedy is often described in terms of dramatic illusion, which is supposed to be consistently maintained in tragedy and frequently interrupted in comedy.[7] According to what I have contended so far, what really happens is that the comic actor drops his dramatic pretence without effecting any interruption of illusion, which simply is not there. Nor is it there in tragedy. Both classical tragedy and comedy are played not just in front of the audience but explicitly *to* the audience; they both are forms of '*narration* by means of imitation', if we may use Plato's terminology (*Rep.* iii. 393 c 9, 394 d 2).

Any conventional type of drama—or art for that matter—is by definition unrealistic and, in consequence, anti-illusionistic. It makes no demands on the credulity of the spectators, and no effort to appear true to everyday life. Thus conventional drama, be it Chinese opera, Noh drama, European ballet, or Greek comedy, is free to show in a symbolic way virtually anything the dramatist likes: tales of unlimited fantasy such as journeys to the underworld through lakes and strange landscapes, men riding beetles to heaven or building cities in the Birdland suspended between heaven and earth, and animals talking like men.

Let us now take a closer look at one of the basic characteristics of the conventional theatre, which is extremely relevant to our discussion of Greek comedy, namely the fact that the spectators are constantly aware that the actors represent, that is, pretend to be, the characters of a play. We shall observe at once that this awareness of the audience is consciously and skilfully exploited by the Greek comedians. The actors address their jokes to the audience, speak to the spectators, and take their reactions[8] into account. Now, as soon as the performers recognize the existence of the audience and establish a line of communication, a 'dialogue', with it, they accept the special character of the place and of the gathering. In other words they accept that they are in a 'theatre', and that the performance is nothing but a game, in which the audience takes a legitimate, if

passive, part. The performers, who have the initiative, turn to the audience in order to introduce the main idea on which the plot hinges and explain the merits of the performance.[9] They flatter the public,[10] ask for the victory,[11] throw small gifts to the spectators,[12] invite them to dinner (on or off stage),[13] or ask for their help with relation to the dramatic action;[14] but above all they turn to the audience to censure or mock the public[15] or individuals by name.[16] This direct communication between performers and audience is a basic rule of the game and a most important source of laughter in this type of comedy.

An actor turning to the audience can either speak from the standpoint of his actual self, that is as a member of the troupe, or he can pretend that he is still a character who has, as it were, momentarily strayed out of the story. So the slave in the prologue of *Peace* speaks in character when he asks the audience where he can get a nose without nostrils (l. 20), or when, a little later, he informs the spectators that

> my master has developed a new kind of madness, not your kind but another, brand new. (54–5)

But in the prologue of *Knights* the slaves say:

> A. Would you like me to tell the spectators what the matter is?
> B. Good idea; and let us ask them to show us with their faces whether they take delight in what we say and do.
> A. I shall begin then. We have a master . . . (36–40)

The first slave stays in character but the second speaks as a performer who wants to know what impact the subject of the play is going to have on the public, and asks them to show their approval of its main idea. Also in *Wasps*, when the slave says

> well then, I am going to tell the spectators how the story goes after I tell them first the following few words as a preamble, not to expect anything very great from us nor, on the other hand, any jokes stolen from Megara. For we have neither a pair of slaves throwing nuts from a basket to the spectators nor a Herakles being cheated of his dinner . . . (54–60)

he does not speak from the point of view of his rôle, but as an actor in the name of the whole troupe and, in the last analysis, of the playwright himself.[17]

Things become really amusing when the person of the actor and the character he impersonates are confused, and melt into one another. All the humour, for instance, of the first scene of *Frogs* derives from this confusion:

Shall I tell one of the usual jokes, master, which always make the spectators laugh? (1–2)

Here Xanthias speaks as servant of Dionysos ('master'), and as an actor who wants to make the public laugh. A similar confusion or quick alternation of personalities is found later in *Frogs*, when Dionysos, frightened by the terrible monsters which Xanthias describes, turns to the priest (the priest of Dionysos), who was sitting in the middle of the first row of seats, and asks for his help, saying:

Priest, save me, so that I may be your fellow-drinker (i.e. after the performance). (297)

These words come both from Dionysos to his priest and from the actor ('so that I may be your fellow-drinker') impersonating Dionysos, who goes on pretending that the danger is real. The game of confusion of persons continues and becomes more complicated when in the next line Xanthias reminds Dionysos and the spectators that his master is supposed to be playing the rôle of Herakles.

If, however, in *Frogs* the actor tries to escape from the danger that is supposedly threatening him as Dionysos, in *Peace* he draws a laugh from the audience by turning, still in the rôle of Trygaios, to the stage machinist, as he tries to protect himself from a real danger that seems to threaten him as an actor:

Eh! machinist, be careful, for a wind is already twisting me round the belly-button, and if you don't take care I'll fill the beetle with food. (174–6)[18]

A very remarkable case of superimposition and melting of persons into one another is found in *Acharnians*, in the scene where Dikaiopolis, dressed up as Telephos, explains his peaceful attitude and tries to dissuade the angry Acharnians:

Spectators, do not bear me any ill will if, although I am a beggar, still I propose to speak before Athenians about the city, as I make

my comedy. For comedy, too, knows what is right. And what I am going to say is dreadful but just. For this time, surely, Kleon will not slanderously accuse me of speaking ill of the city in the presence of foreigners. For we are by ourselves, and this is the Lenaia contest . . . (497–504)

In spite of the reference to the rags Dikaiopolis is wearing (498: 'although I am a beggar'; cf. 512: 'my vines, too, have been cut down') it is obvious that these words are spoken by the actor on behalf of the poet, and are addressed not to the Acharnians but to the spectators (497). This identification of imaginary persons with real ones (Dikaiopolis–actor–poet,[19] Acharnians–Athenian spectators) results in the identification, also, of the dramatic situation with a real one, namely the Lenaia of 425 B.C. (l. 504).[20]

The above examples, selected at random, show how often the actor of Old Comedy can overstep the boundary of his rôle in order to attain a comic effect, or praise the performance, or directly transmit the message of the poet. This freedom is due to the fact that the notion of dramatic make-believe and illusion is unknown to the Greek comedian. It is wrong, therefore, to speak of interruption or disruption of illusion and thus imply that illusion is the normal state of affairs, an indispensable element of drama itself. If we persist in this logic we shall inevitably have to admit with W. Schmid that this repeated *Störung der Illusion* and addressing the audience is something naïve, a primitive element which Aristophanic comedy never managed to outgrow.[21]

CHAPTER II

THEORIES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF THE PARABASIS IN RELATION TO THE SOURCES OF COMEDY

PRINCIPAL THEORIES

The question of the origin of the parabasis, related as it is to the more general problem of the origins of comedy, has, understandably, given rise to a great variety of opinions. But all the theories about the origin of the parabasis which have had some currency over the last hundred years or more, take for granted that theatrical illusion is an essential element of drama, something inherent in its very nature.[1] Because of this underlying common premise the parabasis has usually been considered as a very old kernel incorporated and preserved in the form of Attic comedy, 'a nugget of unassimilated ritual embedded in the structure of the play', as Murray puts it.[2] The character of this original nucleus and its rôle in the development of comedy left plenty of margin for disagreement.

For many scholars this kernel is the nucleus from which comedy originated; the most ancient part of comedy, which also gives us the clearest picture of its original form.[3]

How the parabasis could be the original performance of the *komoidoi* and yet at the same time be preserved unchanged within the developed form of comedy was never explained in any satisfactory manner. This would be possible only if the final form of comedy were a mere conglomeration of different elements, and had not evolved organically. This is, indeed, the solution which has been suggested by the majority of scholars up to the present time. The main constituent elements that are supposed to have been welded together, though 'never fully fused into one another',[4] are an Attic *komos* and a non-choral

Doric farce. But since we know hardly anything about either of these types of performance every historian of comedy has been free to propose his own theory about the time, circumstances, and extent, of their combination. These theories range from the ground-breaking thesis of Körte,[5] who was the first to bring out the significance of the Peloponnesian padded dancers and the South Italian *phlyakes* for the history of comedy, and postulate that Attic comedy was generated by the encounter of the Doric *mimus* with the Attic non-dramatic chorus, to the view of Zieliński,[6] Poppelreuter,[7] and others, who confine the Doric influence to the iambic scenes and derive the scenes from the parodos to the parabasis from the original Attic *komos*; while others attribute the *agon*,[8] also, to Doric influence,[9] or consider it a later development.[10]

The parabasis, being a purely choral performance, has always been related to the Attic *komos*, but its importance and initial position in the sequence of the *komos* is a matter of dispute. Three possibilities exist and have all been tried by various scholars in their efforts to reconstruct the earlier history of comedy: the parabasis could originally have belonged to the end, or to the middle, or to the beginning of the performance.

According to Zieliński[11] the parabasis was the final part of a performance which consisted of parodos, agon, and parabasis. 'In truth the existence of a form so persistent in type as that of the Parodos–Agôn–Parabasis structure can almost itself be taken as evidence for the existence of a kômos of a similar type before the Old Comedy'. So Pickard-Cambridge,[12] who follows Zieliński in this point. Comedy ended with the parabasis before the iambic scenes (see pp. 26 ff. below) were added to it. At the end of the performance the actors can 'naturally' turn to and address the audience, as they do in the epilogues of Plautus and Shakespeare. Before they turn to the audience, the chorus take off some overgarments (*Ach.* 626, see pp. 105 ff. below), which means that they give up their dramatic character in order to speak to the public as fellow-citizens.

The second theory, which we could call French because it was put forward and popularized in France by P. Mazon[13] and O. Navarre,[14] agrees with the first in that it accepts that the choreuts drop their dramatic personality by taking off their

disguise (Mazon) or their masks[15] (Navarre) after the agon and address the audience as citizens, in whose faces the spectators would recognize a friend or a neighbour. The public would eagerly wait for this moment. Then the leader of the troupe would find the opportunity to praise the spectacle and its performers, and express his ideas about public affairs. The basic difference between this theory and the previous one is that it does not accept the parabasis–epilogue. The final essential episode of the *komos* appropriated by comedy, in addition to the parodos and the agon, was the exodos, which must have been as noisy and lively as the parodos, to which it corresponded.[16] It must be noted here, however, that the two French scholars express some doubt as to whether the parabasis, at least in the complex and refined form which we find in Aristophanes, was a part of the original, primitive *komos*.

But undoubtedly the most popular theory about the initial position of the parabasis in the *komos*-sequence is that which interprets the parabasis as the original parodos of the chorus—regardless of whether it were followed by the agon (Radermacher),[17] or whether the agon were a later addition between the parodos–parabasis and the exodos (Wilamowitz).[18] The main arguments of this theory, which has prevailed in Germany and elsewhere since the nineteenth century, are: (*a*) the term parabasis seems to be synonymous with parodos;[19] (*b*) the typical anapaestic metre of the first part of the parabasis is a marching rhythm; (*c*) the first concern of the chorus after the anapaests—which accompanied its arrival at the place of performance—was a greeting and prayer to a god; this is consistent with what Aristotle (quoted by Themistios[20]) says about the chorus of tragedy: 'At first the chorus sang to the gods after its entrance'.[21]

A difficulty, of course, which this theory had to face was the need to explain how and why the parabasis was transposed after the agon. The explanation was sought in the influence of tragedy, from which comedy was supposed to have borrowed the prologue and the parodos. Comedy, as a dramatic genre that grew side by side with tragedy and, as it were, in its shade, could not begin with a part in which the chorus had not yet assumed its dramatic character. In the developed dramatic

form of comedy the chorus had to make its appearance as a participant in the plot, and its function as a critic and mouthpiece of the poet independently of the dramatic sequence could now be performed only when the movement of the action, in which the chorus had played its part, reached a point of repose.[22]

If the anapaests were interpreted as the original *Aufmarsch* of the chorus to the place of its performance, those who believed the parabasis to be a survival of the primitive *komos* saw the origin of personal satire in the *epirrhemata* of the syzygy.[23] Furthermore, the juxtaposition of invocation hymns and jests led to the comparison of the syzygy with the Hellenistic performances of the *phallophoroi* and *ithyphalloi*. These performances —known to us from a description of Semos of Delos (ca. 200 B.C.) incompletely quoted by Athenaios (xiv. 621 d ff.)—are considered as survivals of the *phallika* or phallic songs, from the leaders of which comedy originated, as Aristotle laconically says, adding that the *phallika* 'are still observed in many cities' (*Poet.* 1449 a 10). The most systematic examination of the whole question was made by H. Herter,[24] who added to the equation *phallika*–parabasis–*ithyphalloi*[25] the *Dickbauchtänzer* or 'fat men' represented on Attic vases of the sixth century B.C.[26] M. Pohlenz,[27] also, though rejecting, on the whole, Herter's theory about the origins of comedy, sees the epirrhematic syzygy as the 'exact counterpart of the *phallophoroi* performing in Sikyon'.[28]

The invocation hymns were treated separately by E. Fraenkel.[29] Accepting without hesitation the generally recognized view that the parabasis was originally the parodos of the comedians to the *Festplatz*, he thinks that the function of the hymns was to greet the god or gods of the sanctuary and the city, and to predispose them from the beginning in favour of the spectators and the performance that was about to start. Fraenkel refrains from making conjectures about the religious ceremonies to which he relates the hymns. He thinks, however, that not only Dionysos—whom we encounter only once, and then in company with Apollo, Artemis, and Athena, in the same strophe (*Nu.* 595–606)—but also other gods (gods of the market-place, protectors of the city, etc.), were honoured in the same way even in the very early stages of comedy. This position

is, of course, not in harmony with the correlation of the parabasis with the *phallophoroi*, who addressed their song to Bacchus, and the *ithyphalloi*, whose anonymous god ('erect', 'bursting with vigour'[30]) must have been identical with Dionysos, no matter if his cultic epithet was Ithyphallos, Phales, or anything similar. This is the reason why Kranz did not accept Fraenkel's view.[31] His own view is that all choruses originally addressed their hymns to Dionysos Lenaios (in the Lenaia the comic performances may have been more important than the tragic, and the origins of comedy have been connected with the ceremonies of this festival[32]) and that the hymns in Aristophanes represent a later *Feststadium*. However, Kranz's objection is not based on any evidence but only on the reasoning that since the parabasis is the *Kern und Urgebilde*[33] of comedy it must once have had a purely Dionysiac character. (Here one may wonder how the transition to the later stage was effected, since comedy never ceased to be a part of the festivals in which the Athenians celebrated Dionysos.)

Recently Th. Gelzer[34]—who believes that the parabasis and the agon came from different sources—tried to combine the theory of the origin of the epirrhematic syzygy of the parabasis in a ceremony like that of the *phallophoroi* with Fraenkel's remarks on the dependence of the invocation hymns on the *Kultlyrik*. And in order to reinforce his opinion that the syzygy—as opposed to the agon—originated in the phallophoric ceremonies, he suggested that the chorus which performed such hymns should initially have been entirely different from the theriomorphic choruses of comedy, because such choruses could not sing hymns to the Olympian gods. However, the fact that it is precisely the Olympian gods who are celebrated by the hymns of the parabasis goes against the suggestion that the origin of the hymns is to be sought in the Dionysiac cult (this is exactly why Kranz objected to Fraenkel's conclusions). As for the argument that the Olympian gods—who so often in mythology were connected with, or transformed into, animals[35]—could not be addressed by choruses of men dressed up as animals, this cannot really be considered as convincing. What else, after all, do the Birds and the Frogs of Aristophanes do?

The view that the parabasis has no relationship whatever

with the *phallophoroi* but is the creation of the comic poets was expressed by P. Händel a few years ago.[36] His main argument is that the complex form of the (whole) parabasis could not derive from a ritual like that of the *phallophoroi*. If that were the case the principle of worship (*kultisches Prinzip*) would prevail over any other, and the antistrophe of the hymn would follow immediately after the strophe. This argument may not be valid (see pp. 53 ff. below); much happier, however, is Händel's observation that the content of the parabasis, as opposed to that of the performance of the *phallophoroi*, is not basically satire but a *Selbstdarstellung des Chors*.[37]

DUBIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF THE THEORIES

All these theories and opinions (with the exception of Händel's) are based on certain presuppositions that can by no means be considered sound. Such presuppositions are that the parabasis always had, if not all its parts in the form in which we find them in Aristophanes, yet essentially the same contents; that this considerably large 'kernel'[38] could not have come into existence through an organic development of comedy itself, since it interrupts the plot and has a different character from the other parts of comedy; and that it served from the beginning as a vehicle for the opinions of the poet (who must have been the original leader of the chorus[39]).

These presuppositions, which determined to a great extent the formation of the theories I have mentioned, stem from the prejudice that the unity of plot and action—in the sense that each scene should lead up to the next—is the 'natural' form of every kind of fully developed, sophisticated, drama. Thus, every part of drama, in this case the parabasis of Old Comedy, which not only does not fit into the sequence of the plot but also interrupts it for a long time and is, as F. M. Cornford puts it, 'so injurious to the conduct of a drama',[40] must be a relic of the primitive stages of development, or even of the sources, of comedy.[41] That the unity and coherence of plot might not have been desirable to the comic poets of the fifth century B.C. and that the nucleus of the parabasis might have been their creation was not even examined as a possibility to be rejected. On the

contrary, the unconscious prejudice regarding the unity of plot resulted in this paradox: the same scholars who considered the parabasis a remnant of a primitive form of drama, were the ones who, annoyed by its position in the middle of the play, moved it either to the beginning or the end, and thus succeeded in 'restoring' the unity of the structure of comedy, but at an earlier stage of its development! For those brought up to the modern European theatre of illusion it was only before or after the play proper that the actors could address the audience, and this preconception is visible in the theories of the parabasis–parodos and parabasis–epilogue.[42] But the paradox does not end here. Having moved the parabasis to the beginning of the play the followers of the theory of the parabasis–parodos had also to return it to its position.[43] They therefore invoked the influence of tragedy, by whose side and under whose influence comedy was supposed to have developed. But the plot of tragedy, at least since the time of Aeschylus, was 'about one action whole and complete, having a beginning and middle and end . . . like an animal that is one and whole' (Aristotle, *Poet.* 1459 a 19). How, then, could the structure of tragedy have a destructive influence on the coherence of comedy? On the contrary, tragedy was a model of dramatic unity; and, indeed, in the first part of the fifth century this unity held the whole trilogy together.[44] The lack of coherence among the various parts of comedy cannot therefore be explained by the assumption that the poets did not know, or had not yet achieved, what we mean by dramatic unity. On the contrary, we might well ask whether in fact they may have been uninterested in this unity, just as certain modern types of drama such as the revue, the musical comedy and, above all, the 'epic' theatre, are not concerned with it either. The evident affinity between Aristophanes and Brecht lies in the fact that both wrote political drama and tried, expressly and clearly, to influence the public.[45] Most of the principles of epic theatre as stated by its originator (as well as its basic differences from the traditional European drama), are also principles of Old Comedy (some of them of classical tragedy, too), but the one that is especially relevant to our discussion is the principle that 'each scene is self-contained' ('jede Szene für sich').[46] This is the opposite of what happens in realistic drama, where

each scene leads up to the next, the plot develops organically, and nothing disturbs the sequence of the action, which tries to appear as true to life as possible.

CHAPTER III

THE FUNCTION OF THE COMIC CHORUS

Before proceeding to analyse the parabasis on the basis that Attic comedy was a strictly conventional, unrealistic, form of drama which, consequently, did not aim at creating—neither did it create unintentionally—the so-called dramatic illusion, we must examine the function of the comic chorus in general and its participation in the other parts of comedy. This will enable us to isolate the real peculiarities of the parabasis and attempt to interpret them in the light of the function and behaviour of the chorus throughout the play, and, of course, of any other evidence that can be brought to bear on them.

THE CHORUS AS A PARTICIPANT IN THE ACTION

If the actors of Old Comedy can communicate with the audience, the chorus can, by virtue of its nature, do the same to a much greater extent. Its physical position between the main agents of the dramatic action and the audience, and, further, the fact that it consists of a group of people, enable the chorus to identify sometimes with the characters of the play, sometimes with the group of performers, and at other times with the public.

From its first appearance to the end of the agon the chorus is a participant in the action and, in consequence, has a definite dramatic character—old men from the village of Acharnai, birds, and so on—in accordance with which it behaves. Its entrance is announced by the persons of the prologue, and when it appears its dramatic identity is clearly established.

The extant plays of Aristophanes (with the exception of *Plutus*, which from the point of view of dramatic technique and, especially, of the use of the chorus belongs to Middle Comedy) allow us to distinguish four types[1] of parodos of the comic chorus

on the basis of the following criteria: the relationship of the chorus to the characters of the play, the whereabouts of the latter and what they are doing at the time of the parodos; the destination of the chorus and its intentions when it enters; its manner of entry and what it says.

(*a*) *Acharnians*, *Wasps*, *Lysistrata*, *Ecclesiazusae*. When the chorus enters, the actors who had anticipated its forthcoming appearance have withdrawn. The parodos represents a part of the march of the chorus to the place of its final destination, which may (*Ach.*, *Lys.*) or may not (*Vesp.*, *Eccl.*) be the scene of the play. The choreuts urge and encourage themselves[2] to hasten to where they have to carry out an important task, which may (*Ach.*, *Lys.*, *Eccl.*) or may not (*Vesp.*) be directly related to the central theme of the play. In their cries of encouragement they may call each other by name.

(*b*) *Knights*, *Peace*. The chorus enters impetuously in order to take drastic measures in relation to the matter which constitutes the central theme of the play. Its entrance into the orchestra represents its arrival at the place of its destination, where it comes in response to an invitation by one of the persons of the prologue to help the comic hero. What it says during the parodos is relevant to its immediate purpose. (The parodos of the *Heroes* of Aristophanes [fr. 304] was perhaps of this type.)

(*c*) *Clouds*, *Birds*. The chorus comes in response to an invitation by one of the characters with whom it has a special relationship, without knowing why it has been invited. It sings its first song,[3] which is necessarily irrelevant to the dramatic action of the prologue, before its appearance, announcing in this way its imminent arrival. The actors, though not the actor who invited it, look for the chorus, which has been heard but cannot yet be seen. Soon afterwards the chorus enters dancing but not singing and takes its position in the orchestra, while its nature and appearance are discussed by the characters and explained by the friend of the chorus to the others. The first concern of the chorus after this impressive presentation is to ask why it was invited. (To this type also belong the parodoi of the comedies *Islands* [fr. 388] and *Babylonians* [frs. 64, 66, 67, 79, 80] of Aristophanes, *Cities* of Eupolis [frs. 230–233] and, most probably, *Laws* of Kratinos [fr. 126].)

(*d*) *Thesmophoriazusae*, *Frogs*. The chorus enters the orchestra, which represents the place of its destination, in order to celebrate a festive occasion, ignoring the existence and intentions of the persons of the prologue, who are on stage. What it sings and recites is a parody of religious hymns and ritual set speeches.[4]

Finally, another type of entrance of the chorus seems to have been used by Kratinos in the comedies *Ploutoi* (Page, *G.L.P.*, no. 38)[5] and *Cheirones* (fr. 235). In both these plays, as the chorus enters the orchestra, it announces to the audience its identity and the purpose of its arrival. In *Ploutoi* another person is apparently also on stage, but it is not clear what his relationship to the chorus is.[6]

These types of parodos do not predetermine the development of the plot. However, whether the entrance of the chorus is followed by the 'battle scene' and the epirrhematic agon[7] or not, its presence in the orchestra until the parabasis is logically and dramatically justified, although the effect of dramatic illusion is never aimed at, and the chorus may be referred to as 'chorus', that is as a group of performers (see p. 27) and not as a character of the play (*Ach.* 416, cf. *Nu.* 1352; see also *Av.* 445–7). Throughout that part of the play between the parodos and the parabasis the chorus is never alone on the stage.

THE CHORUS OUTSIDE THE PLOT

In the parabasis, when the dramatic action is suspended, the choreuts step out of the area of dramatic myth—which is symbolized by their taking a few steps towards the spectators, the παραβαίνειν—and address the latter, speaking as members of a group of performers trying to influence the audience in their favour, although they may at times pretend that they still speak from the point of view of the dramatic character which they have been impersonating so far, and which is determined by their disguise. This device is a basic rule of the game, and is also widely used by the actors, as we have already seen (cf. pp. 12 ff.).

But before proceeding to the analysis of the rôle of the chorus in the parabasis we must examine the use of the chorus from the

parabasis to the exodos in those plays in which this part consists of the so-called episodic or iambic scenes (i.e. *Acharnians*, *Wasps*, *Peace*, *Birds*), for an understanding of how the chorus is used in this final part of a comedy[8] is necessary if we are to understand better the function of the parabasis and succeed in isolating its special characteristics.

THE CHORUS IN THE IAMBIC SCENES

As far as its structure is concerned this part may have one of the following forms:

(*a*) A chain of episodic scenes, in which the chorus does not participate; the hero is on stage all the time; the chorus remains silent (*Vesp.* 1292–1449, *Av.* 903–1057).

(*b*) When an episode ends with the withdrawal of the actors the chorus fills the gap with a stasimon. The longest stasimon is the so-called second parabasis,[9] when written (see Table I, pp. 46–7 below). The shortest may be a small strophe, the antistrophe being the next stasimon. So two iambic scenes and two stasima form an 'iambic syzygy' (*Av.* 1494–1705), which cannot, of course, be called epirrhematic, though the pattern is obviously borrowed from the epirrhematic parts of comedy (see below, pp. 53 ff.). The content of the stasima (though not of the second parabasis) is primarily praise and admiration of the hero (*Ach.* 971 ff., *Vesp.* 1450), and gibes at individual spectators (*Av.* 1470 ff., 1553 ff., 1694 ff.), or a combination of both (*Ach.* 836 ff., 1143 ff.).

(*c*) The parts of an iambic syzygy may be more closely interconnected. The hero remains on stage and shares in the odes with the chorus. In this case, too, the chief motif of what the chorus sings is praise and admiration of the hero (*Ach.* 1008 ff., 1037 ff., *Pax* 856 ff., 910 ff., 1023 ff.).[10]

(*d*) An episode may contain a lyric dialogue between the chorus and the hero (*Ach.* 929 ff.: Dikaiopolis ties up the sycophant Nikarchos and makes him into a parcel; *Pax* 974 ff.: 'foundation' of Peace [the strophe 939–55 of the syzygy 922–1038 has the same character and subject]; *Av.* 1313 ff.: Pisetairos prepares to welcome the new citizens of Cloudcuckoo Town). This sung dialogue, with which a scene may end, forms

a kind of climax to the episode. But in these cases, too, there is no participation of the chorus in the action.

Now, if one wondered what sort of business the Acharnians may have had at the market of Dikaiopolis, or the dicasts–wasps outside the house of Philokleon while he was away, making merry at the party, one would find no satisfactory answer. In point of fact, however, such a question would be out of place. For if the presence of the chorus in the iambic scenes cannot be justified by the logic of realistic drama (so that these scenes have been considered by an overwhelming majority of scholars as a 'later' addition effected through the influence of the 'Doric farce', see p. 16 above), all difficulty disappears as soon as we apply to the problem the rules of the type of drama that Old Comedy was.

The chorus is used very skilfully in this part of comedy, too. In the first place, it keeps the balance of music and dancing between the section before the parabasis, on the one hand, and the iambic scenes, on the other. Furthermore, with its participation in certain melodramatic parts it strengthens the dramatic tension; and with its repeated expressions of admiration for the comic hero it impresses the message of the poet on the public more effectively. Finally, it is adeptly used as an instrument for flinging personal gibes at the audience.

It is obvious that the function of the chorus in the agon is entirely different from its function in the episodic scenes. In the former part the chorus joins in the rivals' fight, encourages them, gives them marks and keeps the score, and sides with one of them—or is dissuaded by its opponent in cases when the chorus is one of the two adversaries. In the iambic scenes it finds itself at the margin of the action on stage, and is content to praise and bless the hero. Necessarily, therefore, the dramatic character it played during the agon is now weakened, and its rôle as a spectator and commentator on the action receives much more stress. The chorus addresses to the audience both its admiration for the hero and its gibes. And it does so either from the standpoint of the character it impersonated with much greater consistency in the first part of the play, or as 'comic chorus' (that is a group of Athenians performing a public service—cheerful, ready to poke fun at everybody and complain

of the stinginess of the *choregos*[11]), ignoring its costume. On the other hand, since it is in communication with the public it can voice the public's feelings, or, at least, the feelings the poet wants to rouse among them.

The standpoint from which the chorus speaks each time is sometimes clear and sometimes not. In *Av.* 1470 ff., for example, it is the Birds that say (in character but outside the myth of the play, in direct contact with the audience):

Many and new and wonderful things we saw in our flight. Well, there is a tree . . .

In *Ach.* 1150 ff. the 'comic chorus' (and not the old men from Acharnai) ridicule an old *choregos*, who left the chorus without dinner at some earlier Lenaia. More usually, however, it is not easy to say what the viewpoint of the chorus is. When, for instance, the chorus says in *Ach.* 977:[12]

I will never receive War into my house . . .

it expresses the peaceful attitude which Aristophanes persistently tries to rouse among his audience. A few lines earlier, however, the chorus had said:

Citizens of this entire city, did you see the wise man . . . (971)

Here we have the comic chorus of the poet rather than the Acharnian charcoal-burners. And yet, later in the same stasimon the chorus says:

Or have you [Reconciliation],[13] by any chance, taken me for a very old man? (993)

From this and the following lines it appears that those who speak are old farmers, but not necessarily Acharnians. This last characteristic is, in fact, played down (the names *Acharneus* [177, 200, 203, 222], *Acharnikos* [180, 329, 665], *Acharneides* [322], are not heard again after the parabasis) because the poet wants to express here what all the farmers of Attica feel—or what he would like them to feel. In other words, because of the playing down of the special characteristics of the dramatic rôle played by the chorus (in this case the fact that the old men are from Acharnai), the chorus ceases to express—as it is supposed

to—the feelings of the section of the public it impersonates; the standpoint from which it speaks is enlarged, and this results in its identification with a larger section of the public (all farmers of Attica), in which the poet is specially interested.

In fact, this playing down of the special characteristics of the rôle of the chorus is the key to understanding the function of the chorus in the scenes after the parabasis. For, as its special and well-defined dramatic personality in the first part of the play is necessary in order to account for its unreserved and even passionate attitude towards the opponents, so the weakening of its dramatic character (and, in consequence, its identification with the average Athenian citizen–spectator) justifies its presence in the last part of the play, and makes it an ideal means both of transmitting the message of the poet to the audience and expressing the 'ideal' reaction of the latter to this message.

EXCURSUS ON THE CHORUS OF 'PEACE'

A well known crux of Aristophanic interpretation is the dramatic identity of the chorus of *Peace*: 'It seems impossible to say who form the chorus'.[14]

When the chorus enters it represents not only all the Hellenes (ll. 292, 302) but also all social classes and professions (296–8). Later, when the 'Panhellenes' begin to pull the ropes in order to free Peace, Trygaios and Hermes discover that some of them do not pull at all and rather hinder the liberation of Peace: the Boeotians (466), Lamachos (473), the Argives (476), the Megarians (481). On the contrary, the Laconians pull vigorously (478). Soon, however, it becomes obvious that the operation cannot succeed so long as there are some who pull in the opposite direction (492). So first Trygaios threatens the Argives (493), and then Hermes sends away the Megarians and the Athenians (500 ff.). In the end, of all the Greeks, the farmers alone decide to try without the help of the others, and indeed succeed in pulling the cave open (508 ff.). Later, in the second parabasis, it is clear that the chorus consists of Athenian farmers. What, then, is the dramatic character of the chorus?

In the list of *dramatis personae* the chorus is included as

'chorus of farmers', and in one manuscript (V) as 'chorus of Athmonian farmers' (Trygaios was from the deme of Athmonon [190, 919]; the idea that the chorus consisted of demesmen of Trygaios may have come from ll. 919 ff.). According to the first Hypothesis 'the chorus consists of Attic farmers'. Modern scholars have suggested that the chorus consists of twelve Panhellenes and twelve Athenian farmers, or that in addition to the regular chorus of Athenian farmers there appeared 'a motley crowd of craftsmen, natives, and foreigners'[15]—a *parachoregema* (disappearing at 508 or at 730, cf. n. 9 to p. 106). All this is considered by the latest editor of *Peace*, Maurice Platnauer, as 'too elaborate for Aristophanes'. He prefers 'to suppose that the poet started off with the idea of a chorus of Panhellenes, but that, as Sharpley puts it, "after the appearance of Peace, having no need of aliens" he "takes pains to make us forget that the whole chorus were not originally Attic farmers"'.[16] Having made this austere judgement on the dramaturgical workmanship of Aristophanes (and in this he is not alone), Platnauer, commenting further on ll. 296 ff., says that 'Trygaios summons the chorus of twenty-four (Attic) farmers . . . The other Athenian citizens here mentioned, together with the Boeotians, Argives and the rest, are best regarded . . . as mere creatures of the imagination.'

H. van Daele[17] suggests that the chorus is literally transformed at the beginning of the parabasis by taking off those special garments which made possible the distinction of the provenance of the choreuts from various parts of Greece, and revealing the attire of the Athenian farmer (cf. pp. 106 ff. below).

It might be worth mentioning here the imaginative theory proposed by C. D. R. Arnoldt[18] in the last century, namely that whatever was said about the Boeotians, Lamachos, and so on, it was said with reference to the audience, among whom Lamachos as well as emissaries of Sparta and her allies must have been seated. The argument lies on the assumption that at the time of the City Dionysia of 421 delegations from Sparta and the other cities of the Peloponnesian Alliance would have gone to Athens in order to ratify the Peace of Nikias.

Norwood, finally, suggests an easy way out: the confused

identity of the chorus is an anomaly which resulted from a conflation of two different versions of the play.[19]

Each one of the above theories (except that of Norwood) answers some of the questions posed by the text but none of them answers *all* the questions. How is it possible, for example, to believe that the chorus consists of Attic farmers, and that all others are 'creatures of the imagination', when Trygaios invites the chorus with the words:

Now, farmers and traders and workmen and craftsmen and metics and foreigners and islanders, come here all of you people, (296–8)

and the chorus entering says:

Here, everybody, march with zeal, straight to deliverance. People of all Greece (Panhellenes), let us give our aid now if ever. (301–2)

But the theories of the *parachoregema*, of the two different semichoruses, and of the transformation of the chorus, also meet with obstacles regarding the action. In the first place, how can a distinction be made between the Athenians as a whole, who are sent away at l. 503, and the Athenian farmers, who are supposed to free Peace? Why should the Spartans—the only ones who 'pull manfully'—also get out of the way? And what about Lamachos? If we accept with Arnoldt that Lamachos as well as the delegates of the Peloponnesian Alliance were among the spectators and were not represented by the chorus, how are we then to understand, for instance, ll. 491–2:

is it not terrible . . . that some are pulling and others are tagging in the opposite direction?

or ll. 497 ff.:

Tr. You then who crave for peace pull manfully.
Ch. But there are those who prevent us;

or, finally, ll. 503–4:

(Herm.) and the Athenians I bid to cease clinging to the point from where you are now pulling.

What is more important, though, is that the distinction between Panhellenes, on the one hand, and Athenian farmers, on the

other, is incorrect, for it is not the Athenian farmers but the farmers of *all* Greece who actually liberate Peace.

In fact, these theories cannot be right because the question they try to answer—namely, what the dramatic character of the chorus of *Peace* is—is not appropriate, or, at any rate, is only a crude formulation of the problem. In none of the comedies does the chorus have a consistent and unalterable dramatic character. The boundaries of its character are flexible and, from scene to scene, from moment to moment, can be enlarged, or become narrower, and so its point of view may change. What appears to be a special problem in *Peace* is due to the fact that the fluctuations of the character of the chorus start much earlier than the parabasis, during the most intensive involvement of the chorus in the action. This is unusual but still in keeping with the rules of the chorus' function. Thus, at the beginning, the chorus of *Peace* impersonates all the Greeks, of every class and profession, including Lamachos just as everybody else (cf. p. 99 below, on the inclusiveness of the comic chorus). Later, it represents the farmers of all Greece. In the parabasis it does not play a rôle; it is just the 'comic chorus' of Aristophanes. In the second parabasis it plays the Athenian farmers.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHORUS IN THE PARABASIS

ANALYSIS OF THE PARABASES OF ARISTOPHANES AND OF THE PARABATIC FRAGMENTS

(1) *Metre*

The traditional division of the parabasis into *kommation* ('little piece') (*K*), parabasis proper or 'anapaests' (*P*), *pnigos* or *makron* ('choking' or 'long piece', both names being due to the fact that this part was apparently delivered in one breath) (*Pn*), *ode* (*O*), *epirrhema* (*Ep*), *antode* (*AO*), and *antepirrhema* (*AE*) (see n. 23 to p. 18), is primarily a metric one. Some of these parts were sung, and some were recited. Those that were sung (*O*, *AO*, and sometimes *K*) were composed in various lyric metres, and were not bound by metrical conventions. The parts that were recited were written in certain typical metres—this is why the metre, in conjunction with the content, is a basic criterion for the assignment of a fragment to the parabasis, and even to this or that part of it. There is no evidence as to how these parts were delivered. Regarding the responsive parts of the epirrhematic syzygy, it is possible that one half of the chorus sang *O*, and the other half sang *AO*, while the leaders of the semichoruses might recite *Ep* and *AE* respectively.

The metre of *P*, *par excellence*, is the anapaestic tetrameter, and that of the epirrhemata the trochaic tetrameter. *K* is sometimes metrically unified with *P* (*Ach.*, *Thesm.*), and sometimes independent; it varies in size, and may form a kind of lyric introduction to the whole unity. In *Pn*, which is not separated logically or even syntactically from *P* (a sentence that has begun in *P* may continue in *Pn*, cf. *Eq.* 546–7), the rhythm does not change but the pace quickens, and the anapaestic tetrameter gives way to the anapaestic dimeter.

Besides the anapaestic tetrameter, *P* could also be written in some other metres, the most common of which are the 'Eupolidean' and the 'Kratinean'.[1] Both the Eupolidean verse, and the Kratinean, are combinations of choriambic dimeters with the colon ⏑̲ ⏑̆ — ⏑̲ — ∪ —:

Eupolidean: ⏑̲⏑̲ ⏑̆ — ⏑̲ — ∪ ∪ — | ⏑̲ ⏑̆ — ⏑̲ — ∪ —
Kratinean: — ∪ ∪ — ⏑̲ — ∪ — | ⏑̲ ⏑̆ — ⏑̲ — ∪ —

In *Clouds* of Aristophanes *P* is composed in Eupolidean. The same metre is found in a number of fragments, which also have to be attributed to the parabasis on account of their content: Kratinos 98, Eupolis 78, 120, 161, Pherekrates 29, 47, 64, 122, 132, 191, Aristophanes 54, 55 (both from the same play), Platon 92, 169, *adespota* 53, 54, 55. All these fragments should be assigned to main parabases—sixteen in all. Pherekrates' fr. 96 is a choriambic system, the cola of which (except the catalectic last one) are the same as the first part of the Eupolidean verse. This fragment shows what form a *Pn*, following a *P* in Eupolidean, would have (the parabasis of *Clouds* has no *Pn*). *Adesp.* P. Mich. inv. 3690 should also be attributed to a *Pn*, while fr. 362 of Eupolis in the same metre comes from a *K* (see Table II, p. 49).

The Kratinean we find in three fragments of Kratinos (9, 146, 324) and two (from the same parabasis) of Eupolis (37, 38).

One more metre of *P* takes its name from a comic poet. It is the 'Platonic', a dactylo-epitrite metre of the following form: — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —, or *D*—*e*—*D* according to Maas' symbols. This metre is preserved in a single fragment of the comic Platon (90).

We must, finally, mention here the 'contracted anapaests', a metre used for the first time by Pherekrates. In fr. 79, quoted by Hephaistion, the poet asks the audience to pay attention to his new invention:

ἄνδρες πρόσχετε τὸν νοῦν
ἐξευρήματι καινῷ
συμπτύκτοις ἀναπαίστοις.

Gentlemen, turn your attention / to this new invention: / contracted anapaests.

This fragment consists of three lines, which have the form:

– – – ᵕᵕ – – –. Whether this choriambic colon, known as 'Pherekratean', was used κατὰ στίχον, i.e. as a verse complete in itself and repeated over and over again to form *P*, as Wilamowitz suggested,[2] we cannot know for certain. This may have been the case only in *K* and *Pn* (cf. the Eupolidean above), while the verses of *P* may have consisted of two Pherekrateans[3] —perhaps combined without regard to *diairesis*—or of one Pherekratean and a shorter, catalectic colon. (On Eupolis, fr. 162, see Table II, p. 49.)

In the epirrhemata of the second parabasis of *Wasps* Aristophanes used the cretic–paeonic metre. *Ep* consists of eight tetrameters with the addition of a trochaic tetrameter. *AE* consists of seven[4] cretic and one trochaic tetrameter. The same metre is used in *Ach.* 971 ff., a choral part which some scholars take as a second parabasis (e.g. Zieliński, Starkie), and some as a stasimon (e.g. van Leeuwen, Rogers, White, Pickard-Cambridge, Prato). The two strophes of this stasimon have the following form (according to the colometry of Coulon and Prato): 2 cretic pentameters, 1 cretic hexameter, 9 cretic tetrameters, 1 trochaic tetrameter. The ten tetrameter lines of the two strophes (976–87 ~ 990–9) resemble the epirrhemata of the second parabasis of *Wasps* but cannot be separated from the first lines of the strophes, with which they are connected by rhythm, sense, and even syntax (in the antistrophe, ll. 989–90), in a unified whole. With regard to the content of this choral part, the chorus is, indeed, concerned with itself, as is usual in the parabasis (see p. 42, c3), but at the beginning of both strophes it also speaks about the hero, which is a theme entirely alien to the typical contents of both the first and the second parabasis, though not of the stasima after the parabasis (see pp. 26 ff. above).[5] The lines 971–99 of *Acharnians*, therefore, both from the point of view of metrical structure and from the point of view of content, form a kind of pseudo-epirrhematic syzygy, which occupies the place of the second parabasis but also performs the usual function of the stasima of the part of comedy after the parabasis in its expressions of praise and admiration for the hero (cf. p. 28).

The cretic–paeonic metre is found also in a fragment of Eupolis (160) and in five fragments of Aristophanes, of which

two come from *Farmers* (110, 111), and two from the second *Thesmophoriazusae* (333, 334; see Table II, p. 48). Of these, the fragment of Eupolis comes from the second parabasis of *Flatterers* (see Table II, and p. 44). Fragments 110 and 111 of Aristophanes have certain affinities with *Ach.* 971 ff., while the content of the fragments 333, 334, and 699, suggests the probability that these fragments come from second parabases (see p. 44 and Table II, p. 48, n. 29). I do not know whether all these examples are sufficient to support the proposition that the cretic tetrameter, almost as much as the trochaic tetrameter, may have been a suitable metre for the composition of the epirrhemata of the second parabasis, though not of those of the first.

Two more types of verse, both of aeolic character, should be mentioned here. The first is a combination of an acatalectic and a catalectic choriambic dimeter (— ◡◡ — ⏑ — ◡ — | — ◡◡ — ◡ — —),[6] and is found in two fragments of Eupolis (159, 361), and two of Aristophanes (30, 31, from the same comedy). As regards their content, the fragments of Aristophanes could come from *P*, because they seem to be spoken by the poet himself, but this is not a decisive criterion for their attribution to *P* (cf. pp. 43–4 below, and Table II, Krat. 25, Eup. 160, 357, Plat. 107). On the other hand, the fragments of Eupolis are epirrhematic in content, though this fact would not, again, preclude their assignment to *P* (see p. 43 below). However, fr. 159 is from *Flatterers*, which had a *P* in Eupolidean (fr. 161), and may be a complete (16 line) epirrhema (either *Ep* or *AE*).[7]

The second aeolic dicolon, recognized only in frs. 290–2 of Eupolis, consists of two polyschematist dimeters, the first acephalous and the second acatalectic: ⏑ — — — ◡◡ — | — ⏑ — ⏑ — ◡◡ —.[8] Whether these fragments come from *P* or an epirrhema we cannot tell.

(2) *Changes of viewpoint*

Except in *O* and *AO* which usually have the form of hymns of invocation to some god or gods, in the other parts of the parabasis the chorus addresses the audience. Turning to the audience is entirely natural in the type of drama to which Attic comedy belongs. Equally natural, is the freedom of the chorus

to change the viewpoint from which it speaks. Generally, it can be said that the chorus sings the invocation hymns as 'comic chorus' and recites the epirrhemata from the point of view of its dramatic character, while *P* and *Pn* are usually spoken either by the comic chorus or by the poet himself through the leader of the chorus. This is a rule with many exceptions. The chorus can speak from the standpoint of its rôle in the odes and in *P*—even when the latter is about the poet—and the poet can speak in the first person in an epirrhema, usually of the second parabasis.

We need say nothing further here about the freedom of these changes of viewpoint, even within the same part of the parabasis (see pp. 27 ff.; the changes are listed in Table I, pp. 45–7 below). It is necessary to note here only that the identification of the poet with the leader of the chorus represents a narrowing of the point of view of the 'comic chorus' (cf. p. 27) analogous to the narrowing of the dramatic character of the chorus in *Peace* (see p. 32), or to the widening of the standpoint of the chorus, for example, of the Acharnian demesmen, who represent at times the old men (676 ff.) or the farmers (994 ff.) of Athens, and of the dicasts, who also speak as Athenian old men in the parabasis of *Wasps* (*O*, *AO*, 1060 ff., 1091 ff.). In *Acharnians* this contraction of viewpoint is adroitly effected at the moment of transition from *P* to *Pn*: as the tetrameters turn into dimeters and the movement of delivery gets quicker, the third person, used by the chorus in speaking about its *didaskalos* (*P*), changes to first (*Pn*). A similar change takes place in *Peace*, but before *Pn*, in l. 754 of *P*, and within the same syntactical period. In this way the poet begins to speak for himself, and this is underlined by a change of tense: whereas all verbs before and after l. 754 are in a past tense, either imperfect or aorist (ἐπεχείρει 752, ἐποίησε, ἐπύργωσε 749, etc., κατέδεισ[α] 759, ἀντεῖχον 760, etc.), the first verb that occurs in the first person (in l. 754) is in the present tense (μάχομαι).[9]

(3) *Content*

From the point of view of content, the first three parts (*K*, *P*, *Pn*) constitute a unity. In *K*, which is a connecting link between the parabasis (as a whole) and the preceding scene, the chorus

I 1 bids farewell to the actors, who leave the stage before the parabasis, with the formula ἀλλ' ἴθι χαίρων (*Eq.* 498, *Nu.* 510, *Pax* 729) or ἀλλ' ἴτε χαίροντες (*Vesp.* 1009), and continues by wishing the hero success in his plans (*Eq.* 498 ff., *Nu.* 512 ff.); or

I 2 simply mentions the persons who leave the scene (*Ach.* 626).

II 1 ἀποδύεται or 'undresses' (*Ach.* 627, cf. *Lys.* 615, 637;[10] see pp. 105 ff. below); or

II 2 disposes of objects which are used in the first part of the play (*Pax* 729 ff.).

III Immediately afterwards the chorus turns to the audience and asks for its attention (*Eq.* 503 ff., *Vesp.* 1010 ff.), or simply says that it will address itself to the audience (*Pax* 731).

Sometimes in *K* the chorus also speaks to the public in a flattering or in a mocking manner but these addresses are actually themes of *P*, where they occur more often (see p. 39, E1, E2, and cf. pp. 41–2, b5, d1, below). On the other hand, the chorus can ask for the attention of the audience in *P*, or in both *K* and *P* (*Vesp.* 1015, *Av.* 688, Eupolis, fr. 37, Pherekrates, frs. 79, 191). But, as has been said already, the content of the first three parts of the parabasis is unified, and if we can distinguish between *K* and *P*, it is chiefly because they may differ in metre.

In *Birds K* (676–84) is an ode to Nightingale, a mute person of the play, appearing for the first (and only) time ten lines before the parabasis. Both from *K* and from ll. 203 ff., 222 + schol., it appears that Nightingale played the flute. The last line, 'begin the anapaests' (*sc.* 'dear . . . companion, Nightingale'), connects *K* with *P*, and suggests that Nightingale perhaps accompanied the anapaests on the flute.[11] It is obvious that the presence of Nightingale and the *K*-ode are an exceptional case.

The subject of *P* and *Pn* is the praising of the poet, as appears from the five earlier plays of Aristophanes and from numerous fragments. The poet, either himself in the first person, or through the chorus:

A claims, in the first place, or implies, that poets should not

'come forward to the theatre' (*παραβαίνειν πρὸς τὸ θέατρον*) and praise themselves (Arist. *Ach.* 628–9, *Eq.* 507–9, *Pax* 734–5, Platon, fr. 92);

B refers to his modesty, and explains why he did not himself produce his earlier plays (Arist. *Eq.* 512 ff., 541 ff., *Nu.* 530 ff., 545, *Vesp.* 1022 ff., *Pax* 762 ff.; cf. Platon, frs. 99, 100, *adesp.* 53);

C1 explains the virtues and stresses the originality of his art as compared with the art of other poets or with the quality of comedy before him (Arist. *Nu.* 522 ff., *Vesp.* 1044 ff., *Pax* 739 ff.; Kratinos, frs. 9, 146, 308, cf. 306, 324 b; Lysippos 4; Pherekrates 79, 122; Metagenes 14);

C2 violently attacks his rivals in the dramatic competition (Arist. *Nu.* 553 ff., fr. 54, cf. *Vesp.* 1025+schol., 1050, *Pax* 739 ff.+schol., fr. *P. Oxy.* 2737, 1, i.5 ff.; Kratinos, frs. 200, 306, 307, 324 c, cf. 308; Eupolis 78; *adesp.* 46; cf. Lysippos 4, Pherekrates 191);

C3 speaks of the old comic poets in an approbatory manner (Arist. *Eq.* 520 ff.; cf. Kratinos 324 a);

C4 'discusses the early age of comedy'[12] (Kallias, fr. 21, Pherekrates 185, Aristophanes 253–4, cf. *adesp.* 55);

D1 defends his politics against 'false accusations', and speaks with pride of his courage and his fights against the politicians (Arist. *Ach.* 630 ff., 645 ff., 655 ff., *Eq.* 510–11, *Nu.* 549–50, *Vesp.* 1021, 1029 ff., *Pax* 751 ff.; cf. Platon 169, Eupolis 120);

D2 claims that his political critique and his counsels have greatly benefited the city (Arist. *Ach.* 634 ff., *Vesp.* 1043; Pherekrates, fr. 47; Kratinos 73, 233);

E1 addresses the audience in a flattering manner (Arist. *Nu.* 518 ff., *Vesp.* 1010 ff.; Kratinos, frs. 169, 323; Telekleides 4; Platon 90), cf. b5 below;

E2 addresses the audience in a mocking manner (Kratinos, fr. 323, Telekleides 4, cf. Kallias 20, *adesp.* 47);

E3 blames the spectators for his earlier failures or for their ingratitude towards the old great poets (Arist. *Eq.* 517 ff., *Nu.* 525 ff., *Vesp.* 1016 ff., 1048);

E4 asks for their lively applause, which will secure him the victory (Arist. *Eq.* 546 ff., *Pax* 765 ff.);

E5 asks the spectators to appreciate for their own benefit the merit of his art and his counsels (Arist. *Ach.* 655 ff., *Nu.* 561 f., *Vesp.* 1051 ff.; cf. Kratinos 169);

E6 asks the judges to reach a 'just' decision and give him the victory, otherwise he threatens to take revenge on them by means of his satire (Pherekrates, fr. 96); cf. d2 below.

The object of the eulogy of the poet, which is what *P* and *Pn* are, is clearly to gain victory in the dramatic contest. The poet flatters the spectators for their 'shrewdness' and 'wisdom' (E1), on which he counts when he asks them to appreciate his art (E5), and, on the other hand, speaks ironically of their light-mindedness (E2). However, if because of their thoughtlessness they have 'betrayed' him, as well as the other great poets, in the past (E3, C3), now is the time to make up for their mistakes and help him by means of their applause to get the first prize (E4), which is indeed very well deserved: for this is a great poet, always full of new ideas, a real innovator of the art (C1)[13]—while his rivals do not hesitate to appropriate the ideas of others, and are never tired of repeating the old crude jokes (C2)—he carries out his duty as a comic poet with great courage by unmasking and ridiculing the fraudulent politicians (D1), and has greatly benefited the city with his bold political satire and his admonitions (D2). Besides, his proved modesty—on account of which, says Aristophanes, he did not himself produce his plays while he was still a young man—is a guarantee that he will not give himself airs and will not put the victory to a bad use (B). What comes as a surprise is the claim that the poets should not praise themselves in the parabasis (A), while in fact they do quite the opposite; (this point is discussed later, see pp. 62 ff., especially p. 66).

Theme C4 is found only in fragments and it is not clear how it should be connected with the other C-variants. Fr. 333 of Aristophanes (see p. 44) seems to combine C4 with C3.[14]

E6 occurs only in a single fragment of Pherekrates. Although it seems natural in the context of the whole *P* that the poet should ask the judges to be fair to him, it is not the same as the threat that accompanies the apostrophe of Pherekrates to the judges, the sole example of E6: 'or, by Zeus Philios, Pherekrates

will tell you another tale far more biting'. In Aristophanes the chorus turns to the judges with threats—but also with promises—from the point of view of its dramatic rôle, which makes the joke much funnier, and therefore much more effective (see d2 below).

In the epirrhematic syzygy (and in the second parabasis) the chorus, either in its dramatic rôle or as comic chorus (see p. 37):

a1 addresses one or more gods and invites them to join the festival and the chorus (Arist. *Eq.* 551 ff., 581 ff., *Nu.* 563 ff., 595 ff., fr. *P. Oxy.* 2737, ii. 18; cf. *Eq.* 1272, Kratinos, fr. 321);

a2 makes a similar invocation to the Muse (Arist. *Ach.* 665 ff., *Pax* 774 ff., 815 ff., *Ran.* 674 ff., cf. *Av.* 737 ff., fr. 334 [see n. 29 to p. 48]; Kratinos, frs. 36, 222);

a3 refers to certain gods to whom it offers its songs (Arist. *Av.* 745 ff., 772 ff.);

b1 scoffs at specific citizens by name (Arist. *Ach.* 701, 705, 710, 716; *Eq.* 574, 1266 ff.; *Nu.* 580 ff., 623; *Vesp.* 1267 ff.; *Pax* 781 ff., 801 ff.; *Av.* 762 ff., 790, 798, 1072 ff., 1104; *Thesm.* 840 ff.; *Ran.* 679, 689, 709; fr. 411; Eupolis, frs. 361,[15] *G.L.P.*, no. 40, ll. 1–32);

b2 tells a funny story, which serves as a vehicle for personal gibes and attacks (Arist. *Eq.* 1300 ff.);

b3 satirizes groups of Athenian society, or its manners and morals without mentioning names (Arist. *Nu.* 615 ff., *Vesp.* 1107 ff., *Pax* 1172 ff., *Thesm.* 830 ff.; Eupolis, fr. 292);[16]

b4 compares the present with the glorious past.[17] This comparison of the chorus' contemporaries with the old Marathon fighters may take the form of a 'eulogy of fathers' (*Eq.* 565 ff.), or of blame for the maltreatment of the old men by the younger ones (*Ach.* 676 ff.), or of a description of great old feats (*Vesp.* 1060, 1077 ff., 1091 ff.);

b5 addresses the audience in an ironical or mocking manner (Arist. *Vesp.* 1071, 1074, *Ran.* 734; Eupolis, fr. 290);[18]

b6 gives serious advice to the public (Arist. *Ran.* 686 ff., 718 ff., frs. 305–6; Eupolis, fr. 291);[19]

c1 explains its disguise to the audience (Arist. *Vesp.* 1071 ff., 1102 ff.);

c2 tells a funny story, which is related to its costume or appearance (Arist. *Eq.* 595 ff., *Nu.* 581 ff., 607 ff.);

c3 refers to its dramatic character, speaks of, and usually praises, itself (Arist. *Eq.* 1264 ff., *Nu.* 575 ff., 1115 ff., *Vesp.* 1060 ff., *Pax* 1127 ff., *Av.* 737 ff., 1058 ff., fr. 111; Eupolis, frs. 159, 162);

d1 addresses the public in a flattering manner (Arist. *Nu.* 575, *Ran.* 700, cf. 676), cf. E1 above;

d2 turns to the judges from the point of view of its rôle, and promises that they may expect all kinds of favours from the chorus if they make the 'right' judgement, but also threatens to revenge itself if it is deprived of the victory (Arist. *Nu.* 1115 ff., *Av.* 1101 ff.).

If *P* is a eulogy of the poet, the epirrhematic syzygy has a double function; on the one hand, the chorus proudly presents itself to the public—and in this case it is always its dramatic character that is described, explained, and praised, never its real personality as 'comic chorus', which cannot be of any interest to the public—and on the other, it tries to instruct the spectators directly and straightforwardly, and to influence them politically—in the Greek sense of the word—which of course coincides with the aim of the whole comedy. To these two aims of the syzygy correspond the themes of the chorus' preoccupation with itself (c) and of the satire and admonition (b). These motifs properly belong to the epirrhemata, while the lyric parts of the syzygy, *O* and *AO*, usually have the form of κλητικοὶ ὕμνοι (invocation hymns) and are not spoken to the audience (a). However, 'b' and 'c' often penetrate into the odes, and sometimes even displace 'a' altogether (*Ach. AO*, *Vesp. O*, *AO*, *Ran. AO*). It is noteworthy that both the odes of *Peace*, which has no epirrhemata, contain personal gibes. The same is true of the odes of *Frogs*, where the epirrhemata contain only admonitions. In the odes of the second parabasis the motifs 'b' and 'c' predominate, while an address to a god survives only in *Eq.* 1272. An epirrhema may have only one of the two basic themes, 'b' or 'c'. More usually, though, the two themes follow one another or are closely interlaced (see Table I below).

The motifs d1 and d2 of the epirrhemata correspond to themes E1 and E6 of *P*, and aim, the former indirectly and the latter directly, at the dramatic victory. Similarly, b5 and E2

correspond to each other but their respective origins and purpose do not coincide. Theme b5 is another variation of satire, while E2—within the framework of what the poet says—should rather be connected with E3.

In the extant comedies of Aristophanes d2 is found only in the second parabasis. The chorus in *Clouds* and *Birds* addresses itself to the judges from the standpoint of its dramatic rôle and, after reminding them of its character and its resultant capability of 'benefitting' or 'harming' them, makes a final appeal to them to decide 'fairly'. It is to be noticed that this closes the second parabasis of *Birds* (while the second parabasis of *Clouds* consists of one epirrhema only), as, correspondingly, the eulogy of the poet, which also aims at the victory, opens the first parabasis.

The themes of the epirrhemata have penetrated *P* in *Birds* and *Thesmophoriazusae* (where the syzygy has shrunk to one epirrhema only) and completely replaced the usual content of this part, as we know it from the earlier plays of Aristophanes. The same themes occur in some fragments, which have to be referred to main parabases on account of their metre:[20]

b1 Arist. *Thesm.* 804 ff.
b3 Arist. *Thesm.* 806 ff.; cf. Pherekrates, fr. 29.
b5 Arist. *Av.* 685 ff.; Telekleides 2; Philonides 5; cf. *adesp.* 47.
b6 Telekleides 2.
c2 Arist. *Av.* 690 ff.
c3 Arist. *Av.* 702 ff., *Thesm.* 785 ff., frs. 412–5, 417; Kratin. 98; Eupol. 14, 38, 161; Pherekr. 64; *adesp.* P. Mich. 3690.
d2 Perhaps *adesp.* P. Mich. 3690.

On the other hand, themes of *P* may be found in epirrhemata. This happens only once in the extant plays of Aristophanes namely in *AE* of the second parabasis of *Wasps* (1284 ff.). Here Aristophanes, speaking in the first person, rejects the allegation that he had come to terms with Kleon (motif D1). Now if we consider that motif d2 of the second parabasis of *Clouds* and *Birds* differs from E6 only in that it is spoken by the chorus in character, we conclude that one of the functions of the second parabasis, and more specifically of its last part, is the pursuit, directly (by the chorus, *Nu.*, *Av.*) or indirectly (by the poet, *Vesp.*), of the dramatic victory. This is, as we have seen, the

basic aim of *P*. The introduction of the themes of *P* to the second parabasis, as well as theme d2, are a reiteration, a recapitulation and last reminder to the spectators and judges alike as to how they should award the victory.

A number of fragments, which for metrical reasons have to be attributed to epirrhemata,[21] contain themes of *P*:

c1 Eupolis, fr. 357, l. 8; Arist. fr. 699.
c2 Kratinos 25; Eupolis 357, l. 3.
c3, c4 Arist. 333.
d1 Eupolis 357, l. 2; Arist. 31; Platon 107.
d2 Eupolis 160.
e3 Eupolis 357, ll. 3 ff.
e5 Eupolis 357, ll. 7 ff.

Whether all the above fragments come from the second parabasis we cannot know for sure. Fr. 160 of Eupolis, however, must be assigned to the second parabasis of *Flatterers* (see Table II, p. 49 below). Three more parabatic fragments from the same comedy show that Eupolis did not speak of himself and the virtues of his play in *P* (fr. 161), which was of the same type as that of *Birds* and *Thesmophoriazusae* (theme c3), but only in the second parabasis.[22] Theme c3 apparently ran through *P*, *O* (162), and *Ep* (159), of *Flatterers*. Also, Eupolis' fr. 357, the eight lines of which contain variants of the themes c, d, and e, cannot have belonged to a first parabasis whose *P* had the same contents already. It seems, therefore, to come from a second parabasis and, furthermore, from a play with a *P* of the type of *Flatterers* and *Birds*.

(4) *Tables*

In the following two tables I have attempted to give a concise summary of the form and contents of the parabases of the complete comedies of Aristophanes, and of the fragments that can be attributed to the parabasis on the evidence of their content and metre.

TABLE I. The parabases of Aristophanes[23]

play date	*Ach.* 425	*Eq.* 424	*Nu.*[24] 423/420–417	*Vesp.* 422	*Pax* 421	*Av.* 414	*Thesm.* 411	*Ran.* 405
				kommation				
lines	626–7	498–506	510–7	1009–14	729–33	676–84		
metre	anap. tetram.	2 anap. systems	anap.–iambic	anap.–trochaic	4 anap. tetram. + 1 troch. tetram.	aeolic		
content	I 2, II 1	I 1, III	I 1	I 1, III, E1	I 1, II 2, III	(see p. 38)		
				main parabasis/pnigos				
lines	628–58 659–64	507–46 547–50	518–62 —	1015–50 1051–9	734–64 765–74	685–722 723–36	785–813 814–29	
metre	anap. tetr./anap. dimeter	anap. tetr./anap. dimeter	Eupolidean	anap. tetr./anap. dimeter	anap. tetr./anap. dimeter	anap. tetr./anap. dimeter	anap. tetr./anap. dimeter	
viewpoint	comic chorus/poet	cavalrymen	poet	comic chorus	comic chorus/poet	birds	Athenian women	
content	A, D1, D2, E5	A, D1, B, E3, C3, E4	E1, C1, E3, B, D1, C2, E5	E3, B, C2, D1, D2, C1, E5	A, C2, C1, D1, B, E4	b5, c2, c3	c3, b1, b3	
				ode				
lines	665–75	551–64	563–74	1060–70	775–95	737–51		674–85
metre	cretic	aeolic–ionic–aeolic	aeolic–dactyl.–aeolic	trochaic	dactylo-epitrite	dactyl.–trochaic		dactylo-epitrite
viewpoint	Acharnians	cavalrymen/comic chorus	comic chorus/Clouds	Athenian old men	comic chorus	birds		comic chorus
content	a2	a1	a1	b4/c3	a2, b1	a2, c3/a3		a2, b1

play	*Ach.*	*Eq.*	*Nu.*[24]	*Vesp.*	*Pax*	*Av.*	*Thesm.*	*Ran.*
date	425	424	423/420–417	422	421	414	411	405
				epirrhema				
lines	676–91	565–80	575–94	1071–90		753–68	830–45	686–705
metre	troch. tetram.	troch. tetram.	troch. tetram.	troch. tetram.		troch. tetram.	troch. tetram.	troch. tetram.
viewpoint	Athenian old men	cavalrymen	Clouds	'wasps'		birds	Athenian women	comic chorus
content	b4	b4, b1	d1, c3, c2/b1	b5, c1, b4		c3, b1	b3, b1	b6, b1, d1
				antode				
lines	692–702	581–94	595–606	1091–101	796–816	769–84		706–17
viewpoint	Athenian old men	cavalrymen/ comic chorus	comic chorus	Athenian old men	comic chorus	birds		comic chorus
content	b4, b1	a1	a1	b4	b1, a2	c3/a3		b1
				antepirrhema				
lines	703–18	595–610	607–24	1102–21		785–800		718–37
viewpoint	Athenian old men	cavalrymen	Clouds	'wasps'		birds		comic chorus
content	b4, b1	c2	c2, b3, b1	c1, b3		c3, b1		b6, b5
			SECOND PARABASIS					
				ode				
lines	(see p. 35)	1264–73		1265–74	1127–39	1058–70		
metre		dactylo-epitrite		trochaic	iambic–cretic–trochaic	spondaic anapaests admixed with cretic–paeonic periods		
viewpoint		cavalrymen/ comic chorus		comic chorus	Athenian farmers	birds		
content		c3, b1, (a1?)		b1	c3	c3		

play	*Ach.*	*Eq.*	*Nu.*[24]	*Vesp.*	*Pax*	*Av.*	*Thesm.*	*Ran.*
date	425	424	423/420–417	422	421	414	411	405
				epirrhema				
lines		1274–89	1115–30	1275–83	1140–58	1071–87		
metre		troch. tetram.	troch. tetram.	cretic tetram. + 1 troch. tetram.	troch. tetram. + pnigos of 3 troch. dimeters	troch. tetram.		
viewpoint		comic chorus	Clouds	comic chorus	Athenian farmers	birds		
content		b1	d2/c3	b1	c3	b1, c3		
				antode				
lines		1290–9		(not preserved)	1159–71	1088–101		
viewpoint		comic chorus			Athenian farmers	birds		
content		b1			c3	c3		
				antepirrhema				
lines		1300–15		1284–91	1172–90	1102–17		
viewpoint		comic chorus		poet	Athenian farmers	birds		
content		b2		D1	b3	d2		

TABLE II. Fragments

Date	Title	Fr. no.	Metre	Theme	Viewpoint	Part of parabasis
			ARISTOPHANES			
424	*Farmers*	110–11	cret. tetr.	c3	dram. rôle	*Ep*, ?parabasis II[25]
423	*Merchantships*	412–15, 417	anap. tetr.	c3	dram. rôle	*P*
	Merchantships	411	troch. tetr.	b1		*Ep*
after 421	*Danaides*	253–4	anap. tetr.	c4		*P*[26]
419–412	*Anagyros*	54–5	Eupolidean	c2	poet	*P*[27]
414	*Amphiareos*	30	aeolic		poet	?*Ep*[28]
	Amphiareos	31	aeolic	D1	poet	?*Ep*
ca. 414	*Heroes*	305–6	troch. tetr.	b6	dram. rôle?	*Ep*
407–406	*Thesmophoriazusae* II	334, 333	cret. tetr.	?a2, c3/c4	comic chorus	*Ep*, ?parabasis II[29]
	unknown	699	cret. tetr.	c1		*Ep*[30]
	unknown	*P. Oxy.* 2737, fr. 1, i. 5 ff.	anap. tetr.	c2		*P*[31]
		i.19 f.	dactylic			*O*
		i.27 ff.	troch. tetr.	b		*Ep*
		ii.18	dactylic	a1		*AO*
		ii.19 ff.	troch. tetr.	b		*AE*
			EUPOLIS			
429–423	*Goats*	14	anap. tetr.	c3	dram. rôle	*P*
424	*Golden Race*	290–2	aeolic	b5, b6, b3		?*Ep*[32]
423	*The Exempt from Service*	37–8	Kratinean	III, c3	dram. rôle	*P*[33]
421	*Flatterers*	161	Eupolidean	c3	dram. rôle	*P*

Date	Title	Fr. no.	Metre	Theme	Viewpoint	Part of parabasis
			EUPOLIS (*cont.*)			
	Flatterers	162	Pherekratean	C3	dram. rôle	?*O*[34]
	Flatterers	159	aeolic	C3	dram. rôle	*Ep*[35]
	Flatterers	160	cret. tetr.	D2	poet	*Ep*, parabasis II[36]
416–45	*Dippers*	78	Eupolidean	C2	poet	*P*[37]
412	*Demes*	120	Eupolidean	D1?		*P*
	Demes	*G.L.P.* 40, 1 r	iamb. dimet.	B1	comic chorus	*AO*
	Demes	ib., 1 v	troch. tetr.	B1	comic chorus	*AE*
	unknown	357	troch. tetr.	III, D1, E3, C2, E5, C1?	poet	*Ep*, ?parabasis II[38]
	unknown	361	aeolic	B1		?*Ep*[39]
	unknown	362	Eupolidean			*K*[40]
			KALLIAS			
	unknown	20	anap. tetr.	E2?		*P*?
	unknown	21	anap. tetr.	C4		*P*[41]
			KRATINOS			
455–435 soon after	*Odysses*	146	Kratinean	C1		*P*
449	*Archilochoi*	9	Kratinean	C1		*P*
435–430	*Thracian Women*	73	anap. tetr.	D2	comic chorus	*P*[42]
435–430	*Pylaia*	169	anap. dimet.	E1, E5?		*Pn*
before 430	*Malthakoi*	98	Eupolidean	C3	dram. rôle	*P*
431–430	*Cheirones*	233	anap. tetr.	D2	poet	*P*
430	*Dionysalexandros*	*P. Oxy.* 663		C		?*P*[43]
424	*Delian Maids*	25	troch. tetr.	C2	poet?	*Ep*
423	*Wine-Flask*	200		C2		*P*?
	Didaskaliai	36	troch. dimet.	A2	comic chorus?	*O*
	Trophonios	222	iamb./cretic	A2	comic chorus?	*O*

Date	Title	Fr. no.	Metre	Theme	Viewpoint	Part of parabasis
			KRATINOS (*cont.*)			
	unknown	306	anap. tetr.	C1, C2	comic chorus or poet	*P*
	unknown	307	anap. tetr.	C2	poet?	*P*
	unknown	308	anap. tetr.	C1		*P*
	unknown	321	Phalaecean	a1?		*O*
	unknown	323	'Archilochean'	E1, E2	comic chorus	*K*
	unknown	324a, b, c	Kratinean	C3?, C1?, C2	comic chorus	*P*
			LYSIPPOS			
	Bacchae	4	anap. tetr.	C1/C2		*P*
			METAGENES			
	Fond of Sacrifices	14	anap. tetr.	C1	poet	P^{44}
			PHEREKRATES			
435–430	*Slave-Teacher*	47	Eupolidean	D2		*P*
428–421	*Deserters*	29	Eupolidean	b3?		*P*
before 421	*Krapataloi*	96	Eupolidean	E6	comic chorus?	Pn^{45}
414	*Kitchen*	64	Eupolidean	c3	dram. rôle	P^{46}
	Korianno	79	Pherekratean	III, C1		*K* or P^{47}
	Ant-Men	122	Eupolidean	C1	poet	P^{48}
	Persians	132	Eupolidean			$?P^{49}$
	unknown	185	anap. tetr.	C4		P^{50}
	unknown	191	Eupolidean	III, C2?	comic chorus	*P*

Date	Title	Fr. no.	Metre	Theme	Viewpoint	Part of parabasis
			PHILONIDES			
410–405	*Kothornoi*	5	anap. tetr.	b5		*P*
			PLATON			
ca. 420	*Perialges*	107	troch. tetr.	D1	poet	*Ep*[51]
420–410	*Little Child*	92	Eupolidean	A	poet	*P*
419–418	*Hyperbolos*	169	Eupolidean	D?		*P*[52]
416–411	*Peisandros*	99, 100		B?		*P*[53]
	Wool-Carders	90	Platonic	E1		*P*[54]
			TELEKLEIDES			
435–430	*Amphictyons*	4	dactylo-epitr.	E1, E2 or b5, d1		*K*
	Amphictyons	2	anap. tetr.	b5, b6		*P*
			ADESPOTA			
	Heroes	P. Mich. inv. 3690	Eupolidean	c3/d2?	dram. rôle	*Pn*[55]
		46	anap. (tetr.)	c2		*P*[56]
		47	anap. (tetr.)	E2 or b5		*P*
		53	Eupolidean	B?		*P*[57]
		54	Eupolidean			*P*[58]
		55	Eupolidean	c4?		*P*[59]

PECULIARITIES OF THE PARABASIS AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE OTHER CHORAL PARTS

There are many similarities between the parabasis and the other choral parts of comedy, but there are also some differences. To begin with, the apostrophe of the chorus to the audience is not a peculiarity of the parabasis since the chorus addresses itself to the spectators in the stasima also, both in character and as a comic chorus. Moreover, the actors as much as the chorus take the audience into account, address themselves to it, and drop their character whenever this serves the purposes of the poet. In fact, this 'licence', that is to say what appears to us as licence and abuse of rules, *is* a basic rule of Attic comedy.

What is a peculiarity of the parabasis, as compared with the other choral parts, is the fact that the poet may identify with the leader of the chorus, and address the audience in the first person; though a similar (but not openly admitted) identification of the poet with an actor is not unknown in other parts of comedy (see *Ach.* 496 ff., pp. 13–4 above). The themes of *P* are not found in other choral parts (except in the second parabasis, see pp. 43–4), although it is possible for the actors of the prologue to praise the play and its originality, either by speaking directly to the audience on the part of the theatrical company—and of the poet in the last analysis—(*Vesp.* 54 ff.) or indirectly as they talk with one another (*Ran.* 1 ff.).[60]

Of the themes of the epirrhematic syzygy, the invocation hymns are also found elsewhere: in the parodos and stasima of *Thesmophoriazusae* (312 ff., 959 ff., 1136 ff.), in the parodos of *Frogs* (316 ff.), in the exodos of *Lysistrata* (1279 ff., cf. 1296 ff.). The gibes, too, are a motif common to the syzygy and the other choral parts both before and after the parabasis—whereas the other usual theme of the stasima, the glorification of the comic hero, is unknown to the parabasis.[61] The third basic theme of the parabasis—the self-presentation of the chorus and its preoccupation with itself—occurs neither in the stasima nor in the choral parts of the agon, but is not alien to the content of the parodos of the types (*c*) and (*d*) (see pp. 24–5 above).

CHAPTER V

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARABASIS

EPIRRHEMATIC SYZYGY AND EPIRRHEMATIC AGON

In this chapter we shall attempt to work backwards towards what may have been the earlier stages of the development of the parabasis by inspecting more closely its chief characteristics and peculiarities, outlined in the previous chapter, and enquiring which of them may have originated in the parabasis and whether there is a relationship between the form and content of the parabasis and of other parts of comedy.

A convenient (and obvious) point of departure is to examine the epirrhematic form of composition, which is also found in other parts of comedy, and primarily in the agon (see n. 8 to p. 16). Ever since A. Rossbach and R. Westphal[1] discovered the epirrhematic form of the agon (although the term 'epirrhematic agon' is due to Zieliński) the question has existed of whether the parabasis borrowed this form from the agon (Sieckmann),[2] or *vice versa* (Körte, Wilamowitz).[3] Pickard-Cambridge accepts the latter alternative on the ground that 'the form of the agon is more liable to vary than that of the parabasis', which in his opinion 'suggests that the epirrhematic form is more essential to the latter and probably therefore originally belonged to it and was transferred to the agon'.[4] On the other hand, he considers the whole question as pointless, for the epirrhematic form 'may have been a conventional form used with different degrees of strictness for the whole performance'[5]—as if in such a case we need not look for the origin of this conventional form. Recently T. Gelzer has put forward a novel theory according to which the similarity in form between the agon and the parabasis is due to chance. The epirrhematic form in the parabasis, Gelzer claims, has no relationship with the epirrhematic structure of the agon because

these two parts of comedy have different predramatic origins. It cannot, therefore, be maintained that the form of the agon was taken over from the parabasis or *vice versa*.[6]

Let us see, however, what the (ideal) structure of the agon in Aristophanes is:

	I ode	V antode	
chorus			chorus
	II katakeleusmos (exhortation)	VI antikatakeleusmos	
	III epirrhema	VII antepirrhema	
actor A			actor B
	IV pnigos	VIII antipnigos	
chorus		IX sphragis (seal)	

This scheme has five more parts (II, IV, VI, VIII, IX) in addition to those common to both the agon and the epirrhematic syzygy of the parabasis (I, III, V, VII). In contrast to the parabasis the agon is a dramatic unity, which occupies the central position in the plot. Now it is immediately evident that the structure set out above corresponds to the dramatic function of the agon. The close correspondence between form and content is shown by precisely those parts which are absent from the parabasis: the exhortations (II, VI) are incitements and encouragements to the opponents just before they begin to speak; the 'choking pieces' (IV, VIII) constitute the climax of the epirrhemata; the 'seal' (IX), when written, is the verdict of the chorus. Whether these parts were developed in the agon or whether they fell away in the parabasis, the fact remains that their presence in the former and their absence from the latter show how essential, indeed, is the epirrhematic structure to the agon. In contrast, in the parabasis *AO* and *AE* represent simply a reduplication of form which is not imposed by the content. For this reason the argument that the epirrhematic form originally belonged to the parabasis, because the fact that in the latter it appears to be more consistent and 'less liable to vary' supposedly implies that it is more essential to it than to the agon, is a false one.[7] For in the agon there is an organic interdependence between form and content,

and the former has to be adapted (to the detriment of its regularity) to the requirements of the latter and to the special needs of the plot of each play;[8] while in the parabasis it is the other way round, that is, the epirrhematic structure is a type, a mould in which the content with its traditional themes is cast.

No organic necessity, for that matter, can be seen in the kind of loose 'iambic syzygy' that is formed in, or by, the episodic scenes following the parabasis (see p. 26).[9]

According to what has been contended so far, the origin of the epirrhematic structure must be very close to the origins of the agon. What the first form or forms of the agon were, and who the original opponents, we do not know (in fact, when this is found out for certain the problem of the origins of comedy will cease to exist). In any case, the chorus was probably not a neutral observer (as in *Nu.* and *Ran.*), but was perhaps immediately interested in the outcome of the contest and took part in it, either fighting against an outsider (cf. *Ach.*, *Av.*), or supporting one of the two opponents (*Eq.*), who could come from its class or group (*Vesp.*, cf. *Pax*, *Eccl.*, *Pl.*).[10] On the other hand, the two hostile semichoruses of *Lysistrata* have a precedent in the *Archilochoi* of Kratinos, and perhaps their prototype is very old.[11] From the agon the epirrhematic form seems to have spread to the other parts of comedy, but only as a type of poetic composition and—we must assume—of musical and choreographic composition also.

ORIGINAL FORM AND CONTENT OF THE SYZYGY

If it is true that the epirrhematic structure originally belonged to the agon, the earlier form of the choral piece that finally developed into the syzygy must have consisted basically of two parts: one to be sung, the other to be recited.[12]

In looking for the content of this original two-element choral unity we should, of course, turn to the typical themes of the epirrhematic syzygy. Of these themes the scoffing at individuals or at the public at large is spread throughout the play; and although the gibes before the parabasis are made in passing and do not have a narrative form, as they may have in the syzygy and the stasima, it can neither be asserted, nor denied, that they

originated in the parabasis. This doubt is chiefly about b1, which is in all likelihood the oldest of the 'b'-variants. Although relative dating of the other variations is, of course, not possible, it could perhaps be supposed that the more 'instructive' among them (b6, b4) developed within the framework of the parabasis while comedy itself was developing into an elaborate poetic genre, which was in time put to the service of society. Variation b2 is found only once, in *AE* of the second parabasis of *Knights*, whose prototype is obviously its counterpart (i.e. *AE*) of the first parabasis (theme c2).

The invocation hymns, however, most likely originated in the parabasis. This is shown by the fact that, while their introduction to the parabasis is dictated by a convention—hence they can be omitted without loss—wherever else they occur (see p. 52), they suit the dramatic character of the chorus and the dramatic situation. The difference, that is to say, between the invocation hymns of the parabasis, on the one hand, and those of the parodos (of the fourth type, see p. 25) of *Thesmophoriazusae* and *Frogs*, the exodos of *Lysistrata*, and the stasima of *Thesmophoriazusae*, on the other, is that the chorus in these comedies *pretends* to celebrate with its hymns a festive occasion in connexion with its participation in the dramatic action, whereas in the parabasis it is the comic chorus itself that with such hymns actually celebrates a *real* event, which is none other than its own performance.[13] Thus the Initiates, for example, in the parodos of *Frogs* call on Iacchos and Demeter to join them in their festivities, which belong to the plot of the play, as the women celebrating the Thesmophoria pray to 'the race of gods . . . to appear and rejoice in these prayers' (*Thesm.* 312–14).[14] However, in ll. 673 ff. of the parabasis of *Frogs*,

> Muse, enter upon the sacred chorus, and come to delight in my song and see the great crowd of people, where countless stores of wisdom sit,

we listen to the comic chorus (and not to the Initiates of the Mysteries) inviting the Muse to come to the theatre in order to inspire the chorus with her presence, to be pleased with its song, and to see the big crowd of the 'wise' spectators (see also *Pax* 774, 816).

The conventional character of the invocation odes of the epirrhematic syzygy is very clearly seen in *Clouds*. The 'only goddesses' (365, 423–5, 806 [after the parabasis]), in the face of Socrates' assertions earlier in the play that Zeus does not exist, begin their song by first calling 'the great Zeus, king of gods' (563–4) to the chorus, and proceed in their hymn (*O* and *AO*) with invocations to the other Olympians, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Athena, and Dionysos. This apparent antinomy is resolved as soon as we observe that these invocations are not made by the chorus in character but in its capacity as comic chorus (cf. the beginning of *O*: 'to the chorus . . . I call', 564–5). There is, however, nothing to prevent the chorus from momentarily changing its point of view in order to invite also (to the theatre, of course) 'our glorious father, most holy Aether' (569–70). The chorus, therefore, can call on the gods to join in its performance from the standpoint of its dramatic character also (as in *Ach.* 665 ff.), making use of the same 'licence' that enables it in character to praise the poet (*Eq.* 507 ff.) or ask for the victory (*Nu.* 1115, *Av.* 1102). Often, though, the viewpoints of the comic choreuts and of the persons represented by them melt into one another. A good example of this is found in *AO* of *Knights*, where the chorus invites Athena to come 'bringing along Victory, our help-mate in expeditions and battles [here the success of the cavalry at Corinth, a few months before the production of *Knights*, is hinted at, cf. p. 99 below], who is a companion of choral songs, and sides with us against our adversaries' (586 ff.; cf. 551 ff.: 'Lord Poseidon, god of the horse . . . come here to the chorus', etc.).

The invocation of a god accompanied by a verb in the imperative is the basic and simplest type of prayer. The type of prayer represented by theme a1, in which a group of people call upon one or more gods to take part in their festivities, comes directly from the cultic poetry. This is shown by the fragments of Greek cultic poetry that have come down to us.[15] It is worth quoting here a statement of Lucian, who describes a Spartan song and dance addressed to Aphrodite and the Erotes: 'And the song that they [the Spartans] sing as they dance is an invocation to Aphrodite and the Erotes to join them in their revelling and dancing' (*de salt.* 11, ii. 215 Jacobitz = *P.M.G.*,

no. 864). It should also be noted here that the metrical form of the invocatory hymns of *Knights* is very similar to that of Philodamos' paean to Dionysos,[16] a religious poem which is dated to 335–334 B.C. but must have had a very old prototype.[17]

However, at this point we must make as clearly as possible the distinction between the invocatory hymns of comedy and their cultic prototypes. The religious hymns addressed to the gods by a group of worshippers are one thing, and the hymns of the parabasis of comedy are another. What relationship may originally have existed between them we do not know, nor how the latter evolved from, or were simply influenced by, the former. Neither can we reach any conclusion regarding the original position of the invocation hymns in comedy on the assumption that the corresponding hymns in worship may have belonged to the beginning of a ritual, of which we hardly know anything (cf. pp. 18 ff. above).

Although the constituent elements of the invocation in the a2 variant are the same as in a1, the hymns to the Muses are unlikely to have their immediate prototype in genuine cultic poetry. They are, in fact, modelled on the hymns to gods represented by a1, although the invocation of the Muse is a theme with a very long tradition in epic and lyric poetry.[18] In certain cases direct dependence of parabatic hymns upon literary prototypes or, at any rate, echoes of earlier, primarily choral poetry in hymns of both the a1 and a2 types are recognized.[19]

Theme a3 occurs in combination with c3 (*Av.* 737 ff., 769 ff., cf. *Ran.* 209 ff., see pp. 95–6 below). The chorus speaking proudly of itself, naturally from the point of view of its dramatic rôle, refers to the gods and its connexion with them. The song it sings now is like those which it usually sings to the gods, and with which the gods are pleased. Even if the lines 744–6 of *Birds* ('I set forth sacred melodies in honour of Pan and grave choral dances to the Mountain Mother') betray some influence from religious hymns to the two mountain deities,[20] the odes that combine themes c3 and a3 are only indirectly hymnodic. This again does not mean that their prototypes may not have been found in predramatic choral poetry (cf. a2).

O in *Birds* (737 ff.), however, begins like an invocatory hymn with an address to the Muse ('Muse of the copse . . . with whom

I . . . send forth sacred melodies, etc.'), but immediately goes on to themes c3/a3, and the invocatory formula is not completed: the vocative case is not accompanied by a verb in the imperative mood—e.g. ἐλθέ ('come', *Ach.* 665), δεῦρ' ἀφικοῦ ('come here', *Eq.* 586), etc.—but is followed by a relative clause which qualifies it. This form of invocation that remains incomplete is not rare in lyric poetry, nor in tragedy.[21] Though here there is, indeed, good reason for not asking the 'Muse of the copse' to join the chorus since she, who is no other than Nightingale, is already there.[22]

In addition to the invocation hymns, and basically for the same reason, theme 'c' must have its origin in the parabasis, and more specifically in that early choral part which in time developed into the epirrhematic syzygy. The theme of the self-presentation of the chorus is mainly found in the parabasis. However, the parodoi of the types (*c*) and (*d*) also throw light on the character of the chorus, as the latter is presented to the public before its involvement in the plot of the play. Because, that is, the chorus is not aware of what has happened on the stage up to the point when it is heard for the first time, its first song is necessarily irrelevant to what has taken place in the prologue but *not* to the dramatic situation at the moment of its engagement in the action. And since precisely the parodos introduces the chorus into the story, what it first says must accord or have to do with the rôle it is coming to play, just because it must be relevant to the dramatic situation. By reason of dramatic necessity, therefore, the chorus may refer to itself—though not describe itself—in the parodos (*Nu.* 275 ff.,[23] *Ran.* 323 ff.), and this is exactly where the latter differs from the parabasis, in which the direct or indirect self-description and self-glorification of the chorus is made straight to the audience when the development of the plot is suspended. (On theme c3 in the song of the secondary chorus of Frogs in *Ran.* 209–68 see p. 95 below.)

MAIN PARABASIS AND EPIRRHEMATIC AGON

What is the relationship between the epirrhematic syzygy and the first unity of the parabasis (*K*, *P*, *Pn*)? I think that neither

from the point of view of form, nor from that of content can it be maintained that there is an interdependence of these two parts. Each of them is self-contained, internally coherent, and does not presuppose the other.

The form of *K* is not bound by metrical conventions. But *P* and *Pn* constitute a unity, which has a great similarity to an epirrhema and pnigos of the agon with regard to both the metre (chiefly anapaestic) and the function of the pnigos, which in either case serves as a climactic conclusion to the respective parts. As far as *Pn* is concerned I think that there can hardly be any doubt that it was transferred to the parabasis from the agon.[24]

But the similarity of *P* and *Pn* with an epirrhema and pnigos of the agon goes beyond the form.[25] For what else are the 'long anapaests' but an agonistic epirrhema of the poet himself? Just as the opponents in the context of the epirrhematic agon defend their positions, try to impose their views, and do their best to win to their side the chorus, which in the end confirms the victory of one of them with its 'seal', so the poets, in the context of the dramatic competitions, defend in *P* their positions, reply to accusations, attack their rivals, and do their best to win to their side the audience and the judges, who will eventually confer the victory on one of the contestants.[26] Necessarily, of course, *P* is a monologue that cannot assume the form of a syzygy. The answer to the allegations and claims of one poet will be heard in the comedy of another poet, some other time, at another dramatic festival (cf. Arist. *Nu.* 553–4: 'First Eupolis lugged *Marikas* on the stage by turning my *Knights* inside-out in a wretched manner'; Eupolis, *Dippers*, fr. 78: 'and that play, the *Knights*, I composed together with that bald fellow and made him a present of it'; cf. Eupolis, frs. 55, 57;[27] cf. also Hermippos, fr. 64, and Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, vi. 26, 4–6, p. 752 Potter).

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE MAIN PARABASIS

The view that is put forward in the following pages is that the parts of the parabasis before the epirrhematic syzygy cannot be very old, and cannot go back to the very early stages of comedy.

In the first place, *P* presupposes dramatic festivals and poetic competitions; however, 'a chorus of comedians was granted by the archon at a late date' (Aristotle, *Poet.* 49 b 1–2), and, in any case, not before 486 B.C., as is generally accepted.[28] If the year 486 is not accepted as *terminus post quem*, then we have to suppose that *P* originally had a different subject-matter. But how could such a supposition be supported, and what would be that original subject-matter? Personal taunts, social and political satire, admonitions, all are themes that belong to the syzygy, in other words, to the chorus. This is not the kind of material that a poet would himself come forward to deliver (much less effectively, anyway) to the public either at the time of Solon and Peisistratos, or in the early years of democracy. The distinguishing of the poet's personality from the collective personality of the chorus would be absolutely pointless and contrary to the nature of popular choral poetry, from which comedy sprang up.[29] Besides, the spirit in which *P* is written (the rivalry of the comic poets and the discussion of their art and conduct in public) presupposes the indisputable poetic and social status of the comic playwrights of the fifth century, which of course does not apply to the forgotten pioneers of Attic comedy.[30]

But the fact that *P* does not have a long tradition is actually attested by the poets themselves:

εἰ μέν τις ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀρχαίων κωμῳδοδιδάσκαλος ἡμᾶς
ἠνάγκαζεν λέξοντας ἔπη πρὸς τὸ θέατρον παραβῆναι,
οὐκ ἂν φαύλως ἔτυχεν τούτου· νῦν δ' ἄξιός ἐσθ' ὁ ποητής . . .

(Arist. *Eq.* 507–9)

If anyone of the ancient comic poets had tried to compel us to come forward to speak to the theatre he would not easily have gained his purpose; but now the poet is more deserving . . .

The comic Platon says (fr. 92):

εἰ μὲν μὴ λίαν . . . ὦνδρες, ἠναγκαζόμην
στρέψαι δεῦρ', οὐκ ἂν παρέβην εἰς λέξιν τοιάνδ' ἐπῶν.

If I had not been under great . . . compulsion, gentlemen, to turn to you I would not have come forward to say such words.

And Aristophanes even declares in *Peace* (734–5) that

χρῆν μὲν τύπτειν τοὺς ῥαβδούχους, εἴ τις κωμῳδοποιητὴς
αὑτὸν ἐπῄνει πρὸς τὸ θέατρον παραβὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις.

The staff-bearers would have to beat any comic poet who came forward to the theatre in the anapaests to praise himself.

But in order to defend this low dating one has to meet the arguments of the theory of the parabasis–parodos, which seems to rely on objective criteria: the 'marching rhythm' of the anapaests, and the semantic identification of the terms parabasis and parodos; (on the hymns and the question of their original position in the performance see p. 58 above).

As far as the metre is concerned, the anapaestic dimeter is indeed suitable for a marching song (and is used in the parodos of tragedy) but, as P. Händel[31] has observed, it is questionable whether this characteristic of the dimeter is preserved after its duplication into a tetrameter catalectic. At all events, the metre cannot really be used as an argument for the parabasis–parodos equation because the anapaestic tetrameter is one of the most common metres of the agon as well.

As regards the meaning of the word parabasis, we have to look into the matter very closely before accepting the equation of the terms parabasis and parodos.[32] The noun parabasis occurs in the scholia of Aristophanes (*Nu.* 518, *Pax* 733), in Hephaistion (p. 72 Consbruch), Pollux (iv. 111), Platonios (*C.G.F.*, p. 4), Plutarch (*Mor.* 711 f), and Tzetzes (*C.G.F.*, pp. 21–4, 29). The term applies to the whole seven-part unity but the same grammarians inform us that the second of the seven parts was also called parabasis, being named after the whole, as Hephaistion says. But had the part really been named from the whole or perhaps, conversely, the whole from the part? When, for example, the Scholiast of *Peace* says that 'the parabasis seems to be spoken from the chorus but the poet introduces his own person', and Pollux says that 'one of the comic choral songs is also the parabasis, when the chorus comes forward and says what the poet wants to say to the theatre', they seem to have in mind the part and not the whole.

The noun parabasis is not found in the comic texts themselves

but the verb *παραβαίνειν* occurs in five passages: Arist. *Eq.* 507–9, *Pax* 734–5, Platon, fr. 92 (all quoted on pp. 61–2 above), Arist. *Ach.* 628–9:

ἐξ οὗ γε χοροῖσιν ἐφέστηκεν τρυγικοῖς ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν,
οὔπω παρέβη πρὸς τὸ θέατρον λέξων ὡς δεξιός ἐστιν·

since our poet has started directing comic choruses he has never before now come forward to the theatre to say how clever he is;

and *Thesm.* 785–6:

ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς εὖ λέξωμεν παραβᾶσαι.

Let us now come forward to praise ourselves.

In three of these passages (*Ach.*, *Pax*, Platon) the subject of the verb *parabainein* (which has been invariably translated above 'to come forward', but cf. pp. 64 ff. below) is the poet, while in *Knights* the poet is the subject of the verb that governs the aorist infinitive *παραβῆναι*. *Parabainein* is often accompanied by an expression indicating direction of movement: 'to the theatre' (*Ach.* 629, *Eq.* 508, *Pax* 735, and Eupolis, *Marikas*, *P. Oxy.* 2741, fr. 1c, ii. 14; cf. 'to turn to you', Plat. 92). In three cases it is clearly stated, and in the others implied, that the purpose of the poet who proceeds to *parabainein* is to praise himself, and that of the chorus (when the chorus is the subject of the verb) to praise the poet (*Eq.*) or itself (*Thesm.*). While the chorus in *Thesmophoriazusae* praises itself without inhibition, the poet in the other instances says apologetically that he is compelled to do so.

All these passages serve as an introductory formula of *P*. The constituent elements of this formula—(*a*) to be compelled, (*b*) to *parabainein*, (*c*) to praise—show that it is not an introduction to the whole parabasis (this is in fact the function of *K*) but only to the part to which it belongs. The element of apology is missing from *Thesmophoriazusae* because it is not the poet who is praised but the chorus, and the chorus need not justify its speaking of itself since this is already a canonical theme of the epirrhematic syzygy (cf. pp. 66–7 below). On the other hand, when we are told in *Acharnians* that the poet 'has never before now come forward to the theatre to say how clever he is' (629), we should not assume that Aristophanes' earlier plays had no parabasis (in the wider sense of the term), but either that they

did not have the anapaests or that this part did not contain a eulogy of the poet. The way the verb *parabainein* is used by the poets themselves shows that only the anapaests must originally have been called parabasis, and that the whole was named after the part and not the other way around.

If, however, we are to understand what the verb *parabainein* really means we have to look at it not only in connexion with its frequent qualification 'to the theatre' but also with the equally typical 'to praise'. For this latter connexion two passages of the authors of the second century A.D., Pollux and Aelius Aristides, are very illuminating. The former offers the following definition of the parabasis:

τῶν δὲ χορικῶν ᾀσμάτων τῶν κωμικῶν ἔν τι καὶ ἡ παράβασις, ὅταν, ἃ ὁ ποιητὴς πρὸς τὸ θέατρον βούλεται λέγειν, ὁ χορὸς παρελθὼν λέγῃ. ἐπιεικῶς δ' αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν οἱ κωμῳδοποιηταί, τραγικὸν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀλλ' Εὐριπίδης αὐτὸ πεποίηκεν ἐν πολλοῖς δράμασιν. ἐν μέν γε τῇ Δανάῃ τὸν χορὸν τὰς γυναῖκας ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ τι ποιήσας παρᾴδειν, ἐκλαθόμενος ὡς ἄνδρας λέγειν ἐποίησε τῷ σχήματι . . .

(iv. 111 Bethe)

One of the comic choral songs is also the parabasis, when the chorus comes forward and says what the poet wants to say to the theatre. This is normally done by the comic poets, and is not a tragic device, although Euripides has done it in many plays. In *Danaë*, to be sure, he made the chorus of women sing something extra in his own behalf, and completely forgot and had them speak as if they were men in appearance . . .

In exactly the same sense that Pollux uses the verb *παρᾴδειν* (to sing beside, in addition to the main subject of the song) to describe what the chorus did in the tragic 'parabasis' of *Danaë*, Aristides uses the verb *parabainein*:

καὶ κωμῳδοῖς μὲν καὶ τραγῳδοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις τούτοις ἀγωνισταῖς ἴδοι τις ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας καὶ τοὺς θεατὰς ἐπιχωροῦντας μικρόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν παραβῆναι, καὶ πολλάκις ἀφελόντες τὸ προσωπεῖον μεταξὺ τῆς μούσης ἣν ὑποκρίνονται δημηγοροῦσι σεμνῶς.

(xxviii. 97 Keil)

And one might see both the festival managers and the spectators allowing the comedians and the tragedians and the performers necessary to them [i.e. to the productions of comedies and tragedies]

to say something extra about themselves; and often they drop the mask [i.e. their dramatic character] in the middle of the poetry which they are acting and address the public without inhibition.

This passage comes from a learned piece of polemic against an anonymous critic who accused Aristides of introducing a eulogy of himself into a rhetorical speech in honour of Athena. Aristides replies that he extemporized a few words about himself, which were not even included in his written text, and claims that in praising himself he was only following a practice well established in Greek literature, and as old as Homer. The verb with which he describes his digression from the text of his speech is *παραφθέγγεσθαι* (to speak beside, in addition to the main topic). In the following passage the use of *παραφθέγγεσθαι* closely parallels that of *parabainein* in the previous one:

ὁ μὲν [*Ἡσίοδος*] *μεταξὺ τὸν ὕμνον ποιῶν ταῖς θεαῖς* [*sc. ταῖς Μούσαις*] *τοῦτο ἐντέθεικε τὸ ἔπος, ἐγκώμιον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἑαυτοῦ· ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς εἰς τὴν θεὸν λόγους καθαροὺς καθαρῶς ἐξεργασάμενοι μικρόν τι περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἄγραφον παρεφθεγξάμεθα.*

(xxviii. 21)

He [Hesiod] inserted this line [*Theogony*, 22] in the middle of his composition of the hymn to the goddesses [*sc.* the Muses], a eulogy, as it were, of himself; whereas I, having finished off my speech to the goddess pure and without anything irrelevant in it, spoke something extra about myself, which was not in the written text.

In these passages the verbs *παράδειν*, *παραφθέγγεσθαι*, and *παραβαίνειν*, are used in an identical sense, corresponding to the third element of the introductory formula of *P* (see p. 63), namely 'to praise (oneself)', although there is a significant difference, which is the underlying implication that the self-praise indicated by these verbs is a digression, something additional that does not belong to the performance, or the speech, proper. The verb *parabainein* has thus come to be used in a purely metaphorical sense: *περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ παραβαίνω* = I make a digression (in order to speak) about myself. Now, like all compounds of movement-indicating verbs with prepositions (*ἀποβαίνειν*, *προβαίνειν*, *παραχωρεῖν*, *προβάλλειν*, etc.), *parabainein* can be used literally as well as metaphorically, and the terms 'parabasis' and '*parabainein*' in Attic comedy can have

both a literal and a metaphorical shade of meaning. Both these shades of meaning are apparent in the passage from *Knights* (507–9) quoted on p. 61: 'to come forward by way of digression to speak to the theatre'. This seems to have been the original technical use of the verb in comedy. When, however, the subject of the verb is the poet himself the figurative meaning of the verb is strengthened at the expense of the literal one (but this does not mean that the chorus might not take a few steps towards the audience). Because of this weakening of the literal sense Platon feels the need of reinforcing the description of the movement of the chorus towards the spectators with another verb: 'if I were not under great compulsion to *turn to you* I would not have made a "parabasis" [i.e. a digression] to say such words' (the original text is quoted on p. 61). Thus Platon's παραβαίνειν εἰς λέξιν τοιάνδ' ἐπῶν (to make a digression in order to say such words) coincides with Aristides' παραβαίνειν μικρόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν (to make a digression in order to say something about themselves).

Basically, therefore, the parabasis is a digression of the chorus from its main business, a παρέκβασις, which concerns the poet and is marked by a movement of the chorus towards the audience.

This interpretation of the parabasis as a digression accounts for the paradoxical fact that the anything but modest poets apologize for the parabasis. As soon as one of them made the first move the others felt 'obliged' to follow. The claims had to have an answer, the thesis to have an antithesis. But they never came to consider that what they did was absolutely regular, and for this reason they try to justify themselves with the stereotyped argument that if any comic poet is deserving of 'great honour and eulogy' (*Pax* 738) he is the poet of this comedy, and so on. In point of fact, then, what they try to justify is not its content but the lengthy digression itself—which, developed as it had been in accordance with the rules of Old Comedy as a dramatic genre (see p. 37), nevertheless had no long tradition[33] and stretched these rules to the limit. The content is precisely what justifies the digression since the poet whom it concerns is on each occasion the best of all.

Gradually, however, the themes of the syzygy penetrated *P*

and displaced the eulogy of the poet. This process had already begun before 430 B.C. (Kratin. *Malthakoi*, see Table II, p. 49).[34] In Aristophanes this change apparently happened between 421 (*Peace*) and 414 (*Birds*).

P in *Thesmophoriazusae* belongs to this newer type and is not, therefore, a real digression, since the chorus praises itself in its dramatic character. Accordingly, the element of apology is missing from the introduction of *P*, for the chorus did not need any justification for doing in *P* what had always been a traditional part of its performance in the epirrhematic syzygy.

After the decline of the *P*-eulogy of the poet, the chorus could still ask for the victory with an epirrhema of the second parabasis (*Av.* 1102 ff.). Even when the parabasis went entirely out of fashion, and was not written any more, the chorus did not lose its privilege of asking for the victory in a genuinely parabatic style, as it does in *Ecclesiazusae*. Lines 1155–62 are eight trochaic tetrameters which bear all the marks of an epirrhema (cf. *Nu.* 1115 ff.) that has been transposed to the exodos of the play.[35] One would not be much mistaken, I think, if one took this single epirrhema in *Ecclesiazusae* as a last relic of a parabasis. The model, on the other hand, of the concluding formula of New Comedy (e.g. Men. *Dysk.* 968–9: 'And may Victory, the well-born, laughter-loving maiden, always follow us with favour') must be sought in Euripides,[36] although this would not be true of Men. *Dysk.* 965–7 or *Samia* 733–5.

One more remark regarding the metres in which *P* was usually written could be adduced in support of the theory that this part was created by the poets of the fifth century. The most common of these metres was, of course, the anapaestic tetrameter but other metres were also used: the Eupolidean, the Kratinean, the Platonic, the Pherekratean (see pp. 34–5). All these metres, or more exactly types of line, are named after the poets of Old Comedy. These names were given by the Alexandrian scholars, who knew, however, which poet had first used each of these metres and was, therefore, probably its originator, or knew, at least, which poet had used the metres particularly often.[37] Now, is it really accidental that all these metres, as far at least as we are in a position to know, were used chiefly, if not exclusively,[38] for the composition of *P*? It would

not, I think, be unreasonable to suggest that the poets wished to give the mark of a personal style to that precise part in which they spoke of themselves and explained the 'originality' of their art. The notion of originality was, no doubt, for the ancients very different from what it is for us, and this is why the rhythm preferred, for example, by Eupolis—whether he had discovered it himself or not—could also be used by Aristophanes or Kratinos and the metre of Kratinos could be used by Eupolis. On the other hand, we should not forget that the poets were very proud of their new ideas and inventions, that they accused each other of plagiarism,[39] and that in one case at least one of them (see p. 34 above) asked the spectators to notice his new invention, which is nothing other than the metre of *P*.

In conclusion, it is not likely that *P* is a primitive element, a relic of a ritual embedded in the body of comedy. On the contrary, it is a sophisticated device which originated in the competitive spirit of the fifth-century dramatic festivals, and developed in accordance with the rules of a dramatic technique that enabled the actors to address the audience either as characters of the play, or as members of a group of performers under the leadership of the poet-producer.[40]

As to the original position of *P* in the play, it is evident that it could never have belonged to either the beginning or the end of the performance. On the contrary, the position it occupies in the plays of Aristophanes is the only one that is appropriate to its origin and its nature: between the agon, whose epirrhemata it imitates in regard to content and form, and the syzygy, with which it agrees in content (self-praise, attacks against individuals), and which is the first pause in the unfolding of the plot and the first stasimon after the agon.[41]

SYNOPSIS

The conclusions of the foregoing discussion about the peculiarities of the parabasis and its relationship to other parts of comedy can be summarized as follows.

In the place of the composite piece that we call parabasis there must originally have existed a song and an epirrhema which were arranged into a syzygy by analogy with the epir-

rhematic agon. The subject-matter of this original part must have been similar to that of the later syzygy, in other words, an invocation hymn to one or more gods, self-description and self-praise by the chorus, and, perhaps, satire.

The 'anapaests' and pnigos were added later—after 486 B.C. The form of this unity is borrowed from the epirrhemata of the agon. Its content is the self-praise of the poet and his demand to be awarded the first prize in the dramatic contest.

The position of the parabasis in the middle of the play is entirely compatible with the character of Old Comedy—a dramatic genre to which our notions of dramatic unity and theatrical illusion are simply irrelevant.

Parabasis means digression and not parodos. The term properly refers to the (usually) anapaestic parts, the so-called main parabasis and pnigos, and only secondarily to the seven-part unity.

If the parabasis proper, as well as the elaborate form of the whole unity, is the creation of the fifth-century poets, we cannot say the same about the invocation hymns by which the chorus, in its capacity as 'comic chorus', celebrates its own festive activities, and asks the gods to join in with them. This seems to be a relic of genuine *Kultlyrik* and should—together with the subject-matter of the epirrhemata from which the odes can hardly be separated—go back to the very early phases of the history of comedy (but the term parabasis cannot be applied to this unity).

The derivation of these parts from a performance like those of the *ithyphalloi* and *phallophoroi* does not appear to be right because the odes are addressed to a variety of gods among whom Dionysos is hardly prominent, and the main theme of the epirrhemata is not satire but the self-presentation and self-glorification of the chorus.

The question now is whether the epirrhematic syzygy, which as a type of poetic composition has been developed and put to a certain use by the comic poets, can yield any information about the origins of the comic chorus, and, more specifically, about the nature of the chorus which, in a predramatic or proto-dramatic stage, could address hymns to various gods and then present itself to a gathering of onlookers.

In the following chapters the results of our discussion of the parabasis will be set in the wider context of an investigation into the character of the performances of the sixth-century theriomorphic choruses of Attica. Two kinds of data will be examined: the archaeological evidence and the use of animal choruses in fifth-century comedy.

PART II

Animal Choruses

CHAPTER VI

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In 1882 and 1893 C. Smith[1] and J. Poppelreuter[2] respectively published a series of Attic vases representing groups of men dressed up as animals. The relationship of these vase-paintings with the theriomorphic choruses of the comedy of classical times was immediately recognized. The great significance of these vases, which are dated in the second part of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth, as evidence for the early history of comedy was also promptly realized. Later more vases of the same category were added to the initial group, and we can hope that the intensive archaeological activity that is going on all around the Mediterranean will bring to light even more pieces, which may conceivably enrich and improve our knowledge.

The earliest of the vases (ca. 550 B.C.) is a black-figure amphora in Berlin, showing a chorus of 'knights' (pl. I).[3] On the left of the picture stands a flute-player and opposite him are three men wearing the masks and tails of horses. Their faces are seen under the masks, and they all have beards. Each carries on his back a young[4] rider with a helmet and corslet. The three riders have their hands raised as if they are about to strike their steeds.[5]

A black-figure skyphos of the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century in Boston shows two other, even more strange, choruses of riders.[6] On one side six soldiers with helmets, spears, and very big cloaks, ride on dolphins (pl. II), and on the other six more men with spears (or very long sticks) and big cloaks are mounted on ostriches (pl. III). Both choruses look to the right, and at the right end of either picture there is a flute-player facing the riders. The picture with the ostriches includes another figure between the riders and the flute-player. It is a very short man—his head reaches only to the chest of the

flautist—with a long beard and cloak, who is standing with his feet set wide apart, and is looking up towards the ostrich riders (pl. IV).[7] The animals on both sides are not this time men disguised as animals, but the presence of the musicians shows that we are dealing with performances of some kind. How the dolphins and the ostriches were represented to the public cannot be determined from the pictures.

Similar choruses of riders on dolphins are shown on four more contemporaneous Attic vases. A black-figure lekythos in the Kerameikos Museum has two soldiers with helmets, spears, and enormous cloaks; they are represented opposite each other, and between them is a flute-player.[8] A black-figure kylix in the Louvre has eight dolphin-riders and a flute-player; the riders are again equipped with helmets and spears but do not wear cloaks this time.[9] The third vase is a red-figure psykter of Oltos in the Norbert Schimmel Collection in New York City (dated ca. 520–510 B.C.).[10] Here six armed men ride on dolphins from right to left. They wear Corinthian helmets, corslets over short chitons and greaves, and each holds a spear in his right hand and a round shield in his left. The men are all alike except for the emblems on their shields, which are all different. In front of each rider is the inscription *ΕΠΙΔΕΛΦΙΝΟΣ* ('on a dolphin') retrograde (pl. V). The fourth vase is a black-figure lekythos in Palermo, recently found in the excavations of the necropolis of Selinous.[11] Two soldiers with helmets, corslets, cloaks, and twin spears are shown on dolphins. On the left side of the picture a flute-player is standing, facing the riders. The first of them (the middle figure of the vase-painting) has turned his head back and looks at his companion who is following him. This interesting vase has inscriptions, too, but Professor Trendall thinks they are only meaningless fillers.[12] (For a much later vase with a man—certainly a stage figure—on a fish see note 2 to p. 76.)

Two other black-figure vases of the beginning of the fifth century, an oinochoë in the British Museum (pls. VII–VIII),[13] and an amphora in Berlin (pl. VI),[14] represent choruses of birds. In both we have a flute-player and two men with crests or cock's combs on their heads. On the British Museum vase the two 'birds' have their bodies covered with feathers, while their arms form the wings. The flute-player is on the left side of the

PLATE I. Chorus of horse-riders (cf. pp. 73, 78, 86–8).

PLATE II. Chorus of dolphin-riders (cf. pp. 73, 87–8, 90–1).

PLATE III. Chorus of ostrich-riders (cf. pp. 73, 87, 91–3).

PLATE IV. Detail of Plate III (cf. pp. 74, 91–3, 96, 102).

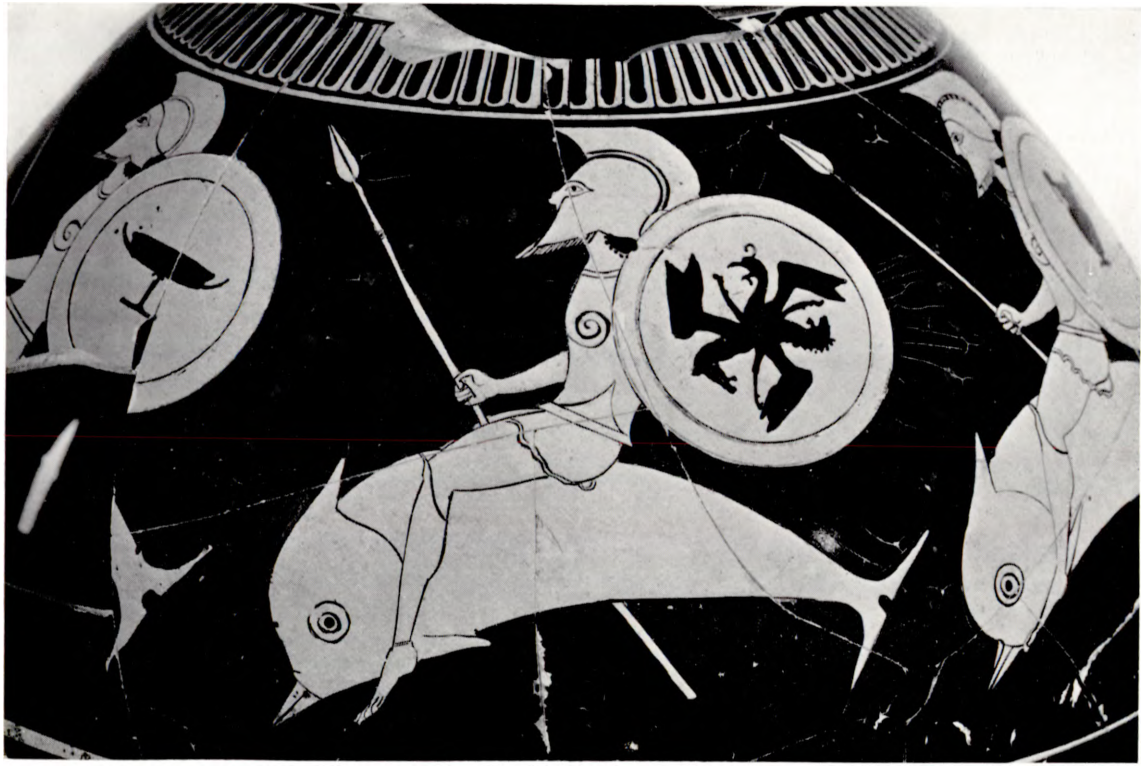

PLATE V. Chorus of dolphin-riders (cf. pp. 74, 87–90, 101).

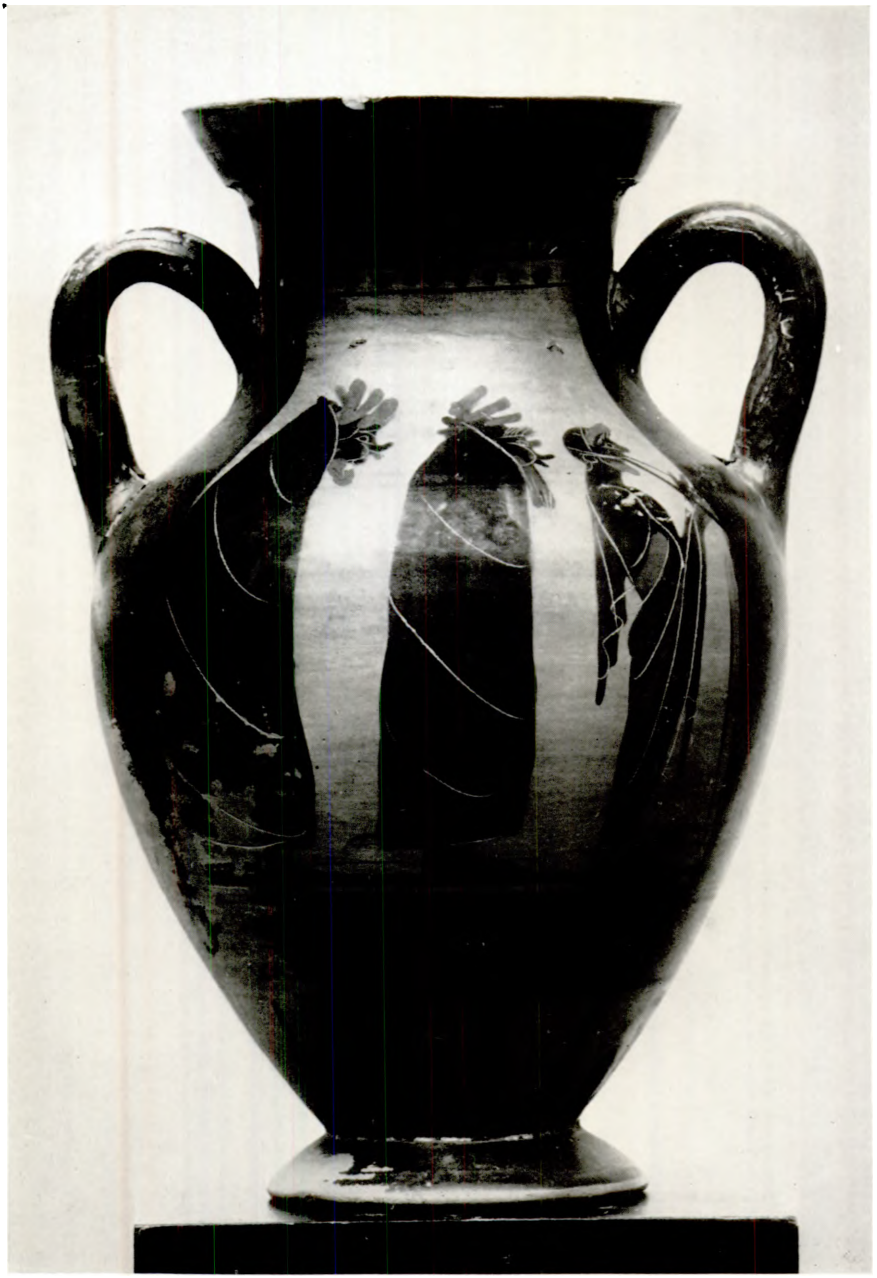

PLATE VI. Chorus of birds (cf. pp. 74–5, 86–7, 102, 107).

PLATE VII. Chorus of birds (cf. pp. 74, 86–7, 102, 107).

PLATE VIII. Chorus of birds (cf. pp. 74, 86–7, 102 , 107).

picture facing the chorus-men, who are dancing to his music. On the Berlin amphora the men, who wear masks as their exaggerated features indicate, are swathed in huge cloaks, and look to the right. The flute-player is in front of them and looks in the same direction.

CHAPTER VII

ANIMALS AS CHORUSES OF COMEDY

Thanks to the fact that Greek dramas were frequently named from their choruses, we know from the titles of many comedies of which few, if any, fragments have survived, that the comic poets of the fifth century often used in their plays choruses of animals, birds, fish, and insects. Moreover, of the eleven complete plays of Aristophanes two have theriomorphic choruses (*Vesp.*, *Av.*); *Knights* belongs to the same category (cf. p. 73 above), while in *Frogs* we have a genuine animal chorus which replaces the main chorus in the first part of the play.

The comedies that had, or seem most likely to have had, theriomorphic choruses are the following:

Title	Poet[1]	Date	*C.A.F.* i, p.
Frogs	Magnes	(born ca. 500)	7
Birds	Magnes		8
Gall-Flies	Magnes		9
Beasts	Krates	(*fl.* ca. 450)	133, frs. 14–17
Birds	Krates		137
Ant-Men (?)	Pherekrates	(*fl.* ca. 430–410)	178, frs. 113–25
Goats	Eupolis	429–423	258, frs. 1–30
Knights	Aristophanes	424	
Wasps	Aristophanes	422	
Frogs	Aristophanes	405	
Storks	Aristophanes	399–390	502, frs. 430–41
Griffins	Platon	(ca. 430–ca. 389)	604, frs. 15–18
Ants	Platon		623
Fishes[2]	Archippos	401–400	681, frs. 14–32
Frogs	Kallias	430–426	694
Nightingales	Kantharos	(first in 422)	764
Ants	Kantharos		765
Bees	Diokles	(*fl.* ca. 410)	767, frs. 6–13
Knights	Antiphanes	(ca. 388–ca. 311)	ii, p. 54, frs. 109–10

If we omit the comic satyrs, who cannot be discussed independently of the padded dancers known from vases of the seventh and sixth centuries (see p. 18 and n. 26), we are interested here in some other comic choruses consisting of partly theriomorphic creatures of mythology. These choruses may not have originated in the predramatic choruses of animals but their appearance and costumes must have been influenced by them. The mythical beings in question are the centaurs, sirens, and amazons (cf. the choruses of riders above), used as choruses of the following plays:

Cheirones	Kratinos	436–431	*C.A.F.* i, p. 82
Sirens	Theopompos	(ca. 410–370)	ib., p. 746
Sirens	Nikophon	(ca. 410)	ib., p. 777
Centaurs	Apollophanes	(first in ca. 400)	ib., p. 798
Amazons	Kephisodoros	(*fl.* ca. 400)	ib., p. 800
Amazons	Epikrates	ca. 350	ib., ii, p. 282

It seems that the comedy of Kratinos *Panoptai* (*C.A.F.* i, p. 60, a little earlier than 430) should also be included in the above category. This play made fun of the philosopher Hippon of Rhegion. According to Kock, 'chorus fabulae videtur ex Hipponis discipulis vel aliis philosophis compositus fuisse qui, cum nihil se nescire et ut aiunt Germani vel graminis incremento cernere putarent, apte *Πανόπται* adpellabantur. Videntur autem Argo simillimi choreutae fuisse, qui non solum oculatus, sed etiam biceps ut Ianus fingebatur' (cf. fr. 153).

Finally, Anaxilas' *Kirke* (dated before the middle of the fourth century) should also be added here. The chorus of this play was apparently formed by the companions of Odysseus whom Kirke transformed into animals (*C.A.F.* ii, p. 266, frs. 12–13).[3]

CHAPTER VIII

MAIN INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ANIMAL CHORUSES AND OF THEIR RELATION TO COMEDY

Choruses of animals or riders on animals, which in the classical period were absorbed into the literary comedy, performed in Attica, as the vases show, at least three-quarters of a century before the official recognition of comedy and its introduction to the programme of the City Dionysia (486 B.C., see p. 61, n. 28; the amphora of the 'knights' is 125 years older than Aristophanes' *Knights*).

Pickard-Cambridge makes the conjecture that 'such masqueraders as we have been considering may not have confined themselves to animal disguises, but may have represented, for example, foreigners'. Perhaps, he suggests, such comic choruses as the Lydians of Magnes, the Persians of Pherekrates, and the Babylonians of Aristophanes, 'may have had their forerunners in some masquerade'.[1] An extremely interesting Athenian vase in Christchurch, New Zealand, is perhaps pertinent here.[2] It is a black-figure amphora showing a chorus of five men on stilts. They all wear 'short red chitons, pointed hats, beards, and breastplates, one of leather, the rest of animal skins'.[3] Webster suggests that they may be Giants or Titans, and draws attention to the fact that Kratinos' *Ploutoi* had a chorus of Titans.[4] This vase, which is dated ca. 530 B.C., adds a very important piece of information to what is known about the various masquerades (satyrs, maenads, 'fat-men', animals, etc.) that took place in Attica at the exact time that drama was born.[5] Unfortunately, our limited knowledge of that period does not enable us to perceive what relationships, ritual or other, may have existed among these disguises, and for this reason we had better, at least for the time being, keep them apart.[6]

It would be reasonable to suppose that the animal choruses, as well as all the other masquerades, depended on the religious calendar of Athens. But with which of the festivals of Attica the theriomorphic choruses were connected, what their origin and significance was, and what their rôle in the development of comedy, we do not know. Various attempts have been made at times to answer these questions but our actual knowledge concerning these choruses is so small that it cannot support the theories it has given rise to.

The most widespread theory interprets the animal choruses as theriomorphic demons. This theory dates from the time of the first publication of the vases.

Such demons, who belong to the substratum of the classical Greek religion, must be of very great antiquity, and S. Eitrem[7] sees in them a remnant or a reminiscence, of the theriomorphic *genii* of the Minoan cult—although this suggestion would be more suitable to the ten figures dressed as men but with animal heads and feet, represented in relief on the veil of the statue of Despoina of Lykosoura. The figures form a frieze representing the embroidered border of the veil of the goddess, and are shown dancing and playing musical instruments.[8]

A similar view had also been expressed by A. B. Cook, who believed that all upright figures with animal heads represented in works of art of the Minoan–Mycenaean period are men dressed up as animals for the performance of a ritual in honour of an animal god: 'I infer that the animal-disguise of the comic chorus, whose religious associations were never wholly forgotten, is a survival of primitive animal-worship, the original import of the disguise being to claim the protection, if not the kinship, of the animal god.'[9]

Pickard-Cambridge is not entirely out of sympathy with Cook's totemistic interpretation: 'The practice of dressing up in the guise of animals is worldwide; in some countries it may go back to a totemistic origin; in others (or in the same) it may be connected with magic rites for securing the fertility of the ground or of the human species.'[10] Pickard-Cambridge's two propositions about the origins of the animal choruses are combined in the theory T. Gelzer extrapolated from K. Meuli, who, basing his argument on practices of various ancient and

modern Indo-European peoples, recognizes in the animal disguises spirits of ancestors, which were represented by *Knabenschaften*, and promoted fertility.[11]

Now, the relationship of these demonic dancers with comedy, whose Dionysiac origin is taken for granted, poses the question: what is the relation of the theriomorphic demons with Dionysos? Here two answers are possible: (*a*) The theriomorphic choruses do not differ in essence from the analogous groups of silens and satyrs who are also, at least in part, theriomorphic; they belong, therefore, to the retinue of Dionysos.[12] (*b*) The animal choruses represent demons originally unrelated to Dionysos; but at a certain point they were brought into contact with the Dionysiac *komos* and were absorbed into it. The time and circumstances of this contact are, of course, of vital importance to the investigation of the sources of comedy but here opinions diverge considerably. If the encounter of the animal choruses with Dionysos is placed at the time of the introduction of Dionysiac worship to Greece we return to alternative (*a*). But the problem of the introduction or re-introduction of Dionysos to Greece is in itself so complex that, if the animal choruses are to be placed in this framework, one should give up hope of extracting from the study of these choruses anything more concrete with regard to the origins of comedy than what has been suggested by Kranz. On his theory the common source of both tragedy and comedy is the Dionysiac ecstasy, that is, man's stepping out of his own self and his metamorphosis into an animal demon in the service of Dionysos; whether man assumes the guise of goat, bird, frog, insect, or satyr, makes no real difference.[13]

However, if we want to respect the information—or even theory—of Aristotle that comedy originated from the leaders of the phallic songs we are led to a lower dating of the convergence of the animal choruses with the Dionysiac *komos*, which has to be understood as a *komos* of *phallophoroi–ithyphalloi*. (The connexion of these Hellenistic choruses with the phallic songs of Aristotle is unavoidable since the latter were still performed in many cities at the time of Aristotle, see p. 18 above.) So Poppelreuter tried to combine his theriomorphic demons of vegetation with the *phallika*, and wrote of a hypothetical animal disguise of the *phallophoroi* themselves, in which he found the

original element or germ of drama that was missing from the *phallika* proper.[14] Herter, on the other hand, makes the conjecture that together with the *komos* of *ithyphalloi* other *Festgruppen* may have presented themselves before the public, and suggests as a possibility that a *Tierdämonenchor* and the *ithyphalloi* perhaps came into conflict one way or another, and so dramatic movement was produced.[15] According, then, to these two scholars, the convergence of the animal choruses and the performers of the *phallika* was a crucial factor in the birth of comic drama and, consequently, took place sometime in the sixth century.

The second theory about the nature of animal choruses in the stage before their incorporation or development into comedy reduces the 'demons' to the rank of beggars. L. Radermacher[16] draws attention to certain begging-processions (or '*komoi*', as he calls them) in which the participants bore certain animal attributes and/or carried with them animals or images of animals. Such customs occurred in various places and included bantering songs, taunts, threats, and good wishes, by which the collectors extracted their gifts and expressed their gratitude. The *koronistai* and *chelidonistai*, those who begged with, or in the name of, the crow or the swallow, are well known.[17] Another (dubious) instance of a begging-*komos* which carried a fish (in Naxos) was extracted from a fragment of Aristotle[18] by Radermacher. He thinks that the animals these begging-*komoi* had with them characterized the beggars themselves as crows, swallows, or fish, or at least indicated that the animals were participants in the processions. The Athenian animal masquerades belong, in Radermacher's opinion, to the same genre. For, though it can be said that processions of goats (for which, incidentally, there is no evidence) belonged to the service of Dionysos, it is doubtful whether all animal masquerades can be related to the same god.

In point of fact, we have no evidence that any of the begging customs were connected with Dionysos, and, on the contrary, a similar custom in Syracuse, a *komos* of *boukoliastai*, which is also Radermacher's prime case, occurred during the festival of Artemis Lyaia. The 'rustics', we are told by the Scholiast of Theokritos (ed. Wendel, pp. 2–3), celebrated Artemis, whose

intervention had put an end to the civil strife that had caused the death of many people. They had wreaths and stag's horns on their heads, held throwing-staffs in their hands, and were equipped with bread, on which the shapes of several animals had been impressed, a bag full of all kinds of seeds, and a goat skin full of wine, from which they poured libations to those whom they met. Whoever won (but in what contest?) got the bread of the defeated. The defeated then departed for the villages to collect foodstuffs by going from door to door. The victor remained in Syracuse (undoubtedly for the same purpose). And they sang bantering and jocular songs ending up in good wishes (when, we should assume, their demands were satisfied).[19]

In this description Radermacher, and others, saw several analogies to Attic comedy, or its supposed sources: a kind of theriomorphic disguise (a relic of such a disguise is preferred by Herter[20]), an 'agon', and a significant similarity of the aetiology of the custom with a tradition about the origins of comedy according to which the peasants of Attica, who were wronged by the city dwellers, entered the city at night and protested in the streets by jeering at their wrong-doers without calling them by name; because they succeeded in bringing about their punishment the practice was deemed useful to the city, and it was decided that it should be formalized and regularly repeated in public. Now, how much trust should be put in this purely aetiological tradition—which cannot be traced back beyond Varro (116–27 B.C.),[21] and interprets 'comedy' as the 'song of deep sleep (time)' (κῶμα+ᾠδή), or as the 'song of villagers' (κώμη+ᾠδή)[22]—and how much attention to the hypothetical analogies between the Syracusan custom, which cannot be dated, and the Attic '*komos*' from which comedy originated, is left to the reader to decide. As to the stag's horns, they are not, surely, equivalent to a theriomorphic disguise.[23] Yet, Radermacher's theory was accepted by Lesky,[24] and, essentially, by Pickard-Cambridge,[25] who plays down, however, the begging aspect of Radermacher's *komoi*.

Incompatible though they may seem at first sight, the two theories that derive the animal choruses from demonic dances and begging processions respectively were conveniently com-

bined by Paul Mazon. The troupes of young men who, in numerous villages, went from door to door collecting gifts and showering the passers-by with jokes very often held an animal, e.g. a fish, crow, or swallow, in their hands. Sometimes they dressed up as animals themselves 'imitant ainsi sans le savoir de vieux *cômoi* rituels, restes de cultes zôomorphiques où les fidèles s'assimilaient au dieu qu'ils célébraient . . . N'aurions-nous pas là une explication de la fréquence des chœurs comiques composés d'animaux, Guêpes, Oiseaux . . . !'.[26] But to suggest that the original import of a custom that was performed at a certain time had long since been forgotten is one thing, and to claim to know both what an imperfectly documented (to say the least) custom (namely, the animal masquerades before they were incorporated in comedy) was, and what were its long forgotten origins is another.

These two theories have this in common: they assume that the animal choruses—whether they were *komoi* of beggars, or whether they represented demonic beings—had an independent existence in the religious calendar of Attica as groups performing a rite or custom of some kind before comedy was 'invented', or took a distinctive form as a performance in its own right. A third theory—though of much more limited currency—proposed by H. Reich,[27] denies this independent existence of the animal choruses. Reich believed that only the comic actor had a demonic origin because he was the only one to bear the fertility symbol, the phallus. The chorus consisted of men, and never purported to impersonate demonic creatures. The *Komöde* could make these men appear in any disguise, and when in his wanderings through the known and unknown world he happened to enter the realm of animals, the chorus had to put on an animal disguise. However, the chorus never entirely lost its human character; its disguise was always very transparent, and was easily dropped.[28] Moreover, the animal choruses danced in the same way as all other choruses of comedy, and did not imitate the movements of animals, for the mimetic animal dance is always a solo dance, never a choral one.[29] Besides, a fish or ant dance is unthinkable (even as a solo); nor are any fish, nightingale, ant, or wasp dances (see p. 76 for relevant titles of comedies) to be found among primitive

peoples.[30] Therefore, Reich concludes, the Attic theriomorphic choruses have nothing to do with any primitive, mimetic animal dances, nor have they anything demonic about them. Reich attributes the animal choruses to the fertile imagination of the *Komöde* but he is not very clear about what he means by that term, nor about dates. Since, however, the archaeological evidence for animal choruses goes back to the middle of the sixth century his Comedian, perhaps an actor-dramatist, must be pushed further back into the mists of the early sixth and seventh century. Furthermore, his contention that the animal choruses could not perform animal dances is debatable. We have seen that the men shown on the London oinochoë (pl. VIII) dressed up as birds, form wings with their arms, which they probably moved accordingly.

Reich identifies the phallic comic actor with the mime or *phlyax* of the Doric lands, and in this he agrees with Körte who derives the Attic actor from the 'Corinthian' padded dancers (see p. 18, n. 26). But according to Körte's well known and for a long time very influential theory, Attic comedy was born out of the union of the Doric mime with the 'echt attischen, in wechselnder, meist tiergestaltiger Vermummung auftretenden Chor'.[31] About the nature of this 'mostly theriomorphic' chorus, however, Körte is not very clear; and I am not sure that he meant to say that this chorus was a part of the Attic Dionysiac thiasos thus implying (as G. Giangrande thinks[32]) what Kranz (see p. 80 above) explicitly states, namely, an essential identity of the various animals with the silens and satyrs. Nor is this how G. Perrota, 'a faithful Körtian' as Giangrande says, G. Norwood, another follower of Körte, or M. Pohlenz, who restated Körte's theory of the origin of comedy against Herter, understood Körte on this point. The first follows Reich, the other two speak of the 'normal' animal disguises of the Attic chorus but do not relate them to satyrs and Dionysos.[33]

None of these theories is satisfactory—though they are not useless either. Their inadequacy is due to the scarcity of facts, which are combined and arranged in a scheme imposed by the application of a principle (e.g. totemism) or a more inclusive theory about animal cults, the nature of primitive animal

dances, or the origins of comedy. Their value lies in their pointing out many possibilities of interpretation. But their variety shows how inconclusive the evidence is. The confidence, therefore, with which some of these theories were presented or disseminated is not justifiable.[34]

The fact is that choruses of men dressed up as animals, or riding on animals, gave some kind of performance in Attica in the sixth century. There can hardly be any doubt that they played some rôle in the development of comedy; and they survived as comic choruses until the early fourth century when Old Comedy went out of fashion. But it is an overstatement to suggest (with Reich, Körte, and others) that the chorus of Old Comedy was mostly theriomorphic.

Webster was describing the essence of the problem of the sixth-century choruses when he wrote in 1962 that 'while there is no doubt that the animal choruses, etc., were taken over into comedy, there is no hint of what they sang'.[35] Unfortunately, whatever the value of the comparative anthropological method in discovering the original significance of these choruses may be, it can throw very little light on the actual circumstances of the performances of the Attic choruses, or on the question of how they developed into drama or were 'pressed into the service of comedy'.[36] Necessarily, therefore, the only evidence we have are the vases and the preserved comedies with animal choruses, and any theory about the Attic performances should be based on these data.

In what follows an attempt is made to throw some light on certain aspects of the early performances of the animal choruses on the grounds of an examination of the vases described previously and of the theriomorphic choruses as they survived in the comedy of Aristophanes.

CHAPTER IX

THE PERFORMANCES DEPICTED ON VASES

THE 'HIMATIA' OF THE CHORUS

Of the choruses represented on vases the two choruses of birds are the most interesting for, I think, it is fairly clear that the two vases show two different moments from similar performances. On the Berlin vase the chorus is led by the flute-player, who walks ahead of the dancers, to the place where they are going to dance. The *himatia* of the choreuts reach down to their ankles and cover their disguise completely. On the London vase the choreuts no longer have cloaks, and are engaged in a lively dance.[1]

It is obvious that the choreuts on the former vase cannot dance unless they take off their heavy overgarments. But here we should also notice that as soon as the choreuts take off their cloaks they will reveal their costumes. I wonder, therefore, whether they do not wear their large cloaks, as they make their entrance, in order precisely to keep their costumes out of sight up to a certain moment. (It is very probable that the *himatia*, which are raised above the top of the head of the choreuts, hid their crests as well. The painter, however, had to let the crests show, for otherwise he would have destroyed the very subject of his picture. Cf. the faces of men showing under the horse masks on pl. I.) Both the vases and the titles of comedies testify to the fact that the variety of choruses dressing up as animals, birds, fish, and insects, was virtually unlimited. I think, therefore, that the originality of disguise must have been very important to the success of the masquerade; and the calculated surprise that would be effected by the unveiling at the right moment of the imaginative disguise, with its unlimited possibilities, would contribute to the success.

On the other vases we have described the two choruses of the Boston skyphos and the dolphin-riders on the lekythoi of Kerameikos and Palermo also have large cloaks, while the horse-riders of Berlin and the dolphin-riders of the Louvre and the Schimmel Collection have not. The position of the flute-players, always standing opposite or among the dancers, does not allow us to think that the painters of the Boston, Kerameikos and Palermo vases wanted to represent a different moment of the performance from that represented by the painters of the other vases. Here we have to open a parenthesis and recall that the ancient vase painter is not a photographer. He may draw his inspiration from a performance but his work is the product of both his memory and his imagination. The latter enriches and corrects the former, and often details belonging to different temporal planes are introduced into the picture. It is only natural that one artist may render his impression with greater precision than another.

The painter of the Berlin amphora represents with precision the spectacle he saw because he takes care to indicate that his 'horses' are men wearing masks of horses.[2] The other painters are not interested in *how* the chorus was disguised but in *what* it was disguised as (cf. pp. 89–90). So they draw real dolphins and real ostriches. The question is now whether the *himatia* that are worn by some of the choruses of riders only, were dictated by the memory or the imagination of the artists. The only evidence we have is the great size of the cloaks, which 'seem to be special cloaks and not ordinary wear'.[3] It would appear, therefore, that the riders did in fact have the *himatia* shown on some of the vases; but because the vase-paintings in question are not faithful representations of the performance (cf. the rendering of the dolphins) we cannot know when the riders had their cloaks on, or why.

Two possibilities seem worth considering here. The first, suggested by the parallel of the vases with the birds and by the fact that some but not all of the dolphin (and the ostrich) riders have these big cloaks, is that the cloaks may have been used to hide the extraordinary appearance of the chorus up to the moment of the unveiling of the disguise. On the amphora of the horse-riders, where the chorus is portrayed—this time

faithfully—at an advanced moment in its performance, the riders do not have cloaks. The dolphin-riders on the Louvre kylix and the Schimmel psykter are not wearing them any more either. The second possibility is that the *himatia* served exactly the opposite purpose, that is, to assist the disguise by hiding, for example, the joining of the dolphins to the lower part of the body of the choreuts, or any other method of interconnexion of men and animals. Such cloaks would be equally convenient for covering the stilts of the 'Giants' represented on the amphora of Christchurch (see p. 78 above). In any case, these two opposite possibilities are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as far as the use of cloaks by animal choruses is generally concerned.

'ON A DOLPHIN'[4]

The red-figure psykter of Oltos is a recent addition to the series of vases described above. However, Beazley dissociates the Schimmel vase from the others because in its picture 'there is no flute-player and it need not be connected with a *performance*'.[5] Greifenhagen, on the other hand, is of the opinion that the similarity of the dolphin-riders on all the vases in question is so obvious that the psykter should not be dissociated from the 'stage context' of the other vases.[6] In point of fact, there is a perfectly good reason for the omission of the flute-player. The destination of the psykter apparently was to cool wine by being immersed in a krater of cold water. As Greifenhagen remarks, when the Oltos psykter was put into the water the dolphins would appear to swim in it. A flute-player, however, who would seem to be drowning, could not, I think, be introduced in a composition so well harmonized with the functional use of the vessel.

The fact that all vases with dolphins are approximately contemporary is taken by Greifenhagen as 'an indication that they may reflect a specific work performed on the Athenian stage . . . of the later sixth century'. Furthermore, he considers the inscription *ΕΠΙΔΕΛΦΙΝΟΣ* as a conceivable title for the assumed 'play'. Professor H. R. Immerwahr, who does not doubt that the scene is related to a theatrical performance of some kind, suggested to me another possibility, namely that the inscription

may simply be a description of the subject represented in the picture: '[he is] on a dolphin'.[7]

The question, however, is this: why is the inscription repeated six times, and why is it retrograde? The answer is, as I believe, simple: the painter wants to show that these are words sung by the riders of the dolphins; and since the men face to the left the words read backwards and look as if they are issuing from their mouths.[8]

If this interpretation is correct, the Schimmel vase has a unique significance for the early history of comedy, since it is the only evidence we have for a (choral) song of one of the sixth-century masquerades that were taken over into comedy. To be sure, our 'fragment' consists of only two words (which could easily fit into anapaestic dimeters) but these words could very well come from a song in which the chorus describes itself (cf. theme 'c' of the parabasis, pp. 41–2 above).

An interesting parallel to the performance reflected by the psykter may be found in a song attributed to Arion by Aelian, who quotes it (*de nat. anim.* xii. 45, pp. 315 f. Hercher, *P.M.G.*, no. 939). Arion himself is supposed to address the song to Poseidon, in whose honour, we are told, he composed it after his delivery from the sea by the dolphins. The attribution to Arion is obviously wrong, and C. M. Bowra, in a recent study of the poem,[9] suggests that it is datable to ca. 400 B.C., and was intended for performance by a solo singer taking the part of Arion and a chorus dancing to the song in imitation of the dolphins. The dancing chorus seems to be suggested by the language of the poem, in which the dolphins are described as dancing 'in a circle, springing up lightly with flinging of nimble feet' (ll. 5–7). Bowra is even tempted to think that when the dolphins are spoken of as 'bearing (me) on your humped backs' (l. 15) the chorus-men, who played the dolphins, 'mimicked what happened to Arion by making some of their number leap on the backs of others'.[10]

Webster suggests that 'the song certainly seems to be astrophic, but it is not necessarily a solo', and would be inclined to ascribe it to a comedy with a chorus of 'Arions' on dolphins (cf. p. 90).[11]

With regard to the costume of this chorus, Bowra suggests

that 'perhaps something may be deduced from a "Pontic" vase, which shows three elderly figures, each with the hind-quarters of a fish attached to his waist, advancing towards four Nereids'.[12] These figures are usually taken as Tritons but Bowra thinks they are dancers because mythological Tritons are normally represented as fish from the waist down and not as whole men with fish-like hind-quarters added to them. The idea that dolphin or fish dances existed elsewhere besides Athens is extremely interesting (and in itself not unlikely) but this unique vase is hardly sufficient to prove it: neither can it be ascertained that the scene represented is not mythological, nor can any information about the place where such a dance may have occurred be extracted from an Ionic–Italic vase.

It might also be mentioned here that in the Dionysia of 334 B.C. a chorus of boys sang the story of Dionysos and the pirates, and how the god transformed them into dolphins, in a dithyramb by Lysiades, an otherwise unknown Athenian poet. The boys won the first prize and the *choregos*, Lysikrates, built an elaborate monument to commemorate the victory.[13] The frieze of this well known monument shows Dionysos sitting on a rocky coast while his satyrs are beating the pirates. Three pirates have been transformed into dolphins from the waist up and are diving into the waves. These dolphin-men are very interesting but there can be no doubt that the relief represents the subject of the song and not the singers. Still, a certain amount of mimetic dancing might be expected in the performance of this dithyramb involving the transformation of men into dolphins.

It would be idle to speculate about whom, or what story, the dolphin-riders on the Attic vases may represent (cf. pp. 78 ff. above). Greek mythology knew of a number of dolphin-riders in addition to Arion, namely Telemachos, Melikertes-Palaimon of Corinth, Taras-Phalanthos of Taras, Enalos of Lesbos, Koiranos of Paros. Also the story of the dolphin that fell in love with a boy and often took him out to the sea was widespread.[14] But no group of dolphin-riders is found anywhere. However, in this connexion it may be worth recalling those Old Comedy titles (and choruses) which are plurals of proper names: Kratinos' *Archilochoi*, *Cheirones*, *Dionysoi*, *Kleoboulinai*, *Odysses*, and Telekleides' *Hesiodoi*.[15]

THE BOSTON SKYPHOS

The black-figure skyphos in Boston decorated on both sides with choruses of men riding on dolphins and ostriches respectively deserves special attention because it is the only piece of its kind which offers an indication that one of the performances we have been considering so far was not purely choral: on the side of the ostriches a short, bearded figure is standing in front of the flute-player facing the riders.

This figure poses many questions, none of which can be given a definite answer. To begin with, does the picture represent a scene from a comedy proper or, perhaps more likely, the performance of an animal chorus that has just developed a dramatic element? The little man does not look at all like an actor of Old Comedy but, then, the painter may have wanted to show not the actor but what the actor represented. Our clues here are his shortness and his posture. Bieber takes him for a 'dancing dwarf',[16] S. Reinach calls him a pygmy,[17] Webster interprets him as Pan 'who advances from the flute-player towards the chorus',[18] 'perhaps addresses them',[19] and 'may fairly be termed an antagonist'.[20]

Webster probably took the projections above the figure's forehead as horns, but it seems to me that they look more like hair and that both the little figure and the flute-player have similar hairstyles (see pl. IV). Besides, even if we accept the possibility that the god Pan should have been represented in an Athenian performance of the kind shown on the skyphos (or indeed on any Athenian work of art) at the beginning of the fifth century (cf. Herodot. vi. 105), I do not see how the artist could have drawn him so much smaller than a man.

If what is meant by 'dwarf' is an exceptionally short, abnormal and deformed specimen of the human race, and what is meant by 'pygmy' is an ordinary representative of a race with generally and naturally short bodies, I would rather accept Reinach's description, if only because one does not expect to find the exceptional and the bizarre in any form of early Greek art. Unshapely dwarfs occur frequently in Hellenistic and Roman art; Pygmies (as a specific tribe) engaged in battle with

their enemies, the cranes, are often shown on Attic vases—the earliest example being the François Vase (ca. 575 B.C.), where the Pygmies are short-bodied but not ill-shapen—and the story goes back to Homer (*Il.* iii. 6). It might also be remembered that the ostrich is a primarily African bird (it also lives in the deserts of Arabia), and that the Pygmies were located in Africa, where certain tribes of short-bodied people actually lived in antiquity, as Herodotos reported (ii. 32, 6), and still live today.

As regards the stance of our little man, he does not appear to be dancing or advancing towards the ostrich-riders. One thing seems to me certain, that he is looking up at the riders. In order to do so he has to lean backwards and move one of his legs back to support his weight. This posture would imply that the little fellow is addressing the riders. Does it also suggest that he is standing up to, or 'resisting' them? I think that Professor Webster's suggestion, that the man might be considered an 'antagonist', is likely, and there may be some other evidence that a rudimentary 'agon' may have been included in the performances of animal choruses (see p. 96 below). But another possibility should also be recognized here, namely that our man may be the ancestor of the 'friend of the chorus', the character, that is, who in the parodos of type (*c*) (see p. 24 above) invites the chorus to come to the scene of dramatic action, introduces it to the other characters on stage, and later explains to the chorus why he invited it. It is significant that this type of parodos is employed only in plays with extraordinary, 'fantastic' choruses, which need to be specially presented and explained to the audience.

SYNOPSIS

To sum up our discussion of the theriomorphic choruses so far: these choruses seem to have often appeared in front of the spectators with their disguise hidden underneath enormous cloaks. The dropping of the cloaks at the right moment—when they began to dance?—would contribute to a more impressive presentation of the disguise. The possibilities of disguise were unlimited and, as both the vases and many play-titles show, there was no restriction of the imagination. In consequence, the originality of disguise must have been an important factor in the

success of the show. The choruses danced and sang to the accompaniment of flute-music. One of the themes of their song was the description of themselves (i.e. of their appearance, character, and way of life). The Boston skyphos provides an indication that the performances of animal choruses may not have been purely choral at the beginning of the fifth century. The short-bodied 'pygmy', who is standing in front of the flute-player facing the ostrich-riders, may probably be considered an 'antagonist'; but he might also be the ancestor of the actor who, in a type of parodos exemplified by Aristophanes' *Birds* and *Clouds* and used only in plays with 'fantastic' choruses, appears to have a special relationship with the chorus and be instrumental in introducing the chorus to the scene of action.

CHAPTER X

THE THERIOMORPHIC CHORUSES OF ARISTOPHANES

The choruses in four of the eleven complete comedies of Aristophanes are direct survivals of the imaginative masquerades that are known to us from vases: *Knights*, *Wasps*, *Birds*, *Frogs*. An examination of what these choruses do on the Aristophanic stage is therefore likely to lead us to certain conclusions about the performances of those early choruses from which the choruses of Aristophanes are descended.

The imaginative and original chorus of a fifth play, the *Clouds*, does not belong to the same group but is included in our survey because it is allied to the choruses of these comedies in the way it is used.

'FROGS'

Our first concern must be with the *parachoregema* of *Frogs*, not only because the Frogs constitute a genuine theriomorphic chorus (as do the Birds but not the 'Wasps'), but mainly because its appearance is an interlude superficially connected with the myth, and which neither influences, nor is influenced by, the plot; it is, therefore, likely to preserve a typical and early form of the theriomorphic performance. The particular significance of the chorus of Frogs for the history of comedy has not been properly appreciated, perhaps because of the almost generally accepted view that the chorus of Frogs does not appear on stage at all.[1] This opinion seems to be based on the words of Charon: 'You will hear the loveliest songs once you start rowing' (205–6). But when travelling across a lake one listens to the voices of frogs; one never sees them, and it would not, of course, be sensible to expect Charon to say to Dionysos: 'you will see the frogs sing and dance' (as Dionysos does in fact later on). The verb 'to hear' is no indication that the chorus of Frogs is

only heard. On the contrary, the dialogue between the chorus and Dionysos, which reaches its climax in a kind of contest towards the end of the scene, implies that the Frogs are present in the orchestra.

The scene of the Frogs (209–68) is the first lyric part of the whole play, and is placed between dialogic scenes of the prologue, at some distance from the parodos of the chorus of Initiates. The song of the Frogs (209–20, 229–35, 241–9) alternates with the lyric dialogue between Dionysos and the chorus (221–8, 236–41, 250–68). Metrically, however, the whole scene is unified and without strophic responsion (the metre is chiefly iambotrochaic).

As regards its content, the song of the chorus revolves round the themes c3 and a3 (see pp. 41–2 above), and has a striking resemblance to *O* and *AO* of the parabasis of *Birds*. The cry of the Frogs, *brekekekex koax koax*, corresponds to the cry *tiotiotiotinx* of the Birds. The gods, whom the choruses celebrate and please with their songs, are Apollo, Pan, and the Muses, in both plays; Dionysos in *Frogs* corresponds to the Great Mother in *Birds*; the Graces also are mentioned together with the Muses in *Birds*. Moreover, there are several phraseological analogies between the songs of the two choruses:

Frogs	*Birds*
213–14	751
εὔγηρυν ἐμὰν *ἀοιδάν*	*γλυκεῖαν ᾠδάν*
212–17	771–4
ξύναυλον ὕμνον βοὰν *φθεγξώμεθ', εὔγηρυν ἐμὰν* *ἀοιδάν, κοαξ κοαξ,* *ἣν ἀμφὶ Νυσήιον* *Διὸς Διώνυσον ἐν* *Λίμναισιν ἰαχήσαμεν*	*συμμιγῆ βοὴν ὁμοῦ* *πτεροῖσι κρέκοντες ἴακχον Ἀπόλλω,* *τιοτιοτιοτιγξ,* *ὄχθῳ ἐφεζόμενοι παρ' Ἕβρον* *[ποταμόν*
229–31	781–3
ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔστερξαν εὔλυροί τε *[Μοῦσαι* *καὶ κεροβάτας Πάν, ὁ καλαμό-* *[φθογγα παίζων·*	*εἶλε δὲ θάμβος ἄνακτας· Ὀλυμπιά-* *δες δὲ μέλος Χάριτες Μοῦ-* *σαί τ' ἐπωλόλυξαν*

προσεπιτέρπεται δ' ὁ φορμικτὰς
['Απόλλων

247	746
ἔνυδρον ἐν βυθῷ χορείαν (ἐφθεγξάμεσθα)	σεμνά τε Μητρὶ χορεύματ' ὀρείᾳ (ἀναφαίνω)
cf. 205	769
βατράχων κύκνων[2] (μέλη)	τοιάδε κύκνοι (ἴακχον)

However, Dionysos does not appear to appreciate the Frogs' song. As he tries to silence them, he quarrels with them, and endeavours to beat them at their own game: in a contest of cries and other noises. Would it be too daring to recognize here a comic agon in an embryonic form? I think not, for the inconsistency of having Dionysos being honoured by the Frogs as a god and, at the same time, being scorned by them as a character (not recognized as Dionysos[3]) suggests that the quarrel, as well as the hymn, were traditional themes in such performances rather than inventions of Aristophanes. (Cf. p. 92 above, on the small figure facing the ostrich-riders on a Boston vase.)

'BIRDS'

The first bird to enter (l. 60) is the slave of Epops, and Epops himself appears a little later (l. 92). Although technically both are characters of the play, they belong to the world of the birds, and their disguise is similar to that of the chorus. Their appearance takes Pisetairos and Euelpides by surprise. When the slave enters the sight of his open beak excites the exclamation:

Apollo, who turns evil aside, what a chasm! (61)

And the entrance of Epops provokes the comment:

Herakles, what on earth is this beast? What is this plumage? What kind of a triple crest? (93–4)[4]

The appearance of both birds is commented upon in the dialogue following their entrance, and they themselves explain their character and nature.

When, after the melodious invitation of Epops, the moment of the parodos comes the birds are heard to twitter without being seen (260–2; cf. p. 24, n. 3). The two men are bewildered and anxious to see the birds, and before long the first four members of the chorus walk into the orchestra one by one, followed by the others entering in groups.[5] Pisetairos and Euelpides express their admiration at the appearance of the birds, their colours, and their crests, and Epops explains what they are called. The purpose of this elaborate parodos of the birds is to present the chorus impressively in its colourful and imaginative costumes. (Contrary to the usual practice, the choreuts in this play did not all wear the same costume, and it would be very interesting to know who the *choregos* of Aristophanes was at the Great Dionysia of 414, when *Birds* was produced.)

The parodos is followed by the 'battle scene' and the epirrhematic agon with Pisetairos and the chorus as the two contesting parties. Later, in the parabasis, the Birds have the opportunity to sing the odes which, as we have seen, are so similar to the song of the chorus of Frogs (p. 95), and to speak at length about themselves. *P* is a parody of a theogony (freely adapted from the Orphic tradition[6]) according to which the birds are older than all the gods. In *E* they ask the spectators to share their sweet life in order to be able to do unashamedly all those acts that are considered wrong among men. Besides, they continue in *AE*, there is nothing better than growing feathers: for with wings one can pop anywhere, at any time, to satisfy physical needs and desires. (Both epirrhemata have an admixture of personal gibes.)

'WASPS'

The chorus of *Wasps* consists of old Athenians, the colleagues of Philokleon in the court. Shortly before the parodos, Bdelykleon, who expects that the old dicasts will soon be calling for his father, refers to them as follows:

> If anyone angers the race of old men they become like a wasps' nest; for they actually have a sting at their waist as sharp as can be, with which they sting, and with cries they jump and leap like sparks. (223–7)

Here the dicasts are likened to wasps (and a little later to sparks), and although Bdelykleon says that they have 'a very sharp sting' his slave does not seem to take his words seriously:

Don't you worry; if I get some stones I will scatter this wasps' nest of many jurors. (228–9)

Soon afterwards the jurors make their appearance wrapped in their cloaks and leaning on the boys who light their way in the 'dark' with oil-lamps. Neither their external appearance, nor what they say, nor their names (ll. 230, 232–4, 401) betray in the least their waspish nature. On the contrary, from line 230 to line 403 they behave like genuine old men of the Old Comedy, as we know them from *Acharnians* and *Lysistrata*. When Philokleon makes his last desperate appeal for help (400–2), as Bdelykleon and his slave drag him into the house for the last time, the dicasts ask themselves:

Tell me, why are we slow to stir that bile the way we do whenever anyone angers our wasps' nest? Now, now stretch to its sharpest extent that quickly angered sting which we use to punish. (403–7)

And straight away they take off their *himatia* and give them to the boys bidding them run and tell Kleon what is going on:

Take[7] the cloaks, children, and run as fast as you can and shout and report these things to Kleon. (408–9)

(Scholium: They strip off and give their cloaks to the children in order to dance freely.)

At this point the choreuts reveal their stings for the first time (cf. p. 86 above),[8] and what up to that moment belonged to the level of metaphor is materialized on stage (which is something the comedy of Aristophanes likes to do very often).[9] The astonishment caused by the unveiling of the disguise of the choreuts in *Wasps* is reflected by the words of the slave:

Herakles, they really have stings. Don't you see master? (430)

(Cf. the similar exclamations provoked by the appearance of the first birds, p. 96 above, and of Socrates' pupils in *Nu.* 184; cf. also *Pax* 180, *Ach.* 156, *Vesp.* 1136, *Av.* 1036.) After the battle scene (between the Wasps and Bdelykleon) and the agon (be-

tween Bdelykleon and Philokleon) the chorus has, in this play too, the opportunity to explain the import of its disguise, and the relationship of the wasps to the old Athenians, in the parabasis.

'KNIGHTS'

It would be a mistake to interpret the term *hippes* as horse-riders but its translation into 'knights' (or *Ritter* in German) is also somehow misleading, for the *hippes* of Aristophanes do not constitute a social class but a military body of a relatively small strategic importance, and of very limited size—although its members were indeed drawn from the upper classes, in Athens as well as in the other Greek cities, before the time of Alexander.[10] However, the chorus of this comedy does not stand for the Athenian nobles or the oligarchic party but is supposed to be the entire body of the 'young men' (*Eq.* 731, Thuc. iv. 42, 1) of the cavalry (as the chorus of *Wasps* is not just some of the Athenian dicasts but *the* Athenian dicasts, the choruses of *Lysistrata* are the old men and women of Athens, the chorus of *Ecclesiazusae* is all the women of Athens, etc.):

> There are a thousand[11] brave cavalrymen who hate him and will come to your help. (225–6)

This body, which seems to have been on bad terms with Kleon,[12] had distinguished itself in the battle following the landing of the Athenian forces under Nikias near Corinth, soon after Kleon's spectacular success in Pylos. In *Knights*, produced at the Lenaia of 424, only five months after the battle of Sphakteria (the beginning of August 425), Aristophanes makes his most violent attack against Kleon, whom he accuses of having purloined the honour of the victory from the general Demosthenes. With this 'false' success of Kleon Aristophanes contrasts the genuine success of the cavalry at Corinth. So the chorus of this play, a predecessor of which is found on a vase which antedates *Knights* by about a hundred and twenty-five years, serves dexterously the political aim of the poet, very well adapted as it is to the contemporary events from which the play draws its inspiration.

Now the fact that the question of whether the choreuts appear

mounted on some kind of steeds or not exists, shows, in the first place, how little the conventions of Greek drama are sometimes understood. There are moreover indications in the text which show not only that the cavalrymen entered riding their horses, as Zieliński[13] had rightly inferred from the manner in which the parodos is announced, but also that the 'horses' were men dressed up as horses, as Poppelreuter had suggested on the basis of the antepirrhema of the parabasis.[14]

A little before the parodos, one of the slaves–strategi of Demos calls the cavalry to hasten to the sausage-seller's help:

> Cavalrymen, come, this is the time. Simon, Panaitios, won't you ride on the right wing? (242–3)

And immediately afterwards he says:

> The cloud of dust shows that they are near at hand. (245)

The chorus appears, no doubt in a fighting formation, and the battle scene follows. In the parabasis the chorus praises the poet (*P*, *Pn*), celebrates Poseidon Hippios and Athena Poliouchos (*O*, *AO*,), pays tribute to 'our fathers' in *E* and to its horses in *AE*. The former epirrhema is a serious eulogy of the bravery, unselfishness, and love which the older generation—'worthy of this land'—had for their country. The latter is a comic eulogy of the horses, an account of the exploits of the horses in the Corinthian expedition, which is nothing, of course, but an indirect praise of the cavalrymen themselves—a graceful and humorous device. The direct self-glorification, hardly appropriate to noble young men ('καλοὶ κἀγαθοί'), is thus avoided. But would this confusion between horses and horsemen, ending up in a complete identification of the former with the latter (l. 610), be possible if the 'horses' were not men (perhaps one of the semichoruses[15]) disguised as horses?[16]

'CLOUDS'

The chorus of personified Clouds is a creation of the inventive imagination of Aristophanes but because of its very originality it needs a special introduction, description, and explanation of its presence. The entrance of the chorus is preceded by a long

preparation (265–326): Socrates invokes the Clouds, and they sing their first song before their descent to the earth (i.e. their appearance in the orchestra). In the strophe 275–90 the Clouds say that they intend to leave their father Ocean and rise visible high up, above the mountain-tops, to inspect the earth; (the content of this strophe is comparable to the parabatic theme c3). In the antistrophe (299–313) they declare their intention of visiting Athens, which they praise. After its entrance, the chorus remains silent for some time (326 to 358), while Socrates tries to explain to Strepsiades why the Clouds look like women and not like tufts of wool, etc. (On the resemblance of the parodos of *Clouds* with that of *Birds* see p. 24 above.) In *E* of the parabasis the Clouds reproach the spectators for not worshipping them as goddesses when they benefit them more than all the gods: thus, when the Athenians were about to elect Kleon as strategus the Clouds tried to prevent them by thundering and lightning, while Sun and Moon had disappeared. In *AE* the Clouds give the audience the greetings of Moon, whom they met as they were setting off for Athens, but also her complaints that the Athenians do not observe the festivals and the sacrifices according to the moon calendar, which makes the gods, who are deprived of their dinners, angry with her.

CONCLUSION

The choruses of all these comedies speak about themselves, describe their disguise and nature, their life and their deeds, and directly or indirectly praise themselves. The place where this is done is the parabasis (but compare also the parodos in *Clouds*, cf. p. 59). A special case is, of course, the chorus of Frogs whose song, however, shows a great resemblance to the songs of the parabasis of *Birds*. This is a fact that accords with the interpretation of the inscription on the Oltos vase attempted in the previous chapter, and strengthens the assumption that theme 'c' of the parabasis was a part of the content of what the theriomorphic and perhaps other imaginative choruses of the sixth and early fifth century sang or recited.

The chorus of Frogs, uninfluenced as it is by the plot of the play, admits of two suppositions. (*a*) Theme 'a', together with

theme 'c' with which it is combined (as is the case, also, in the parabases of the other comedies), may have been included in the content of the songs of the animal choruses. (*b*) The skirmish of the Frogs and Dionysos, taken in conjunction with the fact that all animal choruses in the extant plays of Aristophanes become involved in battle scenes (as do the choruses in Archippos' *Fishes* and, probably, Krates' *Beasts*), suggests that an agon of some kind is likely to have belonged to the 'δρώμενα', or performance, of the predramatic theriomorphic choruses, or, in any case, to the first stages of their development into drama, or their encounter with it.

The parodoi of *Birds* and *Clouds* are of the third type (see p. 24), which involves a character standing in a special relation to the chorus. An ancestor of this character may be represented on the Boston skyphos with the ostrich-riders (see p. 92). The type of parodos in question enables the poet to present his chorus to the public in a way that sets off the originality of either its conception (*Nu.*,[17] cf. Arist. *Islands*, Eupol. *Cities*, Kratin. *Laws*) or its disguise (*Av.*). The element of originality of conception and disguise is likely to have been important to the predramatic masquerades (see p. 86). The suggestion made above on the grounds of the two vases with the bird-choruses, that the disguise of the chorus was effectively presented by being suddenly unveiled in front of the public, is reinforced by the closely analogous instance of *Wasps*.

APPENDIX

'TO STRIP'

In the previous chapters the dropping of the *himation* of the chorus was mentioned on several occasions: with reference to the content of the parabasis (p. 38), to the theories about its original position in the comedy (pp. 16–7), to the unveiling of the theriomorphic disguise in *Wasps* (p. 98; cf. pp. 86–8 on the probable use of the *himation* by the animal choruses). The whole matter is, I think, important enough to deserve some special attention. All instances in which the comic chorus is found to take off the *himation* on stage are collected and examined below.

'IN ORDER TO DANCE FREELY'

The dropping of the cloaks of the chorus in *Wasps* takes place in that part of comedy between the parodos and the agon which often took the form of a 'battle scene'. If, however, 'battle' in the language of stage action is translated into lively dancing, then the Scholiast is right when he says that 'they strip off and give their cloaks to the children in order to dance freely' (see p. 98). The dropping of the cloaks of the chorus in *Wasps* has, therefore, a double purpose: it reveals impressively the disguise of the chorus, at a very apt moment, and gives it the necessary freedom of movement for its mimetic dancing in the battle scene as well as in the rest of the play.

In a similar scene in *Thesmophoriazusae*, which, somewhat irregularly, follows the agon instead of leading to it,[1] the first of these two reasons does not exist since the mantles of the women did not cover any original costume. However, the second reason suffices for the choreuts to throw off their mantles when, after the departure of Kleisthenes, they perform a vigorous dance (655–85), searching for any other sacrilegious man that might be hidden there:

Now after this we must kindle our torches, gird ourselves up well and manfully, strip off our mantles, and search to see whether by any chance some other man has entered, and run around the whole place of our assembly, and look carefully into the tents and passages. Come then, first we must move nimbly and carefully look everywhere in silence. (655–60)

Once again the comic chorus prepares to fight by taking off not only the *himation* but later on the *chiton*, too, in the parabasis of *Lysistrata*. The parabasis of this comedy is an exceptional case. The two semichoruses go on quarrelling in the epirrhematic syzygy (*P* is missing from this play), the form of which lends itself to an adaptation to a kind of agon between the two choruses. *O* and *E* are given to the men, *AO* and *AE* to the women. A second syzygy, similarly divided between the two choruses, follows the first.

The first action of the men in facing the conspiracy which they believe the women to have made with the Spartans is to throw off their cloaks:[2]

He has no business sleeping whoever is free. Let us strip, men, and face this task (614–15).

The verb ἐπαποδύεσθαι in l. 615 could perhaps be understood metaphorically ('to roll up one's sleeves') if at the beginning of the second syzygy the men did not deposit another garment:

This thing has to be resisted by anyone who is a man with testicles. Let us take off the tunic [*exomis*], for a man should smell like a man . . . (661–3)

In reply to the threats of the men the women take off their mantles at the beginning of the first *AO*:

Then your mother will not recognize you when you go home. But, dear old women, let us first put these[3] on the ground. (636–7)

In *AE*, which is the only part of this parabasis containing a direct apostrophe to the audience, the women defend what they claim to be their right to give advice to the city, and threaten the men in turn. The latter react by taking off their *exomides* and declaring that they are going to hold their ground. At the end of the second *E* they hurl new threats at the women. The women, mad with anger, return the threats as they pull off their robes:[4]

By the two goddesses, if you kindle me I will let loose the sow in me and make you today call the citizens to your aid while I trim you. Let us also, women, strip fast, so that we may smell of women angered, ready to bite. (682–7)

Much later, in the scene of reconciliation of the two choruses (1014–42), the women help the men to put on their tunics again (1021). Nothing is said about their own clothes.

'UNDRESSING' AND PARABASIS

At the beginning of the parabasis of *Acharnians* the chorus once more throws its *himatia* away:

The man wins in the debate and makes the people change their mind about the truce. Now let us strip and proceed to the anapaests (ἀλλ' ἀποδύντες τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις ἐπίωμεν). (626–7)

The Scholiast here gives the same explanation as in *Wasps* (see p. 98), namely that the choreuts 'strip off their outer garments in order to dance vigorously' (cf. *Suda*, *s.v.* ἀποδύντες).

But were the anapaests actually accompanied by 'lively movements', as Lesky,[5] among others,[6] seems to believe? In addition to the fact that the typical subject-matter of *P* does not lend itself to mimetic dancing, any dancing movements would divert the attention of the audience from what was said, which is something the poet would hardly wish at this particular point.[7] Undoubtedly, I think, van Leeuwen was right when he wrote that 'alieni hinc sunt loci ubi choreutae abiciunt pallia quo sint expeditiores (Vesp. 408, Lys. 615, 662, 686, Thesm. 656)'.[8] But before we see what other views have been expressed about *K* in *Acharnians* we have to examine the corresponding part of *Peace*, which is usually quoted together with the former as another instance of 'undressing' in the parabasis.

The parabasis of *Peace* begins after Trygaios' departure to Earth. The chorus bids him farewell, and goes on to say:

Let us hand over this gear to the attendants [the stage hands] to keep, for there are always a lot of thieves prowling around the stage and doing harm. Come, keep a good watch over them. As for ourselves, let us explain to the spectators the way we reason and what we have in our mind. (729–33)

(Scholium: The comic poets always make the chorus strip in order to dance.)

Here we have to suppose that the choreuts hand over to the assistants[9] of the theatre the ropes and implements (299, 437, 458, 566–7 and schol.) they had brought with them.[10] If they also give their cloaks, as the Scholiast thinks, we do not know.

THE SUPPOSED DROPPING OF DRAMATIC CHARACTER

The above two instances, in which the chorus is assumed to take off its overgarments at the beginning of the parabasis, suggested to some scholars that at this point the choreuts 'strip off' their dramatic character. This view was first expounded by Zieliński, who believed that the parabasis was originally the epilogue of comedy. In his opinion, the choreuts took off their overgarments and so dropped their rôle in order to address the spectators as fellow-citizens. This could normally happen only at the end of the play. At the time of Aristophanes, when a second part had been added to comedy after the parabasis, this practice annoyingly interrupted the sequence of the play but was retained as a conventional relic of the tradition (see also p. 16 above). This theory later acquired several variations, according to what different scholars believed about the parabasis, its origin, and its initial position in comedy.

A. and M. Croiset,[11] who favour the view that comedy once began with the parabasis, find it natural that this part would originally have been a prologue that served to present the chorus to the public before the former put on its costume. The idea of transposing this prologue to the middle of the play was not difficult in conception since comedy was already interrupted by *intermèdes* sung by the chorus. The new arrangement was evidently to the advantage of the poet: he could thus win the audience to his side before reaching the point where he would ask for their favour and, in certain cases, defend his attitudes.

P. Mazon believes that the choreuts did take off their costume in the parabasis but finds unacceptable the parabasis–prologue,

in which the chorus is introduced without its costume. He finds even more improbable the parabasis–epilogue. The exodos must have always had the character of the lively *komos*, and the original position of the parabasis is none other than the one it occupies in the plays of Aristophanes.

O. Navarre agrees with Mazon as to the position of the parabasis and suggests that the choreuts took off their masks.[12]

J. Geffcken and W. Schmid[13] repeat Navarre's opinion, i.e. that '*ἀποδύεσθαι*' (to strip) means a temporary dropping of the masks in the middle of the play, although they both favour the theory that comedy in its primitive form began with the parabasis (see pp. 17–8 and n. 21).

A different view was expressed by Poppelreuter[14] in reply to Zieliński's theory of the parabasis–epilogue. Poppelreuter maintained that the parabasis used to be the parodos of the chorus, and on the grounds of the vases with the birds (see pp. 74, 86) argued that the choreuts removed their cloaks to dance after the parabasis–parodos, and not to cast off their dramatic character. This time-sequence is shown by the two vases of Berlin and London: on the former the choreuts are represented as making their parodos; on the latter we see them dancing without their cloaks.

What Poppelreuter says about the vases may be right but the connexion of 'undressing' in the parabasis with the hypothetical parodos of *comedy*, as well as the theories of the other scholars about the removing of the *himatia* in the parabasis mentioned above, are founded more on the preconceptions of their supporters about the parabasis than on the texts. For it should not be forgotten that, if we leave *Peace* aside—since in spite of the scholium 'the comic poets always make the chorus strip, etc.' (see p. 106) there is no way of knowing whether the *himatia* are included among the 'gear' (*σκεύη*) handed over by the chorus to the hands of the theatre 'to keep'—the only occurrence of 'undressing' that cannot be justified on the basis of the text is that of *Acharnians*. If, however, this case cannot be explained in the same way as the others—if, that is, we cannot say with the ancient commentator that the chorus in *Acharnians*, also, remove the cloak 'to dance vigorously'—it cannot, on the other hand, be used to support either the theory that the para-

basis was once the parodos of the comedians, or, of course, the theory of the dropping of dramatic character.

SYNOPSIS

When the chorus of Wasps is involved in a dramatic contest it throws off the *himation* to fight, thus revealing its costume(which is suggestive of its irritable nature[15]) and obtaining a greater freedom of movement for its mimetic dancing. After the fight, it will have the chance to explain its disguise in the parabasis. When a chorus of men or women (*Lys.*, *Thesm.*) finds itself in a similar dramatic situation it undresses to fight, that is, to dance with greater agility. Eventually a rule is established: 'The comic poets *always* make the chorus strip in order to dance' (*Pax* schol. 730). The preparation for fighting is a pretext that can be employed in certain cases only (chiefly, of course, in the battle scene). On the other hand, the removal of the *himation*—which would much more often be done silently and without explanation—would announce to the Athenian audience, which knew very well the language of stage conventions, a dancing scene.

The question which now remains is this: is it especially significant that the only instance in which we find the chorus undressing without apparent reason is in the parabasis (*Ach.* 626) and not in any other part of comedy? Is it, in other words, possible to suggest that according to another rule the chorus removed its cloaks at the beginning of the parabasis, if for one reason or another it had not already got rid of them at an earlier moment of the play? Or should we not perhaps interpret the verb ἀποδύεσθαι in *Acharnians* literally (cf. p. 104 above), as A. M. Dale[16] suggested? Miss Dale's suggestion seems to solve the problem in a definite manner. But this interpretation, according to which the participle ἀποδύντες in the phrase 'ἀλλ' ἀποδύντες τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις ἐπίωμεν' should be understood metaphorically, does not seem to me indisputable. The evidence available, however, does not enable us to arrive at another, more acceptable, interpretation of l. 626 and of the action which it may entail.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1 It is so used also by L. H. G. Greenwood, 'On the Absence of Realism and Illusion in Greek Tragic Performances', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, no. 179 (1946–7), 5–6. Cf. A. M. Dale, *Collected Papers*, p. 259.

2 Even T. S. Eliot, whose plays could hardly be classified as realistic dramas, once replied to an interviewer, who asked him whether he intended *The Cocktail Party* 'to be regarded as a criticism of a society without form': 'I intended to produce characters whose drawing-room behaviour was generally correct' (*Times Literary Supplement*, 21 Aug. 1969, p. 926, review of E. Martin Browne's *The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays*, Cambridge University Press, 1969).

3 In fact, the function of realistic representation of human actions has nowadays been taken over by the film, which has an almost magic grip on massive audiences and is, in consequence, infinitely more important than theatre as a social function. The technological history of the movies consists of a series of improvements in representing human life ever more faithfully—or should we say deceptively? The future tendencies of the industry are well described by J. P. Lyford, from whose paper 'Media and Messages' (*The Center Magazine*, ii, no. 5 [Santa Barbara, Calif., Sept. 1969], p. 55) the following quotation is taken: 'We may discover that the mass media can accomplish by mechanical and psychological means what [Aldous] Huxley felt was possible only by drug-induced changes in the supply of sugar to the brain. We have a very mild scent of what is to come in the *vast realism* of the film "2001", which has even changed audience seating patterns. Despite the huge screen, many people like to sit in the front rows where they are swaddled in the action, projected into space along with the capsule. The *illusion of participation* will be enormously expanded by the introduction of such inventions as the living-history film envisioned by Leopold Godowsky, the inventor of Kodachrome, who has predicted that under controlled viewing conditions an audience will be unable to avoid the *conviction* it is actually confronting the subject of the film' (my italics).

4 Very relevant to this discussion is a paper by the late A. M. Dale on 'The Creation of Dramatic Characters' (*Collected Papers*, pp. 272–80), in which she argues against the 'widespread tendency in modern literary criticism to over-press [the] notion of "character-drawing" in appraising a Greek play' (p. 273).

5 At least in tragedy; for comedy see pp. 23 ff.

6 The reader might wish to be reminded that the question of the effect of tragedy on the audience is related to the crux of the Aristotelian 'pity' and 'fear' (*Poet.* 1449 b 27), and to Plato's discussion of poetry and its place in the ideal state (*Rep.*, books iii and x).

7 See, for instance, G. Roux, *Revue des études grecques*, lxxviii (1965), p. xxxvi, who suggests that from this point of view there is a fundamental difference between tragedy and the comedy of Aristophanes: 'La tragédie cherche à créer l'illusion théâtrale. Le spectateur doit oublier sa qualité de spectateur, se transporter en esprit dans le temps et sur les lieux où se déroule l'action, participer au drame qui lui est présenté. Aristophane au contraire refuse de créer cette illusion.'

8 E.g. *Eq.* 37 ff., *Vesp.* 73 ff., *Pax* 543 ff., 881 ff., 907.

9 This is done by the actors in the prologue (*Eq.* 35 ff., *Vesp.* 54 ff., *Pax* 43 ff., *Av.* 30 ff.) and by the chorus in the parabasis (see pp. 38 ff.).

10 *Eq.* 228, 233, *Ran.* 1109 ff. On this theme in the parabasis see pp. 39 ff.
11 *Av.* 445 f., *Eccl.* 1154 ff., cf. *Ach.* 1224. On the parabasis see pp. 33 ff., especially pp. 39–40.
12 *Vesp.* 58 f., *Pax* 962, *Pl.* 797 ff.
13 *Pax* 1115, *Eccl.* 1141 ff.; cf. Dover, *Lustrum*, ii (1957), 102.
14 *Eq.* 228, cf. *Pax* 293 ff.
15 E.g. *Eq.* 162 ff., *Nu.* 898, 1096 ff., *Pax* 9, 55, 150 f., 543 ff., 658 f., 821 ff., 877 ff., *Ran.* 276, 783, 1503, *Pl.* 97 ff.
16 *Nu.* 355, *Vesp.* 74 ff., *Pax* 883, *Pl.* 800. See also Schmid, *G.G.L.*, i. 4, pp. 43, 47, Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes*,[2] pp. 27–31.
17 Cf. Aristophanes, fr. 528.
18 For more jokes involving the crane operator see Aristophanes, *Daidalos*, fr. 188, *Gerytades*, *P. Oxy.* 2742, fr. 1, 16 ff.; Strattis, *Atalantos* and *Phoenician Women*, *P. Oxy.*, *ib.*, 8 ff.
19 Cf. Aristophanes, fr. 471.
20 On the grounds of *Ach.* 652–4 and of Pindar's use of the adjective δικαιόπολις as an attributive of Aigina (*Pyth.* 8, 31) C. Bailey suggested that the proper name Dikaiopolis was intended to suggest the 'Aiginetan', just as a character called Iostephanos would be an Athenian. 'And if it is the "Aeginetan", then it is Aristophanes; the hero's name was a clue to his actor' (*Greek Poetry and Life*, Essays presented to Gilbert Murray, p. 238). This is ingenious but not enough to prove that Aristophanes himself played the rôle of Dikaiopolis; see Russo, *Aristofane*, pp. 59 ff.
21 *G.G.L.*, i. 4, p. 47.

CHAPTER II

1 Observe, for instance, how D. Grene bravely faces up to the consequences of this belief. The earlier, political comedies of Aristophanes are 'conspicuous for (1) grotesque satire, (2) loose structure, (3) undramatic devices . . . By this [i.e. *undramatic* devices] I mean the introduction of supernatural machinery or the complete break with reality in surroundings which suggest reality . . . In the *Acharnians* we have one scene in the Pnyx, and then another apparently in some unnamed and unnameable country, where Dicaeopolis is lord, and grants his kingdom peace; or the *Knights*, where amid scenes in Athens and everyday affairs we suddenly come upon a figure, Demos, who is the personified abstraction, "the Athenian people", etc.' (*Hermathena*, l [1937], 116, 119). It is, however, to the credit of Grene that his admiration for the technique of Aristophanes is not diminished because of the poet's use of 'undramatic' devices. See also G. Roux, *Revue des études grecques*, lxxviii (1965), p. xxxvi: 'Le théâtre d'Aristophane se moque du théâtre' (because of Aristophanes' intentional disregard for theatrical illusion).
2 *Aristophanes* (Oxford, 1933), p. 12.
3 Kaibel, *Hermes*, xxiv (1889), 38; Kranz, *N. Jahrb.*, 1919/i, 161 ff., *Stasimon* (Berlin, 1933), p. 25, *R.E.* xviii. 1125; Bethe, *Die griechische Dichtung* (Wildpark–Potsdam, 1924), p. 233.
4 Körte, *R.E.* xi. 1221, 19. The supposed 'fact that Aristophanic Comedy shows us a regular combination of extremely dissimilar elements, which entitles us to assume that the origin of the genre is complex' (Dover in *Fifty Years (and Twelve) of Classical Scholarship*, p. 140) is a common belief; but cf. pp. 20–2.
5 'Archäologische Studien zur alten Komödie', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, viii (1893), 61–93, and article 'Komödie' in *R.E.* xi (1921), 1216 ff.

6 *Die Gliederung der altattischen Komödie*, pp. 242 ff.

7 *De comoediae atticae primordiis*, pp. 44 f.

8 'The "Epirrhematic Agon" is a Comic debate in which each half is introduced by a choral ode and an exhortation to the speaker and concluded by a passage metrically similar to the "Pnigos" ["choking piece"] of the Parabasis; *Nu.* 949–1104 and *Ran.* 895–1098 are the most famous examples. It may fulfil either of two dramatic functions: when it comes immediately after the Parodos, the settlement of the dramatic issue involved is only provisional (e.g. *Eq.* 303–456, *Vesp.* 334–402), and when it comes at a later stage . . . the settlement is decisive (e.g. *Vesp.* 526–724). Its formal characteristics may be adopted also in cases where there is no real debate but a single speaker presents an argument in two distinct stages (e.g. *Av.* 451–626), and some of them appear in passages of argument or exposition such as *Nu.* 314–477. It is absent from *Ach.*, *Pax* and *Thesm.*, and its structure is greatly simplified, though still recognizable, in *Eccl.* and *Pl.*' (Dover, *Gnomon*, xxxiii [1961], 120). See p. 54.

9 H. E. Sieckmann, *De comoediae atticae primordiis* (Diss. Göttingen, 1906), p. 25, Kranz, *N. Jahrb.*, 1919/i, 163. But, in fact, the Doric influence on the formation of Attic comedy seems, generally, to have been largely overestimated, and the case for the derivation of any essential element of Old Comedy directly from Doric sources relies on tenuous evidence. For a statement of the facts and rigorous critique of Körte's basic theory and its numerous variations see now L. Breitholtz, *Die dorische Farce im griechischen Mutterland vor dem 5. Jahrhundert. Hypothese oder Realität?*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia, x (1960); cf. Webster's review in *Gnomon*, xxxiii (1961), 452–6.

10 Wilamowitz, *Aristophanes, Lysistrate*, p. 14.

11 P. 186.

12 *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 150. See also Kaibel, *R.E.* ii. 987, M. W. Humphreys, *A.J.P.* viii (1887), 197, W. J. M. Starkie, *The Acharnians* (London, 1909), p. 132; cf. the quotation from Norwood in n. 42 to p. 21.

13 *Essai*, pp. 174–5, 'La farce dans Aristophane et les origines de la Comédie en Grèce', *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, iii (1951), 11.

14 *Le théâtre grec*, p. 150, *Les Cavaliers d'Aristophane*, pp. 30–1; see also P. W. Harsh, *T.A.P.A.* lxv (1934), 178–97, and his *Handbook of Classical Drama* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1944 [repr. 1965]), p. 262 (cf. n. 41 to p. 68).

15 C. Agthe (*Die Parabase*, p. 45) quotes C. Kock (*De parabasi, antiquae com. att. interludio*, Anklam, 1856) to the effect that the chorus leader took off his mask before the anapaests. Kock based his argument on Aristides, xxviii. 97 Keil, quoted on p. 64.

16 On the lively exodos of comedy cf. Plutarch, *Vit. Luculli*, 39, 1, and W. Süss, *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. lxv (1910), 450 ff.

17 *Frösche*,[2] p. 35.

18 *Lysistrate*, p. 14.

19 The equation of the two terms is already found in the confused accounts of the form and history of comedy by the Byzantine scholar John Tzetzes (twelfth century), collected in *C.G.F.*, pp. 17 ff.; see especially pp. 22–3, 29, and 41.

20 *Orat.* xxvi. 316 d.

21 On the term parabasis see Wilamowitz, *Aischylos, Interpretationen*, p. 3; Kranz, article 'Parabasis' in *R.E.* xviii. 1124. Somewhat different is Radermacher's interpretation of the παραβαίνειν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. He compares it with such expressions as ᾄδειν πρός τινα or κωμάζειν πρός τινα and translates parabasis into *Vorbeimarsch* (*Frösche*,[2] p. 34). On the position of the parabasis at the beginning of the original performance see also Poppelreuter, pp. 32 ff.; Bethe, *Die griech.*

Dichtung, p. 233; A. and M. Croiset, *Histoire de la littérature grecque*, iii[3] (Paris, 1913), pp. 525 ff.; J. Geffcken, *Griech. Literaturgeschichte*, i (Heidelberg, 1926), p. 228; E. Fraenkel, *Philologus*, lxxxvi (1931), 3 ff. (=*Kl. Beitr. zur klass. Philologie*, i, pp. 355 ff.); Herter, pp. 16 ff., 31 ff.; M. Pohlenz, *Nachr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Gött.* (Phil.-hist. Kl., 1949), pp. 31 ff. (=*Kl. Schr.*, ii, pp. 497 ff.); Schmid, *G.G.L.*, i. 2, pp. 528 ff., but cf. vol. i. 4, p. 45, n. 1; Lesky, *Gesch.*,[2] pp. 262, 468.

22 See for example Schmid, *G.G.L.*, i. 2, p. 530; Lesky, *Gesch.*,[2] p. 468.

23 Epirrhematic syzygy is the ancient term for the last four parts of the parabasis, i.e. ode, epirrhema, antode, antepirrhema, which constitute a unity with internal metrical responsion (see p. 33). Epirrhema is a 'speech that is recited afterwards', i.e. after the ode.

24 *Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel* (Iserlohn, 1947). The idea goes back at least to G. H. Kolster, *De parabasi veteris comoediae atticae parte antiquissima* (Altona, 1829), pp. 51 ff.

25 Apparently, the Athenian variety of the performers described by Semos and Sosibios (also quoted by Athenaios, see n. 28).

26 The bibliography on the fat men or padded dancers is constantly growing, as more vases come to light, and their interpretations are multiplied. Such dancers are represented on a great number of Corinthian, Attic, Boeotian, Laconian, and other vases. The distinction between the genuine Corinthian and the Attic and other vases is due to A. Greifenhagen (*Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung und die Darstellung des Komos im 6. Jahrhundert*, Diss. Königsberg Pr., 1929) and H. Payne (*Necrocorinthia* [Oxford, 1931], pp. 194 ff.). On the Attic vases see Beazley, *A.B.V.*, 23–37. On the possibility that the fat men are 'Peloponnesian satyrs' see G. Löschcke, *Mitteilungen d. Deutschen Arch. Inst.*, Athenische Abteilung, xix (1894), 518–25; F. Brommer, *Satyroi* (Würzburg, 1937), pp. 20–2. On the question of their relationship with the origins of drama see E. Buschor, *Satyrtänze und frühes Drama, Sitzungsberichte d. Bayerischen Akad. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Abteil., 1943/v; T. B. L. Webster, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxvi (1954), 582 ff., *Greek Theatre Production*, pp. 28 ff., and in *D.T.C.*,[2] pp. 170 ff.

27 'Die Entstehung der attischen Komödie', *Nachr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1949/ii, p. 37 (*Kl. Schr.*, p. 503); cf. Gelzer, *Agon*, p. 210.

28 The *phallophoroi* are connected with Sikyon by Sosibios (*ap.* Athen. xiv. 621 f).

29 *Beobachtungen*, pp. 191–215; cf. id., *Philologus*, lxxxvi (1931), 3 ff. (*Kl. Beitr.*, i, pp. 355 ff.).

30 Athen. xiv. 622 c=Page, *P.M.G.*, no. 851.

31 *Stasimon*, p. 274.

32 Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*,[2] pp. 40 f.

33 *N. Jahrb.*, 1919/i, 161, *Stasimon*, p. 25; cf. Lesky's characterization of the parabasis as *Kernstück*, *Gesch.*,[2] p. 469.

34 *Agon*, p. 210.

35 Cf. Nilsson, *Gesch. der griech. Religion*, i,[2] pp. 212 ff.

36 *Formen und Darstellungsweisen in der aristophanischen Komödie* (Heidelberg, 1963), pp. 107 ff., n. 17.

37 Ibid., pp. 84, 109.

38 See p. 19 and n. 33.

39 See, e.g., G. H. Kolster, *De parabasi veteris comoediae atticae parte antiquissima* (1829), p. 51; H. Genz, *De parabasi* (1865), p. 19; C. Agthe, *Die Parabase* (1866), pp. 44 f.; C. D. R. Arnoldt, *Die Chorpartien bei Aristophanes* (1873), p. 141; Kranz, *N. Jahrb.*, 1919/i, 162, id., *R.E.* xviii (1949), 1125, 54; Gelzer, *Agon* (1960), p. 211.

40 *The Origin of Attic Comedy*[2] (Cambridge, 1934), p. 122.

41 The following quotation from J. Denis, *La comédie grecque*, i, p. 291, might be said to exemplify the feelings of the majority of the critics towards the parabasis: 'Je ne dis rien de la parabase, si intimement liée avec le chœur: il est trop évident qu'elle est étrangère au drame. Certes, je regretterais les parabases des *Acharniens*, des *Chevaliers*, des *Guêpes* et des secondes *Nuées* pour les renseignements qu'elles contiennent sur le poète, sur ses querelles avec ses rivaux, sur le théâtre comique; je les regretterais toutes pour la poésie et l'humeur qui y débordent. J'ajoute volontiers qu'Aristophane a fait tout ce qu'on pouvait faire de ces deux éléments, le chœur et la parabase, l'un imposé par les conditions légales de la représentation, l'autre par la tradition carnavalesque des fêtes de Bacchus. Mais il n'a pu leur ôter les vices inhérents à leur nature sous le rapport dramatique.'

42 Cf. G. Norwood, *Greek Comedy*, p. 12: 'Such a passage—or rather such a conglomerate of songs and non-dramatic recitative—is *prima facie* inconceivable in the centre of a drama, utterly suspending the action. We may be quite sure, even in the absence of information from our authorities, that it stood originally either before the opening, or after the close, of the action. The second view is the more likely, because it was more *natural* [my italics] for the poet to close with an attempt to ingratiate himself with the audience'; E. Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen*, p. 195, n. 2: 'Es war kein schlechter Instinkt, der Madame Dacier veranlasste in ihrer Übersetzung der Wolken die Parabase vor den Anfang der Komödie zu rücken'.

43 The parabasis–epilogue theory had no such problem because it postulated that the parabasis ceased to be the epilogue of the play after the addition of the 'Doric' part, i.e. the iambic scenes.

44 It would be extremely interesting if we could compare the form of the mythological comedy of the fifth century with that of tragedy. But neither the Hypothesis of Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros* (*P.Oxy.* 663, Demiańczuk, *Suppl. comicum*, p. 31), nor the preserved fragments offer much help here. It seems that a similarity of form between comedy and tragedy came about towards the end of the fifth century. Common to both genres at this time is the decline of the chorus and the development of the choral parts into *embolima*.

45 The difference between the two dramatists is that Brecht aspired to become what Aristophanes was by virtue of the tradition to which he belonged: a 'poet of the people'. Cf. Ehrenberg's definition of Greek theatre as a social phenomenon, *The People of Aristophanes*,[2] p. 27; see ib., p. 37: 'The theatre was the Polis' (cf. *Eq.* 1316 ff.). See also R. Cantarella, 'Atene: La Polis e il Teatro', *Dioniso*, xxxix (1965), 39 ff.

46 B. Brecht, 'Anmerkungen zur Oper *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*' in *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. xvii: *Schriften zum Theater*, iii (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1967), p. 1010. Cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 562–5: 'suspicio est mihi nunc uos suspicarier, / me idcirco haec tanta facinora promittere, / quo uos oblectem, hanc fabulam dum transigam, / neque sim facturus quod facturum dixeram.'

CHAPTER III

1 For other classifications see Zieliński, pp. 158 ff. (chronological), Händel, *Formen und Darstellungsweisen*, pp. 15 ff.

2 Cf. Schol. *Vesp.* 230: *ἀλλήλοις ἐγκελευόμενοι τὴν πάροδον ποιοῦνται.*

3 *Nu.* 275–90, 299–312; *Av.* 260–2. Lines 260–2 of *Birds* are attributed by some

manuscripts and editors to the chorus and by others to Epops. It seems to me, *pace* Fraenkel (cf. n. 5 to p. 97), that the former attribution is the right one because the lines in question contain an assortment of bird cries, including *kikkabau kikkabau* (261), a cry in imitation of the screech-owl's note (cf. D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* [Oxford,[2] 1936], p. 78). The rest of the cries do not suggest specific birds but the first one (260) is essentially repeated by the first bird (and not Epops) entering at l. 267. This short song corresponds to, and fulfils the same function as, the first song of the Clouds, which otherwise differs considerably in length and character from the warble of the Birds—as the invocation of the Clouds by Socrates differs from the invitation to the Birds by Epops. Yet the parodoi of the two plays clearly conform to the same type (but cf. Dover, *Clouds*, p. 133, who calls the parodos of *Clouds* 'unique in character').

4 Cf. F. Adami, 'De poetis scaenicis Graecis hymnorum sacrorum imitatoribus', *Jahrbücher für class. Philologie*, Suppl. xxvi (1901), 244 ff.; H. Kleinknecht, *Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike*, pp. 26 f., 33 ff.; J. A. Haldane, 'A Scene in the Thesmophoriazusae (295–371)', *Philologus*, cix (1965), 39–46.

5 On the parodos of *Ploutoi* see Dover, *Fifty Years (and Twelve) of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 138 f.

6 In Arist. *Pl.* 253 ff. the slave Karion, who had been sent to fetch the chorus of farmers, returns with them; but the farmers do not yet know why they were sent for, and have to find that out from Karion after their entrance.

7 The term 'scène de bataille' is due to Mazon and is much more successful than Zieliński's 'proagon', which had a different technical meaning in antiquity. To Zieliński we owe the first detailed analysis of the agon, though the epirrhematic form of this part of Old Comedy was for the first time observed by A. Rossbach and R. Westphal in their *Griechische Metrik* (Leipzig, 1856, 3rd ed. 1889). For a modern detailed discussion of the agon and the part of the chorus in it, see Gelzer, *Agon*.

8 It must be pointed out, however, that what appears to be the canonical order of the main comic parts, i.e. agon–parabasis–iambic scenes, is by no means obligatory. The order is reversed in *Ran.* (agon: 895–1098), a second agon is found after the parabasis in *Eq.* (756–940), whereas in *Nu.* two agones are found after the parabasis (949–1104, 1345–1451). What seems to be the decisive factor for these variations is the nature of the 'dominant idea' of the comedy itself, which might or might not require the realization of the extraordinary scheme of the comic hero early or late in the play. A useful comparison between the agon and the iambic scenes with regard to dramatic technique is made by W. Süss, *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. lxiii (1908), 25 ff.

9 Cf. Mazon, *Essai*, p. 176.

10 In such a case the ode and antode may be sung only by the chorus (*Av.* 1189 ff., 1262 ff., war cries of the Birds), or by an actor alone (*Av.* 851 ff., 895 ff.).

11 Arist. *Ach.* 1150 ff., Eupol. fr. 306, cf. Arist. fr. 433.

12 On this choral part see p. 35.

13 See n. 5 to p. 35.

14 Norwood, *Greek Comedy*, p. 232.

15 W. W. Merry, *Aristophanes, Peace* (Oxford, 1900), p. 14. This had also been suggested by H. van Herwerden in his edition of *Peace* (Leiden, 1897), vol. i, pp. xxiv ff. (cf. n. 9 to p. 106). Supernumeraries are also favoured by G. Westphal, *Quaestiones scaenicae* (Halis Saxonum, 1919), p. 53 (cited by Russo, *Aristofane*, p. 229, n. 3), Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus at Athens* (Oxford, 1946), p. 62, and Russo, ib., pp. 224 f.

16 *Aristophanes, Peace* (Oxford, 1964), p. xiv; S. Sharpley's edition: London, 1905. See also B. B. Rogers, *The Peace* (London, 2nd ed. 1913), on ll. 296–8, 466, and V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes*,[2] p. 55, n. 1, who does not 'think that the inconsistency goes beyond the limits of the comedian's poetical licence'.

17 *Aristophane*, éd. Budé, ii, p. 91.

18 *Die Chorpartien bei Aristophanes*, pp. 55 ff.

19 *Greek Comedy*, pp. 232 ff.

CHAPTER IV

1 Cf. P. Maas, *Greek Metre*, Oxford, 1962, §33, 4.

2 *Griech. Verskunst*, p. 62, n. 4.

3 Cf. O. Schroeder, *Nomenclator metricus* (Heidelberg, 1921), p. 37. A. M. Dale (*The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*,[2] p. 62) explained the nature of the Pherekratean as basically anapaestic: 'instead of ordinary anapaestic cola with irregular incidence of spondees he [Pherekrates] uses hexamakra [sequences of six longs] with resolutions and contractions so regularized that each line "folds up" into a pherecratean'.

4 Perhaps a line has been lost here together with the whole *AO*; but cf. Dale, op. cit., p. 207.

5 In the antistrophe the chorus addresses most of its lines to the personified Diallage (Reconciliation). Whether Diallage appeared on the stage in the form of an hetaera we cannot be sure. Such appearances of hetaerae personifying various concepts were not uncommon in comedy: e.g. Diallage in *Lysistrata* (1114), Theoria and Opora in *Peace* (523). The difference between these plays and *Acharnians* is that in the former these appearances belong to the action proper and do not occur within a choral part during which the development of the plot is suspended. On the personifications in Aristophanes see H.-J. Newiger, *Metapher und Allegorie, Studien zu Aristophanes, Zetemata* 16 (Munich, 1957); also A. M. Komornicka, *Métaphores, personifications et comparaisons dans l'œuvre d'Aristophane* (Wroclaw–Warsaw–Krakow, 1964). On the imagery of Aristophanes see Taillardat, *Images*.

6 This dicolon is sometimes called 'Aristophanean' (Dale, op. cit., p. 147) but this name is not ancient. Aristophanean is more usually reserved for the second colon of this combination and the anapaestic tetrameter catalectic.

7 See Kock, *C.A.F.* i, p. 302.

8 See J. W. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (London, 1912), §530, who calls this metre 'epionicum' (cf. Hephaist. p. 57, 11 Consbruch).

9 There is nothing to be said for J. van Leeuwen's attempt to interfere drastically with the text by replacing l. 754 with l. 1031 of *Wasps*, and introducing numerous changes in the following lines, in order to transpose the change of person to *Pn.* As to the change of *πρῶτον μὲν μάχομαι* to *πρῶτον δὴ 'μαχόμην*, suggested by Richter, it is as 'attractive' as the present tense *μάχομαι*, followed though as it is by three imperfects, is 'disturbing' (Platnauer, *Peace*, on ll. 754–63).

10 The parabasis of *Lysistrata* is exceptional in both its content and its function in the play, and is not included in the following analysis, nor in Table I (pp. 45 ff.); cf. pp. 104–5.

11 So Rogers in his edition (cf. schol. 683). Schmid (*G.G.L.*, i. 4, p. 295) suggests an *Instrumentalvorspiel* as an introduction to the anapaests, while Pickard-Cambridge (*The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*,[2] p. 158) thinks that 'the use of the

flute in the parabasis of comedy seems to be proved by Aristophanes' *Birds* 682–4'.

12 Cf. Athen. ii. 57 a.

13 On the subject of Aristophanes' inventiveness see Kock, *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. xxxix (1884), 118 ff.; cf. Gelzer, *Antike und Abendland*, viii (1959), 15 ff.

14 *Ἦν μέγα τι βρῶμ' ἔτι τρυγῳδοποιομουσική,*
ἡνίκα Κράτητί τε τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον
λαμπρὸν ἐκόμιζεν ἀπόνως παραβεβλημένον
ἄλλα τε τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα μυρί' ἐκιχλίζετο.
l. 2 *Κράτης ποτὲ* Kock; l. 3 fort. *παρατετμημένον* Kock.

15 But for the attributions of Eupolis' frs. 290–2 and 361 to epirrhemata cf. the reservations expressed on p. 36.

16 See previous note.

17 On the general tendency of the Greeks 'to believe that their ancestors were supermen' see Dover, *Clouds*, pp. lxii f., cf. W. Kassies, *Aristophanes Traditionalisme* (Amsterdam, 1963), pp. 48 ff. (cited by Dover).

18 See n. 15.

19 See n. 15.

20 Cf. p. 56 (on the relative dating of the 'b'-variants).

21 But for fr. 31 of Aristophanes cf. p. 36.

22 Cf. M. Whittaker, *C.Q.* xxix (1935), 189.

23 Cf. n. 10 on *Lysistrata*.

24 The references to Kleon and Hyperbolos included in the parabasis of this play show that *P*, as we have it, comes from the second version of the play, the limits for its composition being the spring of 420 and the winter of 417, and *Ep* from the original version, produced at the City Dionysia of 424/3 (see Dover, *Clouds*, pp. lxxx f.).

25 Cf. *Ach.* 971 ff.; see p. 36.

26 Cf. Kallias, fr. 21, Pherekrates, fr. 185.

27 On fr. 55 see Schmid, *G.G.L.*, i. 4, p. 198, n. 3; cf. Taillardat, *Images*, §775. On fr. 54 cf. Taillardat, ib., §773.

28 The metre of frs. 30 and 31 is the same as that of Eupolis' fr. 159, which comes from an epirrhema (see p. 36). The poet himself speaks in epirrhemata of the second parabasis: Arist. *Vesp.* 1284 ff., Eupolis, fr. 160 and perhaps 357. What the exact meaning of fr. 30 is we cannot know (see n. 34 to p. 67).

29 Frs. 333 and 334 seem to come from an epirrhema, spoken by the chorus in the name of the poet. Fr. 334 is a kind of substitute for an ode: '(We are) neither to invoke the curly-haired Muses, nor to call the Olympian Graces to the chorus; for they are here, as the poet (*didaskalos*) says'. Cf. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes*,[2] p. 33, and p. 36 above. On fr. 333 see p. 40, n. 14.

30 This fragment should perhaps be connected with frs. 333–4.

31 *P.Oxy.* 2737, recently published by E. Lobel (*P.Oxy.*, vol. xxxv, 1968), has preserved fragments of a commentary on an unidentified play, 'pretty certainly of Aristophanes', and probably subsequent to *Knights*. Few of the actual words of Aristophanes are recoverable in the *lemmata* of the commentary, but the sequence of the metres seems to be fairly well established and justify the suggestion of E. Fraenkel (*ap.* Lobel, p. 39) that these fragments come from the parabasis of the play. I take it that the 'drought' in which the 'old, dirty bath-water' is used again (i. 5 ff.) signifies the lack of inventiveness of the other poets and their use of the same old tricks. An interesting but not very convincing attempt to identify the play with *Anagyros* was made by H. Hofmann (*Zeitschr. f. Papyr. u. Epigr.*, v [1970], 1–10).

32 On the metre see p. 36.
33 For the attribution of this fragment to *P* see Hephaist., *Ench.* xvi. 6 (p. 58, 5 Consbruch).
34 M. Whittaker (*C.Q.* xxix [1935], 189) attributes this fragment to *K* on account of its metre (cf. Pherekr. fr. 79, and p. 34 above). Because *P* in this play was written in Eupolidean, fr. 162 is better taken as a part of an aeolic strophe. Theme 'c' is not found in any other known *K*.
35 On the metre see p. 36.
36 Cf. Arist. *Vesp.* 1284 ff.
37 Cf. Arist. *Nu.* 554, and see p. 60.
38 See p. 44.
39 On the metre of this fragment see p. 36.
40 This fragment reads as follows: 'It is customary this *kommation* . . .'
41 See Athen. ii. 57 a; cf. Arist. frs. 253–4, Pherekr. fr. 185.
42 Reading *ἔπαυσεν*.
43 Cf. Körte, *Hermes*, xxxix (1904), 482.
44 Cf. Pherekr. fr. 122.
45 A restoration of fr. 95 from the same play into Eupolideans is suggested by Kock. Although the fragment does not scan as preserved it could be construed to mean: 'and whichever of the spectators may be thirsty let him gulp down [literally, lap up] a full cup like Charybdis'. Kock's reconstruction involves major changes and in fact does away with the image of the monster lapping with its tongue. Rather than lose the forceful metaphor I would lose the fragment from the parabasis.
46 Cf. Arist. *Thesm.* 785 ff.
47 See pp. 34–5.
48 Cf. Metagenes, fr. 14.
49 The fragment reads as follows: 'if anyone of us happens to see a fresh [or new] fig at last, we wipe around the eyes of the children with it'. Kock comments that he does not see how such a sentence would fit in a parabasis but does not doubt that the fragment has to be attributed to it.
50 Cf. Arist. frs. 253–4, Kallias, fr. 21.
51 Fr. 107 (*ὃς πρῶτος μὲν Κλέωνι πόλεμον ἠράμην*, 'I who was the first to undertake war against Kleon') may be part of a tetrameter and come from an epirrhema. But it may also be a complete iambic trimeter, in which case it should come from a part comparable to the speech of Dikaiopolis in *Ach.* 377 ff.
52 The fragment reads as follows: 'and Hyperbolos has so much enjoyed the soft life [literally, the fineness of wool] that he is most miserable'.
53 Here we may have a variant of theme B. Platon said that he imitated the Arcadians, for (according to *Suda s.v.* *Ἀρκάδας μιμούμενοι*) his poverty compelled him to give the plays he composed to others ('imitating the Arcadians' was a proverb used with reference to those who worked for others). A recent papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 2737, fr. 1, ii. 10 ff.) quotes Eratosthenes to the effect that Platon was successful (*εὐδοκίμει*) for as long as he gave his plays to others but was placed fourth when, for the first time, he himself put on the *Staff-Bearers* (*Ῥαβδοῦχοι*), and 'was again pushed to those [either poets or competitions] of the Lenaia' (*ἀπεώσθη πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Ληναϊκούς*). Lobel draws the inference that of the five comic poets who competed at the City Dionysia 'only three were placed', whereas the unsuccessful fourth and perhaps fifth 'established a claim to a chorus at the ensuing Lenaea about nine months later'. And E. Fraenkel (*ap.* Lobel) suggests that Eratosthenes derived his information from the parabasis of *Peisandros*, for the Arcadians (according to the report in *Suda*), in spite

of their being the most warlike of the Greeks, never defeated anyone alone, but when they joined forces with others they defeated many. This is ingenious, as Lobel says, but unfortunately the new papyrus actually raises more problems with regard to producers and dramatic contests than it solves.

54 For the metre see p. 34.

55 This fragment was recently published by Merkelbach in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, i (1967), 161–2. It is spoken by a chorus of Heroes (i.e. Ancestors). Plays with the title *Heroes* are known to have been written by three poets of Old Comedy, Chionides, Krates, and Aristophanes. The authorship of Aristophanes is favoured by Merkelbach, who recognized that the fragment consists of a sequence of choriambic cola similar in form to the first part of the Eupolidean verse (see p. 34).

56 See Taillardat, *Images*, §774.

57 Cf. Arist. *Pax* 764 (theme B; also *Vesp.* 1022).

58 The fragment according to Kock reads: 'to the orchestra; for you pushed your way into it to watch the spectacle'.

59 But cf. Diehl, *Anthol. Lyr. Graeca*, iii,[3] p. 78, fr. 28.

60 A good discussion of this function of the prologue is found in W. Süss, *De personarum antiquae comoediae atticae usu atque origine*, pp. 71 ff., but Süss' speculations about the origin of the practice and its relationship to the parabasis (see especially pp. 97 f.) are of dubious value.

61 But not in the agon; cf. primarily the exhortations, e.g. *Nu.* 959–60, *Ran.* 1004, etc.; cf. the 'seal' of *Knights* (457 ff.) and also ll. 836 ff. The difference is that in these cases the chorus addresses to the hero its words of admiration, while in the stasima it speaks to the public.

CHAPTER V

1 *Griechische Metrik* (Leipzig, 1856, 3rd. ed. 1889).

2 *De comoediae atticae primordiis* (Göttingen, 1906), pp. 16 ff.

3 Körte, *R.E.* xi. 1251; Wilamowitz, *Lysistrate*, p. 15.

4 *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 148, n. 3.

5 Ib., p. 150, n. 2.

6 *Agon*, p. 209.

7 See p. 53, n. 4 above.

8 On the comedies *Ach.*, *Pax*, *Thesm.*, which do not have a regular agon, see Gelzer, *Agon*, pp. 116 ff.

9 Iambic syzygies also occur in the first part of *Ach.* and *Pax*, see Pickard-Cambridge, *D.T.C.*,[2] pp. 213 ff.; cf. Gelzer, *loc. cit.*

10 Cf. Webster in *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 162.

11 Whittaker, *C.Q.* xxix (1935), 181 ff., Webster in *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 160; for other possible instances see Webster, ib., and add Eupolis' *Marikas*, which seems to have had a chorus divided into rich men and poor men, see *P.Oxy.* 2741, fr. 1 B, ii. 19, iii. 1 ff. (with Lobel's comment on ii. 18 ff.). On the possibility of a chorus revolting against its own leader see Webster, ib., pp. 161–2.

12 Recited perhaps to musical accompaniment and with parallel dancing. For the affinities of the trochaic tetrameter (typical metre of the epirrhemata) with dancing see Aristotle, *Poet.* 49 a 21, 59 b 37.

13 The invocation to the Muses just before the agon in *Frogs* (875 ff.) has an altogether special character, and is dictated by the dramatic circumstances:

Dionysos prepares to pray that he might judge the poetic contest of Aeschylus and Euripides *μουσικώτατα* (most harmoniously, or by the best 'musical' criteria) and suggests that the chorus sing something to the Muses while he says his prayer; the chorus, then, invites the nine Muses to come and watch the contest of the two great antagonists.

14 It certainly is not fortuitous that no invocation hymns are found in the parabasis of *Thesm.* The absence of such a hymn from the parabasis is explained by the fact that Aristophanes reserved this theme for the stasima, and thus gave to the episodes after the parabasis the unity of plot required by the continuous presence of Mnesilochos on stage.

15 Conveniently collected in Page, *P.M.G.*, among the 'carmina popularia', nos. 858, 864, 871, 879, cf. 929. Also cf. Pind. *Ol.* 14, 13 ff., fr. 75, 1 ff., Sappho, 2, Alkaios, 34 (Lobel-Page), Soph. *Aj.* 693 ff., Virg. *Aen.* viii. 302. Most of the Orphic Hymns show the same motif, see for instance i. 8, xxvii. 2, 14, xliii. 10, xlv. 1, 7, l. 10, lv. 15, 27. It may be worth noting here that several ancient scholiasts and lexicographers give the information that the dithyrambic poets were nicknamed *amphianaktes* because they often began their poems with a formula similar to the beginning of *AO* in *Nu.* 595: *ἀμφί μοι αὖτε Φοῖβ' ἄναξ*, 'surround me again Lord Phoebus' (see schol. *Nu.* 595). The poets in question are probably those of classical times but the formula may go back to preliterary prototypes. The *Suda* lexicon (*s.v. ἀμφιανακτίζειν*) gives a corrupt line containing a comparable expression, which is supposed to be the beginning of a *nomos* by Terpander; but Page reconstructs the fragment into a dactylic hexameter and takes it away from Terpander (see *P.M.G.*, no. 697, with quotation of the fuller of the sources mentioned above and references to the others). Cf. O. Crusius, *Die delphischen Hymnen* (Göttingen, 1894), p. 21; Wilamowitz, *Griech. Verskunst*, p. 242; Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen*, pp. 191 ff.

16 H. Weil, *B.C.H.* xix (1895), 411; Wilamowitz, ib.; Fraenkel, ib. The text in Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, pp. 165–71.

17 On the metrical affinity of the odes of *Eq.* with those of the parabasis of *Nu.*, the other Aristophanic play that has theme a1 in the parabasis, see Wilamowitz, ib., p. 243, Fraenkel, ib., pp. 196 ff., Dover, *Clouds*, p. 172. On the colometry of the odes of *Nu.* see also J. Irigoin, 'Colon, vers et periode', *Κωμῳδοτραγήματα, Studia Aristophanea . . . W. J. W. Koster in honorem* (Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 65–73.

18 G. B. Mocker, *De Musis a poetis Graecorum in componendis carminibus invocatis* (Diss. Leipzig, 1893); Kranz, *N. Jahrb.* 1924/i, 67 ff.; O. Falter, *Der Dichter und sein Gott bei den Griechen und Römern* (Diss. Warburg, 1934); H. Kleinknecht, *Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike* (Stuttgart–Berlin, 1937), pp. 103 ff.; Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen*, p. 199.

19 Arist. *Eq.* 1264: Pind. fr. 89a Snell (101 Turyn); *Vesp.* 1060 f.: Anacreon fr. 86 Diehl (*P.M.G.*, no. 426); *Pax* 775 ff., 797 ff., 800: Stesich. *Oresteia*, frs. 12, 14, 13 Diehl (*P.M.G.*, nos. 210, 212, 211); *Ran.* 706: Ion (tragic), fr. 41 Nauck.[2] *P.Oxy.* 2737, which is a commentary on a play of Aristophanes, cites various attributions of what appears to be the beginning of *O* of the parabasis to Terpander, or Ion, or Alcman, or the Homeric Hymn xxi to Apollo (fr. 1, col. i. 20 ff.), while the beginning of *AO* is attributed to Alcman (col. ii. 18 f.).

20 Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 3, 77 ff., fr. 95 Snell (110 Turyn). See Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen*, p. 210.

21 E.g. Theognis, 1, 15 ff.; Pind. *Pyth.* 1, 1 ff., *Nem.* 8, 1 ff.; Soph. *Ant.* 781 ff.; Eur. *I.T.* 156 ff., *El.* 54 ff. See Fraenkel, *Agamemnon*, iii, p. 698. On the relative-clause form of *Prädikation* see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 168 ff. Norden's classic treatment of prayer forms remains indispensable.

22 I am indebted to Professor Webster for drawing my attention to the fact that the 'Muse of the copse' is the nightingale.

23 This does not seem to be true of the antistrophe (*Nu.* 299–313). The Clouds begin by calling themselves 'rain-bringing maidens' and go on to acknowledge 'the piety of Athenians in worship of the traditional gods' (Dover, *Clouds*, p. 270), which strikes a note of dissonance with Socrates' description of them as the only true deities. But I think that Dover, following P. Händel here, makes too much of this incongruity by explaining it as a preparation of the audience for the 'revelation' of the chorus 'as a member of the supernatural company traditionally worshipped by the Greeks' (ib., pp. 270, 263 on ll. 1458–61). The Clouds indeed say towards the end of the play that they deceived Strepsiades as they usually deceive all dishonest men till they bring about their punishment and make them fear the gods. Strepsiades appears to accept their explanation, and Dover says that this 'is in accord with ordinary Greek theology and ethics'. But all this is too rational for Aristophanes. The Clouds play Ate in ll. 1458–61 with tongue in cheek. After all, they were not true goddesses (cf. Dover, ib., p. lxviii), and cannot be taken as 'representatives and agents of the true divine hierarchy' (Dover, p. lxx).

24 See also Gelzer, *Agon*, p. 205.

25 But Gelzer (ib.) thinks that 'diese Ähnlichkeit scheint aber, wenn die Parabase ursprünglich aus freieren Versen ohne Pnigos bestanden hat, erst etwas Sekundäres zu sein'.

26 It is obvious that both *P* and the epirrhemata of the agon should resemble in form the actual speeches of the Athenian law courts and of the assembly, and employ several common-place devices of the current fifth-century rhetoric; see A. Burckhardt's still useful (though neither very systematic nor exhaustive) dissertation *Spuren der athenischen Volksrede in der alten Komödie* (Basel, 1924); C. T. Murphy, in his study on 'Aristophanes and the Art of Rhetoric' (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xlix [1938], 69–113), is concerned only with the speeches of the agon in the extant plays of Aristophanes, which he analyses as if they were actual pieces of rhetoric; on the agon see also Gelzer, *Agon*, pp. 85 ff., 127 ff. The influence of rhetoric on *P* was examined by E. Rechenberg, *Beobachtungen über das Verhältnis der Alten attischen Komödie zu ihrem Publikum* (Diss. Berlin, 1966), pp. 122–9, cf. his paper 'Zur "Rolle" des Dichters in der Alten Komödie', *Antiquitas graeco-romana ac tempora nostra* (Prague, 1968), pp. 269–72. The relationship of Old Comedy to rhetoric did not escape the attention of ancient scholars, see Quintilian, x. 1, 65.

27 On these passages and the famous question of the relationship between Aristophanes and Eupolis to which they have given rise—that the two poets were originally great friends and even collaborated in the composition of *Knights* (!) but later became great enemies—see M. Landfester, *Die Ritter des Aristophanes* (Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 79 ff. (with references to earlier bibliography).

28 *Suda s.v.* Χιωνίδης; see E. Capps, *Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, 1st series, vol. vi, no. 11 (1904), p. 9; idem, *Hesperia*, xii (1943), 10; Pickard-Cambridge, *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 189, *Festivals*,[2] p. 82.

29 Cf. the choral 'carmina popularia' *P.M.G.* nos. 848, 851 b, 867, 868, 870, 882, in which the chorus uses the first person plural.

30 Aristotle, *Poet.* 49 a 37 ff. Cf. M. Pohlenz, *Nachr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1949, 2, p. 36 (= *Kl. Schr.* ii, p. 502).

31 *Formen und Darstellungsweisen*, p. 107, n. 17.

32 See p. 17.

33 But in conventional art tradition is very important.

34 According to Körte (*R.E.* xi. 1244) the earliest example of this type of *P*, which does not concern the poet, is Eupolis' fr. 159 (from the *Flatterers*), which, it was claimed above (see p. 44, and Table II, p. 49), came from an epirrhema (though fr. 161, from the *P* of the same play, belongs to the same type). Körte thinks that after the Peace of Nikias the *P*-eulogy of the poet went out of fashion (but see Table II for earlier examples of the newer type of *P*: Kratin. 98, Eupol. 14, 37–8, Arist. 412–15, 417). This is suggested by Aristophanes' fr. 30 (from *Amphiareos*, produced in 414 B.C.): *οἶδα μὲν ἀρχαῖόν τι δρῶν κοὐχὶ λέληθ' ἐμαυτόν.* This theory cannot be accepted without hesitation, for it is not certain that the single line of Arist. fr. 30 is spoken by the poet. Besides, the metre of the fragment is the same as that of Eupolis' fr. 159 (choriambic), which in all likelihood is from an epirrhema.

35 For the distribution of lines and the action in the exodos of *Eccl.* see E. Fraenkel in *Greek Poetry and Life*, Essays presented to G. Murray, pp. 266 ff.

36 See E. W. Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* (London, 1965), p. 305.

37 Cf. Hephaistion, p. 24, 20 Consbruch: '(The anapaestic tetrameter catalectic) is called Aristophanean not because it was invented by Aristophanes, for it is also found in Kratinos . . . but because Aristophanes has used it very much.'

38 Kratin. fr. 74, probably in Eupolidean, is the only fragment composed in one of the above metres that contains dialogue, and could not therefore have belonged to a parabasis.

39 See p. 60 above; cf. Taillardat, *Images*, pp. 448–50.

40 Cf. O. Seel, *Aristophanes oder Versuch über Komödie* (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 48: 'Das ist kein Manke, sondern Stil.'

41 P. W. Harsh (*T.A.P.A.* lxv [1934], 178–97), also, defends the position of the parabasis in the middle of the play but for the wrong reasons. In his 'opinion, it is a mistake to say without reservation that the parabasis makes a rude break in the play, for there are several plays in which it is spoken without violating the dramatic illusion (that is, it is spoken in character), and some in which its theme is relevant to the theme of the remainder play' (pp. 180–1).

CHAPTER VI

1 *J.H.S.* ii (1882), 309 ff.

2 *De comoediae atticae primordiis* (Berlin, 1893).

3 Berlin 1697. Beazley, *A.B.V.*, p. 297, 17 (The Painter of Berlin), Bieber, *Hist. of Greek and Roman Theater*,[2] p. 37, Webster, *Greek Theatre Production*, no. F5, *D.T.C.*,[2] no. 23.

4 Young because they are beardless; cf. p. 99.

5 Between the flute-player and the first 'horse' there is an inscription: EIO+EO+ +. Pickard-Cambridge (*D.T.C.*,[1] p. 246) recognized here a command of the riders to the horses ('gee-up'). But Beazley (*American Journal of Archaeology*, xxxiii [1929], 361–2), who collected similar inscriptions from five more vases with different subjects, concluded (with Furtwängler and Poppelreuter) that all these are nonsense inscriptions (which is a phenomenon not rare in Greek vase painting).

6 Boston 20. 18. Brommer, *A.A.*, 1942, 67, Bieber, op. cit., p. 37, *D.T.C.*,[2] no. 25.

7 On this figure see pp. 91–2.

8 Beazley, *A.B.V.*, p. 518 (The Theseus Painter), Brommer, loc. cit., pp. 65 ff., figs. 4–5, E. Bielefeld, *A.A.*, 1946–7, 48 ff.

9 Louvre CA 1924. Brommer, loc. cit., fig. 3, Bielefeld, loc. cit., Beazley, *A.R.V.*,[2] p. 1622 foot ('by the Theseus Painter or near him').

10 Beazley, ib., H. Hoffmann (ed.), *Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz, 1964), no. 25, Greifenhagen, *Pantheon*, xxiii (1965), 1–7, Sifakis, *Bull. of the Inst. of Class. Studies*, Univ. of London, xiv (1967), 36–7, Webster, *The Greek Chorus*, pp. 20, 93.

11 A. D. Trendall, *Arch. Reports for 1966–67*, p. 40, fig. 19 b–d; see also Trendall and Webster, *Pictures of Greek Drama* (forthcoming).

12 Private communication, dated 8 June 1970.

13 London B 509. Beazley, *A.B.V.*, p. 473 (The Gela Painter); Bieber, *Hist. of Greek and Roman Theater*,[2] p. 37; Webster, *Greek Theatre Production*, no. F7, *D.T.C.*,[2] no. 26.

14 Berlin 1830. Bieber, ib., Webster, ib., no. F8, *D.T.C.*,[2] no. 27.

CHAPTER VII

1 The poets are listed as in *C.A.F.*, roughly in chronological order. The dates in brackets belong to the poet and not to the play.

2 Professor Webster (*Wiener Studien*, lxix [1956], 112; *Hesperia*, xxix [1960], 262–3) suggests that an Athenian oinochoë in the British Museum, dated to the end of the fifth century B.C. and showing a padded man rowing a fish, might be taken as an illustration of a chorus-man of this play (Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*,[2] fig. 87; Bieber, *Hist. of Greek and Roman Theater*,[2] fig. 210). The man is non-phallic, which suggests that he is a chorus-man rather than an actor. His long oars may have been stilts between which a canvas fish would be suspended. But did the chorus of this play consist of men on fish or of fish? And should the fact that they were addressed as 'Gentlemen Fish' (*ἄνδρες ἰχθύες*, fr. 29) be taken as evidence for the former? Cf. the 'frog-swans' in Ar. *Ran.* 205 and the other similar formations quoted in note 2 to p. 96.

3 Webster, *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*, p. 61.

CHAPTER VIII

1 *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 157.

2 *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 153, List of Monuments, no. 24, pl. VIIIa; Brommer, *Antike Kunst*, xi (1968), 50–2, pl. 15/1.

3 Webster in *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 153.

4 But cf. Brommer, loc. cit., and *Gnomon*, xxxv (1963), 762.

5 *D.T.C.*,[2] pp. 80 ff.

6 A very inconclusive case for a 'chorus' of pigs in Boeotia is made by H. Kenner (*Das Theater und der Realismus in der griechischen Kunst*, p. 23). The case rests on a late fifth-century Boeotian skyphos in Nauplion showing Odysseus and Circe ('zweifellos Possenfiguren') on the one side, and three of the companions of Odysseus with the heads and tails of pigs on the other. P. Wolters (*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst.*, Athenische Abteilung, lv [1930], 236), also, had supposed a possible influence of a *Posse* (of the Kabirion type) on the vase, but even if this is true we still can hardly speak (as Kenner does) of a *Schweinechor* in Boeotia and of the animal choruses in Attica in the same breath.

7 *R.E.*[2] vi. 875.

8 The seated figure of Despoina was part of a group of gigantic dimensions made by Damophon of Messene (second century B.C.) and set up in the sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura in Arcadia. It represented Demeter and Despoina seated on the same throne and two smaller figures, Artemis and the titan Anytos, standing on either side of the throne. Only fragments of the group were discovered but a reconstruction of the whole was made possible with the help of Pausanias' description (viii. 37, 3 ff.; see G. Dickins, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xiii [1906–07], 357 ff.). Most of the fragments are now in the Museum of Lykosoura but the fragment with the animal figures is in Athens. On the animal frieze see P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles de Lycosure* (Athens, 1893), p. 11, pl. IV; Dickins, loc. cit., pp. 393–4, pl. XIV. According to Dickins 'the various beasts represented, from the left on pl. XIV, seem to be a pig dancing and clapping his forefeet together, a ram dancing, a donkey dancing, a fox or bear playing on the pipes, a ram dancing, an intermediate animal carrying something, perhaps a lyre, a horse carrying a lyre, a dog playing on the pipes, a fox or wolf dancing, and a ram dancing'. A large number of animal-headed terracotta figurines, probably ex-votos, were also found in the same sanctuary. Most of them were apparently ram-headed (they are still unpublished); see *Praktika*, 1897, p. 28. For a bird-headed figurine see K. Kourouniotis, *Κατάλογος τοῦ Μουσείου Λυκοσούρας* (Athens, 1911), p. 71, no. 81. Pictures in Dickins, loc. cit., p. 394, fig. 26, and *B.C.H.* xxiii (1899), p. 635, represent the main type. Perdrizet (*B.C.H.*, loc. cit.) dated the figurines to Roman times on the ground of the form of the letters of the potter's signature on the back of some of them, but Kourouniotis (op. cit.) suggests that the main type may go back to the fourth century B.C. For an interpretation of the Lykosoura animal figures as men masked and engaged in a ritual dance see A. B. Cook, *J.H.S.* xiv (1894), 162, Eitrem, *R.E.*[2] vi. 904 f.; *contra* Perdrizet who, in the light of the terracottas, interprets the figures on the veil as divinities; cf. Dickins, who speaks of some relic, preserved by the artist, of an earlier, primitive Arcadian goddess particularly connected with animals, whose cult had been replaced by that of the Great Goddesses from Megalopolis.

9 'Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age', *J.H.S.* xiv (1894), 81–169 (the quotation is from p. 165).

10 *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 152.

11 Meuli, *Schweizer Masken* (Zürich, 1943), pp. 56 ff., 84; Gelzer, *Agon*, p. 230, n. 2, *Probleme der Kunstwissenschaft*, ii, pp. 69 f.

12 Eitrem, *R.E.*[2] vi. 904, Kranz, *N. Jahrb.*, 1919/i, 163; cf. G. Giangrande, *Eranos*, lxi (1963), 23, who praises Kranz's theory but does not finally decide whether the theriomorphic fertility demons belonged to the retinue of Dionysos together with the silens and satyrs from the beginning, or had an independent existence and were adopted by the comic poets 'on account of their natural affinity with the Sileni and Satyrs who are theriomorphic by nature'.

13 *N. Jahrb.*, 1919/i, 163.

14 Pp. 13 ff.

15 Pp. 32 ff.

16 *Frösche*, pp. 7–9, see further *Philologus*, lxxxvii (1932), 382–7.

17 Athen. viii. 359 d, 360 c; Eust. *Od.* 1914, 45; Hesych. *s.v.* *κορωνισταί*, *χελιδονισταί*.

18 Athen. viii. 348 a–c (fr. 558 Rose).

19 The passage is reprinted in *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 296.

20 P. 33.

21 Diomedes, *De poem.*, ix. 2, p. 488 K (=*C.G.F.*, p. 57); cf. Schol. in Dion. Thrac.,

C.G.F., pp. 12 ff., *Etym. Magn.*, p. 764, 1 (=*C.G.F.*, p. 16), Tzetzes, *Prooem. de com.*, M a, iii.11, p. 113 K (=*C.G.F.*, p. 27).

22 This is of course the etymology employed by the 'Dorian' theory about the origin of comedy; Aristotle, *Poet.* 48 a 35, see Breitholtz, *Die dor. Farce*, pp. 41 ff.

23 Cf. Webster in *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 159.

24 *Gesch.*,[2] p. 262.

25 *D.T.C.*,[2] pp. 155 ff.

26 *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, iii (Paris, 1951), 15.

27 *Der Mimus*, i. 2 (Berlin, 1903), pp. 480 ff.

28 Op. cit., p. 483.

29 Op. cit., p. 492.

30 Op. cit., p. 481. But cf. p. 89 for a chorus dancing in imitation of dolphins.

31 *R.E.* xi. 1221, 15.

32 *Eranos*, lxi (1963), p. 21, n. 1.

33 Perrota, *St. Letter. Gr.*, ii (Milan, 1946), p. 46, quoted by Giangrande, loc. cit., p. 22; Norwood, *Greek Comedy*, p. 10; Pohlenz, *Nachr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1949, 2, p. 33 (*Kl. Schr.* ii, p. 499).

34 See for example Mazon's quotation on p. 83 from a non-specialist journal; Lesky, *Gesch.*,[2] p. 262, Giangrande, loc. cit., pp. 21–4.

35 See *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 159.

36 Pickard-Cambridge, *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 151.

CHAPTER IX

1 Poppelreuter, p. 34. However, Webster now suggests that the London vase shows the chorus entering, whereas the fact that the Berlin 'birds' are preceded by their flute-player probably means that they 'are walking off at the end of the play' (*The Greek Chorus*, pp. 21, 94). Unfortunately, there is no way of positively knowing whether the flute-player on the Berlin vase leads the chorus to the place of its performance or away from it. It seems to me that the sight of the approaching chorus would be much more 'interesting'—and accordingly more likely to be represented in a painting—than the sight of a chorus walking off at the end of its performance. In any case, the choreuts could hardly be thought to have acquired their cloaks during or at the end of the performance; they must also have had them when they made their entrance.

2 But Pickard-Cambridge (*D.T.C.*,[2] p. 153) prefers to think that the men are 'wearing loosely the masks of horses (their own faces appearing below)'.

3 Webster in *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 153.

4 The first part of this section was first published in *Bull. of the Inst. of Class. Studies*, Univ. of London, xiv (1967), 36–7.

5 *A.R.V.*,[2] pp. 1622 f.

6 In *Norbert Schimmel Collection* (ed. by H. Hoffmann), no. 25; *Pantheon*, xxiii (1965), 1–7.

7 Private communication dated 9 March 1966. He finds a parallel in another vase by Oltos in the Metropolitan Museum (Beazley, *A.R.V.*,[2] p. 54, no. 6), on which ἀλούμενος ἐῖοι is written next to 'a youth swinging his jumping weights', G. M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases, a Survey*, p. 15.

8 On vase inscriptions issuing from the mouth of figures see Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften*, pp. 86 ff.; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, i, p. 35; Richter, loc. cit.

9 *Mus. Helv.* xx (1963), 121 ff.

10 Loc. cit., p. 129.
11 *The Greek Chorus*, p. 155.
12 Ib., p. 130. This vase, dating from the sixth century B.C., was found in Caere and belongs to Pfuhl's Ionic–Italic class (*Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, i, §§183 ff.); illustrated in *Röm. Mitteilungen*, ii (1887), pl. 8/2, Nilsson, *Gesch. der griech. Religion*, i,[2] pl. 50/4, Lesky, *Thalatta* (Vienna, 1947), fig. 29.
13 H. Riemann, 'Lysikratesmonument', *R.E.* Suppl. viii (1956), cols. 266–348; Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, iv. 2 (Paris, 1963), pp. 1132–44, figs. 445–9.
14 Aristotle, *Hist. anim.* ix. 48, 631 a; Plutarch, *Mor.* 984 e; Aelian, *Nat. anim.* ii. 6, vi. 15; Athenaios, xiii. 606 d; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ix. §§24–33; Gellius, vi (vii). 8. On the Greek dolphin lore in general see O. Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums in culturgeschichtlicher Beziehung*, Innsbruck, 1887, pp. 211–35; A. Marx, *Griechische Märchen von dankbaren Tieren und Verwandtes*, Stuttgart, 1889, pp. 5–29.
15 Professor Webster directed my attention to a group of Attic vases, dated between the last years of the sixth and the middle of the fifth century, showing komasts (in groups or single) dressed up as women. One of them is often playing the lyre. The lyre-player on one of the earliest members of this group, a red-figure krater in Copenhagen (inv. 13365) by the Kleophrades Painter (Beazley, *A.R.V.*,[2] p. 185, no. 32), is identified by an inscription as Anakreon, and Beazley has concluded that the subject of the picture is 'Anakreon and his boon companions'. He also is inclined to think that all the vases with similar revellers have the same subject and 'that (1) they too represent not merely a komos, but a special komos; (2) that when one of the figures is a man playing the lyre, it is Anacreon; (3) that when a figure just like these "Anacreons" is represented alone . . . it is Anacreon; (4) that when there is no "Anacreon", the figures are still to be thought of as "boon companions of Anacreon"', *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, by L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, part ii by Beazley, 1954, p. 57; all the 'Anakreons' vases are collected and discussed in pp. 58–61. The relation of these vases to comedies with plural titles is pointed out by Webster in his recent book, *The Greek Chorus*, pp. 14–5, cf. pp. 83–4.
16 *Hist. of Gr. and Rom. Theater*,[2] p. 37.
17 *Répertoire des vases peints*, i (Paris, 1922), p. 486.
18 In *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 159.
19 Ib., p. 153.
20 Ib., p. 162.

CHAPTER X

1 Schol. *Ran.* 211, schol. Raven. *Ran.* 268 (Rutherford); Dindorf, *Aristophanis comoediae* (1837), iii, p. 219; Arnoldt, *Die Chorpartien bei Aristophanes* (1873), pp. 167–8; Denis, *La comédie grecque* (1886), i, p. 286, n. 1, and ii, p. 109, n. 2; Mazon, *Essai* (1904), p. 139; Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen* (1962), p. 182; Russo, *Aristofane* (1962), p. 329. Most of the editors, commentators, and translators of the play are of the same opinion: e.g. Kock (4th ed. 1898), Merry (1884), Tucker (1906), Lucas-Cruso (1936), Stanford (1958); H. van Daele in his Budé translation (1928) puts Dionysos and Charon, also, behind the screens, for the theatrical machinery at the time was not perfected enough to give the illusion of a boat on a river, represented by the orchestra. But the opposite view, that the Frogs appeared in the orchestra, had some supporters, also: A. G. Bohtz, *De Aristophanis Ranis dissertatio* (Gothae, 1828), p. 4; Welcker, *Über die*

Frösche, p. 240 (quoted in order to be refuted by H. I. Seemann, *De Ranarum fabulae aristophaneae consilio* [Nissae, 1846], p. 3); Fritzsche (ed. 1845), Mitchell (ed. 1839), Frere (transl. 1872), Paley (ed. 1877), Bieber, *Hist. of the Greek and Roman Theater*,[2] pp. 37, 70, recently D. Barrett (transl., Penguin, 1964); Radermacher is not clear on this point (*Frösche*,[2] p. 168, on ll. 208–68) but speaks of 'dancing Frogs' (p. 170).

2 Similar noun combinations are ἄνθρωπος ὄρνις (Ar. *Av.* 169), κάμηλον ἀμνόν (ib. 1559). Βάτραχος γυρῖνος is found in Plato (*Theaet.* 161 c, cf. Kranz, *Hermes*, lxii [1927], 256) and βάτραχον φροῦνον (=φρῦνον) in a magic papyrus of Oslo, Deubner, *Hermes*, lxii (1927), 128.

3 I feel no sympathy with C. P. Segal's theory that Dionysos 'fails to recognize "himself" when the Frogs sing of "Nyseian Dionysus" . . . or when the Mystae sing of Iacchus' because he 'has not yet attained the unified conception of himself which he is seeking' (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, lxv [1961], 213). I have to confess that Dionysos' 'search of his true identity' and his 'development into a god of communal solidarity', which Segal sees in the play (ib., p. 217), defeat me completely.

4 For the 'triple crest' cf. pls. VI–VIII.

5 The already ancient theory (*Av.* schol. 298) that the first four birds (267–93) are not included in the chorus because the birds enumerated in ll. 297–304 are exactly twenty-four has been followed by the majority of modern scholars: F. Wieseler, *Adversaria in . . . Aristophanis Aves* (Gottingae, 1843), pp. 33–72; C. Robert, *Hermes*, xxxiii (1898), 567; J. van Leeuwen, *Aves* (1902), on ll. 267, 297 ff.; W. W. Merry, *The Birds* (4th ed. Oxford, 1904), on l. 263; B. B. Rogers, *The Birds* (London, 1906), on l. 268; Mazon, *Essai*, p. 100; L. B. Lawler, *T.A.P.A.* lxxiii (1942), 58–63; H. L. Crosby, *Hesperia*, Suppl. viii (1949), 75–81; E. Fraenkel, *Eranos*, xlviii (1950), 82–4; Russo, *Aristofane*, pp. 248–50. The four birds have been explained as musicians (Wieseler, Robert, Merry, Mazon, Crosby), dancers (Lawler), exotic, splendid creatures shown in a gay parade (van Leeuwen, Fraenkel), the body-guard of Epops (Russo), etc., while Zieliński (*Gliederung*, p. 306, n. 1) finds their purpose quite obscure (and the whole question 'the most indifferent in the world'!). Conversely, these birds were rightly counted in the chorus (though not always for the right reasons) by some other scholars (see A. Willems, *Bull. de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*, 3e sér., xxxii [1896], 607 ff.; W. E. Blake, *A.J.P.* lxiv [1943], 87–91; J. Carrière, *R.É.A.* lviii [1956], 211–35; Cantarella, *Aristofane, Le commedie*, iv [Milan, 1956], p. 73, note on ll. 267 ff.) for the fact that the birds mentioned after l. 294 are twenty-four is as significant as the equally accidental fact that exactly twelve of them are of feminine and twelve of masculine (grammatical) gender. In truth, the total number of birds mentioned by name (though by no means the total number of the choreuts, *pace* Blake, loc. cit., p. 91) is twenty-eight. The first four birds enter one by one followed by dense groups (294–5). Yet six more birds are individually pointed out (297–301) before the rest (eighteen) are enumerated without comment (302–4). No spectator, or reader for that matter, will ever notice that the total number of the birds named is twenty-eight (whereas the choreuts are twenty-four), unless he is equipped with a scholastic mind and counts the words of his text more than once.

6 Cf. Diels–Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i,[7] A 12; Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta*, p. 80; Schmid, *G.G.L.*, i. 4, p. 295 (with bibliography).

7 The MSS give λαβόντες. B shows the superscript βαλόντες, adopted by Brunck (1783) and since him by almost all editors up to the present century (including Hall and Geldart [²1906], whose text is still reprinting in the Oxford Classical

Texts). The sense thus becomes: 'throw the *himatia* and run' (that is to say, 'in order to run faster'). What *himatia*, though? Boys and slaves did not wear cloaks, and Starkie (ed. 1897), rejecting the opinion of A. Müller (*Lehrbuch der griech. Bühnenalterthümer* [Freiburg I. B., 1886], p. 256, n. 4) that θαἰμάτια λαβόντες means 'holding up or tucking up the *himatia*' (cf. *Eccl.* 99: ξυστειλάμεναι θαἰμάτια), suggests that the object of βαλόντες, which he accepts, is the *himatia* of the dicasts which must have been carried by the boys (but why?). Modern editors (van Leeuwen [1909], Rogers [1915], Coulon [1925]) retained, correctly, the reading of the MSS, but βαλόντες made its appearance again in the recent edition of the plays of Aristophanes by R. Cantarella (vol. iii, Milan, 1954). It is evident that a textual problem has been created here by scholars who were unable to visualize the dramatic action. Cf. next note.

8 A. Roemer (*Studien zu Aristophanes und den alten Erklärern desselben* [Leipzig, 1902], i, pp. 86 f.) was the first to make this observation, and van Leeuwen was the only one among the editors of Aristophanes to repeat it. Wilamowitz (*Sitzungsberichte der Akad. Berlin*, 1911, pp. 475 f.), and, more recently, Russo (*Aristofane*, p. 198) made the same point (without reference to Roemer) but the general view is that the choreuts make their first appearance dressed up as wasps (see for instance the editions of Rogers, Coulon–van Daele; also Lesky, *Gesch.*,[2] p. 475). Cf. next note.

9 See, e.g., *Ach.* 186 ff., where the treaties are transported in wine flasks, and *Eq.* 1389 ff., where the treaties again are brought onto the stage in the form of hetaerae. For other examples see Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen*, pp. 167 ff., Taillardat, *Images*, §898; cf. n. 5 to p. 35. H.-J. Newiger's attempt to equate the stings with phalli (which, incidentally, may not have belonged to the costume of the comic chorus, see Webster, *Hesperia*, xxix [1960], 262) will not do as it implies that all references to the character *and* disguise of the chorus in wasps (e.g. ll. 420, 427, 1071 f., 1075) are purely metaphorical (*Metapher und Allegorie*, pp. 79 f.).

10 Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, i, pp. 15–6; Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes*,[2] p. 95.

11 Whether 'one thousand' should be taken literally I do not know. In the battle near Corinth (*Eq.* 604, see immediately below) only two-hundred cavalrymen took part (Thuc. iv. 42; see Gomme, op. cit., iii, pp. 489, 494).

12 *Ach.* 6–8, *Eq.* 247 (but cf. Starkie, *Acharnians* [1909], pp. 241 ff.).

13 *Gliederung*, p. 163. Zieliński believed that the chorus used real horses, cf. Schmid, *G.G.L.*, i. 4, p. 235.

14 See also Wilamowitz, *Lysistrate*, p. 9, n. 1; Lesky, *Gesch.*,[2] p. 471; Pickard-Cambridge, *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 154. Wilamowitz apparently changed his mind later, and ceased to believe in any horses, real or not, *Sitzungsberichte der Akad. Berlin*, 1911, p. 487, 1, cf. Schmid, *G.G.L.*, i. 4, p. 235. Van Leeuwen, Rogers, Coulon–Van Daele ignore the question in their editions.

15 Cf. Russo, *Aristofane*, p. 141.

16 Cf. *Eq.* 273: ὦ πόλις καὶ δῆμ', ὑφ' οἵων θ η ρ ί ω ν γαστρίζομαι.

17 Cf. Russo, *Aristofane*, p. 177.

APPENDIX

1 See Pickard-Cambridge, *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 201.

2 That they had been wearing *himatia* is shown by l. 470.

3 Here the *himatia* have to be understood, for the women had already left the pitchers at the edge of the orchestra (l. 539).

4 Cf. Mazon, *Essai*, p. 118: 'Ce n'est donc qu'à la dernière antistrophe que tous les choreutes se trouvent revêtus du seul σωμάτιον [tights].'
5 *Gesch.*,[2] p. 470.
6 See, for instance, Agthe, *Die Parabase*, p. 48.
7 Cf. Dale, *Collected Papers*, p. 289.
8 *Acharnenses* (Leiden, 1901), p. 109; cf. Starkie in his edition of the play (London, 1909), on l. 627.
9 According to H. van Herwerden (*Eirene* [Leiden, 1897], i, p. xxvii) the 'attendants' constitute a second chorus, which withdraws at this point (see p. 30 above). But see Dover, *Proc. of the Cambridge Philol. Soc.*, no. 192 (1966), 5, *Clouds*, p. lxxiii and Index under 'scene-shifters'. On the stage hands see also Russo, *Aristofane*, p. 111, who, however, follows van Herwerden in regard to *Peace* (p. 225).
10 So van Leeuwen, Rogers, Platnauer, in their editions; cf. Schmid, *G.G.L.*, i. 4, p. 285.
11 *Hist. de la littér. grecque*, iii,[3] pp. 525 ff.
12 See pp. 16 f. above; cf. M. W. Humphreys, *A.J.P.* viii (1887), 197.
13 But Schmid changed his mind later (*G.G.L.*, i. 4, p. 45, n. 1).
14 P. 34.
15 The irritability of the wasps was proverbial; cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1102 ff., *Lys.* 475; Hom. *Il.* xvi. 259 ff.; [Plat.] *Eryx.* 392 b–c; *Anth. Pal.* vii. 405, 408. See Taillardat, *Images*, §§379, 380.
16 *Collected Papers*, p. 289; cf. Webster in *D.T.C.*,[2] p. 142, n. 5.

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